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NKRUMAH'S IMAGE PATTERN AND
GHANAIAN FOREIGN POLICY - 1957-1966

by

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PREFACE

The subject of this thesis developed from a seminar in International Relations offered by Professor William Badour. The thesis was written under his guidance and supervision and I benefited greatly from his sharp criticisms.

Miss Nellimay Daniel carefully read over and typed the thesis. To her and Professor Badour, go my sincere thanks and appreciation. Without their assistance this thesis could not have been completed.

However, the responsibility for content is entirely my own.

INTRODUCTION

THE CONCEPT OF ELITE IMAGES

The purpose of this thesis is to apply the concept of elite images to an analysis of Nkrumah's foreign policy behaviour during the period (1957-1966) when he virtually dominated Ghanaian politics.

Despite the impressive volume of literature on Ghanaian politics, there has as yet been no attempt to undertake a systematic study of the influence of Nkrumah's image pattern on Ghana's external behaviour. It is hoped that such an examination will bring greater clarity and understanding to bear on Nkrumah's rather complex and sometimes controversial political style. It must be emphasized at the outset of this thesis that there is no attempt to undertake a substantive analysis of Ghanaian foreign policy. The thesis is based on the premise that a qualitative analysis of Nkrumah's images may contribute to an increased understanding of Ghana's foreign policy during the period under study.

The importance of the approach adopted in this thesis lies in the fact that the structure of the image shapes an individual's perception of reality. The image is the "total cognitive, affective, and evaluative structure of

the behaviour unit, or its internal view of itself and its universe"¹. As another observer adds,

the image is a kind of mental and emotional filter that allows the registering of some facts more readily than others. Thus, the image stands between man and the external world; man acts according to a perception of reality.²

The human mind is incapable of directly absorbing the complex and numerous events that constitute the totality of the real world. Admittedly, a considerable portion of events occur beyond the range of human understanding. But, even some of the events that certainly fall within our reach go unnoticed.

At each moment therefore, an individual's awareness of the facts is at best, a small segment of the whole complex of occurrences in the world. The few facts that the individual may note, are then mentally organized and processed in order to make them more meaningful to him. Although this "intra-psychic processing of facts" still lacks perfect understanding,

there is agreement that an organization that may be called the cognitive structure or the image mediates and orders the incoming facts. It is the image that one employs to make sense of the world. The image is sanity itself.³

1. Kenneth E. Boulding, "National Images and International Systems" in International Politics and Foreign Policy, rev. ed. James N. Rosenau, ed., New York, The Free Press, 1969, p.423.

2. Charles A. McClelland, Theory and the International System, New York, Macmillan Company, 1966, p.9.

3. Ibid., p.8.

In societies with fairly developed cultures and a long history, the primary sources of the images are not likely to be susceptible to easy change. Shared attitudes and feelings exist among parents and friends and moreover, they all possess a common cognitive structure for interpreting and understanding their perception of reality. Consequently, it is possible to find that in societies with common cultures, the spread of similar images has "permeated" that population.⁴

The most important agent in the formation of national images is the family. It is during the early period of socialization that a child learns about its national attributes. Through this process, national images are transmitted. The unceasing process that characterizes the transmission of national images warrants the suggestion that it is "a historical image" because, it extends through time, backward into a supposedly recorded or perhaps mythological past and forward into an imagined future.⁵

⁴ Ibid., p.9. However, it must be emphasized that the image is largely a product of socialization. The inculcation of societal values into the mind of a growing child shapes the formation of his imagery structure. To the extent that these values are uniformly internalized, the image of a grown up child will have a considerable resemblance to those of other members in his society. In essence, this constitutes a process of sharing and giving and ensures that, the individual's store of knowledge and to be sure his personality, are products of the information passed on by other members of the society.

⁵ Boulding, op. cit., p.424.

In every nation however, the strength of the national image to a considerable extent, will be determined by the degree of national consciousness that exists among its nationals. A major factor that contributes to the stability and persistence of the national images is the educational system. Subjects such as history and geography are used as devices to glorify the nation at the expense of "foreign nations". The national territory is projected as the center of the world and civilization. As one observer said,

The national geography is learned in great detail, and the rest of the world is in fuzzy outline; the national history is emphasized and exalted; the history of the rest of the world is neglected or even⁶ falsified to the glory of the national image.

Thus, the national image is developed and strengthened at the cost of deliberately distorting the "truth". A nation at war finds justification for its righteousness through falsification of the national image. More often than not, experiences of wars and foreign invasions tend to provide people in states so affected with a focus for identification and in the process, contributes to the strengthening of their national image.

The more people share things in common, the greater

6. Ibid., p.424

will be the extent to which they will identify with their national image. More than any other single factor, the experience of a war or the threat of a permanent enemy, plays an important role in the creation and maintenance of the national image especially in new nations.⁷ The fragile nature of national consciousness in the new African states is in part due to the lack of any symbol or focus for identification. The present boundaries of many of these states, for example, are products of imperial history. The efforts of the new African leaders to build a national identity often result in frustration because family cultures - which predominate - stress allegiance to the family group, tribe, with at best, only marginal references to the nation. Just as attempts to secure political legitimacy by coercion often prove futile, so too the efforts of new leaders to impose national images have only confirmed that this task is difficult. The haste with which African leaders have approached this task is motivated by their desire to be on the same level as the leaders of the established nations. Imposed images are, however, fragile because they lack deep internalization and will easily disintegrate when the demand for satisfying more immediate interests arises.

7. The example of Israel in the contemporary world, will tend to confirm this view.

The images of decision-makers may bear little resemblance to those held by the populace. Nkrumah's images of Ghana's status and role in the international system, for example, conflicted with those held by other political groups in Ghana. In the case of Ghana, however, the concept of elite images is more directly relevant to the analysis of foreign policy behaviour because Nkrumah's perceptions played a key role in influencing the content and direction of Ghana's behaviour. The image of the situation as perceived by Nkrumah ultimately determined foreign policy behaviour since,

the key to the explanation of why the state behaves the way it does lies in the way its decision-makers as actors define the situation.⁸

In defining the situation, decision-makers base their action on their perception of the situation and the availability of resources for the realization of intended objectives.

The external behaviour of a state is, thus, influenced by the decision-makers' perceptions of its status and role in the international system. A large territory and population in a defined geographical area, may provide a state with the impetus for asserting its leadership. To the extent that decision-makers perceive and re-act to environmental factors, these will be held to have influenced their

8. Richard C. Snyder, H.W. Bruck, and Burton Sapin, "Decision-Making as an Approach to the Study of International Politics" in Stanley H. Hoffmann, ed., Contemporary Theory in International Relations, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1960, p.153

ultimate decisions. In themselves, environmental factors do not determine or influence state behaviour.⁹ The significant thing to note, however, is that those engaged in the formulation of foreign and defense policies are generally compelled to recognize the importance of environmental conditions and events. To ignore the influences and limitations of these factors, might lead to the formulation of disastrous policies. But, there is no precise way of measuring the degree to which environmental factors influence the actual formulation of policies. Thus, the Soviet Union argued that the 1962 Cuban Missile policy was necessary for its own survival. In the same manner, the United States takes the position that victory in Viet Nam is a necessity for the defense and protection of its national interests. What is worth noting, amidst the confusion that surrounds the conduct of international relations, is that statesmen,

justify their decisions and explain their successes and failures by reference to surrounding conditions and events.¹⁰

The arena of foreign policy calls for precise and prudent examination of alternative policies as an insurance against the effects of unwise decisions on mankind. With

9. Harold and Margaret Sprout, The Ecological Perspective on Human Affairs, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965, p.11.

10. Ibid., p.3

the advances in military sciences and the consequences of its misuse on man, foreign policy decision-making must be guided by expert advice and the techniques of modern technology.¹¹ The likelihood of both premature and adventurous responses to global problems, constitutes the single major danger to the stability of the international system. This danger is heightened by the fact that decision-makers respond to their image of the situation and not the "objective" facts. The image decision-makers have of the world and "not what it is really like" determines their behaviour in the global system.¹² From the standpoint of the decisional system therefore, what matters is not how the milieu is, but how the decision-makers imagine it to be. But, whether decisions are successful or not, is determined by the operational environment and not what the decision-makers think it to be.¹³ To the extent that greater congruity exists between the psychological environment (what decision-makers think it is) and the operational environment (what it actually is), the decision will be successful. Wrong images and by inference, misperception, constitute a major

11. Emphasizing the importance of foreign policy, one observer said, "If civilization is killed within the next thirty years, it will not be killed by famine or plague, but by foreign policy and international relations." See Karl W. Deutsch, The Analysis of International Relations, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1968, p.v

12. Boulding, op. cit., p.423

13. Harold and Margaret Sprout, op.cit., pp.224-5

factor responsible for the imprudent decisions of statesmen. One major source of misperception is due to the fact that decision-makers are "too wedded to the established view"¹⁴ and thus tend to reject information that may be closer to reality.

The private belief system of a dominant individual in the decisional system, can greatly affect the direction of a state's external behaviour. The personalized nature of leadership in the developing states lends their external behaviour to this development. As will be shown in this thesis, Nkrumah came to occupy such a dominant position in the Ghanaian political system. However, even in a developed state, the key role which the private belief system of a dominant individual can play in the foreign policy process has been shown in a study of John Foster Dulles' impact on American external behaviour. His presence in the State department during the greater part of the 1950's singularly determined the pattern of relations that existed between the United States and the Soviet Union. Dulles' puritanic background and his belief in the inherent bad nature of the Communist system,¹⁵ provided him with a

14. Cf. Professor Jervis' discussion on "Hypothesis on Misperception" in International Politics and Foreign Policy, Rosenau, op.cit., pp.239ff.

15. Ole R. Holsti, "The Belief System and National Images: A Case Study" in International Politics and Foreign Policy, Rosenau, ed., op.cit., p.546.

"mirror image"¹⁶ for viewing and confirming Soviet bad intentions.^{10.} This attitude led to an intensification of cold war differences. The decrease in the level of Soviet hostility that offered hope of improved relations was rejected by Dulles as "the necessity of adversity rather than to any genuine change of character."¹⁷ Such a strong and rigid belief system shatters all hopes of a reduction in tensions because every conciliatory gesture (from the adversary) is interpreted in such a way as to confirm the "inherent bad faith model."

As we saw above, the response a decision-maker initiates is based on his perception of the situation. But the manner in which information is perceived and interpreted is largely shaped by preconceived attitudes. The danger of miscalculation is likely because,

what each man does is based not on direct and certain knowledge but on pictures made by himself or given to him. If his atlas tells him that the world is flat, he will not sail near what he believes to be the edge for fear of falling.¹⁸

This discussion of the concept of elite images has been presented in an attempt to demonstrate the important

16. Ibid., p.549

17. Ibid., p.547

18. Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, New York, Macmillan Company, 1921, p.17

role that the images of decision-makers play in their foreign policy behaviour. However, the utility of this approach in the analysis of foreign policy is tempered by a few methodological problems. The major difficulty is the criteria upon which the analyst must base his selection of the factors shaping elite images. In older societies, this problem is partially eliminated because the national history and the established ideological pattern of the society will be among the primary factors shaping elite images. The new states - and this is our present concern - are still struggling with problems of national identity and have as yet not demonstrated a definite preference for any particular ideology. In this thesis, the selection of factors shaping Nkrumah's images has been based on the author's understanding of key factors and not on any rigorous empirical criteria.

Since the external behaviour of any state is invariably influenced by domestic factors, the nature and character of the Ghanaian political system during the period 1957 - 1966 will be discussed in Chapter I. In Chapter II, the impact of Nkrumah's dominant position on the policy process and the factors shaping his images will be critically examined. The final chapter will be devoted to a rigorous analysis of Nkrumah's perception of Ghana's status and role in the international system.

The task of this thesis is modest. It does not strive for methodological purity. If through the application of the concept of elite images greater clarity is brought to bear on Nkrumah's foreign policy behaviour, the efforts of this study will not have been wasted. In the spirit of the Chinese saying:

"May the brick I have thrown
attract jade from others."

CHAPTER I

POLITICAL SYSTEM

I BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW: 1956-1966

Ghana's political system in the period 1957-1966 can be briefly described as one characterized by a one-party modernizing leadership. The Convention People's Party (CPP) and its leader totally reshaped the political system and in turn, filled all key positions in the government with party members. However, within this all-powerful political structure, Kwame Nkrumah was the primum mobile. As one observer remarked immediately after the country became independent,

The dominant personality in the all-African government of Ghana is the Prime Minister Dr. Nkrumah. Some people attribute to him hypnotic powers, others see in him only a symbol around which the struggle for independence had to be waged.¹

In order that the role Nkrumah and the CPP played in Ghanaian politics may be fully appreciated, their performance and political style will be examined.

The 1956 election was the most important contest for Nkrumah in his struggle for power. On its outcome rested both the question of Ghana's independence and the structure

1. Henry L. Bretton, "Current Political Thought and Practice in Ghana" in the American Political Science Review, Vol. LII, (March, 1958) p. 51

of the new government.² Because of strong disagreements among various political groups as to the exact form of the independence constitution, this election was to serve as a semi-referendum. Nkrumah wanted a unitary constitution as opposed to the federal form of government demanded by the other parties. The CPP, led by Nkrumah, won the election.³ In effect, this constituted an endorsement of Nkrumah's unitary government proposal. The opposition⁴ rejected the contention that the election had settled the constitutional question and intensified their demands for a federal constitution. The independence constitution as finally agreed to by the major political parties was far from what Nkrumah

2. The CPP had been successful in the 1951 and 1954 general elections. For a discussion on these elections and the political history of Ghana before independence, see especially Dennis Austin, Politics in Ghana: 1946-1960, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, and W.E.F. Wara, A History of Ghana, rev. ed. London, Allen & Unwin, 1967.

3. This election was contested by six political parties excluding independent candidates. The CPP won 71 of the 104 seats that were at stake and later got the support of one successful independent candidate, thus raising its standing to 72 seats. See Austin, Politics in Ghana, op.cit., p. 354.

4. After the elections, all opposition parties formed the United Party under the leadership of Dr. Kofi Busia.

wanted.⁵ However, he accepted this set-back as a necessary compromise in order to lead Ghana to immediate independence.

The position taken by the opposition served notice to Nkrumah that their co-operation would not be forthcoming and further convinced him of the necessity of consolidating the strength of the CPP. After independence, Nkrumah insisted that the opposition had made the "acceptance and practice of democracy" in certain parts of the country, notably the Ashanti region, difficult.⁶ Gradually, the opposition was pushed to the sidelines of the political process as the CPP sought to implement policies designed to promote the "national interest". It demanded the total allegiance of the populace for its program of modernization and speeded up the process of "centralizing the machinery of state control".⁷ The CPP leadership demonstrated open hostility to groups that threatened its supremacy in the political system.

5. The opposition seemed very uncompromising on the constitutional issue. In order to attain his objective of immediate independence, Nkrumah made great concessions to the opposition. The result was that the independence constitution laid groundwork for what was in effect a semi-federal system. This point is discussed in detail by F.M. Bourret, Ghana: The Road to Independence, 1919-1957, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 198ff.

6. Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana, The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, Edinburgh, Nelson, 1957, p. 220.

7. Austin, op.cit., p. 43.

Rights of minority groups were dismissed as tribal chauvinism. Both were by definition instruments of subversion. Nkrumah provided ample justification for this interpretation when he said,

even a system based on social justice and a democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind. Without discipline, true freedom cannot survive.⁸

The CPP leadership thus resorted to the use of emergency measures as a means of advancing their objectives of political modernization and national integration. This conception of the party's role in the political process tended to push the CPP in the direction of an increasingly dominant position. Thus, the 1960 elections not only ushered in a republican form of government for Ghana, they also provided irrefutable evidence of the CPP's dominance of the political system and facilitated the establishment of the one-party state in the succeeding years. Significantly, the disappearance of the opposition weakened the governing party, and in effect, shattered the argument that single party rule brings both unity and political stability. The CPP wanted to establish its exclusive claim to the right to govern Ghanaian society, but in the process cleared the way for Nkrumah's emergence as the dominant personality in the

8. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p. x.

political system. The manner in which Nkrumah's dominant position was legitimized will become clearer in the discussion that follows.

II: STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT AND CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE:

1957 - 1966.

Nkrumah led Ghana to independence on March 6, 1957, under what was in effect a semi-federal constitution. Executive power was vested in the Queen, who was represented in Ghana by a Governor General. Parliament had legislative power and was to consist of the Queen and a National Assembly of not less than 104 members. There was no upper house, which meant that the chiefs would not play any role at the national level. However, provision was made for Regional Houses of chiefs. The constitution further contained entrenched clauses that could only be modified with the approval of a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly. The objective was to protect the regional and local institutions which conferred substantial authority upon the traditional elites.⁹

Nkrumah accepted the independence constitution but, as later events were to prove, the constitution was for him an unsatisfactory compromise. His conciliatory attitude did

9. Aristide R. Zolberg, Creating Political Order: The Party-States of West Africa, Chicago, Rand McNally, 1966, p. 106.

however, brighten the political climate during the immediate post-independence period. With both government and opposition leaders giving the impression that past differences had been settled, one observer remarked,

It seemed as though a new base for a stable political regime had been secured in the agreement between the CPP and the opposition, and that it might well support a majority-minority party system. The 1957 parliament began to function along familiar Westminster lines.¹⁰

Appearances to the contrary, divisions between the government and the opposition still ran deep. Nkrumah's priority immediately after independence was to accelerate the rate of political change. He wanted to transform what was essentially a traditional society into a modern one.¹¹ To do this, he began to dismantle the independence constitution. In Nkrumah's view, the constitution had strengthened the position of traditional elites and posed a major obstacle to his plans for rapid modernization of the Ghanaian polity. He was helped in his efforts by the opposition boycott of the elections for the regional assemblies in 1958. CPP victory ensured party control of these bodies. In

10. Austin, op. cit., p. 30.

11. Lucian W. Pye, "Introduction: Political Culture and Political Development" in Political Culture and Political Development, Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965, p. 4.

September of the same year, the newly elected members immediately voted to dissolve themselves. Simultaneously, they voted to repeal the constitutional limitations on amendment of the constitution. In March 1959, legislation for the abolition of all regional assemblies was easily approved by a two-thirds majority of the National Assembly. This produced a sharp increase in both the powers and the functions of the central government.¹²

Within three years after independence, the central government had acquired the power to dictate not only the direction of modernization, but its pace as well. The major casualties were the chiefs. Prominent in this group was the "Asantehene and his council" who had encouraged opposition to the CPP in the Ashanti region.¹³ Chiefs who opposed the CPP were replaced with party supporters. Control of land that was rich in natural resources was transferred from chiefs to the central government. The application of legal controls over the status of chiefs made their tenure uncertain¹⁴ and their positions meaningless. One of

12. Henry L. Bretton, The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah, New York, Praeger, 1966, p.47 and also Austin, op.cit., pp. 379-81.

13. David E. Apter, The Politics of Modernization, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965, p.109.

14. William B. Harvey, Law and Social Change in Ghana, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1966, p.88.

the major effects of these government measures was that they tended to "divorce the chief from the land". In traditional African Society, the importance of a chief is determined to a very great extent by the land over which his jurisdiction extends. The land represents the chief's special position to the "ancestral spirits." Traditionally, the chief was like a

priest whose ritual functions preserved a desirable relation of the living to the dead and of the human to the divine. Today, his status in Ghana is reduced to that of a stipendiary of the central government...limited to meeting in bodies many of which have no traditional base.¹⁵

The drastic changes in the position of traditional authorities brought the appearance of facilitating national integration. In reality, these measures tended to alienate traditional rulers and their clientele from the political leadership.

In pursuit of his objective of the rapid modernization of Ghana, Nkrumah faced serious problems because the country was so

divided territorially between the CPP and the opposition, that it was threatened by piecemeal fragmentation. Neither side had succeeded in monopolizing local opinion even within its own strongholds.¹⁶

15. Ibid., pp.121-122.

16. Austin, op.cit., p.367.

One condition of political modernization is that a government be strong and stable, without being "too oppressive as to provoke active or passive resistance."¹⁷ Through this process, national integration can be achieved "as people grow out of their narrow parochial views and take on a concern for the entire political system."¹⁸

The opposition attacked Nkrumah's modernizing policies because they wanted continued participation of traditional authorities in the political process. This was essentially a political strategy and not a policy difference between the government and the opposition. Traditional authorities and regional groups provided the main source of opposition support. In terms of an alternative national program however, the opposition offered nothing that was significantly different from the government's policies. For all practical purposes the situation was characterized by what professor Duverger calls,

a conflict without principles...The two parties are rival teams, one occupying office, the other seeking to dislodge it. It is a struggle between the ins and the outs, which never becomes fanatical.¹⁹

17. L. P. Mair, "Social Change in Africa" in International Affairs, Vol. XXXVI, (October, 1960) p.163.

18. Pye, op.cit., p.23.

19. Maurice Duverger, Political Parties, London, Methuen, 1954, p.418.

The CPP leadership sought to strengthen its position in the country by making the existence of opposition parties difficult, to say nothing of their participation in the conduct of public policy. To eliminate traditional sources of opposition support, a law was passed in December 1957, that forbade the existence of parties on regional, tribal or religious grounds. The CPP was determined to destroy the opposition. This factor made it unlikely that public debate critical of the government would be institutionalized in Ghana.²⁰ Faced with this situation, opposition members joined the CPP as their United Party crumbled. Recalcitrant opposition members were disciplined under the Preventive Detention Act of 1958. The result of these actions was the virtual transformation of the National Assembly into a CPP organ.

By 1960, the independence constitution had for all practical purposes ceased to exist. The limits it imposed on the powers of the Prime Minister were disregarded. Individual liberties had been suppressed by an increasingly repressive regime. Control of the Press had become so complete that censorship was imposed on independent newspapers. Like other newspapers, the opposition Ashanti Pioneer was forced out of existence. The four remaining

20. Bretton, "Current Political Thought and Practice in Ghana", op.cit., p. 61.

newspapers were owned by the government and the CPP respectively.²¹

The 1960 plebiscite was an occasion for the CPP to test its strength and to demonstrate its supremacy in the political system. For the first time, Ghanaians were to elect a President as well as approve draft constitutional proposals for the republican constitution. Events since independence had already shown that Nkrumah would not allow an election in which he was not assured of victory. No one doubted he would win on both counts, but the interest lay in the means by which this victory was to be secured. The United Party leader Dr. Busia had left the country in 1959 in self exile. Leaderless, the opposition turned to Nkrumah's erstwhile opponent Dr. Danquah²² as their Presidential candidate. The opposition was prevented from campaigning in several districts and denied broadcasting facilities in what was a demonstration of CPP supremacy. Not surprisingly, the

21. The Daily Graphic was owned by the government, while the Ghanaian Times, Evening News and the weekly Spark served as publicity organs of the CPP. For a detailed discussion of the Press and its relation with the government, see Harvey, Law and Social Change in Ghana, op.cit., pp.320ff.

22. Commonly known as "Doyen of Ghanaian Politics". Dr. Danquah had been an unsuccessful candidate in the 1951, 52 and 56 elections. Under Preventive detention by Nkrumah, he died in prison on February 4, 1965.

CPP easily captured 90% of all the votes cast.²³ The results of the election meant that Nkrumah would be the first President, and that the provisional draft constitutional proposals were approved by the electorate. Furthermore, the results were also interpreted as a mandate from the electorate to extend the life of the National Assembly for another five years. The new Parliament was to contain an additional 10 members, all women elected by the existing members as provided by the Women Members' Act of 1960. When Ghana became a republic on July 1, 1960, the National Assembly consisted of 114 members.²⁴

The republican constitution made one major change. It granted Nkrumah legal sanction for the powers he already had in practice. As first President, he was granted special powers and given the authority to give directions by legislative instrument whenever "he considers it to be in the national interest." Furthermore, executive power was conferred on the President who was also Head of State and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. Significantly, there was an added stipulation that, in the exercise of his powers and functions, the President "shall act in his own

23. There were reports of widespread irregularities and rigging in this election. This is thoroughly discussed in Austin, op.cit., pp.390-4.

24. L. Rubin and P. Murray, Constitution and Government of Ghana, London, Sweet and Maxwell, 1964, p.56.

discretion and shall not be obliged to follow advice tendered by any other person." Anyone who became President after Nkrumah was forbidden from exercising these "special powers."²⁵ There was to be no room for chance. The CPP ensured that a cloak of legality was provided for the powers that Nkrumah wanted. With the supremacy of the CPP and its leader established, the struggle for power with the opposition had in effect ended. Only a handful of opposition members still sat in the National Assembly. The one-party state might well have been proclaimed at this time.

Summing up, we can say that from the moment of independence until the overthrow of Nkrumah's regime in 1966, the political system was in a process of dynamic change. The independence constitution was intended to diffuse authority and thus serve as a check on the central government. In the process of removing the carefully worked out safeguards in this constitution, Nkrumah strengthened his own position in the political system. The attempt to legitimize Nkrumah's dominance of the political system was particularly significant in that in effect this provided a constitutional base for personal rule.

25. For a complete text of the 1960 constitution, see Austin, op.cit., pp.430ff.

III ROLE OF THE CPP IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM.

The Convention People's Party was founded by Nkrumah on June 12, 1949.²⁶ The constitution²⁷ set up a pyramid of hierarchy with branches at the bottom throughout Ghana. There was to be an annual national conference which was to include all groups affiliated with the party. A national executive committee was set up with an inner central committee under the leadership of Nkrumah. The founder of the party was life Chairman of the party and Chairman of the central committee.²⁸ As the highest governing body, all decisions of the central committee were binding on the entire party membership.

One of the major factors that contributed to the success of the CPP as a political force was the organizational talent of Nkrumah. Identifying with the common man, he easily built the CPP on existing associations and move-

26. Nkrumah formed the CPP as a result of disagreements with the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) leadership. He had returned to Ghana from London in 1947 to become Secretary General of the UGCC at the request of Dr. Danquah, the party's leader. See Austin, op.cit., p.85.

27. The constitution was written in 1949 and formally approved after the general election of 1951. For a discussion on this, see Zolberg, Creating Political Order, op.cit., p.14.

28. There is no data available on the composition and membership of the central committee.

ments in Ghana. He attracted members from the UGCC, the Asante Youth Association, and farmers' associations and labour groups. The party opened its doors to everyone. The unemployed veterans of the world war, the primary school graduates and other underprivileged groups identified with the CPP as a commoner's organization. This was more so because the CPP's program included a call for "self-government now".²⁹ This slogan obviously appealed to nationalist sentiments and through it, Nkrumah was aided in his search for popularity.

These diverse groups enthusiastically supported party politics. The Young Pioneers worked with the party in community development programs; the National Council of Ghana Women together with market women helped in organizing political rallies. Most significant was the Trade Union Congress' support of the CPP.³⁰ Some of the leaders of these diverse groups were given prestigious positions in government. In most cases, however, the importance of the positions thus given did not exceed the ceremonial

29. Austin, op. cit., p.86.

30. For further information on relations between the CPP and the Trade Union Congress see K. Madhu Panikkar, Revolution in Africa, New York, Asia Publishing House, 1961, p.88.

level.³¹

This strong rule did not affect party membership - at least in the 50's. With a total population of less than seven million in 1952, membership of the CPP approximated one million with more than five hundred branches all over the country.³² The organizational activities of the CPP brought its leadership into direct contact with the population.³³ The party sought to reinforce this alliance by identifying its existence with Ghana. Opposition political groups who refused to accept the CPP as the national custodian of modernization were branded by Nkrumah as "petty bourgeoisie" who did not enjoy the support of the "common people".³⁴ It was this strategy that the CPP used to expand

31. For example, the leader of the Trade Union Congress was simultaneously given the post of Minister Plenipotentiary. Anyone who sought to replace such symbolic appointments with effective power was disciplined because they "had been conditioned by frequent examples to avoid making false assumptions concerning their positions, power and influence. They were never allowed to forget the choke chain held by the President." See Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.111.

32. Austin, op.cit., p.171.

33. Apter, op.cit., p.183.

34. Zolberg, op.cit., p.57.

its political base.

The CPP's claim to national representation had considerable merit. In the general elections that preceded independence, it was the only political group that drew electoral support from all over the country. In addition to the fact that it successfully led Ghana to independence, its impact on the pattern and direction of modernization was great because,

the political parties of a modernizing society play an active entrepreneurial role in the formation of new ideas.... and in the linking of the public and the leadership in such a way that power is generated, mobilized and directed.³⁵

The string of activities carried out by the CPP led to a near disappearance of the "distinction between the functions and responsibilities of the party" and the duties that had to be performed by the government. The CPP had developed a multiplicity of "judicial, administrative, police, educational and social welfare type functions." Together with its "conventional electoral and parliamentary functions,"³⁶ it virtually dominated all societal functions.

For all its electoral success and its impact on Ghanaian society, the CPP was not a mass political party as

35. Apter, op.cit., p.186.

36. Thomas Hodgkin, African Political Parties, London, Penguin Books, 1961, p.167.

some observers argued.³⁷ Compare the CPP with Duverger's observation that,

It is characteristic of the mass party that it appeals...to the paying public who make it possible for the electoral campaign to be free from capitalist pressures; to the listening, active public which receives a political education and learns how to intervene in the life of the state.³⁸

Nkrumah skillfully impressed the masses with his oratorical powers in order to obtain their support at the polls. They were encouraged to support the party but carefully prevented from playing any effective part in the formulation of its policies. As already pointed out, prominent leaders of organizations that affiliated themselves with the CPP were given symbolic positions, but, disciplined if they sought greater influence and effective power.

The structure and organization of the CPP was characterized by both great secrecy and this contradiction. The party leadership was quick to identify with the masses, but very few people knew how policies were formulated. True, the party was guided by the principles of democratic centralism and this is all that can be said with any degree of certainty. Mystery surrounded its activities because,

37. Cf. William B. Harvey, op.cit., p.18 and also Apter, op.cit., p.108.

38. Duverger, op.cit., p.64.

Few people in Ghana, and fewer still outside, have any clear idea of how the party is organized, how it is financed, how its leaders are chosen, how its policies are formulated, how its functionaries are appointed or dismissed. Even the names of some of those most influential in its councils are not well known. ³⁹

Party and Government - The first function of a government is to govern well because it is the "centralized organization that maintains a system of order over a community...." ⁴⁰ A political party that wins an election is called upon to form the government. Nkrumah sought to change this role in Ghana and by the end of his rule, the government was virtually an executive organ of the party. This was heightened by his belief that the only force capable of initiating change was the CPP. He said

It has always been my conviction that after any political revolution, non-violent or violent, the new government should, immediately on coming to power, clear out from the civil service all its old leaders...by failing to do so a revolutionary government risks its own destruction. ⁴¹

The first concrete step Nkrumah took towards eventual party domination of the government was his announcement in 1956 that, "ambassadors are appointed by the party in

39. Zolberg, op. cit., p.98.

40. R. M. MacIver, The Web of Government, New York, The Free Press, 1965, p. 17.

41. Kwame Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, London, Heinemann, 1963, p.88.

power and are therefore political appointees."⁴² In addition, neutral administrators in key government positions were to be replaced ~~with~~ party appointees. From November 1957, regional commissioners were to be appointed as,

representatives of the government in their regions...personally and directly responsible to the government for the administration of their regions and for seeing that this policy is carried out.⁴³

There were efforts to provide legitimacy for the dominant position of the party in the political system. The ritualization of Nkrumah's charisma was an attempt to promote legitimacy⁴⁴ for CPP control of the government. The increased attention paid to Nkrumah tended to elevate the position of the party. These efforts did not stop at the acquisition of power. Power also had to be seen through the proliferation of Nkrumah's pictures and the putting of his image on coins and erecting a "more than life size statue of himself in Accra."⁴⁵ In what was the most ambitious

42. W. Scott Thompson, Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969, p.20.

43. Quoted in Austin, op.cit., p.378.

44. Apter, op.cit., p.214.

45. Rupert Emerson, From Empire to Nation, Boston Beacon Press, 1960, p.286.

effort to identify the party with Ghana, Nkrumah said,

Comrades, it is no idle boast when I say that without the Convention People's Party, there would be no Ghana...The Convention People's Party is Ghana. Our Party not only provides the government, but is also the custodian which stands guard over the welfare of the people.⁴⁶

These public pronouncements did not lead to a general acceptance of party supremacy as the CPP leadership wanted. Nkrumah tried to sell the CPP to the masses as,

The party of the workers, the farmers and all progressive elements in our community... The CPP is a powerful force...Its supremacy cannot be challenged.⁴⁷

Governmental performance and not public declarations determine the degree of legitimacy in the developing areas. If the supremacy of the CPP was going to be accepted, Nkrumah needed to demonstrate to the masses that the record of his regime in terms of concrete achievements was impressive because,

in many modernizing societies the polity can only be secured by its successes. The efficiency of a regime determines the quality of its authority.⁴⁸

46. Quoted in Zolberg, op.cit., p.56.

47. Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, London, Heinemann, 1961, p.209.

48. Apter, op.cit., p.42.

The most drastic revolutionary change Nkrumah made to advance party control of the government was his transfer of economic planning from the civil service to the party leadership. He justified this decision on the grounds that the establishment of a socialized society in Ghana necessitated party control of major economic activities.⁴⁹ A series of legislative acts and constitutional amendments had by 1966 made the government an organ of the party. Despite the decline in popular support of the CPP, its formal position had been greatly strengthened. The party - to be more precise, Nkrumah - had also taken over control of the judiciary and universities.⁵⁰

True, Nkrumah had succeeded in institutionalizing his power and that of his party. But, the major test was whether he would succeed in producing the economic miracles that he promised would follow political independence. In both natural and human wealth, Ghana was potentially rich. At independence, one-third of the world's cocoa came from Ghana. She was the fifth world exporter of gold. In addition, the country "possessed the best civil service in Africa

49. Colin Legum, "Socialism in Ghana: A Political Interpretation", in African Socialism, William H. Friedland and Carl G. Rosberg Jr., eds., Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1964, p.146.

50. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., pp.117-26.

and in its external reserves, lay over half a billion dollars."⁵¹ The country derived about 65% of its export earnings from the sale of cocoa alone. There were other resources such as gold, diamonds, manganese and timber. In foodstuffs, Ghana enjoyed self-sufficiency and had one of the highest per capita incomes in black Africa.⁵²

The deterioration of the economic situation in the period 1960-1966 was the most serious problem that threatened the survival of Nkrumah's regime. The over-dependence on cocoa for major foreign earnings had adverse effects on the economy. The price of cocoa had risen from £208 per ton in 1951 when Nkrumah took office as government leader, to a high of £350 per ton in 1959. After 1960, there was a spectacular decline in the price of cocoa that touched a low of £191 per ton in 1963. The fall in the price of cocoa at a time when the government was committed on increased expenditures as a means to effect economic development, led to a

51. W. Scott Thompson, op.cit., p.XVII

52. Henry L. Bretton, "The Emergence of Ghana" in Problems of International Relations, Andrew Gyorgy and Hubert S. Gibbs, editors, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1962, p.227.

serious check on the economy.⁵³ This was the major cause of the decline in popularity that the regime suffered in the 60's. The reason was simple. Nkrumah had led a proud and happy country to independence, but the economic miracles he promised were not forthcoming. The masses were simply calling upon him to deliver what he had led them to expect.⁵⁴

The government's commitment to build socialism in Ghana was an additional factor contributing to the worsening situation in the economy. Unprofitable State farms were opened in places where private farmers had been very successful. State enterprises replaced private companies in key areas of the economy. By 1965, there were forty-seven such enterprises. Since all this was being done at a time when the regime was asserting its supremacy over the government, incompetent party supporters were given the responsibility for administering these agencies of socialism. The result was inefficiency, waste and mismanagement that further aggravated the economic situation.⁵⁵ The building of socialism

53. For further details on the economic situation during the period 1960-66, see Economic Survey, Ministry of Finance, Accra, Ghana, 1962 and 1964. See also Robert Szereszewski "The Performance of the Economy" in A Study of Contemporary Ghana, Vol. I, Walter Birmingham, I. Neustadt, E.N. Omaboe, eds. London, Allen and Unwin, 1966, pp.39ff.

54. Sidney Verba, "Conclusion: Comparative Political Culture" in Political Culture and Political Development, op.cit., p.106.

55. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.106.

was proving to be very costly, especially "the decision to adopt from Communist countries obsolete socially and economically irrelevant ideological formulas."⁵⁶

Government expenditures increased sharply and so did prestige projects. A case in point was the incredible £10,000,000 complex in Accra which was to serve as the conference site for the 1965 summit of African Heads of States. The importance Nkrumah attached to this project can be seen from the fact that he undertook it at a time that badly needed domestic programs had to be put aside because of inadequate financial resources.⁵⁷ On the whole, projects of this nature were of marginal benefit to the overall economic interests of the country. They contributed to a great extent in turning

a surplus of £200 million into a deficit of £250 million.... Still, one cannot spend £450 million without doing a lot of good, and visitors have been impressed by the rapid expansion of Ghana's schools, roads, water supplies and power facilities.⁵⁸

Nkrumah's belief in the strength and ability of the CPP as an agency for mobilizing the masses to channel their energies towards the task of political development, led to

56. Ibid., pp.15-6.

57. Thompson, op.cit., p.358.

58. W. Arthur Lewis, "Africa's Officers' Take Command" in World in Crisis, third edition, Frederick H. Hartmann, ed., New York, Macmillan Company, 1967, p.402.

the implementation of policies that gave the party power to talk instead of listening⁵⁹ to the government. To be sure, party dominance was established, but, at the cost of denying the energies and services of competent civil servants. The transfer of major governmental functions to inexperienced and barely educated party supporters contributed to the stagnation and corruption that plagued the society. Nkrumah's negative performance, especially in the economic sector was to a great extent the consequence of his adoption of unwise economic policies, and his excessive reliance on the party as a vehicle of modernization.

In his drive for political success, Nkrumah tended to ignore whatever ideological commitments he nurtured. Despite his ostensible devotion to socialism, he did not allow this factor to influence his decisions in the face of political necessities. Thus in 1954, he did not want to jeopardize his objective of independence for Ghana and expelled 20 most prominent members of the CPP left wing.⁶⁰ When political necessity dictated, he brought these same persons back to provide ideological leadership for the party.⁶¹

Nkrumah's primary objective immediately after

59. Karl W. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government, New York, The Free Press, 1963, p.111.

60. Panikkar, op.cit., p.40.

61. George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism? London, Dobson, 1956, pp.341-342.

independence was to consolidate the strength of the CPP in Ghana in order to have a secure base for his Pan-African program. One observer remarked at the time that,

leaders in Government and Party... appear to be unanimous in their opinion that conditions in Ghana do not require an alternate government.⁶²

The assumption of major economic functions by party members greatly strengthened the party's hold on the political system. Nkrumah's ultimate objective was to build a socialist society in Ghana, and in this endeavour, he relied heavily on the party. Nkrumah's attraction to socialism was to a great extent motivated by the fact that through it, he believed that rapid economic development could be effected. This was particularly important because,

The socialism of the modernizing nationalists often involves some measure of nationalization. The ideology of the nationalist leaders leads them to regard nationalization as a preferred means of assuring national control and direction of economic development.⁶³

Ideology as practiced by the CPP was not a guide to action for it concealed more than what was presented to

62. Bretton, "Current Political Thought and Practice" op.cit., pp.52-53.

63. Paul E. Sigmund, Jr., ed., The Ideologies of the Developing Nations, New York, Praeger, 1963, p.19 and see also M. J. Herskovits, The Human Factor in Changing Africa, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.

public view. More than anything else, its use was directed at legitimizing CPP rule. Although genuinely motivated by his idealism to build a society organized on Marxist lines, Nkrumah's commitment to the ideology of socialism was tempered by his political realism.⁶⁴ As he himself admitted, conditions in Ghana were not suitable for the establishment of a socialist society.⁶⁵ A major source of the problem that confronted Nkrumah in his attempts to establish socialism in Ghana was that he had not led his party to success on a socialist platform. It was the CPP's demand for immediate independence and not its ideological commitments that attracted various groups to join its ranks. The most significant of these groups were the market women. Their contribution in winning power for the CPP was considerable, and after independence, they insisted on their right to individual trading. They strongly resisted all attempts by the government to limit their trading opportunities.⁶⁶

There were also traders and other middle class supporters of the CPP who dreaded any talk of socialism. Nkrumah realized the difficulties that this heterogeneous nature of the party might create when he warned,

64. Legum, op.cit., p.131.

65. Ibid., p.131.

66. Ibid., p133.

there is a danger that our socialist objective may be clouded by opportunistic accommodations and adjustments to petit bourgeois elements in our ranks who are unsympathetic and sometimes even hostile to the social aims to which the party is dedicated.⁶⁷

For all this, Nkrumah never purged the party of these bourgeois elements nor did he attempt to implement a full scale program of socialism in Ghana. The significant themes that seem to have constituted the focus of Nkrumah's socialism were twofold. In the first instance, he believed that only a dominant party was capable of mobilizing the masses to attain the goal of socialist development. Secondly, he felt that a re-organization of economic activities of the society in such a way that the state assumed control of the major means of production would facilitate socialist development. But, ideologically speaking, most party supporters and government administrators had such a vague understanding of Nkrumah's socialist ideas, that they proved incapable of implementing his socialist policies.

In Nkrumah's view, if socialism was to become a reality in Ghana, the groundwork had to be laid through ideological education. He organized a small inner party group as an agency for spreading ideological education in the party. The National Association of Socialist Students Organization (NASSO) and the Party Vanguard Activists (PVA)

67. Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p.163.

were to be positioned in key party and state positions to spread the party's socialist principles. This party nucleus was also to train freedom fighters from other African states to spread socialism in their countries. This action was in line with the strategy of starting socialism in Ghana, and then spreading it all over the entire continent. This prompted Nkrumah to say,

I see before my mind's eyes a great monolithic party growing up out of this process (training freedom fighters), united and strong, spreading its protective wings over the whole of Africa.⁶⁸

Theoretical discussions were carried on by NASSO members, and they also had to report to Nkrumah about events inside the party and the country as a whole. Until his death, Padmore was the chief ideological counselor of NASSO. Evidence of Nkrumah's strong reliance on this group, can be seen from his remark that,

This is the custodian body of the party's ideology and is composed of the most advanced ideological comrades, torchbearers, of the Party's ideals and principles. NASSO forms the bark of this mighty tree, and cements the physical and organizational unity of the CPP.⁶⁹

68. Nkrumah, "Laying of the Foundation Stone of the Winneba Ideological Institute" (Accra, Ghana, 1961)

69. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., pp.52ff. See also the above speech.

It was on these inner organizations that Nkrumah relied heavily for the evolution of socialism in Ghana, and then, Africa as a whole. He placed members of NASSO and PVA in key positions with an eye to giving them an opportunity to spread the party's socialist objectives. They staffed the Bureau of African Affairs, the party press and the radio. Nkrumah's aim was to place these people in the opinion-forming organs of the country. This is particularly important because he described them as "the eyes and ears of the party; the watch dogs over party interests". Through their strategic locations, the members of NASSO tended to exercise greater influence than the more senior and moderate members of the party.

Nkrumah's tour of Communist countries in 1961 greatly impressed him as he returned with a firm commitment to make socialism the goal of the nation. The party's policy document was entitled, "A Programme of Work and Happiness" and was to provide a blueprint for future development plans along socialist lines.⁷⁰ African socialism was rejected as neo-colonialist and in its place, Nkrumah and his radical party supporters offered "scientific socialism".⁷¹ There was no full scale attempt to bring socialism to Ghana, but,

70. Omaboe, "The Process of Planning", op.cit., p.451.

71. Legum, op.cit., p.157.

verbal commitments to the ideology of socialism had provided the activists in the Party with a pretext to advance their objective of a one-party state. This was approved in a constitutional referendum, and on February 4, 1964, Ghana officially became a one-party state. The Party flag replaced the national flag.⁷² Whatever remained of the opposition was finally extinguished. Its death now had legal sanction.

The CPP then intensified its efforts to spread ideological education and accused the University of Ghana of using academic freedom to subvert the socialist program of the Party. To consolidate party control and to ensure that ideological purity flourished in the Universities, the Party decided that,

all entering students as well as those going to study abroad, must first spend two weeks of indoctrination at the CPP Ideological Institute at Winneba.⁷³

The significant thing to note in this process is the means the CPP adopted in bringing the one-party state to Ghana. They extended the theory of one-party rule two steps

72. The constitutional referendum for the one-party state was approved by 99.8% of the electorate. For a more detailed discussion, see Austin, op.cit., pp.413ff.

73. Zolberg, op.cit., p.122.

beyond what had been done in other African states.

They transformed the one-party concept into a legal rule by making of it a constitutional amendment; and furthermore, in a display of blunt honesty, they gave it a meaningful new name, Nkrumahism.(sic) Ghana is the CPP, but the CPP is the leader.⁷⁴

These were futile efforts to strengthen what had become an unpopular regime. In order to increase support for the regime, the enlarged one-party parliament or the "Corporate Parliament" included among other groups, farmers, factory workers, artisans, teachers, managers, doctors, engineers, university professors, members of public boards, the judiciary and women's associations.⁷⁵ It is worth noting that the only groups excluded from the new parliament were members of the civil service and the military.

The new parliament contained a significant proportion of party members who had been very active in the NASSO and PVA associations. This group constituted the nucleus of the Party's ideological wing. They used their positions to argue for increased socialist education and Party supremacy of parliament.⁷⁶ This led to an authorization in September,

74. Ibid., p.59.

75. For a more detailed and sometimes misleading discussion of the new parliament and its role in the political process, see Jon Kraus, "Ghana's Corporate Parliament" in Africa Report, (August, 1965), pp.6ff.

76. Ibid., p.9.

1965 for the party to re-call a member if he "abused the confidence reposed in him at the election." ⁷⁷But, there had been no election since 1956. The importance that Nkrumah had attached to ideology can be seen from the fact that the new members of parliament had to spend three weeks at the Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideology studying Nkrumaism. The influence and prestige of the new parliament was reduced considerably. Members of parliament were encouraged to take up full time jobs as a result of a cut in their salaries. The stress on socialist education and ideological purity were in effect empty rituals. However, they provided Nkrumah with a cover-up for institutionalizing the one-party system of government in Ghana.

As the custodian of national integration and economic development, the activities of the CPP permeated all sectors of Ghanaian society. There was a fusion of Party and government functions in a relationship that strengthened the Party's position as the dominant partner. Nkrumah sketched an ambitious role for the Party because he overestimated its strength and capability to serve as a viable vehicle for political modernization. The CPP lacked an established traditional base and in this, it was severely limited in its attempts to embody the national will. The failure of the

77. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.174.

Party to provide the dynamism its leadership promised contributed to a decline in its popularity. The CPP forced the opposition out of existence and intensified ideological activism as a means to provide political legitimacy for the dominant position it sought in the political system.

IV - PARTY AND LEADER - THE ROLE OF NKRUMAH.

The relationship of Nkrumah and the Party changed with the decline in their popularity. Whereas from 1951 onwards his authority was unquestioned, from 1960 until the overthrow of his regime, he was forced to continually purge members of his own party in order to ensure his own political survival. As the CPP became the dominant party, factionalism and intra-party intrigue characterized the political style.⁷⁸ In the face of mounting conflicts, the Party proved incapable of presenting a united front to outsiders. The disappearance of the opposition from the political scene denied the CPP leadership the external enemy that had previously served as a focus for their united attacks. Thus, the existence of the opposition in the early post-independence period had actually contributed to the maintenance of unity within the CPP leadership.

True, the power of the CPP permeated the society. But, this did not confer automatic authority on its

78. Apter, op.cit., p.198.

leadership. To have authority is to have,

the established right, within any social order, to determine policies,...to act as leader or guide to other men....The accent is primarily on right, not power. Power alone has no legitimacy, no mandate, no office.⁷⁹

Dissensions, quarrels and the lack of authority threatened the survival of the CPP as a political force. Nkrumah could no longer rely on the CPP to provide total support for his leadership. Significantly, he sought legitimacy for absolute dominance of the policy process by attempting to find a traditional basis for his institutional position.⁸⁰ Thus, he accepted names from the major tribes of Ghana.⁸¹ that were not only aimed at demonstrating a broadening of his political base, but attributed to him what amounted to near divine characteristics. Furthermore, he became convinced of his indispensability and was not willing to share the limelight with anyone. On July 1, 1960 during the republican

79. MacIver, op.cit., p.63.

80. Martin Kilson, "Elite Cleavages in African Politics: the Case of Ghana" in International Affairs, Vol.XXIV, No. 1, (1970), p.81.

81. By 1960, he was "President Osagyefo (Great Man, Who Assembles the Army) Kukudurini (Man of Courage, Unfrightened, Brave) Katamanto (Man Whose Words are Irrevocable, And Who Protects the People) Kasapieko (Man of Final Words, Who Says Things Only Once) Oyeadieyie (Man of Action, Who Does Things Right) Nufeno (Strongest of All, Who Surpasses Everybody) Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Liberator and Founder of Ghana." Quoted in Rolf Italiaander, The New Leaders of Africa, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1961, p.227.

celebrations, this brief exchange took place:

At this point, Prime Minister, having sworn the oath you will walk up to the dais, followed by your Ministers, to receive the cheers of the crowds. (Nkrumah responded) No, I shall go up alone. This is my day now.⁸²

Advisers and party supporters who echoed Nkrumah's sentiments "rose rapidly in influence as happened with Tawia Adamafio."⁸³ His former Chief of Staff Major-General Alexander wrote that "the last person to see Nkrumah was the one whose advice was taken" but Thompson adds that, "it might also be the one who praised him the most."⁸⁴ Naturally, the impact of such a situation on the formulation and execution of policies was bound to be considerable.

Nkrumah's determination to strengthen his personal leadership left him with insufficient time to ensure that unity and discipline prevailed in the Party. Corruption became widespread and contributed to placing the once near monolithic CPP in disarray. In what was an attempt to

82. Quoted in Thompson, Ghana's Foreign Policy, op. cit., p.113.

83. Adamafio had only joined the CPP in 1954, and by 1960, he was General Secretary and Information Minister. Among several things he wrote that, "Kwame Nkrumah is Africa, and Africa is Kwame Nkrumah. When the question is asked: What is going to happen in Africa? It is to one man that everyone looks for the answer: Kwame Nkrumah....He is our father, teacher, brother, friend, indeed our very lives..." Quoted in David Apter, Ghana in Transition, New York, Atheneum, 1963, pp.325ff.

84. Thompson, op.cit., p.418.

consolidate his position and that of the Party, Nkrumah startled the nation with his famous "Dawn Broadcast" on April 8, 1961. He openly attacked Party members for pursuing selfish interests at the expense of Party unity. Most significant however, was Nkrumah's public admission for the first time, that bribery and corruption had become common practices within the CPP leadership and asked for a dedication to socialist principles.⁸⁵ Within five months after the "Dawn Broadcast", some of the Party's most senior members including Gbedemah and Botsio were dismissed from the cabinet. It is important to note that this major split in Party ranks occurred after the supremacy of the CPP in the political system had been established as a result of the virtual collapse of the opposition.

The whole complexion of Ghanaian politics changed, as did the balance of power in the CPP. Young party radicals under the leadership of Information Minister Adomako moved in quickly to replace the already disgraced moderate and senior members. The radicals used their emergence to urge a severance of traditional ties with the Commonwealth, increased relations with the Communist bloc, Continental Union government and the immediate establishment of a one

85. For a complete text of the "Dawn Broadcast", see Major-General A.K. Ocran, A Myth is Broken, Accra, Ghana, Longmans, 1968, pp. 20ff.

party system in Ghana. The dismissal of Gbedemah had removed the only major challenger to Nkrumah's leadership.⁸⁶ The changes demanded by the radicals posed a danger to the stability of the political system. These party struggles nearly jeopardized the stabilization Nkrumah thought would result from the purge of moderate party members because,

If stability is to have any sensible meaning, it must represent a condition in which the rate of change is slow enough to create no special problems due to change.⁸⁷

The radicals proved incapable of working with Nkrumah in bringing together the diverse elements of the society. Within a year after their rise to power, their influential leaders were purged from the cabinet. It should be added that the information media and the Ideological Institute remained essentially under the control of party radicals. Through these organs, they were able to increase their influence in the party. However, the balance of power in the cabinet had shifted, with the re-instatement of the previously disgraced members of the moderate wing.⁸⁸ These

86. Legum, op.cit., p.149.

87. David Easton, A Framework for Political Analysis, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1965, pp.106-7.

88. Tawia Adamafio, a leading member of the radical wing, was dismissed from the cabinet along with Foreign Minister Ako Adjei for alleged participation in the 1962 Kulungugu assassination attempt on Nkrumah's life. Consequently, Edusei, Botsio, and Ayeh-Kumi were brought back to the cabinet. Former Finance Minister Gbedemah had left the country in self exile. See Legum, op.cit., pp. 148-50.

constant shifts led to a near breakdown in government functions that had been placed under the control of the Party leadership. With the assistance of an able group of neutral administrators, these functions were now transferred to Flagstaff House.⁸⁹ Ironically, Nkrumah was to turn to these able administrators - whom he had earlier attacked - in his period of difficulty. This, then, was the origin of Flagstaff House.

The emergence of Flagstaff House as the nerve of government created additional problems for the regime. This office alone combined executive, legislative and judicial functions.⁹⁰ The concentration of power in Nkrumah's hands had assumed formidable dimensions and the result was,

a competition of several messages for the same communication channel, which may not have sufficient capacity to carry all of them at the same time....Whenever several communication channels meet,... in any social or political organization, the probability of occasional log jams of messages will be considerable.⁹¹

Party purges had failed to bring discipline to say nothing of efficiency in the government. In an effort to strengthen the political base of his regime, Nkrumah resorted to what he described as "emergency measures of a totalitarian kind."

89. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.97.

90. Ibid., p.97.

91. Deutsch, The Nerves of Government, op.cit.,
p. 178.

He justified these measures on the grounds that the survival of "true freedom" required discipline. But, Nkrumah's emergency measures had assumed permanent features. Dissent had, by definition, become tantamount to treason. The input of support for his regime had declined and he thus turned to the use of overt coercion.⁹²

The strong hand Nkrumah held on the party and the country ensured that no powerful group posed a threat to his leadership. To be sure, opposition had not disappeared from the society. Denied public existence, opposition groups within and outside the party carried on clandestine activities with the objective of effecting a change in leadership. The constitutional phase in Ghanaian politics had in effect ended. The 1960 election and the politics of the republic thereafter, had indeed provided ample confirmation of Nkrumah's intention to use all available means in maintaining his leadership. Dissent thus found expression in assassination attempts on Nkrumah's life - a factor which forced him to wear a bullet proof suit. The first major serious attempt on Nkrumah's life occurred in August 1962 in the village of Kulungugu, Northern Ghana. Nkrumah responded with a purge of the Party's radical leaders in the cabinet for allegedly playing a part in the assassination

92. Easton, op.cit., p.117.

attempt. The second attempt took place in January 1964, right inside the Presidential compound. Nkrumah purged the police leadership and detained leading politicians including Dr. Danquah.⁹³ Nkrumah knew that his life, to say nothing of his political leadership, was in danger.

For more than two years before he fell, Nkrumah lived in increasing fear for his life. He was too scared to appear in public, and he rarely ventured outside his triple-walled maximum security official residence - the Flagstaff House. He lived under very heavy protection by his personal security forces whom he recruited himself.⁹⁴

It should be pointed out that Nkrumah did not believe that attempts on his life could be individual actions. In his view, they resulted from the conspiratorial actions of "neo-colonialist" forces inside and outside Ghana.

Nkrumah responded to attempts on his life by giving added emphasis to the doctrine of "Nkrumaism". He felt that Nkrumaism would provide a more attractive and acceptable basis for his personal rule. However, there was no unanimous acceptance of the doctrine of Nkrumaism in Ghana. This brief exchange shows that Ghanaians viewed Nkrumaism

93. For an interesting discussion on these assassination attempts and the effects they had on the political climate, see Austin, op.cit., pp.409-14.

94. Ghana Reborn, Ghana Information Services, New York, 1966, p.3.

in the same manner that they resented socialism.

Mr. Quaison-Sackey: Mr. Chairman, I think you will agree with me...(that) it...embarrasses the President in using his name as a great man...talking about Nkrumaism....

Mr. Kofi Baako: We cannot help it. We shall have to talk about it every day and if the President himself asked us to stop talking about Nkrumaism we shall not stop - we the masses.⁹⁵

Significantly, it was Kofi Baako, Nkrumah's most loyal supporter who played a leading role in developing this doctrine and thus became its strongest and most outspoken proponent. He defined Nkrumaism,

as a nonatheistic socialist philosophy.... It is basically socialism adapted to suit the conditions and circumstances of Africa.... For this reason Nkrumaism is a social idea and way of life that is completely at home in Africa.⁹⁶

The early definitions of Nkrumaism stressed the necessity for developing a socialist ideology. Put another way, this concept was the expression of Nkrumah's socialist ideas. His own definition rejected doctrinaire socialism in favour of an ideology to serve as a practical basis for

95. This is part of the discussion on Nkrumaism that took place during the "Conference of Ghana Envoys," (January 1962). Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.198.

96. Quoted in Legum, op.cit., p.141.

economic development.

In Ghana, we have embarked on the socialist path to progress; but it is socialism with a difference. Some have called it 'Nkrumaism.' It is not socialism for the sake of socialism, but a practical solution of the country's problems.⁹⁷

If socialism was to become a reality in Ghana or indeed Africa as Nkrumah wished, it was first of all necessary to train socialists who would provide ideological leadership. Nkrumah recognized this necessity and opened an ideological center at Winneba to provide socialist education for Ghanaian and African youths. This coincided with the elevation of Nkrumaism to the level of a national religion. Shortly, what came out of Winneba became "scientific socialism" and as Nkrumah himself said,

The party has defined a social purpose and it is committed to socialism and to the ideology of Nkrumaism...when you talk of Nkrumaism, you mean the name or term given to the consistent ideological policies followed and taught by Nkrumah....You also mean that Nkrumaism, in order to be Nkrumaistic, must be related to scientific socialism.⁹⁸

Alas, there were no traces of science in Nkrumaism. It was used as a cover-up for the failures Nkrumah and the

97. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.119.

98. Address by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah to the first seminar of the Ideological School at the Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideological Studies" (February 1962). Quoted in Austin, op.cit., pp. 408-9.

party radicals had suffered in Ghana and in their drive for Continental government. The consequences of the efforts by party radicals, the press and other publicity organs to support Nkrumaism as a national ideology were two-fold:

- (a) Frustrated and incompetent people could put on the appearance of supporting Nkrumaism as a means to advance their own selfish objectives and careers as Adamafio did.
- (b) Secondly, and more important, these efforts strengthened the personality cult which had assumed unlimited dimensions through the elevation of Nkrumah's person to an immortal plane.

Nkrumaism was to do first in Ghana, and then in Africa, what Leninism had done in the Soviet Union. After four years, the Ideological Institute "in consultation with Osagyefo the President", came up with a new definition;

Nkrumaism is the ideology for the new Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of One and United Africa, drawing its strength from modern science and technology and from the traditional African belief that the free development of each is conditioned by the free development of all.⁹⁹

Thus, the stress of Nkrumaism had shifted from socialism to Pan-Africanism. As a philosophy of African unity, Nkrumaism attacked imperialism and neo-colonialism for obstructing the

99. Quoted in Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p. 163.

path to Continental government. In highly philosophical language, Nkrumah sketched the inevitability of African unity in his book, Consciencism.¹⁰⁰ In the end, Nkrumah failed partly because Nkrumaism had not succeeded in providing political legitimation for the dominant position that he assumed in Ghana. The general reluctance to accept Nkrumaism cast doubts on its utility and claim to supremacy as a national religion.

Power was what Nkrumah sought. He had used power to lead the country to independence. With the passage of time, he began to act as if power was no longer a means but an end in itself, which had to be maintained at all costs. This led Nkrumah to commit what Weber called the -

two kinds of deadly sins in the field of politics: lack of objectivity and - often but not always identical with it - irresponsibility. Vanity, the need personally to stand in the foreground as clearly as possible, strongly tempts the politician to commit one or both of these sins.¹⁰¹

Nkrumah committed both of these sins. In the face of widespread corruption in the CPP, administrative inefficiency in the government, he showed little concern. Yet these were the results of his own actions. He was more concerned with

100. Using explanations of categorical conversion and set theoretic terms, this book sought to explain how unity would come to Africa.

101. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, editors, From Max Weber, New York, Oxford University Press, 1958, p.116.

creating glamorous impressions. Thus, he found attraction in the semblance of power,¹⁰² and not the national benefits that could be obtained through a prudent exercise of power.

The power that Nkrumah enjoyed during the later years of his rule possessed no roots in the political system. Evidence of this is to be found in the ease with which his removal from office was accomplished. He neither listened to, nor acted on information that was necessary for the preservation and maintenance of the major behavioural patterns in the Ghanaian political system.¹⁰³ His reluctance to respond to demands for change from opposition groups in and outside the party contributed to the disruption of system stability and paved the way for his overthrow.

The military takeovers in other African states, for example, did not affect Nkrumah's belief in the neutrality of the military. He firmly believed that the British tradition - which Ghana inherited - made it difficult for the army to intervene in the political affairs of the country.

102. Ibid., p.116.

103. Easton, op.cit., p.128.

His attitude was that,

It is not the duty of a soldier to criticise or endeavour to interfere in any way with the political affairs of the country; he must leave that to the politicians, whose business it is. The Government expects you, under all circumstances, to serve it and the people of Ghana loyally.¹⁰⁴

To the extent that institutional transfer¹⁰⁵ is a viable process, then Nkrumah's confidence in civilian supremacy over the military had a sufficient base. The leading officers in the Ghanaian armed forces were either trained in Britain or had been influenced by British practice. Whether this was an adequate deterrent to their intervening in politics in a continent where the role of the military had assumed increasing importance, could not be stated with any degree of certainty.

However, the assassination attempts on Nkrumah's life changed his attitude towards national security. If he had not lost confidence in the military, at least he had become suspicious of their intentions. With the assistance of Russian and East European military advisers, he began to organize his own personal security service. This private army assumed great importance while the regular army and

104. Nkrumah, "Address to cadets of the Ghana Military Academy" (May, 1961), in Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, London, Nelson, 1967, p.16.

105. For an explanation of this process, see David Apter, Ghana in Transition, New York, Atheneum, 1963.

police force were either neglected or purged of their traditional functions. Thus, on October 1964, the "Special Branch" of the Ghana police was "disintegrated" and its security functions were transferred to the President's security service.¹⁰⁶ In August 1965, Nkrumah abruptly dismissed the Chief of Defense Staff and his deputy and promoted two lower ranking officers - probably because of their presumed loyalty - to these positions.¹⁰⁷ He established a private army and set it in competition with the regular army and still expected the military to remain loyal to his regime. In effect, Nkrumah ignored established practice through his constant intervention in military matters without providing the military with an opportunity to play a meaningful role in the political process.

One major effect of establishing a private army was that it began to compete with the regular army for personnel and resources. In this, the private army was favoured. Nkrumah thought he could act arbitrarily and still maintain the traditional relationship of the military and civilian authorities.

Because Nkrumah was convinced of his indispensability, the possibility of a military takeover appeared remote

106. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.63.

107. Cf. Ibid., pp. 103-5.

and thus received negligible attention in his political strategy. Moreover, he was convinced of the fact that,

It is not the duty of the army to rule or govern, because it has no political mandate. The army only operates under the mandate of the civil government. If the national interest compels the armed forces to intervene, then immediately after the intervention the army must hand over to a new civil government....If the army does not do this then the position of the army becomes dubious and anomalous.¹⁰⁸

But, Nkrumah was expressing these views at a time when the military had seized power in several states, including neighbouring Nigeria. This did not mean however, that the tradition of non-involvement by the military in Ghana had been replaced. In fact, the situation remained uncertain. As a skeptical observer of Ghanaian politics said at the time,

One possibility was a coup d'etat by the army, for which there was a growing number of precedents in Africa...Whether the British-trained officers could reach a decision to intervene was another matter.¹⁰⁹

Nkrumah thus assumed the loyalty of his British-trained officers and not only disregarded their interests, but also made their tenure uncertain by intervening constantly in military matters. In the end, Nkrumah's actions

108. Nkrumah, "Sessional Speech to the National Assembly" (Accra, February, 1966), in Axioms of Nkrumah, op.cit., pp.16-7.

109. Austin, op.cit., p.420, f.n. 94.

persuaded the armed forces that the only way to secure their position lay in the overthrow of the political leadership.

In concluding this discussion of the political system, I would like to point out that the early success of the CPP convinced its leadership of their ability to mobilize and channel mass efforts towards the objectives of national integration and economic development, and thus prevented them from realizing the fact that the strength of a party that possessed no traditional base could not be unlimited. Nkrumah's intolerant and impatient attitude led to the alienation of opposition groups and traditional rulers from the political leadership. This tarnished the attraction of the CPP and compelled its leading members to resort to rigged elections and ideological activism as a means to legitimize their dominance of the political system. The breakdown in unity threatened the party's claim to national representation, and Nkrumah's own leadership position. He responded with systematic purges of the party's key members as a guarantee of his political survival. Constitutionally and explicitly, Nkrumah had emerged as the dominant personality in the political system, but the unimpressive performance of his regime led to a decline, both in his personal popularity and that of his regime. He sought to infuse traditional sources of authority in his official position and, in the end, the personality cult assumed formidable features and ascribed to him what were in effect divine characteristics.

These actions were based on a calculated strategy with the objective of increasing popularity and legitimacy for Nkrumah's leadership. However, manufactured legitimacy is very fragile and thus, when the army struck, it quickly disappeared.

CHAPTER II

FACTORS SHAPING NKRUMAH'S FOREIGN POLICY IMAGES

In the introduction to this thesis, the importance of the concept of elite images in the analysis of foreign policy behaviour was emphasized. When faced with developing nations, this approach assumes added importance because of the highly personalized nature of the decision-making process. An adequate understanding of the factors that shape elite images in developing countries is the major component in the understanding of their foreign policy attitudes.

Admittedly, several interrelated factors combined to influence Nkrumah's perception of Ghana's interests. The difficulties that arise in any attempt to understand state behaviour are partly the result of the multiplicity of factors that go into the decision-making process. The foreign policy analyst must attempt,

to construct from words and deeds the operative elite perceptions of their environment, along with their views of the desirable or proper roles for their state within that environment.¹

1. Michael Brecher, "Elite Images and Foreign Policy Choices" in Pacific Affairs, Vol. XL, Nos. 1 and 2. (Spring and Summer 1967), pp.62-3.

In this chapter, the effect of Nkrumah's dominance of the political system on the policy process will be examined, as well as the key factors and personalities that shaped his foreign policy images.

(A) THE POLITICAL SYSTEM AND FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS

I - ROLE OF GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES.

An analysis of the decision-making process in Ghana cannot be definitive, because the decisional system was surrounded by the same secrecy that characterized the activities of the CPP. In his effort to command total attention and to control the policy process, Nkrumah monopolized the conduct of public policy. The focus of decision-making, then, must be on Nkrumah and his office - Flagstaff House - because in African states,

specific, even minute decisions are made by the President, whose prestige and experience in dealing with other leaders give him special competence....His anger and his ardor, his whims and his convictions become the mood of the country's policy, and his friendships and acquaintances mark its limits.²

Decision-making as we have seen above in our analysis of the political system was a monopoly of the President. Nkrumah's belief in his indispensability led him to act on the assumption that he was the best interpreter of the national interest. He rejected advice that ran counter to

2. I. William Zartman, International Relations in the New Africa, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1966, p.67.

his own ideas and paid attention only to,

views and policies that jibed with his own as judged according to the extent of his experience and imagination, his cast of mind, and his limited time and inclinations to consider more familiar alternatives.³

The Ghana-Guinea union proved how detrimental personalized decision-making can be in the policy process. Civil servants and professional diplomats urged a reconsideration of President Sékou Touré's proposal for an organic union. A policy had not been worked out, to say nothing of the implementation procedures. The significant thing to note about this decision is that it was submitted to the Party's central committee for approval and not the cabinet.⁴ However, even the central committee was asked to approve what was already a fait accompli.

A factor that contributed to the haphazard and often contradictory policies that emerged from Flagstaff House, was the fact that "Nkrumah not only employed too many cooks of too many divergent backgrounds, but also failed to settle on the principal ingredients to be used."⁵ In Flagstaff House, advisers and politicians sought influence and power. "Competent men were competing with illiterates" to give advice

3. Karl W. Deutsch, The Analysis of International Relations, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1968, p.66.

4. Zartman, op.cit., p.68.

5. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.159.

on intelligence. "The Russians were present to interpret reports according to their interests" while Geoffrey Bing, attorney general and later, all purpose adviser, "sought to counteract the moderation of diplomats."⁶ From this confusion, the decisions that finally emerged were not necessarily the best policy alternatives, but, the views of those who had best succeeded in influencing Nkrumah.

The Congo decision was another example of the futile diplomatic products that came out of Flagstaff House. The Press was only permitted to present the authorized version of the crisis. Informed debate that might have contributed to the development of a sound Congo policy was not allowed, nor was participation in the Congo operation considered within the context of the national interest of Ghana. The country's ability to undertake the ambitious military and economic assistance as sketched by Flagstaff House received negligible attention. Furthermore, there was a lack of technical intelligence⁷ upon which a prudent policy could have been formulated. Lack of a clearly defined policy resulted in the pursuit of contradictory strategies by Ghana's⁸ military and diplomatic representatives respectively.

6. Thompson, op.cit., pp.424-425.

7. Joseph Frankel, The Making of Foreign Policy, London, Oxford University Press, 1963, pp.95-110.

8. For a discussion on the conflicting positions followed by Ghanaian representatives in Congo, see Thompson, op.cit., pp.128-130.

The purpose of rational discussion and consideration of alternative policies is to avoid difficulties that arise during the process of implementation. Like Nkrumah, most African leaders are reluctant to subject their decisions to broad debate. A request for policy examination is misinterpreted as opposition. Since in their view opposition is, by definition, subversion, it must be repressed. This attitude is due to the fact that African leaders who bring independence to their countries ascribe to themselves special positions and feel that "they are Heaven-sent, and that anyone who stands in their way is a traitor to Heaven's cause."⁹ It was this feeling that led Nkrumah to dismiss the Chief Justice of Ghana.¹⁰

The personalized nature of decision making tended to produce "short-term bursts of energy, rapid action, and equally rapid changes"¹¹ that threatened the stability of the political system and tarnished Ghana's image abroad.

9. W. Arthur Lewis, Politics in West Africa, London, Oxford University Press, 1965, p.31.

10. This was a very quick decision. On December 9, 1963, three persons accused of an attempt on Nkrumah's life were acquitted. Two days later, Nkrumah dismissed the Chief Justice - this action was within his constitutional powers. The Press heartily welcomed this decision because the Chief Justice had "failed in his duty to let his leader down and betrayed his country by not telling Nkrumah beforehand what the verdict would be." See Austin, op.cit., p.413.

11. Zartman, op.cit., p.65.

The role of advisers in such a decisional system is limited to those cases where their services are solicited. Their impact on the outcome of policies is marginal unless they happen to support a point of view similar to that of the leader, for in African politics, Presidential pronouncements set the tune and pace of policies. Effective diplomacy in Africa, consequently, is "conducted entirely at the summit level."¹² This situation assumed unusual dimensions in Ghana. Officials who feared sudden dismissals from their duties became reluctant to develop policy initiatives and sought clearance for routine administrative duties from Flagstaff House. Thus, "whenever in doubt, refer to the Osagyefo" became the maxim inside official circles.¹³ The emergence of Flagstaff House as the centre of government and decision making, stripped other departments of their powers and influence in the policy process. The department most affected was the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

President and Minister of Foreign Affairs- The traditional importance of the foreign minister in constitutional democracies is still a novelty in the African political process.

12. Donald H. Louchheim, "The OAU Assembly in Accra" in Africa Report, (December 1965) P.35

13. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., passim.

Nkrumah's belief that he was Ghana¹⁴ and in his ability to conduct public policy, left the foreign minister with at best, ceremonial functions. Policy papers were prepared in Flagstaff House and whenever Nkrumah pleased, the foreign minister was not informed, let alone consulted. One of the reasons that Nkrumah monopolized foreign policy decision making was that,

In countries with less established constitutional practices, the heads of government are less hampered by constitutional limitations and, especially if their countries are confronted with problems of exceptional magnitude, they usually take full charge of foreign policy.¹⁵

As Foreign Minister, Ako Adjei was not only embarrassed, but frequently suffered public humiliation. Nkrumah by-passed him and appointed the then Attorney General, Geoffrey Bing, as Chairman of the Congo co-ordinating committee. Adjei was denied membership and was thus excluded from a committee that came under his department.¹⁶ Shortly after, the Bureau of African Affairs was transferred from the ministry to Flagstaff House and by 1962, Ako Adjei was dismissed and placed under detention.¹⁷ When Kojo Botsio took over the foreign ministry he tried to restore some semblance of credibility

14. Evidence of this is to be found from the fact that Nkrumah entitled his autobiography Ghana.

15. Frankel, The Making of Foreign Policy, op.cit., p.23.

16. Thompson, op.cit., pp.124-125.

17. Austin, op.cit., p.410.

in the already demoralized department. But, Nkrumah was not to share foreign affairs with anyone.

Communication between the ministry and the President had become marginal. This meant that the information gathered by competent officials in the ministry never reached Flagstaff House where decisions were made. Images, not information thus greatly influenced policy choices because, "the importance of images increases when the information available is incomplete."¹⁸ The futile results of these decisions had by 1965 affected the quality of Ghana's foreign service so that it could no longer be taken seriously abroad. Alex Quaison-Sackey, who had been President of the United Nations General Assembly, was named foreign minister with the hope that this would boost morale in the service. Despite his international standing and experience, Nkrumah denied him any effective role in policy making. To the embarrassment of Sackey, his predecessor was not only given continuing responsibilities in the ministry, but was appointed chairman of the Ghanaian delegation to the 1965 OAU summit in Accra.¹⁹ All hopes of

18. Frankel, The Making of Foreign Policy, op.cit., p. 106.

19. Thompson, op.cit., p. 364.

an improvement in relations between the ministry and Flagstaff House were thus aborted.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Prior to independence, the Ministry of Defense and External Affairs was created. In July 1958, it became the Ministry of External Affairs and a separate Ministry of Defense was established. In May 1961, African Affairs was removed from the jurisdiction of the Ministry of External Affairs. Simultaneously, the Ministry was renamed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁰

Adequate preparations were made to provide the country with a competent core of foreign service officers before independence. As early as August 1955, eight Ghanaians had been specially selected for training as professional diplomats. By independence, more had been trained and, unlike other African states, Ghana possessed a competent team of diplomats who "were among the country's most worldly and sophisticated men."²¹ Since official designations in Ghana did not provide any guide to political practice, these men were to be prevented from advancing the country's interests - as indeed they had been trained to. These officers

20. After the removal of Nkrumah from office, the Ministry reverted to its former name, i.e. Ministry of External Affairs and assumed jurisdiction of African Affairs and all other foreign policy matters. See also Appendix "C".

21. Thompson, op.cit., p. 19.

were thoroughly schooled in the British tradition and were expected to contribute an element of expertise in the formulation of Ghana's foreign policy. They were not politicians and apparently never believed that Nkrumah would attempt the liberation of Africa as he had promised in his independence speech.²² On the whole, they supported Nkrumah's objectives, but preferred caution and moderation in their attainment. Nkrumah, on the other hand, rejected moderation and followed policies that damaged the image of the ministry, and finally, that of the regime itself.²³

The major problem that confronted the ministry was that it was in competition with Flagstaff House. Lack of coordination resulted in contradictory approaches to policy matters. Uniformity and policy coordination is necessary because,

like all behavior, foreign policy action is sequential. It does not have a beginning, an existence, and an end...It is constantly unfolding, and at any given moment is partly a function of what it was previously and what it may become in future.²⁴

The responsibility for the confusion that permeated Ghanaian

22. For a discussion on Nkrumah's commitment to liberate Africa and bring a union government, see infra., chapter II, "Pan-Africanism"

23. Thom Kerstiens, The New Elite in Asia and Africa, New York, Praeger, 1966, p.225.

24. James N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign Policy, New York, The Free Press, 1961, p. 141.

policies belonged to Flagstaff House. Party radicals found their way into Flagstaff House and sought to influence policies, while competent and talented men were idly secluded in the ministry. This situation later developed into a struggle between party radicals and professional diplomats.

Party and the Ministry -

Of all the factors that make for the power of a nation, the most important, however unstable, is the quality of diplomacy.²⁵

The quality of Ghanaian diplomacy was poor, because Nkrumah substituted for the advice and caution of professional diplomats, the radical and undefined views of party supporters and his special advisers. To ensure that only the advice he sought was given, he established competing services in Flagstaff House. The establishment of a special secretariat for African Affairs fostered "rivalry and undercutting". This not only destroyed coordination, but became

a chronic problem in...Ghana, where the African Affairs Ministry tends to specialize in political warfare while the Foreign Ministry practices diplomacy.²⁶

African Affairs was headed by such radicals as A.K. Barden and members of the Ideological Institute at Winneba. These radicals encouraged subversion in African states as a means of achieving a Pan-African Union government. What the

25. Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, fourth edition, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1967, p. 135.

26. Zartman, op.cit., p. 67.

ministry managed to achieve through agile diplomacy was quickly destroyed by the subversion of party radicals. Subversion impressed Nkrumah because he did not want Union government to await the slow progress of diplomacy. But, the effects of training refugees in subversive activities only made the objective of Union government more elusive. It alienated Ghana from other African states. This prompted Sackey to write:

What seems to require re-appraisal is not Ghana's objectives in relation to African unity, but a review of the methods and procedures hitherto employed.²⁷

If the radicals saw the dangers that lay in the way of their views, they obviously never took them seriously. Neither did Nkrumah. One factor that contributed to the influence and power of the radicals was the death of George Padmore. Of all his advisers, Nkrumah had the highest respect and admiration for Padmore. Immediately after independence, Padmore exercised considerable influence on Nkrumah.²⁸ This partially accounts for the moderation and caution that characterized Ghanaian foreign policy during this period. With his death in 1959, the radicals moved in quickly to fill the vacuum. The record of Ghanaian foreign policy during the latter period of Nkrumah's rule shows that

27. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., pp. 210-11.

28. Legum, op.cit., p. 134.

the radicals had become the most influential group in Flagstaff House. They succeeded in elevating Nkrumaism to the position of a national ideology. Nkrumah accepted their demand for party supremacy and made this a condition of admission into foreign service. Since Ghanaian foreign policy was used to a large extent as "an instrument to reinforce" the internal image of the regime,²⁹ party supporters in foreign missions acted as they wished - because it was their regime. The rapid opening of foreign missions brought more party radicals into key jobs. Instead of diplomatic centers abroad, foreign embassies provided a platform for the assertion of party supremacy and the spread of Nkrumaism.

Nkrumah needed the support of neighbouring states if Union government was to become a reality. The radicals convinced him that he could achieve his goal without such support. In the end,

the radicals had won. They had continued to provoke Nigeria and more important, had continued to press Nkrumah not to relent in his opposition to the Nigerian Government... They had successfully counteracted the advice of Ghana's diplomats, who wished Ghana's relations with Nigeria to be the bedrock of its Africa policy.³⁰

Nkrumah's reliance on the radicals, in place of his

29. L. Gray Cowan, "Political Determinants" in AFRICAN DIPLOMACY, Vernon McKay, ed., New York, Praeger, 1966, p. 141.

30. Thompson, op.cit., p. 244.

diplomats, proved to be the major source of his undoing.³¹ However, in view of the secrecy that surrounded the decisional system, it is difficult to identify everyone who belonged to Nkrumah's inner circle in Flagstaff House. An attempt will be made below to identify some of the most prominent of his advisers.

II - ROLE OF ADVISORS - GOVERNMENTAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL

It has already been pointed out that official positions did not guarantee participation in policy making. This situation worked to the benefit of foreign advisers who appear to have been the most influential group in Nkrumah's inner circle. These men came from Western Europe and the United States. It was an odd mixture of men - Negroes obsessed with Pan-Africanism, left wing Europeans who cared little for African unity and the like. To these Pan-Africanists, Ghana provided a base for a continental government. Before examining the factors that motivated Nkrumah to rely so heavily on foreigners at the same time that he was preaching Africanization, a few of the most prominent of

31. Evidence of this is his aborted Viet Nam peace mission. Diplomats doubted Nkrumah's ability to persuade the great powers to begin peace talks and urged postponement of the trip. The radicals counteracted this advice and compared the trip "to that of Jesus to Galilee." See Thompson, op.cit., p. 412.

these advisers will be identified.³²

1. Geoffrey Bing, Q.C., was a former left wing member of the British Parliament. Originally legal adviser to the opposition in Ghana, he became Attorney General in 1957 until his appointment as special adviser to the President in 1961 where he remained until 1966. As Attorney General, he was largely responsible for the 1960 constitution that granted what amounted to dictatorial powers to Nkrumah. In later years, he was de facto all purpose legal adviser. He probably drafted the legal arguments that tried to justify the dismissal of the Chief Justice and the 1964 referendum that virtually placed control of the judiciary in Nkrumah's hands. He was one of the most influential men around Nkrumah.

2. Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, born in the United States of mixed French and Negro background, (he tended to stress his French heritage even when organizing black conferences). He was an American scholar and Negro leader. He tried unsuccessfully to bring the colonial question before the Paris peace conference that followed the end of the first world war. Along with Nkrumah, he organized the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester. After independence, he settled in Ghana where he died as a citizen in 1963.

32. Information on the backgrounds of these foreign advisers is from Austin, op.cit.; Bretton, op.cit.; and Thompson, op.cit.

3. Thomas Hodgkins, a British political scientist and African expert, he came to teach in Ghana with his wife. He was one of the few foreign professors that Nkrumah trusted for long. In 1962, he was appointed Director of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana.
 4. Sir Robert Jackson, Assistant Secretary General, UN, 1947; Chairman, Ghana Development Commission from 1957 to 1961. He was a member and consultant to the Volta River Authority. He and his wife, noted economist Barbara Ward, greatly influenced President Kennedy to decide in favour of United States participation in the Volta River Project. He was a restraining influence on Nkrumah during the years immediately following independence.
 5. George Padmore, a Negro, was born in the West Indies and studied in the United States where he joined the Communist party. He spent considerable time in Moscow but later broke with the Communist party. He went to England and wrote extensively on the colonial problem. With Nkrumah, he was joint secretary of the Organization Committee of the 1945 Pan-African Congress in Manchester. After independence, Nkrumah appointed him special adviser on African Affairs - a post he held until his death in September 1959. Because Nkrumah had enormous respect for him, he exercised considerable influence in Ghana's foreign policy during this period. A devoted Pan-Africanist, he organized for the first time in the continent, the All African People's Conference held in
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Ghana in 1958. In this role, he saw Ghana as a stepping stone to the greater prospect of African unity.

The significant point that emerges from the discussion of Nkrumah's foreign advisers is the wide differences in their backgrounds, attitudes and, by implication, the interests they sought to advance in Ghana. On the whole, they were general advisers and no one seems to have monopolized consultation in a specified sector of public policy.

These men, with the possible exception of Sir Robert Jackson, sought to advance policies that tended to conflict with Ghana's more immediate national interests. Bing probably saw Ghana as a place to experiment with some radical ideas as well as to develop closer ties with the Communist bloc. This attitude conflicted with the position taken by Sir Robert Jackson. His main concern was to attract Western capital for the post-independence program of rapid industrialization. This necessity was partly responsible for the moderation and caution that characterized foreign relations during the years immediately following independence. Thus, Sir Robert was able to carry out delicate negotiations with Western businessmen leading to investments in the economy. More than any other single person, he was deeply committed to the Volta River project and eventually succeeded in bringing negotiations to a successful conclusion. Where Sir Robert Jackson urged closer relations with the West, Bing argued for increased activity with the Communist bloc. In

the end, Bing succeeded.

There were Pan-Africanists like Dr. DuBois and George Padmore who wanted improved relations between American Negroes and Africans. This explains the increased activities of Afro-Americans in Ghana during Nkrumah's leadership. Most important, was the fact that these Pan-Africanists saw Ghana only as a political base from where to launch a movement for continental government. Padmore demonstrated this with the brilliance that went into his organization of the All African People's Conference in Accra in 1958. The fact that this first Pan-African Conference on African soil was held in Accra was not a coincidence. It was in line with the strategy of making Ghana the center of any continental government. Nkrumah's Pan-African ideas - they formed the major focus of Ghanaian foreign policy - were greatly influenced by Padmore. Hodgkins' speciality in African studies was in all likelihood the factor that contributed to his close association with Nkrumah.

The secrecy that permeated the decisional system makes it difficult to know who~~h~~ the other advisers were. However, those identified above were the most prominent. The contradictions that more often than not characterized Ghanaian foreign policy can be attributed to the divergent, if not conflicting views and interests of these advisers. The point must further be underlined that their interests went beyond Ghana. Their influence, therefore, contributed

to the Congo decision; financial commitments for Pan-African objectives; the deterioration of relations with the West and the eventual orbiting of Ghana into the Socialist Commonwealth - all of which were harmful to the country's overall economic interests.

Nkrumah did not carry out massive purges within this group of foreign advisers. He relied on them more than on his Ghanaian colleagues - perhaps as an insurance against a challenge to his leadership. The fact that they were not interested in Ghanaian affairs made them politically reliable. This is a plausible explanation because when his long time secretary Erica Powell showed interest in Ghanaian affairs, she became unacceptable to Nkrumah.³³ In summary then, Nkrumah used these foreign advisers to advance his own political objectives. If this was Nkrumah's strategy, then, undeniably, it was politically sound. Perhaps it is this factor that prevented such popular party leaders as Botsio and Gbedemah from challenging Nkrumah's leadership. The most prominent Ghanaian advisers will be identified below. It should be noted that Nkrumah shifted these advisers constantly.³⁴

1. Professor William Abrahams, Chairman of the Department

33. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p. 81.

34. Information about the Ghanaians that were close to Nkrumah has been adapted from: Austin, op.cit.; Bretton, op. cit.; Thom Kerstiens, The New Elite in Asia and Africa, op. cit. and Thompson, op.cit.

of Philosophy at the University of Ghana, maintained a steady rise during the period under study. In addition to presiding over Presidential committees, he was on the staff of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Ideology. Upon the departure of Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, he was appointed Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University. In June 1965, he was appointed a member of the National Assembly.

2. Tawia Adamafio, a member of the opposition until 1954, superbly exploited Nkrumah's vanity to advance his own political career. By 1960, he was General Secretary of the CPP and Minister of Information. An outstanding member of the radical wing of the party, his rise brought greater influence to the militants. In 1962, he was dismissed and placed under detention.

3. Ako Adjei; Nkrumah's associate at Lincoln University, he persuaded the nationalists to appoint Nkrumah General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC). As such, he was responsible for Nkrumah's return to Ghana. A lawyer, he did not follow Nkrumah immediately after his break with the UGCC. He joined the CPP prior to independence and was Minister of External Affairs from 1959 to 1961. He served briefly in 1959 as Resident Minister of Ghana in Guinea. In 1962, Lincoln University honoured him with a Doctor of Law degree - something that placed him dangerously on the same level with Nkrumah. The same year, he was dismissed from the cabinet and placed under detention.

4. Kofi Baako, was Nkrumah's most loyal supporter and remained with him until 1966. He was Editor of the Cape Coast Daily Mail. He was very active in the Committee for Youth Organization of the UGCC. He went over to the CPP as soon as Nkrumah started that party. He became Secretary of the party, Political Secretary to the Prime Minister, Government Whip, Minister of Information and later Minister of Civil Defence and Government House Leader. Of the original group, he was the only one that never suffered public disgrace under Nkrumah. He was the most prominent theorist of Nkrumaism.

5. Kojo Botsio played a prominent role in the formation of the CPP. He was educated at Fourah Bay College (Sierra Leone) and in the University of London. He took part in the Pan-African conferences in London during the 1940's. During this time, he met Nkrumah. He was General Secretary of the CPP and held the portfolio of External Affairs briefly from 1958 to 1959. He was appointed Minister of State in 1959 but dismissed from the cabinet in 1961. He was brought back to the cabinet in 1963 and appointed Foreign Minister. In 1965, he was demoted to the Chairmanship of the State Planning Commission where he remained until 1966.

6. Krobo Edusei, this ruthless and irresponsible Ashanti politician, was largely responsible for the introduction of the Preventive Detention Act in 1958. He joined the CPP in 1949. He was Government Chief Whip and Ministerial Secretary

at the Ministry of Justice. At independence, he was appointed Interior Minister and later moved to Commerce. In 1961, he was dismissed from the cabinet and brought back the following year as Minister of Agriculture.

7. Komla Gbedemah, efficient and competent, was co-founder with Nkrumah of the CPP. He was educated at Achimota College. While Nkrumah was in jail, he successfully led the CPP to victory in the 1951 elections. This victory was responsible for Nkrumah's immediate release from prison to form a new government as Leader of Government Business. Gbedemah was a member of the new government. In 1954, he was appointed Minister of finance, but demoted to the Health Ministry in 1961. The same year, he was dismissed from the cabinet. He left the country in self exile and recently returned after the military takeover.

8. Alexander Quaison-Sackey, was among the first group of eight Ghanaians selected for training as Foreign Service Officers in 1955. He was Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations, with rank of Ambassador, 1959-65. He was President, 19th. Session of the UN General Assembly. In 1965, he was appointed Foreign Minister.

The Ghanaian advisors were on the whole, interested in advancing the economic interests of their country. This attitude at once placed them in opposition with most of the foreign advisors and by inference, Nkrumah. If any of them exercised significant influence in the policy process, it

must have been in a peripheral matter. Their importance lay in the fact that only Ghanaians could hold certain positions for example, membership in the National Assembly. Under such conditions, they held important positions in government although effective power and key functions were the monopoly of Flagstaff-House - where foreign advisors predominated.

Professor Abrahams was important because the regime wanted a Ghanaian in the academic community to ensure that socialism - as embodied in Nkrumaism - was stressed in University classes. Thus, his rise to prominence was dictated by this objective. On the other hand, Gbedemah rose and performed brilliantly as finance minister in the late 50's but was purged in 1961 because he showed less enthusiasm for Nkrumah's socialist and Pan-African objectives. A very shrewd businessman, he argued for the maintenance of traditional economic ties with the West as a means of attracting foreign capital for economic development. Since this view had little support in Flagstaff House, it was ignored. But, Gbedemah made his views well known - even if they were not acted upon. His reward for trying to influence the view that prevailed in Flagstaff House, was his dismissal from the cabinet. Krobo Edusei remained in the cabinet for the opposite reasons. He not only agreed with official decisions warmly, but rallied support in his Ashanti region behind whatever Nkrumah said. Since Nkrumah disliked any action that seemed to cast doubt on his leadership, Edusei was therefore acceptable.

Nkrumah's determination to completely dominate his Ghanaian colleagues, is best illustrated by the manner in which he treated Quaison-Sackey. The latter's misfortune appears to have been that, as President of the General Assembly, he had eclipsed Nkrumah's standing in the international community. He was brought back to Ghana as foreign minister, where Nkrumah made sure he was denied the performance of even ceremonial functions.³⁵

Of all members of the Ghanaian elite, Botsio and Kofi Baako enjoyed the greatest influence - but in comparison to foreign advisors, their influence remained marginal. Like Nkrumah, Botsio had played an active part in Pan-African conferences in London during the 40's. Upon return to Ghana, he was one of the few most prominent Ghanaians who showed interest in Nkrumah's objectives of a continental government. Kofi Baako was most loyal and helped to develop the theory of Nkrumaism. Tawia Adamafio rose very rapidly but was purged. It is not likely he exercised significant influence in the conduct of policy.

Nkrumah's relationship with Ghanaian elites seems to have been guided, and based on the strategy of preventing anyone from becoming powerful and influential enough to

35. In addition to his own department, Botsio was given responsibilities in the foreign ministry to Sackey's embarrassment.

threaten his own leadership. He did this partly by preventing them from taking policy initiatives, the success of which would have brought them national prominence. Secondly, by constantly shifting these men in and out of cabinet positions, he ensured that no one succeeded in establishing an independent political base. Viewed in this light, Nkrumah was remarkably successful because throughout his leadership, no serious rival emerged.

In summary, the major points that emerge from our analysis of the political system and the policy process are:

- a) The conduct of public policy was insulated from the pressures of public opinion and interests groups that confront policy-makers in Western democracies.
 - b) Public policy was monopolized by Nkrumah. The role of the foreign ministry was negligible, and so was the influence of its officials and the country's diplomats.
 - c) Control of the communication media that characterized the Ghanaian political system greatly restricted the flow of information between Nkrumah on one hand, and both non-governmental and governmental groups on the other. The absence of articulated internal pressures left Nkrumah's image substantially unchanged.
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(B) INFLUENCE OF OTHER KEY FACTORS

At the outset of this thesis, the methodological problems associated with the concept of elite images were emphasized. The major problem is to identify the factors that shape the images of an elite in a particular environment. In the case of Nkrumah, the paucity of relevant information together with the somewhat scattered history of Africa, present an additional difficulty in the analysis of his image structure. Additional significant elements that seem to have shaped or influenced Nkrumah's images are:

I. Personal Experiences

II. Legacy of History

III. Ideology

Before examining the above components of Nkrumah's images in detail, it should be pointed out that he was influenced by events in Africa as a whole. It does not appear that he had ever considered Ghana's interests in isolation from the African continent - at least not before he became leader of Ghana.

I. Personal Experience

As will be shown below, the experiential component was a most important factor shaping Nkrumah's images: Kwame Nkrumah was born in 1909, in the village of Nkroful,

part of the Nzima tribal area of Ghana.³⁶ His parents were poor and enjoyed no relationship with any of the established Ghanaian families. Nkrumah therefore had a very humble origin. He attended a Roman Catholic School at Half Assini - about fifty miles away from his birth place. Upon completion of his elementary school, he was appointed a teacher at the age of 17. Shortly after, he went to receive advanced education in the Teacher Training College at Accra. While there, his school was made part of Prince of Wales College in Achimota.

After graduating from the Teacher College, Nkrumah was appointed a kindergarten teacher at Elmina, and a year later he was head teacher at a Catholic Junior School at Axim - much nearer his birth place. Within two years, he became the first African to teach in the Roman Catholic Seminary at Amissano. But, his eyes were on a higher stage. Throughout, he talked of going to the United States. He was finally encouraged to go to the United States by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the former Governor General of Nigeria. More than any other African nationalist at the time, Dr. Azikiwe's attacks on colonialism greatly impressed Nkrumah. It was this factor that convinced Nkrumah to follow Dr. Azikiwe's footsteps as a means to playing an effective part in the

36. Information on Nkrumah's biographical background unless otherwise indicated, is from Sophia Ripley Ames, Nkrumah of Ghana, New York, Rand McNally, 1961.

independence struggle in Africa. As he said,

Azikiwe was himself a graduate from an American University and when I had first met him after he had addressed a meeting of the Gold Coast Teachers' Association some years earlier in Accra, I had been greatly impressed by him and had been more determined than ever to go to America.³⁷

The idea of studying in the United States offered bright prospects for Nkrumah. His parents were not rich enough to send him to study at Oxford or Cambridge as the sons of privileged Ghanaians did. But, in the United States, he could work and support himself through school.

Fully determined, Nkrumah left the then Gold Coast by boat. Upon arriving in London, he was struck by the news that Italy had invaded Ethiopia. He said,

At that moment it was as if the whole of London had declared war on me personally... I could do nothing but glare at each impassive face wondering if those people could possibly realize the wickedness of colonialism. My nationalism surged to the fore; I was ready and willing to go through hell itself, if need be, in order to achieve my objective.³⁸

In the fall of 1935, Nkrumah arrived in the United States and, with these bitter feelings, began his studies at Lincoln University. During his years at Lincoln, he became increasingly committed to the objective of fighting for African

37. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p.22.

38. Quoted in Ames, Nkrumah of Ghana, op.cit., p.160.

independence. This led him to concentrate, while in the United States,

On finding a formula by which the whole colonial question and the problem of imperialism could be solved. I read Hegel, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mazzini. The writings of these men did much to influence me in my revolutionary ideas and activities, and Karl Marx and Lenin particularly impressed me.³⁹

It was this restless search that brought Nkrumah to the knowledge of people who were strong opponents of colonialism and imperialism. In this area, George Padmore, the Pan-Africanist considerably influenced Nkrumah. He says about Padmore that,

his several articles aroused my interests and sympathy. I was so impressed by Padmore's writings that I wrote a letter to him from the United States introducing myself....the more I knew him, the more I respected his integrity and his knowledge of the colonial question.⁴⁰

His respect for Padmore was reinforced when they met in London a few years later. He carried this relationship to Ghana and, upon becoming Prime Minister, appointed Padmore his special adviser on African Affairs.

Despite his involvement in African affairs while at Lincoln, Nkrumah's academic achievements were quite impressive.

39. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p.45.

40. Ibid., p.49.

He graduated from Lincoln in 1939 but, because of poverty, he abandoned his plans to study journalism at Columbia University. In the Fall of 1939, he taught philosophy at Lincoln and took courses at the Theological Seminary. Simultaneously, he was taking graduate courses at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1942, he graduated from the Theological Seminary and in the same year, got a Master's degree in philosophy from Pennsylvania. In 1943, he obtained another Master's in Education. Throughout this period, he preached in Negro churches and organized activities for African students.

One of the key personalities that gave Nkrumah's Pan-African dreams great support, was Marcus Garvey. In his autobiography, Nkrumah writes that of all the literature he read in the United States, the one that did most to fire his enthusiasm was Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey.⁴³ Garvey was the founder of Black Zionism. A West Indian, he started this movement in the 1920's with the objective of establishing a Negro state in Africa as the homeland of all black people.

Garvey made a great impact on Nkrumah's attitude towards African unity and his search for an African personality. Thus, when Nkrumah became Prime Minister, he named his new steamship line the "Black Star Line". In his determination

43. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p. 45.

to establish Negro-owned commercial and industrial enterprises, Garvey had started a "Black Star Line". He wanted it to be owned and operated by Negroes, but due to financial difficulties, his efforts did not succeed.⁴⁴ During the independence celebrations in Ghana, Nkrumah made this observation:

Once upon a time, Marcus Garvey said, he looked through the whole world to see if he could find a government of a black people. He looked around, he did not find one, and he said he was going to create one. Marcus Garvey did not succeed. But here today, his work has come to a reality at this moment.⁴⁵

Nkrumah's deep involvement in Pan-African affairs began in the United States. He organized the African Students' Association of the United States and Canada in 1942, and became its President. Shortly after that, he left to study at the London School of Economics and Political Science. He had hardly settled in London when he became greatly involved in African student movements. He became Secretary of the West African Students' Association. These increased activities forced him to abandon work on his doctoral thesis in philosophy and his studies in law.⁴⁶

44. Vernon McKay, "The Concept of Pan-Africanism" in Emerging Africa in World Affairs, David K. Marvin, ed., New York, Praeger, p. 76.

45. Kwame Nkrumah, Independence Speech, Accra, Ghana, (March 6, 1957).

46. Italiaander, op.cit., p. 230.

These positions did not pay Nkrumah any salary. It does not seem that he was attracted to material wealth. He had worked as a waiter and such odd jobs that were available in order to support himself through University at a time when the United States were still plagued with the effects of the depression. Most significant is the fact that he turned down offers to lecture in the United States after he had finished his studies.

At the end of my student days in America, I was offered a lectureship in several Negro Universities...But I could not dismiss from my mind, in a matter of a few days, the flame of nationalism that had been fanned and kept alight for over ten years.⁴⁷

Nkrumah gives the impression that he had a successful stay in the United States. Whether or not he was ever a victim of racial prejudice does not emerge from his writings. His own argument is that his colour blind approach made him treat everyone equally. But, it seems somewhat difficult to believe that Nkrumah, or for that matter any black man, could have spent nearly ten years in the United States without being subjected to racial indignities.

Nkrumah gained increased prominence in London as an African nationalist. In March 1946, he began publication of a monthly paper called The New African. The first issue called for "African unity and nationalism" and attacked

47. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p. vii.

"imperialism and the unjust laws of the colonies."⁴⁸ One of the most significant things Nkrumah did in London, was to start an organization known as the "Circle." The long term goals of this organization were:

At such time as may be deemed advisable the Circle will come out openly as a political party embracing the whole of West Africa, whose policy then shall be to maintain the Union of African Socialist Republics.

The members of the Circle were "to swear an oath to suffer and sacrifice anything necessary, and to accept the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah."⁴⁹ This is very important, because unqualified acceptance of Nkrumah's leadership constituted the main principle of his later political behaviour in Ghana.

True, Nkrumah had dreams of a free continent of black people in Africa. But, it was not until his arrival in London that this developed into a political program of "positive action". This was to be executed by systematic and revolutionary tactics that would be consistent with what Nkrumah had learned from Marx and Lenin. He admitted this

48. Italiaander, op.cit., p. 230.

49. Ames, Nkrumah of Ghana, op.cit., p. 68.

when he said,

It was not until I arrived in London in 1945 and came face to face with the colonial question, experiencing first hand the determination of student bodies fighting and agitating for colonial freedom in the very heart of a country that possessed a vast colonial empire, that I was stimulated to complete this book.⁵⁰

London exerted a great influence on Nkrumah's later activities in Ghana. It was there that he read more Marxist and Leninist works - a factor which probably motivated him to join the British Communist Party.⁵¹

Nkrumah's organizational abilities and great involvement in African affairs interested nationalist leaders in Ghana - then the Gold Coast. In 1947, the United Gold Coast Convention invited Nkrumah to return home and become Secretary General of their party. He hesitated in accepting this invitation because it would be,

quite useless to associate myself with a movement backed almost entirely by reactionaries, middle class lawyers and merchants, for my revolutionary background and ideas would make it impossible for me to work with them.⁵²

However, he accepted the offer but was "fully determined to come to loggerheads with the Executive of the UGCC if I found

50. Kwame Nkrumah, Towards Colonial Freedom, London, Heinemann, 1962. See forward to this book especially p. ix.

51. Austin, op.cit., p. 76.

52. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p. 62.

that they were following a reactionary course."⁵³ In less than two years, disagreements developed between Nkrumah and the UGCC leadership.

The UGCC leadership were from very wealthy and middle class families and wanted a party with a restricted membership. They opposed Nkrumah's attempts to grant membership to everyone. Differences widened and in June 1949, Nkrumah announced the formation of the Convention People's Party. He took away his close friends from the UGCC. Kojo Botsio became secretary, K.A. Gbedemah vice-chairman, and Nkrumah chairman.⁵⁴ The CPP encouraged strikes and public protests to support their demand for immediate independence. This led to imprisonment for extremist leaders of the CPP. For his part, Nkrumah was sentenced separately on three counts for a total of three years imprisonment.⁵⁵ While in prison, Nkrumah kept in close contact with the party through Gbedemah.

The victory of the CPP at the 1951 elections led to the release of Nkrumah. He was asked to form a government but, within the terms of the 1950 constitution, which he had previously attacked. With a keen sense for political realism that he was to demonstrate again six years later, he

53. Ibid., p. 62.

54. Austin, op.cit., p. 85.

55. Ibid., p. 90.

agreed to form the government because,

It was felt that had we not accepted office by virtue of our majority in the Assembly, but had embarked on non-cooperation and remained in the opposition, we would merely have been pursuing a negative course of action...by taking part in the new government, we were at least preventing the 'stooges and reactionaries' from taking advantage of the position.⁵⁶

Nkrumah kept on his electoral successes and in 1957, he led Ghana to independence. His involvement in Pan-African affairs was later to constitute the major portion of his foreign policy images. An additional factor that seems to have influenced Nkrumah's foreign policy behaviour resulted from his remarkable political success in pre-independence Ghana. More than any other single person, Nkrumah played an important role in Ghana's attainment of independence. This achievement convinced Nkrumah that he could bring unity to Africa, and indeed mediate in global conflicts with the same degree of success that he had attained in Ghanaian domestic politics. Such an interpretation merits more than passing consideration in view of the ambitious role Nkrumah sketched out for himself and Ghana in the international system.

II - LEGACY OF HISTORY

The second major component of Nkrumah's image is the Legacy of History, and within this broad categorization,

56. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p. 142.

three elements lend themselves to separate analysis. The first can be identified as colonialism and imperialism, and with their demise in Africa, came the emergence of the second, neo-colonialism. The third phase, and one that Nkrumah thought would combat neo-colonialism in order to restore Africa's pre-colonial greatness or indeed its contemporary power, was Pan-Africanism. We shall now attempt an individual analysis of the role these factors played in shaping Nkrumah's foreign policy images.

The struggle against colonialism and imperialism⁵⁷ was necessitated by nationalist demands for independence. After returning to Ghana, Nkrumah became the most outspoken leader of the independence struggle. His strategy was to win political independence first as a pre-requisite to economic emancipation. In this vein he said,

I have always believed that the basis of colonialism is economic, but the solution... lies in political action, in a fierce and constant struggle for emancipation as an indispensable first step towards securing economic independence and integrity.⁵⁸

57. In this discussion, colonialism will be restricted to its traditional meaning of a "movement of nationals of the dominant country to the territory of a dependency." Imperialism applies to the unequal relationship that exists between a great power and a weak nation in such matters as alliances, trade policies and other activities that tend to reinforce this status quo. For a discussion of these concepts, see Padelford and Lincoln, The Dynamics of International Politics, New York, Macmillan Company, 1962, pp.166-72.

58. Nkrumah, Consciencism, London, Heinemann, 1964, p. 99.

At independence, Nkrumah promised the total liberation of Africa and economic independence for Ghana. However, this ideal became very elusive since even in Ghana, Nkrumah did not succeed in eliminating economic exploitation. He said the end of imperialism was certain as if this objective would be accomplished by a unilateral action or declaration.

It (imperialism) will end when there are no nations and peoples exploiting others; when there are no vested interests exploiting the earth, its fruits and resources for the benefit of a few against the well-being of the many.⁵⁹

Nkrumah's external behaviour, in the years immediately following independence, was not characterized by any punitive actions against Western investors who virtually controlled the Ghanaian economy. Furthermore, he never disrupted the colonial ties that had linked Ghana with Britain. By implication, Nkrumah never took his own words seriously. True, Nkrumah's strategy was to attract foreign investments for Ghana's economic development. To further this objective he even said,

the racial question in the United States had often been exaggerated deliberately by those who hoped to bring the country into disrepute.⁶⁰

The fact that Nkrumah could come up with a statement of this nature, after suffering ten years of racial discrimination,

59. Ibid., p. 57.

60. Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p. 139.

proves the point that he could easily forget a bitter past when political necessity so dictated. Such moderation, however, weakened Nkrumah's position and thus prevented him from playing a leading role in the third world.

Nkrumah preached idealism, but his foreign policy behaviour was influenced by factors that were calculated to advance his own personal objectives. The result of this attitude was that more often than not, he looked like an opportunist. Thus, radical leaders like Sékou Touré never understood why Nkrumah could not take Ghana out of the Commonwealth.⁶¹ At the same time that he was reluctant to assert Ghana's economic independence, Nkrumah said:

When Africa becomes economically free and politically united, the monopolists will come face to face with their own working class in their own countries, and a new struggle will arise within which the liquidation and collapse of imperialism will be completed.⁶²

This is not to suggest that Nkrumah's anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism were lighthearted. The point is that the benefits attracted him and thus watered down his opposition. To the extent that these factors influenced Nkrumah's foreign policy images, then this must have been in a peripheral sense. However, it must be pointed out that his theoretical

61. Thompson, op.cit., p. 108.

62. Kwame Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism, London, Nelson, 1965, p. 256.

criticisms increased with time and during the latter period of his rule, they had assumed disproportionate dimensions.⁶³ This factor clearly calls for caution in analyzing Nkrumah's political behaviour. To draw conclusions about Nkrumah's foreign policy images entirely from his theoretical expositions is to invite problems and confusion in understanding his external behaviour.

The second element in the historical legacy that seems to have influenced Nkrumah's behaviour was neo-colonialism. Two factors combined to produce the concept of neo-colonialism with Nkrumah as its leading interpreter. Through economic and military ties, France and Britain continued to exercise considerable influence in the political affairs of their former African colonies after they had attained political independence. The second factor was the belated realization that independence had brought additional economic problems rather than abundant opportunities as the masses had been led to expect. Unwilling to accept responsibility for these problems, African leaders, notably Nkrumah, blamed all shortcomings on the "sinister forces of neo-colonialism". As the foremost exponent of this concept, Nkrumah said neo-colonialism,

63. For a very penetrating view of Nkrumah's anti-imperialism in general, and the United States brand in particular, see the above volume.

acts covertly, manoeuvring men and governments, free of the stigma attached to political rule. It creates client states, independent in name but in point of fact pawns of the very colonial power which is supposed to have given them independence.⁶⁴

Nkrumah did not count on the emergence of problems in post independent Africa because he had said, "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all other things will be added unto you."⁶⁵

The first person to bring post independent problems to Nkrumah's attention was George Padmore. Padmore rejected the development of closer ties with the West and equally warned against Russian influence in Africa. Padmore's prescription - and one that Nkrumah pursued with unlimited enthusiasm - was that only a United Africa could resist the spread of Communism in the continent.⁶⁶ Echoing Padmore's sentiments, Nkrumah cautioned,

Do not let us forget that colonialism and imperialism may come to us in a different guise, not necessarily from Europe. We must alert ourselves to be able to recognize this when it rears its head and prepare ourselves to fight against it.⁶⁷

64. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.174.

65. Quoted in Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.7.

66. Padmore offered an excellent discussion of the dangers of Communism and complemented it with the advantages of a union government in Africa. See his book Pan-Africanism or Communism? London, Dobson, 1956.

67. For a complete text, see Nkrumah, "An address to the Opening Session of the First All-African Peoples' Conference," Accra, Ghana, (December, 1958)

Nkrumah was very suspicious of Communist intentions and this in part explains why he ~~was~~ reluctant to develop closer ties with Communist countries immediately after Ghana became independent. In a speech in the United States in 1958, Nkrumah said that Communism was no danger in Ghana because of "our better institutions." Moreover, he added that these institutions would "not allow the ideology (Communism) to have any fruitful set-up in our country."⁶⁸

However, Nkrumah became convinced, like Padmore, that the only way to successfully fight neo-colonialism was through a Union government. In his view, African states that demonstrated unwillingness to support immediate unity, were by definition "puppets of neo-colonialist agents". The independence of such states therefore, was not realizable because they remained in practice, servants of foreign powers.⁶⁹ Without control of their own destiny, neo-colonialist states could not promote the interests of the people they were supposed to serve because,

the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality, its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside.⁷⁰

68. Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p.139.

69. Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism, op.cit., p.ix.

70. Ibid., p.x.

Nkrumah's suspicion that the French speaking African states were neo-colonialist was confirmed on two occasions. In the first instance, these states supported French atomic tests in the Sahara, and later accepted associate membership in the European Common Market. In a determined effort to assert Ghana's sovereignty, Nkrumah opposed French policy and said that he

was doing no more than expressing the indignation which all of us felt in using an area quite close to our land for testing these hideous weapons.⁷¹

Nkrumah's opposition to French policy was in part motivated by genuine desire to assert Ghana's independence. The second reason was based on a calculated strategy to advance Ghana's leadership of Africa. Evidence of this is to be found in the note handed to the French embassy by Ghana's foreign minister on July 3, 1959, which read,

Motivated as we are, by the spirit of humanity...we feel it our duty to speak not only for the people of Ghana, but also for all the African peoples.⁷²

In Nkrumah's view, French action was in effect a demonstration of the weaknesses of African states⁷³ which could be countered only through a Union government.

71. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.98.

72. Quoted in Ibid., pp.98-99.

73. Nkrumah, Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p.275.

The relationship that exists between former colonial masters and their now independent territories is rejected by Nkrumah in toto, as favouring the rich and great powers. In this case he says,

Neo-colonialism is the worst form of imperialism. For those who practice it, it means power without responsibility, and for those who suffer from it, it means exploitation without redress.⁷⁴

Nkrumah argued that it was in the interest of great powers to promote disunity in Africa, because a "Continental Government of Africa will immediately make the independent states of Africa a mighty world influence."⁷⁵ The decision to unite had to be made by Africans because,

Faced with a new situation, those who practice neo-colonialism would adjust themselves to this new balance of world forces in exactly the same manner as the capitalist world has in the past adjusted itself to any other change in the balance of power.⁷⁶

Nkrumah was critical of links between foreign associations and African countries. He attacked the associate membership of African states in the Common Market as neo-colonialist and by implication a hindrance to continental government. Furthermore he said,

74. Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism, op. cit., p.xi.

75. Nkrumah, "Speech at the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference at Winneba", (May 10, 1965) in Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah, London, Nelson, 1967, p.12.

76. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.259.

The less developed world will not become developed through the goodwill or generosity of the developed powers. It can only become developed through a struggle against the external forces which.... (keep) it undeveloped.⁷⁷

The remedy Nkrumah proposed was an African Common Market independent from foreign domination. But, this was to be organized within the framework of an organic political union of all African states, and it was precisely on this issue that the African leadership faced great divisions. To the extent that a political union could be achieved, it would not mean a complete disappearance of neo-colonialism. Nkrumah himself warned that the methods of neo-colonialists are subtle, operating at many levels including the economic, political, religious and cultural spheres. The remedy is "to study, understand, expose" in order to be in a position to "combat neo-colonialism in whatever guise it may appear."⁷⁸

The major problem however, is that neo-colonialism had acquired varied meanings and in the process, it became unsuitable as a concept for political analysis. For example, the curtailment of civil liberties, imposition of press censorship and in general the politization of Ghanaian society were amply justified as necessary measures to fight

77. Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism, op.cit., p.xix.

78. Ibid., p.239.

the sinister forces of neo-colonialism.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Nkrumah's failure to advance his objectives during the Congo crisis and by implication his Africa policy, was blamed on neo-colonialist forces.

However, after independence Nkrumah believed that Ghana and indeed himself, was under attack by neo-colonialist forces. This belief made him insecure, and suspicious of foreign powers, and in part explains his reluctance to exchange diplomatic relations with Communist states immediately after Ghana had attained independence. Except for a few instances, Nkrumah did not respond directly to what he described as neo-colonialist efforts to undermine African independence. The influence of neo-colonialism in the formation of his images, was indirect in that, it intensified his ~~o~~ commitment to Pan-Africanism.

The third element that constituted the major portion of Nkrumah's images was Pan-Africanism. In our discussion above, we emphasized the importance of the experiential component in the formation of Nkrumah's images. It was during his student days in the United States and Britain that Nkrumah greatly involved himself in Pan-African activities. Before examining the extent to which Nkrumah's commitment to

79. L. Gray Cowan, "Political Determinants" in African Diplomacy, McKay, ed., op.cit., p.125.

Pan-Africanism affected his foreign policy behaviour, we will analyze the historical roots of this concept which is based on the notion that,

all Africans have a spiritual affinity with each other and that, having suffered together in the past, they must march together into a new and brighter future.⁸⁰

At the outset, it must be pointed out that this concept was largely developed by United States and West Indian Negroes. They included religious figures, teachers and professional men. But the four most significant names that contributed to the strength of Pan-Africanism were,

E. W. Blyden, who was the distinguished nineteenth century precursor of later developments; W. E. B. Dubois who fathered a series of Pan-African Congresses; Marcus Garvey who sought to establish a "universal confraternity" and a central nation for the Negro race; and George Padmore, who served as a crystallizing center for Pan-Africanism in London, influencing many Africans, including Kwame Nkrumah.⁸¹

As we saw above, Nkrumah's involvement in Pan-African affairs began while he was a student in the United States and picked up momentum upon his arrival in London. There he met Dr. DuBois and George Padmore, the man he had written to

80. Rupert Emerson, "Pan-Africanism" in Africa and World Order, Norman J. Padelford and Rupert Emerson, eds., New York, Praeger, 1963, p. 12.

81. Ibid., p. 14.

from the United States introducing himself. Together with Padmore Nkrumah was joint secretary of the organization committee of the 1954 Pan-African Congress in Manchester. The influence these men exerted on Nkrumah was later to form the basis of his Africa policy when he became leader of Ghana. Like the men who had started Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah perceived the African continent as constituting a single and indivisible entity. This feeling was reinforced by his conception of pre-colonial Africa as a prosperous land with highly developed kingdoms. He said for example that,

The name 'Ghana' is deeply rooted in ancient African history,...it kindles in the imagination of modern African youth the grandeur and the achievement of a great medieval civilisation which our ancestors developed many centuries before European penetration and subsequent domination of Africa began.⁸²

The long period of rule by different colonial masters, meant the imposition of cultural and linguistic differences all over the continent. If Nkrumah recognized the obstacle these differences presented in the way of unity, he certainly did not reflect this in his strategy. In his independence

82. Nkrumah, "Speech in Legislative Assembly moving the adoption of the Government's White Paper", (May 18, 1956) in Axioms, op.cit., p.47.

speech, he committed Ghana to the liberation of Africa.⁸³

It must be pointed out that Nkrumah's image of Ghana was as a base for the execution of his Pan-African program.

Originally it (Ghana's independence) was not even his first.(objective) At one time he believed that freedom could be achieved only in West Africa as a whole, with all West African countries working concurrently towards Pan-Africanism.⁸⁴

This ideal was so strong in Nkrumah's mind that he never even considered the difficulties that would arise if South Africa were to join a Union of African states. Moreover, colonial boundaries were to disappear and so were the differences that separated the Arabs of North Africa from the blacks of Sub-Saharan Africa. All would have to respond if one were attacked.⁸⁵ Nkrumah took this view so seriously that at the age of 48 years, he married a 27 year old Egyptian woman whom he had never met.⁸⁶

The African unity so earnestly desired by Nkrumah could not get off the ground. His pride in Africa's past

83. Nkrumah, "Independence Speech", op.cit.

84. Douglas Warner, Ghana and the New Africa, London, Frederick Muller, 1960, p.154.

85. Cf. Nkrumah, "Speech at Conference of Independent African States", Accra, Ghana (April 15, 1958) in Axioms, op.cit., p.6.

86. This marriage proved to be one of the most bizarre unions within the African leadership circles. Nkrumah was embarrassed for not marrying a black Ghanaian girl - a factor which made him avoid public appearances with his Egyptian wife.

was not shared by other leaders who tended to identify more with either British or French traditions. His argument - and it seemed convincing - was that weakness would result from a divided Africa whereas a united Africa could "become one of the greatest forces for good in the world."⁸⁷ The Congo crisis confirmed Nkrumah's suspicions about the intentions of great powers who had reluctantly granted independence to their former African colonies and prompted him to say,

If we are to remain free, if we are to enjoy the full benefits of Africa's rich resources, we must unite to plan for our total defence and the full exploitation of our material and human means, in the full interest of all our people.⁸⁸

Nkrumah's response to the dangers of great power involvement in a divided continent was not accepted by other African leaders. He countered with more arguments in favour of unity. For Nkrumah, appearance, not reality counted most. Some of his arguments sounded convincing, but, upon closer examination, they proved to be of dubious value. For example, 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...I can best describe it as a sense of one-ness in that we are Africans.⁸⁹

87. Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p. xii.

88. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p. xvii.

89. Ibid., p. 132. To say that all Africans have more in common is to imply that black Africans share the Arab commitment to destroy Israel and South Africa's claim to racial superiority.

African leaders, especially those from Nigeria, who saw the obstacles to early unification and urged caution and moderation, were dismissed by Nkrumah as "neo-colonialist puppets". He said public opinion was in favour of unity and warned,

In the same way as mass pressure made it impossible for an African leader to oppose independence, so today mass pressure makes it impossible for him openly to oppose African unity.⁹⁰

Nkrumah's unceasing pronouncements against colonialism, imperialism, and later neo-colonialism, offered a contrast to the moderate speeches of the majority of African leaders. His posture, therefore, not only discredited these moderate leaders, but provided satisfaction for more distant and frustrated youths all over the continent.

Nkrumah, having identified his person with this goal, sought punitive actions for opponents and generously extended rewards to supporters.⁹¹ Where rewards could not be extended, Nkrumah organized and trained freedom fighters in Ghana, with specific assignments for overthrowing their legitimate governments. The influence of Pan-Africanism in the formation

90. Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism, op.cit., p. 24.

91. See Thompson, op.cit., pp. 66-7. For example, John Foncha, the leader of the KNDP in the former British Cameroon, promised to join forces with Nkrumah in his struggle against Nigeria. Nkrumah rewarded him with £10,000 to organize his campaign for the January 1959 elections against the pro-Nigeria party of Dr. Endeley.

of Nkrumah's foreign policy images, especially Ghana's Africa policy, was undoubtedly considerable.

The significant thing is not that Nkrumah wanted unity, but his rejection of alternative strategies for its realization. Nkrumah's goal of unity was based on a true analysis of Africa's interests and in his view, truth, by definition, was not subject to modification. Any suggestion that differed from Nkrumah's was by inference wrong and had to be corrected. Thus, President Nyerere of Tanzania, himself a devoted Pan-Africanist, was attacked by Nkrumah for supporting regional economic organizations. Nkrumah equated regional economic groupings with the regional assemblies he had abolished in Ghana because,

Economic unity to be effective must be accompanied by political unity. The two are inseparable, each necessary for the future greatness of our continent, and the full development of our resources.⁹²

Furthermore, Nkrumah dismissed efforts towards intra-African economic co-operation as devices by neo-colonialist agents to regain control over African resources. He said,

Unity is the first requisite for destroying neo-colonialism. Primary and basic is the need for a Union Government on the much divided continent of Africa.⁹³

It should be emphasized that in Nkrumah's view, every problem that confronted Africa would find a solution within the

92. Nkrumah, Neo-colonialism, op.cit., p. 30.

93. Ibid., p. 253.

framework of Union government.

In conclusion to this section on the influence of the legacy of history on the formation of Nkrumah's foreign policy images, I would stress that his early involvement in Pan-African activities to a large extent determined his political commitments. His opposition to colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism, served as reinforcements to his commitment to bring a Union government to Africa. This strategy was based on the tacit admission that the individual and weak states of Africa were incapable of individually combating these forces. His belief in himself and in his importance led him to think that his policy was the only suitable strategy in bringing unity to Africa. A genuine belief in Africa's prosperous past and the determination to augment its power and influence in the contemporary international system, in concert with other factors, greatly shaped Nkrumah's images of his role in Africa and through it, the global system.

III - THE ROLE OF IDEOLOGY

The third major component of the factors shaping Nkrumah's foreign policy images is the role of ideology. As we saw in our discussion of the experiential component, Nkrumah was impressed by the works of Marx and Lenin and this partly explains why he later joined the British Communist Party. However, his main attraction was to socialism, which he attempted to apply to African conditions. In a

determined effort to make himself the Lenin of Africa,⁹⁴ Nkrumah offered a series of doctrinal assertions as the ideology of Nkrumaism. Within this broad section on ideology, I will examine how socialism and Nkrumaism influenced the formation of Nkrumah's images.

Nkrumah's idealism motivated him to the goal of having a society organized on socialist principles. The extent to which this commitment influenced Nkrumah's images is at best conjectural, for he does not seem to have thoroughly assimilated any theory. As one of his closest advisers said, he possessed

the kind of intellect at the same time organising and practical, which enabled him to absorb, and turn to practical use, bits of theories that came his way...collecting ideas and storing them against the future, as a squirrel collects and stores nuts. The essential eclecticism of this approach is worth stressing.⁹⁵

Nkrumah's emphasis on practical results and organization lends confirmation to this view. In his autobiography, he admits that his primary interest was

to learn the technique of organization (for)...I knew that whatever the programme for the solution of the colonial question might be, success would depend upon the organization adopted.⁹⁶

94. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p. 33.

95. Thomas Hodgkin, "Unpublished article on Ghana", quoted in Austin, op.cit., p. 40.

96. Nkrumah, Autobiography, op.cit., p. 45.

When political necessity required, Nkrumah could give up any theory, and if the roles changed, the same theory was revived with equal enthusiasm. As one observer accurately remarked,

In his student days and in London he had fed on Marxist, anti-imperialist dogmas which had been laid aside in the practical struggle for self government; they must hardly have seemed relevant during the partnership established between himself and Arden-Clarke. (British Governor)⁹⁷

The logical result of this approach is that the ultimate belief system is fragmentary and thus incapable of providing an ideological base for a rigorous analysis of state behaviour. This is compounded by the fact that,

the doctrines of modernizing nationalism do not have the all encompassing quality of the great ideological world systems of Marxism... they may coincide in some respects with one or another element of these ideologies.⁹⁸

Having made these cautionary remarks, it is necessary to point out that the person who most influenced Nkrumah's commitment to socialism was George Padmore. Padmore's main thesis - and one that Nkrumah assumed - was that only a united Africa based on socialist principles was capable of

97. Austin, op.cit., p. 400.

98. Sigmund, ed., The Ideologies of the Developing Nations, op.cit., p. 4.

resisting Communism. He said,

It is for us, Africans, to subject Marxism to our own critical examination and see what there is in it which can be usefully applied to the conditions facing us in Africa in general and Ghana in particular.⁹⁹

Padmore's approach was more practical and by implication, suited Nkrumah. In a more general sense, Nkrumah's brand of socialism was a strategy for economic development. His primary interest was to rapidly modernize and industrialize Ghana, and in socialism, he found a useful instrument to accomplish this objective. Nkrumah

never made a secret of his conviction that the liberation of Africa depended, in the first instance, on political action, and, in the second instance, on the nationalization of basic resources and the transfer of all economic control from foreign hands to the Africans themselves.¹⁰⁰

Nkrumah's image of Ghana was as a center from where socialism would spread all over the African continent. It is significant to note that his concept of socialism in effect constituted an economic base for Pan-Africanism. The principle behind this position was that African independence was indivisible. In his view, real independence depended on economic independence, and the only force capable of bringing socialist development in Africa was a single, mass party

99. George Padmore, "A Guide to Pan-African Socialism" in African Socialism, Friedland and Rosberg, eds., op.cit. p.227.

100. Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.119.

organized on a continental basis.¹⁰¹ This is the role Nkrumah had sketched for the CPP in Ghana.¹⁰² The demand for African unity was necessitated by a special bond that linked all Africans together, and, in a similar sense, socialism appealed to Nkrumah because,

The restitution of Africa's humanist and egalitarian principles of society requires socialism. It is materialism that ensures... transformation of nature, and socialism that derives the highest development from this transformation.¹⁰³

African society, especially the post independence period is characterized by strong individualism - a factor which makes modern socialism unpopular. Granted that certain humanist and egalitarian principles are uniquely African, there seems to be no general support for their restitution.¹⁰⁴ Independence was supposed to bring benefits and not impose limitations on individual trading enterprises. As we saw above, Nkrumah's attempts to introduce limited measures in order to effect some degree of social justice, were vigorously opposed by members of the emerging middle class in Ghana.

It was these conditions that prompted Nkrumah to call for an African revolution as a means to bring about social

101. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.119.

102. See discussion on Party and Leader, Supra., Chapter I.

103. Nkrumah, Consciencism, op.cit., p.77.

104. For an interesting discussion on the non-egalitarian nature of African society in general and Ghana in particular, see K.A. Busia, The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political System of Ashanti, London, Oxford University Press, 1951.

justice. He believed that socialism could be established in Africa in the first instance, through a Union government and secondly, by drastic changes in the prevailing economic order since,

in reform, fundamental principles are held constant and the details of their expression modified. In the words of Marx, it leaves the pillars of the building intact.¹⁰⁵

Despite Marxism's obvious attraction to Nkrumah, he resented "foreign communism". Significantly, it was on this issue that he asserted Ghana's non-alignment from the Communist bloc, especially in his claim that the "scientific socialism" that came out of the ideological institute at Winneba was a revision of Marxism to suit the peculiar nature of African Society. Influenced by Padmore, Nkrumah wanted to avoid every trace of Russian or Chinese communism. This is not to say that he disliked Communist countries. His commitment to Pan-Africanism and non-alignment counteracted his friendship with Communist countries especially during the immediate post independence period. Economic necessity and not affinity for Communism motivated Nkrumah's preference for socialism.

105. Nkrumah, Consciencism, op.cit., p.74.

My assertion is that socialism is the only pattern that can within the shortest possible time bring the good life to the people. For socialism assumes the public ownership of the means of production..and the use...for production that will bring benefit to the people.¹⁰⁶

Nkrumah's foreign policy behaviour does not seem to have been significantly influenced by his commitment to socialism. His attraction to this ideal was cautiously guided by its practical relevance, as an economic base for Pan-African government.. As will be shown in the next chapter, the first shift in Ghana's non-alignment in favour of the Communist bloc occurred in 1961. However, this was largely conditioned by the fact that the West had frustrated Nkrumah's objectives in Congo and in the process, prevented him from advancing his strategy of bringing unity to Africa through bilateral unions.

A second element that seems to have been the cause as well as the consequence of Nkrumah's belief in himself, was the ideology of Nkrumaism that he sought to offer Ghana and Africa in that order. Nkrumah's first major attempt to advance this ideology was made in an appropriate reference to the CPP as a party,

106. Nkrumah, "Some Aspects of African Socialism" in African Socialism, Friedland and Rosberg, eds., op.cit., pp.259-60.

built up from our own experiences, conditions, environments, and concepts, entirely Ghanaian and African in outlook, and based on the Marxist socialist philosophy and world view.¹⁰⁷

It must be emphasized that, motivated by both a genuine concern for Africa and the desire to advance his personal ambitions, Nkrumah wanted to play a unique role in Africa's history - similar to that played by Lenin in the Soviet Union. In his student days, Nkrumah often lamented at Africa's lack of a symbol. One of his Ghanaian colleagues in the United States had this to say about him;

At Lincoln he always brooded about Africa's lack of a national symbol or myth. Britain had its monarchy, America had its flag and the constitution. But what had Africa?... He genuinely could not find this needed symbol and therefore decided to fill the gap with himself.¹⁰⁸

This feeling partly explains the continental focus of Nkrumah's main ideas. It is significant to note therefore, that Nkrumah thought of Ghana's interest in the context of the indivisible interest of Africa.

Some of the factors that influenced Nkrumah's image of his role in Africa have already been mentioned. It must be added that he believed that his education and experience qualified him to assume the leadership of Africa. The elevation of Nkrumaism to the plane of a national religion in Ghana was the

107. Quoted in Legum, op.cit., p.145.

108. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.417.

first step towards eventually making it an African ideology. The personality cult that started in Ghana was to spread to other parts of Africa in order to legitimize and facilitate the acceptance of Nkrumaism. The Ghanaian press had an important role in this strategy as can be seen from this comment on Nkrumaism.

Ever since Karl Marx gifted the world with his thoughts and worked on the scientific laws of social development...the national liberation movement...has produced men of international outlook who have enriched the Socialist Commonwealth with their positive contributions... One such genius is Kwame Nkrumah of Africa. That is why we in these parts speak of Marxism-Nkrumaism.¹⁰⁹

Nkrumah attempted to strengthen this image of his importance through the publication of books which pretended to offer solutions for Africa's problems. He acted, and fancied himself to be the first African in almost everything. Most astonishing, was his use of a royal favour as a reinforcement for his claim to a unique position in African history.

As you know, during my visit to Balmoral I had the honour of being made a member of the Queen's Privy Council. As the first African to be admitted into this great Council of State, I consider it an honour not only to myself, but also to the people of Ghana and to peoples of Africa and of African descent everywhere.¹¹⁰

109. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.292.

110. Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p.179.

Since the Ghanaian press was under Nkrumah's virtual control, press reports were in all likelihood, a reflection of his views. But, there was no systematically organized body of ideas that could aptly be called Nkrumaism. However, Nkrumah's portrayal as Marx's African counterpart, was indeed a sign that Africa too would have its own hero, and thus, a unique focus for identification. Nkrumah was rapidly propelling himself into a position which prompted the press to say,

The greater truth is that while Ghana is unquestionably Kwame Nkrumah, the man himself belongs to a scale far transcending the bounds of one nation, even of one continent and one race of people. He belongs to a whole historical epoch...Kwame Nkrumah...had to liberate the people of Ghana from the scourge of British colonialism, but the fire of liberation which he kindled did not burn in Ghana alone. It shone across the land mass of Africa, set ablaze a new fury which gnawed away the shackles of imperialism from the rest of the continent of Africa.¹¹¹

In the final analysis, Nkrumaism simply consisted of a series of doctrinal statements that sought to justify Nkrumah's claim to African leadership. This feeling greatly affected Nkrumah's behaviour and moreover, it inflated his image of his importance in the global system. Believing this to be the case, Nkrumah asked the Soviet leadership to channel all Russian aid to Africa through him!¹¹²

111. Quoted in Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., p.34.

112. Thompson, op.cit., p.174.

In conclusion to our analysis of the factors shaping Nkrumah's foreign policy images, some cautionary remarks seem necessary. Nkrumah's theoretical efforts in attacking colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, were more intellectual exercises than expressions of intended policies. To the extent that these factors influenced his behaviour, it must have been either indirectly or in a peripheral sense. Whenever practical concerns appeared urgent, Nkrumah readily laid aside bitter memories in order to extract political dividends from great powers.

Nkrumah's attraction to socialism was not motivated by ideological factors, but by a desire to use it as a means to effect rapid economic development in Ghana and Africa. However, his commitment to Pan-Africanism was total. His foreign policy images were largely shaped and influenced by the objective of African unity. Nkrumah's conviction of his indispensability, convinced him that this objective was not only desirable, but that it had to be achieved in his life time.

In the next chapter, we will examine in more specific ways how Nkrumah's foreign policy images influenced his behaviour in the global and regional systems.

CHAPTER III

CONTENT OF NKRUMAH'S FOREIGN POLICY IMAGES

In the previous chapter, we examined the factors that influenced or shaped Nkrumah's perception of Ghana's role in the international system. It was suggested that Pan-Africanism constituted the major factor that influenced Nkrumah's behaviour in the global system and in the regional system.

The task of this chapter is to analyze the extent to which Nkrumah's images affected his perception of Ghana's foreign policy goals. Official statements by the Ghanaian government, foreign policy initiatives and Nkrumah's own speeches and writings will provide the basic data for our analysis of the content of his images.

This chapter will be divided into two main sections:

- (a) Nkrumah's image of Ghana's status and role in the global system;
 - (b) Nkrumah's image of Ghana's status and role in the regional system;
-

(A) NKRUMAH'S IMAGE OF GHANA'S STATUS AND ROLE IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

1. PERCEPTION OF THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

Nkrumah's perception of the international system provided the global framework for Ghana's foreign policy during the period under study. His perception was characterized by an exaggeration of the differences that separated the global powers, unlimited belief in the United Nations as an agency for maintaining international peace, and over reliance on both the political homogeneity of the third world nations and their capacity for united action in the international system.

True, in 1957 when Nkrumah became Ghana's Prime Minister the cold war was the major feature of the international system. This situation prevented Nkrumah from considering the possibility that great powers could cooperate in matters that were vital to their interests. The non-aligned nations were not only to serve as mediators in global conflicts but were to exploit great power differences as a means of obtaining political dividends for themselves. As Nkrumah himself said about the new African states,

They shall either modernize with the interest and support of the West or be compelled to turn elsewhere. This is not a warning or a threat, but a straight statement of political reality.¹

Nkrumah's attitude towards great-power rivalry bordered on scorn, because he did not believe that some policies could be followed in such a political climate. His belief, therefore, was that

EAST or West, if we pursue the true interests of the masses of the world this will not only put a stop to war and liquidate colonialism but will end all forms of exploitation...resulting(in) the prosperity and happiness of mankind.²

Thus, Nkrumah thought that the policies of great powers were formulated in isolation from mass interests and could not be of real benefit to mankind. It should be pointed out that Nkrumah's idealism prevented him from considering the difficulties of implementing some of his recommendations. He never saw difficulties but only possibilities. On the threat global conflicts posed to peace he said,

A new and vigorous approach to the problem of peace and war is needed. The time has come when the destiny of mankind should cease to hang so dangerously on the aims and ambitions of the Great Powers.³

1. Kwame Nkrumah, "African Prospect" in Foreign Affairs, (October, 1958) p.53.

2. Nkrumah, "Speech at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries" (Belgrade, 1961) in Axioms of Nkrumah, op.cit., p.21.

3. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.198.

Nkrumah associated the spread of nuclear weapons with the danger of human destruction. Noting that in the past nations had gambled with the lives of mankind, he affirmed,

We do not threaten anyone and we renounce the foul weapons that threaten the very existence of life on this planet. Rather we put our trust in the awakening conscience of mankind which rejects this primitive barbarism.⁴

However, Nkrumah's hatred for nuclear weapons must be viewed within the context of the fact that Ghana lacked both the resources and technical know-how for the production of its own nuclear arsenal.

Ghana's lack of nuclear capability did not deter Nkrumah from attempting to assume the position that great powers alone could claim. This was due to the fact that he believed the nuclear stalemate had reduced the strength and importance of great powers. His position was based on the assumption that,

The growth of nuclear weapons has made out of date the old-fashioned balance of power which rested upon the ultimate sanction of a major war. Certainty of mutual mass destruction effectively prevents either of the great power blocs from threatening the other with the possibility of a world-wide war.⁵

Even without their use, possession of nuclear weapons alone guaranteed the great powers a certain amount of leverage and

4. Nkrumah, "Speech of welcome at Conference to discuss Positive Action and Security in Africa", Accra, (April, 1960) in Axioms of Nkrumah, op.cit., p.68.

5. Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism, op.cit., p.xi.

a stronger bargaining base than Nkrumah was prepared to see. By overlooking this factor, he was able to convince himself of his importance and that of Ghana in the international system.

One of the factors that tended to convince Nkrumah of his own prominence was the advantage and prestige that membership in the Commonwealth conferred upon him. The prospect of enjoying equal membership with a former colonial power such as Britain, offered a magnetic attraction to Nkrumah. Even before Ghana became independent, he said,

We believe that the Commonwealth will gain its greatest strength and influence from an association of nations, each and every one of which is fully sovereign and independent, and totally free from any external direction.⁶

The Commonwealth moreover, provided Nkrumah with a platform from which to make speeches on international matters. With the decline in the international position of Britain - partly because of economic difficulties - Nkrumah began to question the traditional importance of the Commonwealth. More important, he no longer thought it very beneficial to share the stage with the declining power that Britain had become in the 1960's. However, the Commonwealth remained the major link with Britain. Despite Nkrumah's attacks on British neo-colonialism, Ghana remained in the Commonwealth. In any event, by the mid 1960's membership in this organization had become a marginal consideration in Ghanaian foreign policy.

6. Nkrumah, "Speech in Accra", in Axioms, op.cit., p.26.

It must be emphasized however that in the immediate post-independence period membership in the Commonwealth occupied an important position in Nkrumah's perception of Ghana's interests. Thus, after the attainment of republican status in 1960, Nkrumah did not sever links with the Commonwealth. It was only after the international decline in importance of Britain, and by implication the Commonwealth, that Nkrumah's perception changed.

Nkrumah's idealism was clearly manifested in his perception of the United Nations. He dismissed the differences and rivalry between the bloc powers as unnecessary, wasteful and dangerous to international peace. He did not believe that the great powers were capable of putting aside their selfish aims in the interest of world peace. This factor therefore was partly responsible for his total reliance on the UN. He thought that UN intervention in international disputes could always serve as a neutralizing force. The Congo crisis proved this image inaccurate and produced a basic change in Nkrumah's perception of the world organization.

Nkrumah's idealism as a source of his belief in the UN has already been mentioned. He believed that the UN could be used as an instrument for the maintenance of peace and the defence of the interests of the Afro-Asian states. In his

view the only cause of mistrust and fear in the global system was due to ignorance. He therefore "proposed a UN Institute for the Truth" as a means to eliminate global ignorance and thus pave the way for the attainment of a peaceful world order. The objective of such an institute was to spread information in order to avoid the,

hate and intolerance which leads to war. When all citizens are able to call upon unbiased information on any subject, world opinion would soon be able to influence governments entangled in armaments races... the people of the world will not tolerate the distortion of scientific and engineering skill into the devilish travesty of research into new methods of mass destruction.⁷

It is significant to note that Nkrumah believed that a center of information could lead to an organized world opinion that would be powerful enough to influence policies of the great powers.

It was this optimism in the mechanism of international organization that led Nkrumah to attach immense importance to Ghana's membership in the United Nations. He felt that the UN was the only forum from which the voice of reason could be made to prevail in the minds of people who threatened the maintenance of peace. Thus, after Ghana became independent he said,

⁷. Quoted in Thompson, Ghana's Foreign Policy, op.cit., pp.25-26.

Ghana regards the faithful adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter as an integral part of her foreign policy and we shall continue to co-operate fully in the activities of the United Nations and its specialized agencies.⁸

Ghana's support for the UN was whole hearted. Nkrumah saw the world organization as a moral force in a world of tensions and conflicts that had been generated by bloc rivalry. Since Ghana lacked the power of armaments, Nkrumah thought that the power of moral force which resided in the UN offered the best prospect for successful foreign policies and added,

We may not have arms, but there is something like moral force in the Universe and if that moral force stands behind you, you have all the battalions behind you, and that is the way we are going to face this issue. (African liberation)⁹

As can be seen, Nkrumah's support for the UN and his belief in the strength of moral force were in effect due to the fact that they offered him the only attractive alternatives for advancing Ghana's interests in the global system. The failure of the UN to do what Nkrumah wanted for himself and Ghana during the Congo crisis led to an immediate shift in Nkrumah's attitude with reference to the world organization and Ghana's policy of non-alignment as well.

8. Nkrumah, "Speech in the National Assembly" (Accra, September, 1958) in Axioms of Nkrumah, op.cit., p.85.

9. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.35.

The eruption of the Congo crisis in July 1960 provided the first major test of the UN's ability to serve as an instrument for Ghana's foreign policy. Its failure prompted Nkrumah to say in March 1961 that the UN's objectives were,

not essentially African objectives(but were)
 ...aimed at halting the cold war by
 achieving a compromise between the great
 powers and they reflect, in all their im-
 perfections, the struggle of the great
 powers over issues which do not affect
 Congo or Africa.¹⁰

But, UN intervention was not conditioned by the necessity of advancing African objectives. It was based on the premise that the situation in Congo constituted a threat to international peace.¹¹ In this, Nkrumah had failed to understand the true purpose of the UN intervention in the Congo crisis.

However, Nkrumah's idealism in the UN had been tempered. Previously, he believed that the UN represented the voice of morality in the international system. In other words, he thought that the UN could act according to the dictates of morality alone and not on the basis of the desires of great powers. The change in Nkrumah's perception further became evident when he remarked,

10. "Osagyefo at the United Nations" (March, 1961) quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.159.

11. For a more detailed discussion on the Congo crisis and Ghana's role, see infra., section "B".

In actual fact, however, the UN is just as reliable an instrument for world order and peace as the Great Powers are prepared to allow it to be.¹²

It must be underlined that 1960 marked a change in Nkrumah's perception of the international system. What happened, to be sure, was that Nkrumah was then able to see the weaknesses of the UN because he blamed the failure of Ghana's Congo policy on the imperialists who had used the UN for their own purposes.¹³ If in the past Nkrumah had expected any political assistance from the West in support of his Africa policy, the Congo crisis had convinced him that significant assistance could only come from the East. In his view, the Western powers had used the UN as an instrument for advancing their own interests and in the process both Ghana and the Soviet Union had been relegated to peripheral positions.

Nkrumah became increasingly hostile to the Western powers. He now began to feel that peaceful co-existence was impossible.

Until colonialism and imperialism in all their various forms and manifestations have been completely eradicated from Africa, it would be inconsistent for the African Revolution to co-exist with imperialism.¹⁴

The Soviet Union became the chief beneficiary of this change in Nkrumah's perception of the global system.

12. Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p.xii.

13. Cf. Nkrumah, The Challenge of the Congo, op.cit., pp.31ff

14. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.204.

Nkrumah for example, now sought to assert his independence from the West even where common interests prevailed. He said Ghana was ideologically different from the West and added,

There is such a thing as peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems; but as long as oppressive classes exist, there can be no such a thing as peaceful co-existence between opposing ideologies.¹⁵

The new Kennedy administration became a countervailing force to Nkrumah's increasing involvement with the Soviet Union. Nkrumah had a great admiration for President Kennedy and his family. Kennedy in turn assured Nkrumah that the United States was prepared to work for the elimination of Portuguese colonialism in Africa, and the construction of the Volta River Project in Ghana. If Kennedy's gestures did not reduce the increasing Russian influence in Ghana at the time, they at least ensured that an equilibrium would be maintained.¹⁶

Nevertheless, Nkrumah remained suspicious of the great powers' policies in Africa and felt that their total exclusion from continental activities offered the only guarantee to peace and freedom. He believed that Africa was engaged in a perpetual struggle and warned,

Only Africa can fight for its destiny. In this struggle we shall not reject the assistance and support of our friends, but we will yield to no enemy, however strong.¹⁷

15. Nkrumah, Consciencism, op.cit., p.57.

16. Thompson, op.cit., pp.170-1.

17. Nkrumah, "Speech in National Assembly", Accra, (August, 1960) in Axioms, op.cit., p.1.

The multiplicity of independent African states was both "heartening and at the same time disturbing"¹⁸ to Nkrumah because he felt that this situation would attract great power intervention in continental affairs. Thus, in a speech to the UN, he said,

Africa wants her freedom, Africa must be free. It is a simple call, but it is also a signal lighting a red warning to those who would tend to ignore it.¹⁹

Nkrumah's perception was based on the strategy that the UN machinery could be used as a deterrent to great power involvement and thus ensure Africa's freedom. In this, he greatly relied on the backing and support of the third world bloc within the UN for his policies.

11. PERCEPTION OF THE THIRD WORLD

The third world nations occupied an important position in Nkrumah's foreign policy strategy. He perceived this bloc as a countervailing force that could mediate between great power rivalry, and through the UN, ensure peace in the global system. Most important was Nkrumah's belief in the monolithic structure of this bloc within the international system. His perception was based on the fact that the peoples of the third world had a common historical past - they had all been victims of colonialism and exploitation. In the contemporary world, their commonality was poverty, underdevelopment and

18. Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, op.cit., p.xiii.

19. Nkrumah, "Speech in UN General Assembly", (September, 1960) in Axioms, op.cit., p.2.

deprivation of the benefits of industrial technology.

Speaking for this bloc Nkrumah said,

The great millions of Africa, and of Asia, have grown impatient of being hewers of wood and drawers of water, and are rebelling against the false belief that providence created some to be the menials of others.²⁰

This attitude may in part explain Nkrumah's close identification with the national liberation movements in the less developed areas of the world. This is evident from his remark that,

We have witnessed the greatest awakening ever seen on this earth of suppressed and exploited peoples against the powers that have kept them in subjection. This, without a doubt, is the most significant happening of the twentieth century.²¹

It must also be added that as a romantic revolutionary, Nkrumah found unlimited attraction in the struggles for national independence.

However, to Nkrumah, the homogeneity of the third world was self evident in its poverty. As he said in a speech,

When we talk of disarmament, we...nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe do not merely draw attention to the destructiveness and madness of the armaments race; we draw attention to the vast possibilities now denied the people of the less-developed areas for increased standards of living.²²

20. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.ix.

21. Ibid., p.x.

22. Nkrumah, "Speech at the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries", Belgrade, (September, 1961) in Axioms, op.cit., p.67.

For a leader who was determined to bring rapid economic development to his country, expenditures in the armaments industry appeared wasteful.

Nkrumah therefore believed that the rich nations were preventing the third world nations from enjoying the benefits of economic progress. He said that only social justice could rectify the situation and added,

The true nature of the struggle taking place in Africa and the world between the forces of progress and those of reaction (is) in the final analysis... the fight of the common man against injustice and privilege.²³

It is significant to note the similarity between Nkrumah's perception of the struggles in the developing areas with that of the Soviet Union. Thus, all efforts directed against the "reactionary" Western powers were by definition progressive.

Nkrumah's confidence in the cohesiveness of the third world nations was in part the result of his idealism. This was most evident when speaking of the growing identity of interests of the underdeveloped world he remarked:

Out of the contradictions and conflicts of vested interests, a new international community must emerge. The process may be slow, but it is inevitable. This new international community can only serve mankind if it is firmly established on freedom, equality and interdependence between nations.²⁴

23. Nkrumah, Challenge of the Congo, op.cit., p.x

24. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.ii.

It is worth noting that Nkrumah's interest in the emergence of a new international community was the result of his loss of faith in the UN. The freedom and equality of all member states in the UN had been virtually negated by the great powers dominance of the world organization. To Nkrumah, equality and justice were only reserved for the peoples of the rich nations who had for a long time benefited from the fruits of colonial labour. This attitude was hypocritical because,

Statesmen have broadcast the need to respect fundamental freedoms, the right of men to live free from the shadow of fears which cramp their dignity when they exist in servitude, in poverty, in degradation and contempt. They proclaimed the Atlantic Charter and the Charter of the United Nations, and then said that all these had no reference to the enslaved world outside the limits of imperialism and racial arrogance.²⁵

The third world nations were therefore the victims of the double standard of morality practiced by the West. The possibility of making some concessions as a means to achieve mutual understanding seemed remote. Nkrumah's hopes were thus based on the strategy that,

The history of human achievement illustrates that when an awakened intelligentsia emerges from a subject people it becomes the vanguard of the struggle against alien rule.²⁶

25. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.xi.

26. Ibid., p.43.

The point must further be underlined that Nkrumah perceived of the third world as a group of states that had suffered from imperialist domination. The close identification of the soviet Union with the developing nations in their struggle for independence contributed to the resentment of Western policies. As Nkrumah himself said,

Whenever there is armed struggle against the forces of reaction, the nationalists are referred to as rebels, terrorists, or frequently 'communist terrorists'.²⁷

In Nkrumah's view, western indifference was due to its inherent disregard for the fundamental rights of other peoples. This attitude was therefore divisive because it limited the possibilities of mutual cooperation. Nkrumah warned that,

wherever there is the possibility of conflict arising out of discriminations and the refusal of human rights, the peace of the world is threatened.²⁸

The practice of racialist policies against peoples of the developing areas was a threat to peace, and more important, Nkrumah resented all forms of racialism. His "Wilsonian view" of the world left no room for the acceptance of the practice of denying individual rights to other segments of humanity. As he stated in a speech,

We repudiate and condemn all forms of racialism, for racialism not only injures those against whom it is used, but warps and perverts the very people who preach and project it.²⁹

27. Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism, op.cit., p.247.

28. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.203.

29. Nkrumah, "Speech of welcome at Accra Conference of Independent African States" (April, 1958) in Axioms of Nkrumah, op.cit., p.78.

In spite of this, Nkrumah obviously overestimated the solidarity of the third world nations. True, they had been victims of colonialism, exploitation and racial prejudice. But, within the third bloc itself, there were widespread racial differences. What had the Chinese with their long and proud history in common with the newly independent and fragmentary African states? Did the other third bloc members share Nkrumah's assertion that,

The fortunes of the African revolution are closely linked with the world-wide struggle against imperialism. It does not matter where the battle erupts, be it in Africa, Asia or Latin America, the master-mind and master-hand at work are the same. The oppressed and exploited people are striving for their freedom against exploitation and suppression?³⁰

Nkrumah had an international conception of "imperialist forces" - and hence his belief that the third world had a common enemy. Whether this in itself was sufficient to conclude that a threat in Asia endangered peace in Africa borders on exaggeration and must be viewed with skepticism. To be sure, it was in Nkrumah's character to stress affinity where differences existed if only this could attract support for a view he already held. Towards the latter part of his

30. Nkrumah, "Address to the National Assembly", Accra, (June, 1965) in Ibid., p.46.

leadership, he appeared more committed to making Africa an integral part of the third world - probably as a means of strengthening his own leadership in that bloc. In this vein he said,

It would be folly for us to dream of Africa as a peaceful and thriving continent in the midst of a world convulsed by armed conflicts, tormented by hunger and disease and continually menaced by imperialist intrigue and aggression.³¹

Nkrumah's perception of the third world as a monolithic bloc was based on wishful thinking and exaggerated similarities. To the extent that he did perceive the heterogeneous factors that separated members of this bloc, they never tempered his strategy. As the Congo crisis demonstrated, any cohesion that existed within this bloc was tenuous. Consequently, the gap that existed between Nkrumah's perception of the third world and its real nature, was clearly manifested in his perception of Ghana's status and role in the global system.

III. PERCEPTION OF POLICY IN THE GLOBAL SYSTEM

The objective of Nkrumah's behaviour in the global system was to maintain a policy of non-alignment. On the concept of non-alignment he said,

31. Nkrumah, "Speech at opening of the Summit Conference of the Organization for African Unity", Accra, (October, 1965) in Ibid., p.50.

This attitude of non-alignment does not imply indifference to the great issues of our day. It does not imply isolationism. It is in no way anti-western; nor is it anti-Eastern. The greatest issue of our day is surely to see that there is a tomorrow.³²

Nkrumah foresaw a very ambitious role for Ghana. His leadership of the independence movement, and the subsequent attainment of this goal, had brought him considerable international standing. The emergence of Ghana attracted world wide attention and thus provided Nkrumah with a prominence that eclipsed his real influence in the international system. Nkrumah sought to strengthen his position when he ambitiously declared the aims of Ghana's foreign policy as,

African independence, African unity, and the maintenance of world peace through a policy of positive neutrality and non-alignment.³³

The ideal of a policy of non-alignment proved to be very elusive. During the years ~~1957-1960~~¹⁹⁵⁷⁻¹⁹⁶⁰ Ghana's policy of non-alignment strongly favoured the West because of two factors;

- (a) George Padmore was suspicious of Communist intentions in Africa and influenced Nkrumah to exercise caution in developing closer ties with the Socialist bloc.
- (b) The second factor and perhaps the most important, was that Nkrumah wanted to attract Western financial investments

32. Cf. Nkrumah, "Speech to the Council on Foreign Relations", USA, (July, 1958)

33. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.199.

for the industrialization of Ghana. Furthermore, he was anxious to bring negotiations on the Volta River Project to a successful conclusion. In these endeavours, Nkrumah had the able assistance of Sir Robert Jackson.

The combination of these two factors produced the moderation and caution that characterized Ghanaian foreign policy during this period. This strategy was politically sound since, closer ties with the East during the immediate post-independence period could have jeopardized Nkrumah's chances of receiving Western financial assistance for his domestic programs.

Immediately after Ghana became independent, Nkrumah made a concerted effort to strengthen relations with the West. He attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' conference in London in 1957, and in 1958 he made a widely publicized trip to the United States. Admittedly, these trips led to an enormous increase in his prestige and thus, a brightening of the spotlight that Ghana already possessed.³⁴ Simultaneously, diplomatic relations were exchanged with Western countries but, there was no similar development with the nations of the Socialist bloc. It was not until April 1959 that the Soviet Union was permitted to dispatch an ambassador to Accra. Ghana took a year to reciprocate.

34. Italiaander, The New Leaders of Africa, op.cit., p.230.

Only in July 1960, were relations established with Communist China.³⁵ Though slow, this process began to add credibility to Ghana's non-alignment.

However, the domestic situation changed with the death of Padmore in 1959. Party radicals moved in quickly to fill the vacuum and asked for a severance of Commonwealth ties, closer relations with Communist countries and increased efforts to bring Union government in Africa. These developments affected Nkrumah's behaviour in the global system because, what determines non-alignment is not only,

the nature of a country's underdevelopment: it is political circumstances, the psychology of the elite groups and of the peoples that determine the form of non-alignment or alignment in favour of one bloc or another.³⁶

The increased activism of the radicals within the party leadership had led to a decline in the influence of party moderate members who were committed to the maintenance of traditional ties with Western countries. Nkrumah's reluctance to disrupt traditional ties was based on the fact that he still needed Western assistance for the development of Ghana's economy.

Nkrumah moreover believed that the great powers were locked in a power struggle and thus were incapable of maintaining international peace. His policy therefore was

35. For a discussion on Ghana's relations with Communist countries during the immediate independence period, see Thompson, op.cit., pp.100-2.

36. Raymond Aron, Peace and war, New York, Doubleday, 1966, p.511.

based on the strategy that by working through the UN, the non-aligned nations could contribute to the maintenance of peace and thus augment their power and influence in the global system. He said the pursuit of a policy of non-alignment was based on the conviction that,

international blocs and rivalries exacerbate and do not solve disputes and that we must be free to judge issues on their merits and to look for solutions that are just and peaceful, irrespective of the Powers involved.³⁷

The non-aligned nations were to judge not only when to maintain neutralism, but also what constituted just and peaceful behaviour in the international system. More important however, was Nkrumah's perception of the policy of non-alignment as a means of extracting political dividends from the both rival great powers. The strategy was to maintain good relations with both because,

It would be suicidal to involve ourselves in the disputes of the great powers by taking sides. We will continue to cultivate and maintain friendly relations with all countries, and to be enemy to none.³⁸

The rapid adherence to non-alignment as a policy for the developing areas was largely a dictate of political necessity. The states constituting this bloc were neither formally organized nor were they committed to following uniform policies.

³⁷. Nkrumah, "Speech to Council on Foreign Relations", op.cit.

³⁸. Nkrumah, "Speech in the National Assembly", Accra, (December, 1959) in Axioms, op.cit., p.66.

Furthermore, there was no precise definition of non-alignment - a factor which made its suitability as a denominator for political analysis at best, difficult. As one observer said,

The diplomacy of each non-aligned nation is a function at one and the same time of its local situation, its internal regime, its ideological preferences, and its fears and preferences.³⁹

The eruption of the Congo crisis was the first major test for the cohesiveness and solidarity of the non-aligned nations. Nkrumah supported UN intervention in the first instance because he thought the non-aligned nations were to dominate the operation. To the extent that the non-aligned nations were capable of presenting a united front, Nkrumah could have succeeded in keeping the great powers out of Africa, which to be sure, was the crux of his strategy.

The precise role and influence that Nkrumah enjoyed in the non-aligned bloc cannot be said with any degree of certainty. However, there is evidence to suggest that his estimate of his importance in this bloc was considerably high as can be seen from the letter he wrote to Patrice Lumumba during the Congo crisis,

As regards the external work, especially concerning the Security Council and UNO, leave that to me. You can be sure that on any issue, I shall mobilise the Afro-Asian bloc and other friendly nations to support you. (emphasis added)⁴⁰

39. Aron, Peace and War, op.cit., p.535.

40. Nkrumah, Challenge of the Congo, op.cit., p.44.

Contrary to Nkrumah's expectations, the UN proved incapable of immediately imposing order in Congo. In the process, the UN had become "a battlefield of national and bloc forces" and was thus "condemned to carry to the scene of domestic chaos its own chaos of individual interests and global incoherence."⁴¹ Furthermore, the great powers had surprised Nkrumah by demonstrating that they could cooperate in matters that affected their vital interests.

In the end, the non-aligned nations were incapable of acting collectively and in the process, helped to deny Nkrumah the victory he wanted in the Congo. The non-aligned nations cannot be considered as a bloc. They failed to perform the role of arbiter in the Congo crisis, split into groups and thus, became rather ineffective.⁴² Nkrumah's objective in Congo was to advance the goal of African unity. The UN had failed to ensure that what he wanted done was done - a factor which led him to question the neutrality of the world organization.⁴³ In an attempt to serve its interests, the West had dragged Africa into the cold war - precisely what Nkrumah wanted to avoid. As we saw above the Congo aftermath marked a turning point in Nkrumah's external behaviour.

41. Stanley Hoffmann, "In Search of a Thread: The UN in the Congo Labyrinth" in Africa and World Order, Padelford and Emerson, eds., op.cit., p.87.

42. Aron, op.cit., p.535.

43. Hoffmann, op.cit., p.74.

Nkrumah's response was to activate Ghana's non-alignment. Previously, he had preached non-alignment but followed policies that favoured the west. The failure of the West to favour him in Congo changed his perception of Ghana's external interests. He began tipping Ghana's non-alignment in favour of the Socialist bloc. In our analysis of the factors shaping Nkrumah's images, it was stressed that Pan-Africanism constituted the major component. The link between Pan-Africanism and Nkrumah's behaviour in the global system is worth emphasizing. Thus, Nkrumah's failure to advance his objective of African unity during the Congo crisis was the immediate cause of the change in Ghana's non-alignment. Another factor that pushed Nkrumah into developing closer ties with the socialist bloc was the increase in power and influence of the radicals in his party. The combination of these two factors greatly influenced Nkrumah as he began to take sides in matters which he had previously regarded as peripheral to Africa's interests.⁴⁴

The shift in Nkrumah's behaviour was further confirmed by the representation of his Convention Peoples' Party at the twenty second Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the visit of the then Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. In any event, Nkrumah had waited long enough before developing friendly relations with the

44. For a discussion of Ghana's contributions, success and failures in Congo, and the penetration of the regional system by the global system, see section in this chapter on regional system.

East. In what one author describes as a "pilgrimage", Nkrumah set out on a tour of Communist countries,⁴⁵ with radical members of his party. Everything being equal, it could be argued that this visit was necessary as a means to bring some credibility to Nkrumah's claim to non-alignment which had in the past favoured the West. He had after all, visited Western countries immediately after Ghana became independent, but had not repeated this process with the Communist bloc. However, the significance of the tour lay in the timing because:

(a) The tour was undertaken at a time when the party's moderate members - who favoured continued ties with Western countries - had been purged and replaced by the radicals who wanted closer ties with the Communist bloc.

(b) The second and perhaps more important factor, was that the tour came shortly after the West had denied Nkrumah the victory he wanted in the Congo as a means of advancing his objective of African unity.

Viewed from this perspective, it could be suggested that Nkrumah's tour of Communist countries was an admission of a change in his external behaviour.

45. See Appendix "E"

Nkrumah was impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union. In speeches there, he lavishly praised the Soviet Union while his radical supporters cheered. Here, he saw proof that a multinational state could indeed become a reality in Africa. In what was a calculated speech to please his hosts as well as gain publicity for his drive to unite Africa, Nkrumah said,

The Peoples of the Soviet Union, by so effectively welding many Republics and nationalities together into one great country, have demonstrated the effectiveness of political union (applause). This is (an) achievement which we can emulate in Africa where the conditions for unity are so favourable and the necessity so imperative.⁴⁶

Nkrumah offered Accra as a site for great power talks on Berlin and in a direct support for Soviet policy, he urged for the conclusion of a treaty with Germany to enable the nations of the world to "recognize the existence of these two states" and also to help "them to co-exist peacefully".⁴⁷ The Soviet Union for their part dutifully publicized these speeches which were significant for their anti-Western bias. With these developments grew doubts about the credibility of Nkrumah's brand of non-alignment. His actions had placed both the Volta project and the Royal visit he badly needed to increase support for his regime in doubt.

46. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.175.

47. Quoted in Ibid., p.176.

Thus, the West still had sufficient instruments to use to persuade Nkrumah that a stable equilibrium was in his own interests.

Nkrumah had a passion for international speech making. In the face of mounting domestic failures, the appearance of success in foreign tours brought prestige to his regime. It was circumstances like this that misled Nkrumah as to his real impact in international affairs. He sounded like a preacher of morality in a world that practiced the game of politics. For example, he said if the uncommitted nations exerted sufficient influence, a "proper sense of values" would be restored to the world.⁴⁸ This was indeed vision!

The Volta project hung in doubt. Fortunately for Nkrumah, he still had the services of Sir Robert Jackson. Sir Jackson and his wife enjoyed a very close relationship with the Kennedy Family. It was this position that they adequately exploited in convincing President Kennedy to decide in favour of United States participation in this scheme. It was one of President Kennedy's most important and difficult decisions.⁴⁹

48. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.199.

49. For a detailed and interesting account on President Kennedy's decision in favour of the United States participation in the Volta project, see especially Arthur M. Schlesinger, A Thousand Days, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1965, pp.499ff.

However, Nkrumah was not to have the benefit of a royal visit without making a major concession which amounted to a repudiation of his previous policies. Along with the Ghanaian press, Nkrumah had been attacking British policies as "neo-colonialist". Shortly before the scheduled Royal visit, Duncan Sandys, then Commonwealth Secretary, flew to Ghana and in the end, had Nkrumah sign a humiliating communique. Among other things, Nkrumah agreed with Sandys that the British government did not attach "strings" to aid given; "accusations against Britain of neo-colonialism were therefore not justified."⁵⁰ A pertinent question is how seriously did Nkrumah take his own speeches? He had signed the Charter of the Organization for African Unity - an action which constituted a rejection of previous policies. Faced with the unlikely alternative of missing the Queen's visit, he easily repudiated his own speeches and policies. This must remain one of the major ironies of Nkrumah's statesmanship.

Nkrumah's conciliatory gestures to the United States and Britain were dictated by political necessity. He was not to implement them in any meaningful way because he had ceased to rely on Western support for his drive towards African unity. There was a further strain in relations with Ghana's traditional allies which in the long run, hindered the realization of Nkrumah's global objectives.

50. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.189.

In the pursuit of his foreign policy goals, Nkrumah failed to take into account,

the national interests of other states, as they are judged by the other states. This task applies to friendly states as well as those that are antagonistic, for the exigencies of international politics require that friendly nations must work together.⁵¹

The East European tour did not only affect Nkrumah's non-alignment, it hardened his commitment to socialism. For example, he abolished the previous economic plan in Ghana and in its place, was to be constructed a new plan based on "socialist development".⁵² The Soviet Union hastened this process and in May 1962, Nkrumah was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize.

On balance, relations with the Communist bloc proved to be very costly in terms of Ghana's economic interests. His commitment to improved relations with the Socialist bloc increased as did the power and influence of the party radicals. In his desire to improve relations with the East, Nkrumah sacrificed his long range objectives for immediate goals. Friendly relations could have been developed with the Communist states without the necessity of disrupting long

51. Padelford and Lincoln, Dynamics, op.cit., p.238.

52. For a more detailed discussion on the effects of this tour on domestic economic policies, see E.N. Omaboe, "The Process of Planning" in A Study of Contemporary Ghana, op.cit., pp.450ff.

and established ties with the West because in foreign policy,

specific ends are designed to serve more general ends; divergent goals are considered necessary to the achievement of unified goals...the same phenomena can be classified as both ends and means.⁵³

Negligible co-ordination and the pursuit of contradictory objectives were the major factors that tended to erode whatever benefits Nkrumah's leadership brought to Ghana.

Communist countries had made very ambitious promises to Ghana for technical assistance but what they actually gave was marginal. By freezing relations with the West, Nkrumah had cut Ghana off from its traditional sources of trade, foreign investment and technical assistance. Promises made by Eastern countries were not forthcoming. The economic situation had become critical. Unbelievably, Nkrumah himself was acknowledging this fact. When faced with difficult situations, he made overtures to the West. As if he had changed,

He invited an IMF and World Bank mission to Ghana, publicly accepting their conditions for support...Nkrumah conspicuously increased the power of avowedly pro-Western economists.⁵⁴

But these conciliatory gestures had come too late. For

53. James N. Rosenau, ed., International Politics and Foreign, op.cit., p.142.

54. Thompson, op.cit., p.363.

years, the Western governments thought, Nkrumah had hidden his true intentions. He had professed friendship with them, but in fact followed a reckless and ultimately disastrous course.⁵⁵

The declaration of independence by Rhodesia led to a final strain in relations with Britain. Previously, Nkrumah had preached radicalism but followed policies that were significant for their moderation. The situation changed as Nkrumah became apparently convinced that only radicalism could ensure the realization of his objectives. He called for military sanctions, blamed Britain and urged a mobilization of an African force under UN supervision to crush the rebellion in Rhodesia. But, all this was familiar talk. Five years earlier, he had spoken in the same manner over the Congo crisis. This time, the UN had already learned its lesson. Moreover, the UN had not fully recovered from the financial dislocation it suffered in Congo.

A special OAU ministerial level meeting decided that all member states break off diplomatic relations with Britain if the Smith regime were not crushed by December 15, 1965.⁵⁶ This decision was made for Nkrumah - thus denying

55. Ibid., p.363.

56. Africa Report, (January 1966) p.21.

him the opportunity to demonstrate his radicalism. In any event, Nkrumah was determined to show his commitment to Pan-Africanism. He sought and got authorization from the Ghanaian Parliament to set up a special militia for action in Rhodesia.⁵⁷ This happened at a time that the economy was near the point of collapse. It was precisely during such periods that Nkrumah advocated radical policies. The mobilization of a special militia thus helped to shift attention away from the pressing domestic problems. On December 16, 1965, Nkrumah announced his decision to break off diplomatic relations with the British government.⁵⁸ Very few countries⁵⁹ bothered to follow Nkrumah's decision to honour the OAU resolution.

Once more, the influence of Pan-African objectives in Nkrumah's behaviour in the global system should be stressed. The immediate cause of the shift in Ghana's non-alignment in favour of the East, was Nkrumah's failure to advance his Pan-African objectives during the Congo crisis. And, again, Nkrumah's decision to break off relations

57. Ibid., p.34.

58. Africa Report (January, 1966) p.34.

59. The only African states that carried out the OAU resolution to break diplomatic relations with Britain were; Tanzania, Guinea, Ghana, Congo-Brazaville, Mali, Mauritania, United Arab Republic, Sudan and Algeria. See Africa Report, (February, 1966) p.22.

with Britain was the dictate of his desire to support the resolution of the OAU. The influence of Pan-African objectives on Nkrumah's external behaviour was pointed out at the outset of this case study.

The moderation that characterized Nkrumah's behaviour totally disappeared in face of his increased determination to pursue a policy of genuine radicalism. In December 1965, he also proclaimed that the Commonwealth had failed in its mission and said at the next OAU meeting, Ghana

would therefore propose that all African states sever such links as stand in the way of African unity or impede its progress.⁶⁰

For the first time, Nkrumah was in effect admitting that membership in the Commonwealth had affected his Pan-African objectives. Indeed, this had been the case, especially in connection with South Africa's membership in the Commonwealth. It was President Nyerere and not Nkrumah who declared that "Tanganyika could have no place in an organization that included South Africa."⁶¹

60. Nkrumah, "An Address by the President of Ghana to the National Assembly in Accra", in Thompson, op.cit., p.394.

61. Nkrumah's moderation however, must be viewed within the context of his overall strategy to attract foreign investments to Ghana. He had tried strenuously to avoid a showdown on the question of South Africa's membership in the Commonwealth. For a discussion on this point, see Ibid., p.172.

In retrospect, three factors - somewhat interrelated - had combined to tip Nkrumah's non-alignment in favour of the Eastern bloc.

(a) The East's original attraction to Nkrumah was counteracted by his desire to complete negotiations for the Volta project on which he depended for the industrialization of Ghana.

(b) He wanted to demonstrate his independence from the West especially after their failure to support his Congo policy.

(c) The party radicals had become increasingly powerful and influential following the death of Padmore. They urged Nkrumah to develop closer ties with the Communist bloc. To a great extent, the radicals constituted the only domestic group that posed a threat to Nkrumah's leadership. By pursuing the policies that this group advocated, Nkrumah had in effect acknowledged their victory in order to ensure his own political survival.

The increased radicalism brought Nkrumah greater prominence in the non-aligned bloc. Misled by appearance, he equated his apparent prominence with actual political influence in the global system. Convinced of his influence, and the fact that the great powers were incapable of action, Nkrumah thought that he alone could get them to start peace talks as a means of bringing the Viet Nam war to an end. His abortive peace mission to Hanoi in February 1966 must be viewed in the light of:

- (a) his idealism.
- (b) his habit of confusing appearance with actual political influence in the international system.
- (c) the domestic benefits of foreign tours and international speech making.

It is difficult to believe that Nkrumah took his peace mission seriously. He had neither received encouragement from the United States nor from North Viet Nam - the two powers immediately locked in the struggle.⁶²

In the end, Nkrumah had not only failed to bring credibility to Ghana's non-alignment, but, by overestimating his power and influence, he had become virtually detached from the realities of global politics.

62. The primary motive for the trip appears to have been the desire to increase popularity for his regime. In face of mounting domestic and foreign policy failures, Nkrumah and his press had an impressive record of manufacturing successes for foreign tours. With the economy in disarray, and the regime almost at the point of collapse, there was greater need for a tour that could be used to provide support for his regime. The significant thing however, is that Nkrumah undertook this trip without giving consideration to an army takeover.

(B) NKRUMAH'S IMAGE OF GHANA'S STATUS AND ROLE IN THE REGIONAL SYSTEM

I. PERCEPTION OF THE REGIONAL SYSTEM

Nkrumah's perception of the regional system i.e. Africa, complemented his perception of the third bloc. The only difference lay in the fact that Africa's interests were more immediate to him than those of the third bloc.

Nkrumah's perception of Africa was based on the notion that it was an indivisible entity. It was this assumption that led Nkrumah to argue that there was a distinctively African personality which embraced the whole continent. Thus, he argued that,

The desire of the African people themselves to unite and to assert their personality in the context of the African community has made itself felt everywhere.⁶³

It was difficult to say precisely what constituted the African personality. Nkrumah himself defined the African personality as "the cluster of humanist principles which underlie the traditional African society".⁶⁴ It should be noted however, that Nkrumah saw Africa as a place it was his duty to represent and to speak on its behalf.

63. Nkrumah, "Speech in Accra", (November 1959) in Axioms, op.cit., p.3.

64. Nkrumah, Consciencism, op.cit., p.79.

In a speech on the aims of the continent, he said Africans,

desire to use their freedom to create a union of African states on the continent, and thus neutralise the evil effects of the artificial boundaries imposed by the imperial powers and promote unity of action in all fields. These are Africa's ideals.⁶⁵

The African leadership was far from unanimous in their support for the ideals enunciated by Nkrumah. In Nkrumah's view, the African populace shared his ideals and as such, he committed himself to their realization. Nkrumah dismissed those who did not share his views, as shortsighted, selfish and declared that,

Africa needs a new type of citizen, a dedicated, modest, honest, informed man. A man who submerges self in service to the nation and mankind. A man who abhors greed and detests vanity. A new type of man whose humility is his strength, and whose integrity is his greatness.⁶⁶

Nkrumah did not conceive of the contemporary African leadership as possessing the capability to articulate Africa's interests. The new African he called for was to help restore traditional values that had been disrupted during the colonial period. He spoke of a particular humanity, genius and other qualities that were purported to be uniquely African. It was a perception that was

65. Nkrumah, "Speech in London" (May 1960) in Axioms, op.cit., p.1.

66. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.130.

based on idealism and a nostalgia for Africa's presumed past greatness. In this vein Nkrumah said,

When I speak of the African genius, I mean something different from negritude, something not apologetic, but dynamic...I do not mean a vague brotherhood based on a criterion of colour, or on the idea that Africans have no reasoning but only a sensitivity. By the African genius I mean something positive, our socialist conception of society, the efficiency and validity of our traditional statecraft, our highly developed code of morals, our hospitality and our purposeful energy.⁶⁷

Nkrumah rejected "colour" as the criterion for African brotherhood because of his resentment for racialism. But this tended to defeat his own position for without colour, there was nothing that clearly distinguished Africans from other people.

One significant point that must be stressed is that Nkrumah's perception of Ghana at once embraced the entire continent. Nkrumah did not seem to believe that there could be freedom and progress in Ghana as long as other parts of Africa remained under foreign domination. This is most evident in his assertion that,

67. Nkrumah, "Speech at the Opening of the Institute of African Studies" (Accra, October, 1963) in Axioms, op.cit., p.3.

We in Ghana are waging a relentless war against colonialism, and we shall not rest until every inch of African soil is free and independent. We must drum it again and again into the ears of those who refuse to listen that Africa is not an extension of Europe and never will be....Today, from Lobito to Lusaka, Africa's Freedom Fighters are up in arms and will lay down their lives rather than their arms in the struggle for the total liquidation of colonialism.⁶⁸

During his London days, Nkrumah had learned tactics of revolutionary warfare and had never had an opportunity to put them to practice. The British had granted independence to Ghana after very marginal struggles and in the process, denied Nkrumah the excuse he sought to organize and lead revolutionary freedom fighters to bring national liberation. Thus, in his drive for African unity, he relied on the efforts of freedom fighters from all over Africa that he was training in Ghana. He hoped that the assumption of power in the various states by these freedom fighters would accelerate the time table for African unity.

Nkrumah's impatience with divisions in the continent was due to his belief that former colonial powers were exploiting this situation for their own enrichment. As he said,

68. Nkrumah, Speech at Conference of non-aligned nations, in Belgrade, op.cit.

If Africa's multiple resources were used in her own development, they could place her among the modernized continents of the world. But her resources have been, and still are being used for the greater development of overseas interests.⁶⁹

The prospect of a single and industrially developed Africa was very attractive to Nkrumah. The small and weak states, no matter how rich, could not constitute a power of any significance in the world economy. But Nkrumah's ambition and pride in Africa's prosperous past made him to urge for a stronger voice and place for Africa in the international community. To achieve this position, Nkrumah said,

Africa must be developed industrially, for her own sake and ultimately for the sake of a healthy world economy. This can only happen if the artificial boundaries that divide her are broken down so as to provide for viable economic units and ultimately a single African unit.⁷⁰

The boundary question created significant divisions in Africa. The elimination of present boundaries meant the disappearance of most states, and the loss of leadership positions for some people who had been prominent in the independence struggle. Nkrumah's position was not accepted with unanimity because to some leaders, increased cooperation with great powers, and maintenance of colonial

69. Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism, op.cit., p.2.

70. Nkrumah, "Speech of welcome at Conference to discuss positive action and Security in Africa" (Accra, April, 1960) in Axioms, op.cit., p.56.

boundaries offered an attractive alternative for economic development. It must be pointed out that Nkrumah thought his own perception of Africa's interests was by definition right, and tended to dismiss conflicting views as immature and neo-colonialist.

There are those who argue that the conditions and resources of Africa are not suited to industrialisation. In this way they seek to excuse the economic policy of the colonial powers and support the infiltration of neo-colonialism...We have here in Africa everything necessary to become a powerful, modern, industrialised continent.⁷¹

Nkrumah's perception of Africa's interests was tantamount to visionary and thus, was not susceptible to compromise or modification. His strategy for the elimination of foreign exploitation of Africa's resources was based on the claim that,

The foreign firms who exploit our resources long ago saw the strength to be gained from acting on a Pan-African scale...The only effective way to challenge this economic ~~empire~~ and to recover possession of our heritage, is for us also to act on a Pan-African basis, through a Union Government.⁷²

The notion of a Pan-African government was based on an empirically unverifiable assumption, that Africa's inhabitants constituted a homogeneous group. The long

71. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.23.

72. Nkrumah, Neo-Colonialism, op.cit., p.259.

period of colonialism had not only brought divisions, but had enforced different cultural, linguistic and identification symbols that presented a formidable obstacle to continental unity. To Nkrumah, these differences were more than counterbalanced by what he claimed - but never fully explained - was the oneness and commonality of the African character. Nkrumah's perception of Africa's interest was also based on the assumption that Ghana and indeed himself, were destined to be both the interpreters and leaders of what constituted the best interests of the continent. It must again be stated that Nkrumah believed that his education, experience and achievements in Ghana entitled him to this role. However, the majority of the African leaders did not share Nkrumah's perception of Africa's interests. The difficulties that this difference created, were clearly manifested in Nkrumah's attempts to implement Ghana's Africa policy.

II. PERCEPTION OF POLICY IN THE REGIONAL SYSTEM.

If it can be said that Nkrumah's policy of non-alignment in the global system was based on a calculated strategy to attract foreign investments for Ghana's economic development, this certainly cannot be said of his drive to bring unity to Africa. His objective of African unity

was determined in such a way that one observer remarked that "it was tantamount to a personal mission."⁷³ However, the mitigation of two factors limited Nkrumah's options and in the end, prevented him from realizing this objective. In the first instance, other African states were not willing to accept Ghana's leadership. The second factor was the deep penetration of the African subsystem by the global system.⁷⁴

As we saw in the discussion on the factors shaping Nkrumah's images, he was very committed to the ideal of African unity. But, it was George Padmore who did much to convince Nkrumah that Pan-Africanism should be transformed from an idea into a political movement.⁷⁵ At independence, Nkrumah sketched an ambitious role for Ghana and spelled out his objectives in Africa when he said,

to many people, the unity of African states which we regard as the primary basis of our Africa policy appears visionary and unattainable...The unity of African states can be a reality and it will be achieved earlier than many of us suppose.⁷⁶

73. Zartman, International Relations in the New Africa, op.cit., p.13.

74. This was more evident during the Congo crisis and will thus be discussed in that section below.

75. Erasmus H. Kloman Jr., "African Unification Movements" in Africa and World Order, Padelford and Emerson, eds., op.cit., p.125.

76. Nkrumah, Speech in Axioms, op.cit., p.6.

In April 1958, Nkrumah undertook his first major initiative towards the objective of African unity by presiding over a conference of Independent African States,⁷⁷ where he hoped to lay the foundation for his continental policies. The other participating leaders were not willing to accept a subordinate position to Nkrumah. As far as these older leaders were concerned, Nkrumah was simply a leader of a new independent state. Aware of Nkrumah's ambitions, these leaders in effect served notice that their cooperation would not be forthcoming. Thus, in 1958, the stage had been set for the struggle that was to continue until Nkrumah's overthrow eight years later.

The conference of independent states was closed to the dependent areas of Africa still under foreign domination. This was taken into account and within eight months, the first All-African Peoples' Conference was held in Accra. It was planned and organized by Padmore. From all parts of Africa, delegates gathered in Accra. Hopes were stirred and so were nationalists sentiments about what independence had brought to Ghana.⁷⁸ Upon return to their respective countries, these nationalist leaders increased their demands for immediate independence. Ironically, Nkrumah's success in this conference

77. The independent states that participated in this conference were: Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, United Arab Republic, Sudan, Ethiopia, Liberia and Ghana. See Nkrumah, Challenge of the Congo, op.cit., p.xv.

78. Italiaander, The New Leaders, op.cit., p.235.

was later to contribute to the restriction of his influence in Africa. His achievement in Ghana was the immediate cause of the sudden demand for independence by the French speaking states. There were now going to be more independent states than Nkrumah had anticipated. The stage was to be divided and so was influence. Moreover, these francophone states did not only surround Ghana, but, vigorously pursued policies that were generally harmful to Nkrumah's Africa policy. If Nkrumah was going to sustain his leadership, more levers of influence were needed. But, everyone wanted influence. However, Nkrumah had devised a new strategy whose objective was to bring a continental Union government through bilateral agreements with as many states as possible.

Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union: Nkrumah was not only surrounded by francophone states, but he had no link to that section of Africa. His first breakthrough came with the Ghana-Guinea union. The two leaders met in Accra in November 1958, and announced a constitutional union of their states. It was to encompass common economic policies and a £10,000,000 loan by Ghana to Guinea.⁷⁹ It should be pointed out that as a result of the break with France, Guinea was almost heading for economic bankruptcy. Nkrumah showed great enthusiasm in the union. In a speech to the National Assembly he said that he felt,

79. Kloman, "African Unification Movements", op.cit., p.122.

a deep sense of pride...that I have been an instrument in this move. This new Africa of ours is emerging into a world of great combinations - a world where the weak and the small are pushed aside unless they unite their forces.⁸⁰

Sékou Touré had got what he wanted from the union - economic assistance from Ghana. Nkrumah generously offered financial assistance to leaders of political groups and states that shared his enthusiasm for Union government. This wide scale subsidy of allies constituted a significant portion of the drain in Ghana's financial resources.

The news of the Ghana-Guinea union greatly disturbed Liberia's President Tubman. On the whole, he was suspicious of Nkrumah's plans for African unity. With the support of Touré, he called the Sanniquellie Conference as a means to counteract Nkrumah's plans. The ten point declaration that emerged from this conference was in effect a repudiation of whatever Nkrumah had achieved from the union with Touré. It emphasized friendly and harmonious relations among states and made a proposal for a Community of African States. There was no reference to African unity.⁸¹ Evidence that Touré did not take the Ghana-Guinea union seriously, can be seen from his support for the final communique of the Sanniquellie conference. As an elder leader, Tubman was understandably reluctant to allow Nkrumah assume the leadership of Africa.

80. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.69.

81. Zartman, op.cit., p.24.

Nkrumah however, intensified his search for allies and on December 23, 1960, Mali joined the Ghana-Guinea union. Nkrumah held this event as a major breakthrough in his drive for unity. He said,

One of the most encouraging things which have taken place within the last six months or so is the growing realisation among African statesmen that we must unite politically...a United States of Africa is inevitable.⁸²

Like Guinea before, Mali was to be given a £5,000,000 loan by Ghana. There was no substance in this union beyond the financial assistance these states obtained from Ghana. In African politics however, the most important thing is that public pronouncements be made. Implementation is not necessary since, "the ritual itself holds vital importance".⁸³ It is in this context that the union must be viewed. Four months after the Ghana-Guinea-Mali union was announced, it was renamed the Union of African States.⁸⁴ It was to constitute the nucleus of a Union government and membership was opened to all independent African states. This union proved incapable of sustaining its own existence and thus, failed to attract any additional members. With the formation of the Organization for African Unity in May 1963, Touré "unilaterally announced" the dissolution of the union.⁸⁵ Although the union had died at its inception, its symbolic existence was still cherished by Nkrumah. Its official death brought an end to whatever Nkrumah hoped would emerge from his bilateral strategy.

82. Nkrumah, "African Affairs" in Emerging Africa, op.cit. p.

83. Louchheim, "The OAU Assembly", op.cit., p.35.

84. Kitchen, Handbook of African Affairs, op.cit., p.238.

85. Thompson, op.cit., p.329.

Congo Crisis; The Congo crisis provided Nkrumah with an opportunity to demonstrate Ghana's ability to assume the leadership of Africa. Nkrumah wanted to keep the great powers out of Africa but supported UN intervention as an umbrella for an African force. The result of Nkrumah's strategy - to the extent that it succeeded - would have been the emergence of Africa as an independent subsystem with the capability of handling its own problems. Before examining Ghana's role in the Congo crisis, the chronology of events that ultimately led to the explosive situation will be presented.

On June 30, 1960, Congo became independent. Five days later, the Force Publique (Congolese national army) mutinied, tribal violence erupted and on July 11, Katanga declared its independence from the rest of the country. The fragile governmental ⁸⁶ machinery disintegrated and on July 13, Prime Minister Lumumba cabled the UN Secretary General asking for an urgent dispatch of military assistance. Nkrumah offered Lumumba military assistance and urged the UN to accept the view that,

86. For a penetrating discussion on the general unpreparedness of the Congolese for independence see, Crawford Young, Politics in the Congo, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1965, especially chapter XII.

the present difficulties in the Congo should be solved primarily through the efforts of the independent African States within the framework of the United Nations machinery. Intervention by Powers from outside the African continent, in the view of the Government of Ghana, is likely to increase rather than lessen tension.⁸⁷

On another front, Nkrumah was strengthening his African strategy of bringing unity by way of bilateral agreements. A union with Congo was to provide momentum for the new strategy. On his return from New York, and in the deepest secrecy in Accra, Nkrumah and Lumumba gave

serious thought to the idea of African Unity and have decided to establish with the approval of the Governments and peoples of their respective States, among themselves a UNION OF AFRICAN STATES. The Union would have a Republican Constitution within a federal framework.⁸⁸

The price Nkrumah paid to ensure the success of his Africa strategy was high. Ghana sent a team of diplomatic and military representatives to meet those who were already in Congo.

Doctors, engineers and civil servants went. Ghana provided Lumumba with a flying secretariat on his July travels and, when he asked for his own plane, he got that too.⁸⁹

This was not all. The entire fighting force of the Ghanaian army followed.⁹⁰ This was indeed the way and the price

87. Nkrumah, Challenge of the Congo, op.cit., pp. 20-21.

88. Ibid., pp.30-31.

89. Thompson, op.cit., p.123.

90. Ibid., p.124.

for unity! Despite Ghana's impressive assistance, other African states were not willing to give the appearance of supporting Nkrumah's leadership. In a cable to all African states Nkrumah said, "I have decided...to send a special mission...to obtain first-hand information." This was indeed a modest action but the replies varied from a polite but firm rejection of Ghana's leadership from Tunisia, to public "irritation" from President Tubman.⁹¹

In the midst of these divisions, the African subsystem proved incapable of maintaining the semblance of a united policy, to say nothing of solving the Congo problem. In both financial and military terms, the African states were very weak. Even Ghana had to depend on foreign powers to provide transportation for her troops and equipments to Congo. Such weakness in the subsystem,

invites intervention by superpowers and blocs to fill the vacuum, a penetration that is resented and feared by many states in the subordinate system.⁹²

Yet, the Congo crisis had exploded at a time that the ability of Africans to rule themselves was being challenged. The failure of the independent states to agree on

91. Ibid., p.133.

92. Michael Brecher, "The Subordinate State System of Southern Asia" in International Politics and Foreign Policy, revised edition, Rosenau ed., op.cit., p.159.

the Congo question cast doubts on the possibility of unity in the continent. The Congo crisis was the first great international test for these states. Its outcome was to measure their ability in general, and that of Ghana in particular, to control the course of events in the continent.⁹³

Volatile, and impatient, Lumumba was not satisfied with the slow progress of the UN force and threatened to ask the Soviet Union for assistance. Nkrumah appealed for moderation and warned,

if the situation remains chaotic, as at present in Leopoldville, there is a grave danger that the Congo which is dear to us may become a battlefield between East and West. This would be a disaster for all of us in Africa.⁹⁴

Where Nkrumah urged caution, Touré advocated immediate and radical action. Furthermore, Guineans spoke French. The combination of these two factors had gradually brought Guinea and the Soviet Union to a closer position with Lumumba. With Ghana playing a peripheral role, its influence declined to a marginal level. Lumumba however, was unsuccessful in his attempt to invade Katanga. It is worth pointing out that the plan he used for this action

93. Peter H. Judd, "The Attitudes of the African States toward the Katanga Secession" in Columbia Essays in International Affairs, Andrew W. Cordier, ed., New York, Columbia University Press, 1966, p.243.

94. Nkrumah, Challenge of the Congo, op.cit., p.33.

was devised by Guinea and the Soviet Union. As a penalty for this action, Lumumba was dismissed from office by President Kasavubu on September 5, 1960. He in turn dismissed Kasavubu but neither man was willing to obey the other. Put differently, the power struggle in Congo had begun.

African states became further divided and split their support between Kasavubu and Lumumba. As part of the UN force, Ghanaian troops were unable to support Lumumba. The radical states organized themselves as the Casablanca bloc⁹⁵ threw their support behind Lumumba and withdrew their troops from the UN force. The moderate states formed the Monrovia bloc⁹⁶ as a countervailing force and gave their support to Kasavubu. Nkrumah moderated his attitude and left the Ghanaian troops in the UN command. Nkrumah's intention was first to advance his objectives and not to support Lumumba. He was therefore prepared to back the winner in the power struggle. He had not withdrawn his troops upon the announcement of the murder of Lumumba on February 13, 1961. Bing put Nkrumah's views

95. The states constituting the Casablanca bloc were; United Arab Republic, Morocco, Libya, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea and Mali. See Kloman, "African Unification Movements" op.cit., p.123.

96. The Monrovia bloc states were Cameroon, Chad, Congo Republic, Dahomey, Ivory Coast, Malagasy Republic, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, Upper Volta, Liberia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia and Togo. Ibid., p.129.

in this way,

The Soviet Union's policy is in many ways unrealistic in that they are pressing at the same time for the removal of the Belgians, the punishment of the murderers of Lumumba and the withdrawal of UN forces within one month.⁹⁷

Nkrumah revitalized his call for an African command, to carry out the Congo operation. Ghana's impressive presence in Congo was the major factor that motivated Nkrumah to call for such a command. Through it, Nkrumah could consolidate his already weakened position and thus, advance his Africa policy.

Nkrumah's moderate approach must be emphasized in view of the humiliation he had been subjected to in Congo. The Kasavubu regime had declared the Ghanaian ambassador persona non grata. Despite their efficiency, Ghanaian troops had been attacked in what became known as the Port Francqui Tragedy.⁹⁸ The price of influence and African unity was indeed proving to be too high. In any case, Nkrumah was prepared to pay it. He proposed a new UN command, declared his willingness to come to New York and added,

It is now time that a new and serious approach be made to the present ineffective efforts of the United Nations in the Congo...I am certain that from now on the initiative must come from the African countries with military support from the Asian bloc...This command must be African.⁹⁹

97. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.156.

98. Nkrumah, Challenge of the Congo, op.cit., pp.156ff.

99. Ibid., pp.134-5.

Nkrumah's bitterness was understandable. With the burial of Lumumba, went the secret Ghana-Congo union. It was never to be consummated.

The great powers, not Africa, assumed responsibility for finding a solution to the Congo problem. Evidence is to be seen from this report that emerged from the UN:

After days of discussion, the representatives of Britain, France, Belgium, and America are believed to have agreed to a tentative plan of action to force the reunification of the Congo on Tshombe.¹⁰⁰

An Africa policy was thus to be formulated by the great powers - precisely what Nkrumah was determined to prevent. Most significant, however, is the fact that all the participant great powers were members of the Western bloc. This point must be underlined because, although the Congo operation was carried out in the name of the universal actor i.e. the UN, the Western bloc for all practical purposes controlled it, and made sure that their interests were adequately served. In the final analysis, the dominant system had become synonymous with the international system.¹⁰¹ The Western bloc dominated the UN and in turn, used it to penetrate the African subordinate system.

The virtual control of the Congo operation by the West, denied Nkrumah the victory he sought. His objective was to insulate Africa from the machinations of the great powers.

100. Judd, "The Attitudes of the African States toward the Katanga Secession", op.cit., p.252.

101. Brecher, "The Subordinate State System of Southern Asia", op.cit., p.156.

He hoped that with the assistance of other non-aligned states, the newly independent African states - under his leadership - would work within the UN framework in solving the Congo problem. The precedent for this action, he argued, was to be found in Korea. Under UN cover, the United States enjoyed paramountcy in the Korean operation. This was precisely what Nkrumah wanted for Africa.

He failed because his Congo policy was based on a misconceived strategy. The situation was totally different from that which existed in Korea. Africa was neither a united country nor did it possess the necessary military and financial resources upon which a successful operation had to depend. In the first instance, he overestimated the solidarity that existed within the African leadership, and in the second instance, Ghana's ability to provide leadership.

On balance, Nkrumah's Congo policy represented a major and bold innovation in Ghana's Africa policy. Its success might well have made Africa an independent subsystem, capable of solving its own problems, without the intervention of great powers. The failure of his Congo policy constituted a major set back in his drive for African unity. But, this only convinced him of the necessity and urgency of a Union government in Africa, for if one had existed, the great powers could have been prevented from bringing the cold war and bloc rivalry into what was a domestic problem.

Organization for African Unity: As the need for unity became urgent, Nkrumah intensified his efforts for bilateral unions. He approached neighbouring states for union with Ghana and used the division of the Ewe tribesmen between Ghana and Togo as a basis for the argument that only a Union government could bring an end to the boundary question. He urged Togolese President Sylvanus Olympio to merge his country into Ghana and said,

We must therefore face the issue of African Unity now; for only unity will make the artificial boundaries and regional demarcations imposed by colonialism obsolete and superfluous. African Unity will thus provide an effective remedy for border disputes and internecine troubles.¹⁰²

Togolese leaders in turn asked if Ghana could not become part of their country. In periods of such diplomatic stalemate, Nkrumah's response was to intensify subversive activities in "neo-colonialist" states. It must be pointed out that subversion was an important strategy for Ghana's Africa policy. Both Nkrumah and Olympio charged each other for encouraging subversive activities in their respective countries.¹⁰³ This feud developed into the so-called "Togo affair". On January 13, 1963, the murder of President Olympio was announced.¹⁰⁴ Whether or not Nkrumah was responsible for the murder, was irrelevant. He could not escape responsibility

102. Nkrumah, "Africa's Liberation and Unity" in Emerging Africa, op.cit., p.181.

103. Olympio was accused of having played a part in the 1962 attempt on Nkrumah's life.

104. Zartman, op.cit., p.34.

since his strategy of effecting unity through subversion was well known within the African leadership circles. As in the Congo, Nkrumah's policy had again brought divisions in the continent. The shadow of Olympio's murder hung over his head. The sympathy of African states went to Togo. Nkrumah's actions were contributing to increased opposition from other leaders because,

In diplomacy, the choice of methods and techniques is no less vital than clarity about objectives.¹⁰⁵

Ghana became unpopular within a movement its leader was committed to strengthen. Nkrumah's problem was his desire to conduct relations with leaders of independent states in the same manner that he handled opponents in Ghana. In Ghana, he was capable of removing chiefs who opposed his policies, from office. He thought these actions could be repeated beyond Ghana's borders - hence his determination to remove by whatever means, African leaders who opposed his plans for Union government.¹⁰⁶

In his Africa policy, Nkrumah wanted total victory. He was not willing to compromise on his ideal of immediate unity. Consequently, he tried to sabotage the proposed conference of independent African states that was scheduled for Addis Ababa in May 1963. His objection was based on the fact

105. Roy C. Macridis, ed., Foreign Policy in World Politics, 3rd. ed., Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1967, p.17.

106. Zartman, "National Interest and Ideology", in African Diplomacy, op.cit., p.49.

that the proposed summit was to draw a "Charter". He wanted immediate union and feared that the idea of a charter would delay the realization of this objective. Before 1962 had ended, Nkrumah submitted a comprehensive plan for an African political union.¹⁰⁷ Ethiopia's proposal proved to be the most interesting and acceptable to the majority of states. It simply called for the establishment of an "Organization of African states, a charter, and a permanent secretariat".¹⁰⁸ However, the only talk Nkrumah permitted in Ghana was that Union government would emerge from the Addis summit. As the summit approached Nkrumah stated,

I, my Party and Government are completely devoted to the achievement of the political and economic unification of Africa. This is not an idle dream. It is not impossible. I see it; I feel it; it is real; indeed I am living in it already.¹⁰⁹

A few days before the summit started, Nkrumah's book Africa Must Unite was published. The objective of this book was to strengthen his demand for an immediate union. In the preparatory meetings, Ghanaian delegates failed to get even the least item of union on the draft agenda. Nkrumah doubted if his presence would be "useful" in view of the narrow nature of the agenda, and threatened to boycott the summit.¹¹⁰

107. For the complete text of the plan submitted by Nkrumah, see "Towards African Unity: A Proposal for the Consideration of the Independent African States", (Flagstaff House, 1963)

108. Zartman, International Relations, op.cit., p.35.

109. Nkrumah, "New Year Message" (January 1963) in Axioms, op.cit., p.8.

110. Thompson, op.cit., p.320.

Significantly, Nkrumah attended the Addis Ababa summit. Despite the cold reception of his proposals, Nkrumah still thought that African leaders would be persuaded to accept an immediate union. His speech was the most ambitious and called for,

a formal declaration that all the independent African states here and now agree to the establishment of a 'Union of African States' and to the working out of a machinery for the Union Government of Africa...Meanwhile, there should be plans for an African common market, currency, monetary zone, a central bank, a common foreign policy, citizenship, and a joint defence system.¹¹¹

None of these things was done. To be sure, the charter as finally approved, was a pointed warning to Ghana to stop encouraging and planning subversive activities in other independent states.¹¹² The impact of the moderate states in the summit was considerable. They being in the majority, and also the targets of Nkrumah's subversion, were now in a position to frustrate his objectives. In Ghana, Nkrumah had the powers to do virtually anything, but, now, he was dealing with equals who were in no hurry to compromise with him. Nkrumah failed to realize that,

111. Quoted in Austin, op.cit., p.399.

112. The charter called for the respect of the boundaries and sovereignty of other states. Ghana's position was that present boundaries be abolished, because they were carved by imperialists. For the complete text of the charter, see Helen Kitchen, A Handbook of African Affairs, op.cit., pp.262ff.

At home, the demonstration of their power, or at least of its appearance, would be at worst nothing more than harmless foolishness. Abroad, such demonstration is a play with fire that will consume the player who does not have the power common with his belief or his pretense.¹¹³

Nkrumah lacked the power to coerce fellow leaders to support his plans for Union government. Having been defeated, the interest lay in whether he would sign the charter which amounted to a condemnation of his previous policies. Incredibly, Nkrumah signed the charter of the OAU. Perhaps the significance of this act was more symbolic than real. Six years before, Nkrumah had signed the independence constitution in Ghana but started to dismantle it before the ink had dried. Was he to repeat the same performance with the charter he had just signed? The evidence that this was his intent came on his arrival in Ghana from Addis Ababa when he said, "the political unification of the African continent, my life long dream, is here."¹¹⁴ But, if anything, what emerged from the Addis Ababa summit, was a rejection of Nkrumah's proposal for Union government. In other words, Nkrumah was in effect serving notice of his intention to fight the OAU.

True, Nkrumah had revitalized Pan-Africanism in 1958,

113. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, op.cit., p.76.

114. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.323.

but by an ironic reversal a few years later, he had become its most unpopular leader. In August 1963, he suffered another set-back. A liberation committee was established in Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania) to assist nationalist groups in the dependent parts of Africa. Ghana was bypassed on two counts. In the first instance, Ghana had better facilities and was thus, most suitable for the establishment of such a committee. Secondly, and more important, was Ghana's exclusion from this committee.¹¹⁵ Isolated, the first Pan-Africanist state in the continent had been relegated into the position of playing only a marginal role. The means Nkrumah adopted in his search for unity was the major factor that contributed to Ghana's isolation from the OAU.

Nkrumah's re-action was simple. He felt that these moderate leaders were "puppets of imperialists" and had to be removed in the interest of Africa. Anyone who opposed unity was accused of being a "neo-colonialist" agent because,

the forces that unite us are intrinsic and greater than the superimposed influences that keep us apart. These are the forces that we must enlist and cement for the sake of the trusting millions who look to us...to take them out of the... disorder left by colonialism.¹¹⁶

115. Austin, op.cit., p.399.

116. Nkrumah, Africa Must Unite, op.cit., p.221.

Nkrumah was not able to enlist the support he needed to transform this ideal into reality. He became very impatient and by the beginning of 1964, his commitment hardened. He decided that one way or the other, unity had to be brought to Africa.

The strategy was the use of every means of propaganda, subversion, and on occasion, diplomacy, to achieve it, and to oppose head-on any constructive effort to build anything short of it.¹¹⁷

The prospect that "functionalism" offered for unity was rejected in toto by Nkrumah. Political issues had led to great divisions among African states. A prudent strategy would have been to emphasize those social issues where common and collective interests existed. Instead of power, attention would be directed to "problem and purpose."¹¹⁸ Nkrumah rejected any alternative that fell short of immediate unity. He condemned regional groupings in general and the proposed East African brand in particular. In this regard, he annoyed President Nyerere who himself, was an ardent believer in African unity. He wrote to the East African leaders explaining his fear

117. Thompson, op.cit., p.221.

118. Ernest B. Hagg, Beyond the Nation State, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1964, p.4.

that the

federation would be a tool of British imperialism, like the French linked associations in West Africa, and a monumental impediment to continental unity.¹¹⁹

He argued that such efforts would create regional loyalties and thus, present further difficulties for Union government. But, the OAU charter encouraged regional economic organizations and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. In other words, Nkrumah was opposing what the OAU stood for. His argument was that,

there is no time to waste. The longer we wait the stronger will be the hold on Africa of neo-colonialism and imperialism.¹²⁰

As the 1964 Cairo summit approached, Nkrumah strengthened his demand for Union government with the publication of his book, Consciencism. This book set the stage for the African revolution and showed the inevitability of a continental Union government. Were the other leaders now willing to accept Nkrumah's plan for unity? Or, did Nkrumah think that political influence could be acquired through the publication of books? His book, Africa Must Unite had failed to make even marginal impact on the outcome of the 1963 summit. To be sure, Nkrumah had taken his self assigned role of philosopher-king seriously. To the extent that this

119. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.331.

120. Nkrumah, "Speech Made in Accra", in Axioms, op.cit., , p.9.

was the case, then it was a one way traffic which, in political terms, could not be effective. In the first instance, there was a philosopher without students; and in the second instance, a king without subjects. Nkrumah could not entertain the notion that anything short of complete unity was good for Africa. His attitude toward Union government was "permanent and resistant to change". He was "unwilling or psychologically unable to accept a reality" which did not conform to that which to him appeared "true".¹²¹

At the Cairo summit, Ghana's unpopularity had taken a new turn because of two reasons. Nkrumah had accelerated the rate of his subversive activities in other states and secondly, he had not supported the OAU liberation committee. In other words, he had not worked within the framework of the OAU. Despite the attacks on Ghana, Nkrumah called for immediate unity and said,

We cannot save ourselves except through the unity of our continent based on common action through a Continental Union Government. Only a united Africa under a Union Government can cure us of our economic ills and lift us out of our despair and frustration.¹²²

The speech was unhappily received. The most sarcastic response came from the late Nigerian Prime Minister Sir Abubakar who said an African government was a dream and added,

121. Padelford and Lincoln, Dynamics, op.cit., p.135.

122. Nkrumah, "Speech at the Cairo Summit Conference", in Axioms, op.cit., pp.9-10.

This request, Mr, Chairman, is indirectly a vote of no confidence in the Organization of African Unity. When we started this organization only a year ago we were working, progressing and now we are trying to impose something...Union government might come, so might world government.¹²³

Nkrumah's hope was that the Cairo summit would replace the OAU charter with Union Government. But, Ghana stood alone on this matter. Nkrumah knew no persuasion and thus thought that he could force other states to support his objectives. He alienated his allies by failing to take cognizance of the fact that,

no state, not even the superpowers, is fully self-supporting; all depend...on friends in diplomacy, on suppliers and markets in economics. All the elements of power in their possession can be considerably augmented by outside support.¹²⁴

Ghana's relations with other African states were so poor that Nkrumah had no serious ally —hence the lack of support for his call for Union government.

Nkrumah's response was to up date his time-table for revenge through subversion. It must be emphasized again that subversion was an important strategy of Ghana's Africa policy. Nkrumah's major victory was the fact that Accra (Ghana) was selected as the site for the 1965 summit. Immediately, Nkrumah set on to construct a £10,000,000 conference complex. With the support of the Press, party

123. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.355.

124. Joseph Frankel, International Relations, London, Oxford University Press, 1964, p.118.

radicals, Nkrumah was convinced that this time, Union government would emerge from the Accra summit. He declared that,

Africa Must unite. We have before us not only an opportunity but a historic duty. It is in our hands to join our strength, taking sustenance from our diversity...acting together for the protection and benefit of us all.¹²⁵

The prestige of Nkrumah's regime rested on the outcome of this summit.¹²⁶ Leaders who were the targets of Nkrumah's subversion threatened to boycott the summit. A communique issued by the Organization Commune Africaine et Malgache (OCAM) in February 1965, condemned the activities of "certain states, notably Ghana" for harboring "agents of subversion and organizing training camps on their national territory".¹²⁷ For the first time, Ghana had been formally accused by a group of African states. The Accra summit thus hung in doubt as these states threatened a mass boycott. Nkrumah was pushed to the defensive position. True, he had servants in Ghana, but he needed friendly allies in order to achieve his objectives.¹²⁸ He had been used to pursuing his interests in violent disregard of the interests of other states. With a reversal in roles, he was forced to plead that,

125. Nkrumah, "Speech in the National Assembly" in Axioms, op.cit., p.12.

126. For a discussion on the unpopularity of the regime and the near economic crisis during this period, see Supra., Chapter I.

127. Vernon McKay, "International Conflict Patterns" in African Diplomacy, op.cit., p.11.

128. George Modelski, A Theory of Foreign Policy, New York, Praeger, 1962, p.31.

a dangerous precedent would be set if the unanimous decision of the OAU to meet in Accra is allowed to be set aside by the grumblings of those who imagine and nurture grievances.¹²⁹

But, Nkrumah himself had not been complying with the decisions of the OAU. Furthermore, there had been no demand that the summit be set aside. The question was whether the safety of leaders whom Nkrumah was committed to remove from office by whatever means could be guaranteed in Accra. Nkrumah's concession was to send away refugees who were being trained in Ghana. In any case, those refugees who actually left Ghana were provided with return tickets. His half-hearted gestures proved inadequate and in the end, eight countries boycotted the summit.¹³⁰

The fact that this summit took place, was in itself a victory for Nkrumah, although it failed to produce Union government as he had been promising for a year. To be sure, Nkrumah had abandoned whatever illusions he held about the emergence of Union government. Evidence of this is his speech which only called for the creation of "a permanent political executive council within the OAU". Even this was rejected¹³¹ and his response was a threat to take Ghana out of the OAU. If his strategy had been directed to such a modest objective, Ghanaian diplomacy would have been spared the defensive position it assumed during his leadership. This is what his

129. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., p.377.

130. The states that boycotted the Accra summit were: Chad, Dahomey, Gabon, Ivory Coast, Madagascar, Niger, Togo and Upper Volta. See Africa Report (December 1965) p.34.

131. Ibid., p.35.

diplomats had for years advised him to do. Instead, he wanted total victory, because compromise was a misplaced option. In the end, he got total defeat.

The major event that followed the Accra summit, was the ill fated Nigerian coup of January 15, 1966. Along with Nigerian refugees who were in Ghana, Nkrumah claimed credit for this coup, and within two days, recognized the new regime. But, Ghana had not received a request for recognition. At the Cairo summit, Sir Abubakar had scoffed at Nkrumah's call for Union government as "a nightmare". With the announcement of Sir Abubakar's death, it was now Nkrumah's turn to reply. In his role as philosopher-king, Nkrumah sought to explain what had caused the Nigerian tragedy. He said Sir Abubakar

died a victim of forces he did not understand and a martyr to a neo-colonialist system of which he was merely the figure-head...The tragedy of Sir Abubakar was that he never realised that for Nigeria the choice was either immediate political unification of Africa or Nigeria's disintegration. He scoffed at the idea of African unity. Thus he was destroyed by those very pressures and forces which only a continental government could have eased.¹³²

If one accepts Nkrumah's contention that Nigeria's lack of support for Union government was the immediate cause of the Nigerian tragedy, then the question remains: what did Nkrumah hope to achieve from such a provocative broadcast? He believed that he alone knew what was Africa's best interest and thus assigned himself the role of interpreting continental interests. He regarded other leaders as men with inadequate understanding

132. Quoted in Thompson, op.cit., pp.388-9 and see also Bretton, op.cit., p.35.

of their own interests and possessed of limited visions of the prospects that the future offered. Lacking the power to persuade and compromise, he pursued policies that made his objective all the more unattainable. In spite of his knowledge, he was unable to manage continental politics, to say nothing of Ghanaian politics. Thus, the forces he claimed to have understood succeeded in removing him from office. With his downfall, immediate Union government as an issue in African politics receded into the background.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, I would like to summarize the major points of this thesis.

With Nkrumah at the apex, the CPP dominated the Ghanaian political system. The party leadership was committed to the objectives of economic development and national integration. The scope of this commitment, led to the introduction of hasty and repressive measures that virtually forced the opposition out of existence. At least superficially, significant progress was made toward the objective of national integration but at the cost of alienating traditional rulers from the political leadership. All societal groups were organized within the party as a means of facilitating party monopoly of major government and economic activities. With the introduction of these measures, the regime became increasingly unpopular - a factor which contributed to a decline in its political legitimacy. The party leadership was thus compelled to resort to what amounted to staged elections and ideological activism as means of providing a semblance of legitimacy for the regime. With the disappearance of the opposition, the CPP leadership was deprived of the "enemy" that had served as a focus for unified attacks. The CPP became plagued with party quarrels and open conflicts that threatened its existence as a viable political structure. The party's inability to perform the major governmental functions it had assumed, resulted in the

transfer of these functions to Flagstaff House. Within a short time, Flagstaff House had become the nerve center of all significant governmental activities.

As head of Flagstaff House, Nkrumah monopolized the policy process. The institutionalization of Nkrumah's charisma was a calculated strategy to legitimize his dominant position in the decision-making process. The decisional system was irrational and rather unpredictable and, above all characterized by its personalized nature. Competent civil servants and diplomats were isolated from the decision-making process in Flagstaff House. The basis of participation in policy formulation was as confused as the decision-making process itself. Advisers with divergent backgrounds and interests and barely educated party officials sought participation in the formulation of Ghana's policies. Understandably, decisions that finally emerged from this confusion were more often than not contradictory. The ministry of foreign affairs and its officials became demoralized as a result of their lack of any meaningful participation in the formulation and implementation of policy. Nkrumah's desire to prevent any Ghanaian from becoming sufficiently powerful to threaten his leadership contributed to his unusual reliance on foreign advisers.

By the time Nkrumah led the country to independence, his basic views about the status and role of Ghana in the international system had already been articulated. The most significant influences and factors that shaped Nkrumah's images

are to be found in the more than ten years that he spent in the United States and Britain. His involvement in Pan-African activities goes back to this period. It was Nkrumah who first organized the African students into a single association in the United States and Canada. The influence of Marcus Garvey is most evident during this period as Nkrumah himself admitted. Nkrumah's idea of the African personality and his frantic search for unique symbols for black people can be traced to the influences of Garvey.

If the years in the United States were spent in studying the techniques of organization, the two years in Britain cast Nkrumah in the role of demonstrating his organizational talents. He met George Padmore in London having already corresponded with him from the United States. If any single person made a major contribution to the shaping of Nkrumah's images, it was George Padmore. Nkrumah's commitment to socialism, Pan-Africanism and his early caution in developing relations with the Communist bloc, were all tempered by Padmore's influence. Nkrumah's revolutionary activities became apparent during his London years. They shed light on his later behaviour in Ghana. It was in London that he formed an organization known as the "Circle". The members took an oath that among other things, they would sacrifice anything and accept the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah. The same conditions were applied to membership in his party. It was during this period that Nkrumah joined the British Communist

Party. His interest in socialism developed in London.

Nkrumah's behaviour during the years that he dominated Ghanaian politics, offer a vivid illustration of his complex nature. His behaviour in both the global and regional systems, was characterized by moderation and radicalism, caution and idealism. His perception of the global system was influenced by his idealism - a factor which contributed to his inability to understand or his unwillingness to accept the realities of international politics. Nkrumah's idealism encouraged him to place unusual confidence in the ability of the United Nations to maintain international peace. True, he realized the fact that the UN could only be effective to the extent that the great powers permitted it. But, he over stressed the differences that separated rival blocs. He thought that the great powers were locked in a stalemate and were incapable of reaching agreement on any problem that affected international peace. Under these circumstances, he assumed that the non-aligned nations could mediate between the rival blocs and through the UN framework, bring peace to the international system. Again, he overestimated the capability of the non-aligned nations to maintain a united position in global politics. Furthermore, he thought that he enjoyed great influence in this bloc and could thus mobilize it to support his policies. On this perception, he based his Congo policy. As events were to prove, this was a miscalculated strategy. The great powers cooperated on different occasions during the

Congo crisis; the non-aligned nations, on the other hand, proved incapable of pursuing a uniform policy. In the end, the UN was dominated by the Western bloc.

Nkrumah's non-alignment was in every respect, a strategy to attract foreign investments for economic development. This strategy worked well during the late 1950's when cold war politics set a limitation on the development of closer ties among great powers. When the great powers replaced some of their differences with programs of common interest, Nkrumah was unable to successfully play one power against the other as a means of extracting political dividends. In addition to his failure in the Congo and the rapid increase in the power and influence of radicals in his party, he began to tip Ghana's non-alignment in favour of the East. In the final analysis, this relationship proved to be very harmful in terms of Ghana's overall economic interests. Nkrumah's radicalism apparently gained him greater prominence in the third world. But, as was his manner, he confused appearance with reality and thought his power and influence in the global system had increased. It was this factor that convinced Nkrumah that a trip to Hanoi could result in an end of the war in Viet Nam. Accordingly, he set out on his aborted peace mission and upon arrival in Peking, learned that he had been removed from office by the army. It is ironic that his end came at this time because he had become increasingly attracted by distant objectives

when the domestic economic situation was getting critical.

Nkrumah's behaviour in the regional system was determined by the necessity of bringing unity to Africa. True, Africa's greatness might depend upon the establishment of a continental government as maintained by Nkrumah. But, one man alone could not make this possible. The majority of the African leaders served notice that their interests went beyond Nkrumah's plans. Instead of persuading them to see the advantages of unity, Nkrumah committed himself to their removal from office as the first step to unity. Subversion was thus an important strategy of Nkrumah's Africa policy. This made him increasingly unpopular and his objective more elusive. Nkrumah's search for Union government had made him virtually a captive of his image of continental unity. His approach was based on vision and was undoubtedly influenced by his idealism. He believed in himself to the extent that he pushed other leaders aside as men possessed with limited vision, and on the whole, incapable of understanding what was in their best interest. I must emphasize the point that Nkrumah's Africa policy, that is, his deep commitment to a particular objective, African unity, illustrates how a statesman can become a virtual prisoner of a rigid image pattern.

Certainly, Nkrumah's statesmanship was not devoid of achievements. Through his exertions, Africans intensified their efforts and fought for the liberation of dependent

territories. He pushed moderate leaders to the defensive as the objective of African unity became more attractive although divisions still existed as to the means for its realization. The Volta River Project stands today in Ghana as his most impressive achievement. Though Ghana's economy had reached a precarious state at the time of Nkrumah's downfall, nevertheless, Ghana had undoubtedly made significant progress along the road to modernization.

There can be no doubt that Nkrumah acted in a manner consistent with his perception of Ghana's best interests. Nkrumah's intentions were good. In themselves, however, good intentions are not a guarantee that successful policies will be followed. They simply indicate that bad policies will not be deliberately pursued. Considerable discongruity existed between Nkrumah's image pattern and the operational environment. His passionate devotion to African unity and his perception of continental interests underwent no change in spite of stiff opposition both in Ghana and Africa. Furthermore, at the level of the international system, Nkrumah's perception of the role that Ghana could play and of his own importance was based on an unrealistic assesement of the capacity of the nations of the third world for united action and of his ability to tap this source of political power.

Nkrumah's lack of a sense of proportion greatly distorted his view of his own importance, and that of Ghana

in the international system. He failed because he was not able to accept the fact that the influence of a leader from a small developing country could not be unlimited in the international system.

APPENDIX "A"

Chronology of Major Events in Nkrumah's Life¹

- 1909 Born Kofi Nwiah Kwame Nkrumah September 1909 in the Nzima area of Southwest Ghana.
- 1935 Enters Lincoln University, Pennsylvania.
- 1939 Graduates with BA. Enters Lincoln Theological Seminary and University of Pennsylvania.
- 1942 Graduates with a BA Theology, MSc. Phil., MA Phil.
-43
- 1945 Reads law at Gray's Inn, London. Attends lectures at
-47 London School of Economics. Joint Secretary - with George Padmore - of Fifth Pan-African Congress. General Secretary of West African National Secretariat.
- 1947 Founds "Circle". Returns to Gold Coast when invited to become General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) First purge of political associates.
- 1948 Disturbances in the Gold Coast. Major leaders of the UGCC arrested. Nkrumah released to give evidence to Watson Commission.
- 1949 Founding of Convention People's Party (CPP) in June.
- 1950 "Positive Action", civil disobedience campaign, leads to imprisonment.
- 1951 Elected to Legislative Assembly (still in prison). Victory of CPP. Release from prison and appointed Leader of Government Business. Formation of his first "cabinet".
- 1952 Becomes Prime Minister in March.
- 1954 Elections. Defections from CPP. Formation of National Liberation Movement.
- 1956 "Independence election". Internal strife. Jibowu inquiry.
- 1957 Independence, March 6. Disturbances among the Ga-Adangbe. Restriction on opposition

1. From Bretton, The Rise and Fall, op.cit., pp.179-80.

APPENDIX "A"

- 1958 First Conference of Independent African States in Accra. Preventive Detention Act (PDA). Ghana-Guinea Union. Arrests of thirty-eight members of the opposition. Visit to the United States; Volta River Project revived.
- 1959 George Padmore dies. "Second Revolution" proclaimed.
- 1960 Plebiscite and republic constitution, July 1. President with official title Osagyefo.
- 1961 Economy sagging. "Dawn Broadcast". Secretary General of CPP. Visit to USSR, China, Eastern Europe. Takoradi strike. Purge of conservatives (Gbedemah, Botsio, Edusei, etc) Censorship.
- 1962 Kulungugu attempt on his life. Welbeck, Botsio, Edusei reinstated. Adamafio and others purged. PDA extended. Bomb "outrages".
- 1963 Acquittal of Kulungugu group. Dismissal of Chief Justice. Stepped-up internal security measures.
- 1964 Flagstaff House attempt on his life. One-party referendum. Police purged.
- 1965 Pardons of Kulungugu group. Dismissal of army leaders.
- 1966 Volta River Project inaugurated in January. Departure for Hanoi via Peking on February 21. Coup, February 24.
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APPENDIX "B"

Extracts from the Constitution of the Republic of Ghana¹

We the People of Ghana, by our representatives gathered in this our Constituent Assembly,

In exercise of our undoubted right to appoint for ourselves the means whereby we shall be governed,

In sympathy with and loyalty to our fellow country men of Africa,

In the hope that we may by our actions this day help to further the development of a Union of African States, and

In a spirit of friendship and peace with all other peoples of the world,

Do hereby enact and give to ourselves this constitution.

This constitution is enacted on this twenty-ninth day of June, 1960 and shall come into operation on the first day of July, 1960.

Part III

The President and His Ministers:

The Head of State:

8. 1. There shall be a President of Ghana, who shall be the Head of State and responsible to the people.
2. Subject to the provisions of the constitution, the executive power of the State is conferred upon the President.
3. The President shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Fount of Honour.
4. Except as may be otherwise provided by law, in the exercise of his functions the President shall act in his own discretion and shall not be obliged to follow advice tendered by any other person. (emphasis added)
5. The power to repeal or alter this Article is reserved to the people.

1. Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, Accra, (July, 1960)

APPENDIX "B"

10. Kwame Nkrumah is hereby appointed first President of Ghana, having been chosen as such before the enactment of the Constitution in a plebiscite conducted in accordance with the principle set out in Article one of the Constitution.
11. 3. If an election is to be decided by balloting among Members of Parliament and a President has not been declared elected after five ballots the National Assembly shall be deemed to be dissolved at the conclusion of the fifth ballot.
4. Where a person has been declared by the Chief Justice to be elected as President his election shall not be questioned in any court.

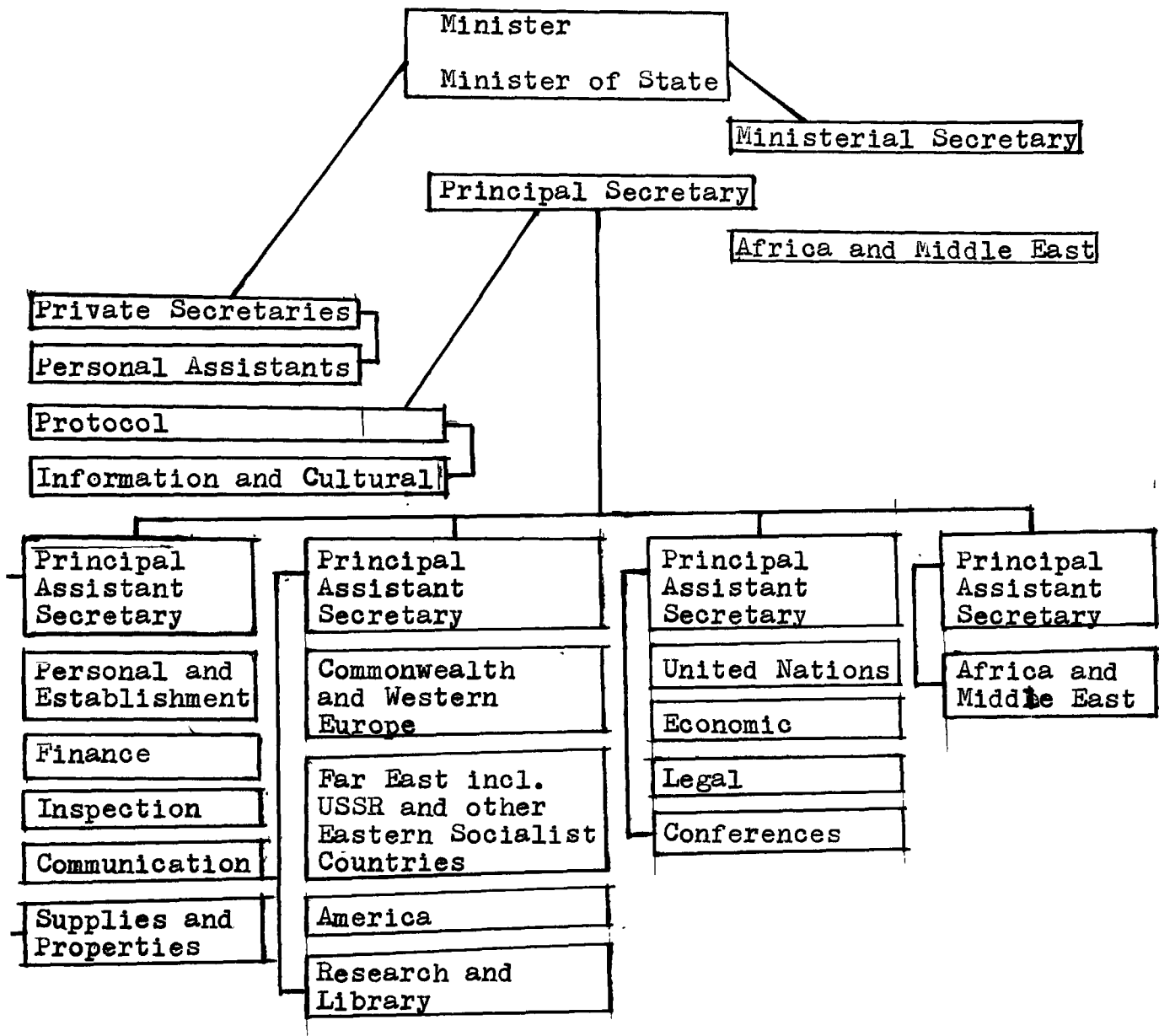
Part X

Special Powers for the First President:

55. 1. Notwithstanding anything in Article Twenty of the Constitution, the person appointed as first President of Ghana shall have, during his initial period of office, the powers conferred on him by this Article.
2. The first president may, whenever he considers it to be in the national interest to do so, give directions by legislative instrument. (emphasis added)
3. An instrument made under this Article may alter (whether expressly or by implication) any enactment other than the Constitution. (emphasis added)
4. Section (2) of Article forty-two of the Constitution shall apply in relation to the powers conferred by this Article as it applies in relation to the powers conferred on Parliament.
5. For the purposes of this Article the first President's initial period of office shall be taken to continue until some other person assumes office as President. (emphasis added)
6. The power to repeal or alter this Article during the first President's initial period of office is reserved to the people.
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APPENDIX "C"

Organization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: 1961-1966¹



1. Quoted in Thompson, *op.cit.*, p.444.

APPENDIX "D"

Government of Ghana: June 12, 1965¹

President Kwame Nkrumah Head of State and Government

Cabinet Rank

Kwaw Swanzy	Minister of Justice and Attorney General
Alex Quaison-Sackey	Minister of Foreign Affairs
Kofi Baako	Minister of Civil Defense
Kwesi Amoako-Atta	Minister of Finance
Kwesi Armah	Minister of Foreign Trade
L.R. Abavana	Minister of the Interior
E.K. Bensah	Minister of Works
A.J. Dowuona-Hammond	Minister of Communications
Kwaku Boateng	Minister of Education
Osei Owusu Afriyie	Minister of Health
Imoru Egala	Minister of Industries
I.K. Chinebuah	Minister of Information
F.A. Jantuah	Minister of Agriculture
Kojo Botsio	Chairman, State Planning Commission
N.A. Welbeck	Minister of State for Party Propaganda
Ekow Daniels	Deputy Attorney General

Non-Cabinet Rank

Kweku Bonsu	Minister of Pensions and Insurance
F.E. Tachie-Menson	Minister of Housing
K. Aboa-Awuah	Minister of Labour
Susanna Al Hassan	Minister of Social Welfare
Mumuni Bawumia	Minister of Local Government
A.K. Puplampu	Minister of Lands
J. Benibengor-Blay	Minister of Art and Culture
B.K. Senkyire	Minister of Cooperatives
Hans Kofi Boni	Minister of Food and Nutrition
E.I. Preko	Minister of Fuel and Power
E. Nee Ocansey	Minister of Parks and Gardens
B.A. Konu	Minister of Fisheries
J.Y. Ghann	Minister of Internal Trade
E.A. Mahama	Minister of Animal Husbandry
I.W. Benneh	Minister of Rural Industries
K.O. Thompson	Minister of Mines and Mineral Resources

Regional Commissioners

E.H.T. Korboe	Regional Commissioner, Central Region
J.E. Hagan	Regional Commissioner, Eastern Region

1. Kraus, "Ghana's New Corporate Parliament", in Africa Report, op.cit., p.10.

APPENDIX "D"

R.O. Amoako-Atta	Regional Commissioner, Ashanti Region
A. Asumda	Regional Commissioner, Upper Region
S.W. Yeboah	Regional Commissioner, Western Region
Nicholas Anane Agyei	Regional Commissioner, Brong Ahafo Region
Joseph Kodzo	Regional Commissioner, Volta Region
Ebenezer Adam	Regional Commissioner, Northern Region
J.S.T. Provencal	Special Commissioner, Greater Accra and Executive Chairman of the Accra-Tema City Council

Others

Kofi Baako	Leader of the House and Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee
E.K. Bensah	Deputy Leader of the House
Paul Tagoe	First Parliamentary Secretary
K. Onwona Agyeman	Second Parliamentary Secretary
Krobo Edusei	Chief of State Protocol

Additional Committees of the National Assembly

Party Parliamentary Disciplinary Control Committee Chairman,
Mr. Kweku Akwei

Parliamentary Law Reform Committee, Chairman, Mr. Ekow Daniels,
Deputy Attorney General

APPENDIX "E"

Nkrumah's Tour of Communist Countries: July-September 1961¹

Soviet Union	July 10 - 25
Poland	July 25 - 28
Hungary	July 28 - 31
Czechoslovakia	July 31 - August 3
Yugoslavia	August 3 - 8
Rumania	August 9 - 10
Bulgaria	August 10 - 11
Albania	August 11 - 12
China	August 14 - 19
Soviet Union (Crimea)	August 21 - September 1
Belgrade	September 1 - 6
Soviet Union (Crimea)	September 7 - 15

1. Quoted from Thompson, op.cit., p.174.

APPENDIX "F"
ABSTRACT OF

Nkrumah's Image Pattern and Ghanaian Foreign Policy: 1957-66¹

This thesis is an attempt to apply the concept of elite images to the analysis of Ghana's foreign policy behaviour during the period (1957-1966) when Kwame Nkrumah virtually monopolized the formulation of Ghanaian public policy. Despite the increasing volume of literature on Ghanaian politics, this study was the first effort to undertake a systematic analysis of the influences of Nkrumah's images on Ghana's foreign policy.

Although the activities of the Convention People's Party permeated all societal and governmental structures, it was Nkrumah alone who dominated the political system and the policy process. Towards the latter period of his rule, Nkrumah became very unpopular and resorted to the ritualization of his charisma as a means to consolidate his leadership and bring a semblance of political legitimacy to the image of his tattered regime. In the end, he succeeded in institutionalizing personal rule in Ghana but this proved inadequate in containing the strains of the political system and paved the way for the military takeover.

The nearly twelve years that Nkrumah spent in the United States and Britain were very important in the formation of his foreign policy images. It was during this period that he became actively involved in Pan-African affairs and learned the revolutionary tactics that he hoped would be useful in the struggle

1. P.Kiven Tunteng, masters thesis presented to the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Ottawa, Ottawa, September 1970

APPENDIX "F"

for independence in Africa. Very ambitious, he wanted to play a unique role in history and offered both Ghana and Africa the ideology of Nkrumaism which in effect was nothing more than a series of doctrinal statements to justify the role that he sought for himself. Nevertheless, Nkrumah's commitment to Pan-Africanism constituted the major portion of his foreign policy images.

Nkrumah's behaviour in the international system was the product of his idealism. He rejected great power rivalry as wasteful and dangerous and saw the United Nations as the only organization with the capability of maintaining international peace. He relied on the homogeneity of the nations of the third world to support his policies in the United Nations, and thus augment his power and importance in the international system. Furthermore, he was determined to keep the great powers out of Africa. He thought that this could only be done through a Union government and committed Ghana's resources towards the realization of this objective. As in the third world, he overestimated the cohesiveness and solidarity of the African states. They were neither willing to share Nkrumah's perception of Africa's interests nor Ghana's leadership of the continent.

However, Nkrumah's initiatives gained Africa greater importance in the international system. His major failure was that he only perceived numerous possibilities for increasing his own power and importance and in the process failed to realize that he was only leader of Ghana.

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