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A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL OVERVIEW OF NKRUMAH'S IDEOLOGY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Abstract:

This article examines the historiography on Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist ideology with particular reference to his foreign policy and it provides an overview of the same by dividing it in three periods. These are introduced by an analysis of Nkrumah's and Nkrumaist literature. The first period of historiography coincides with Nkrumah's political life between 1945 and 1972. During these years, pro and anti-Nkrumah parties clashed vigorously. In the second period which stretches between the 1970s and 1980s, more detached analysis of the facts also began to emerge but strong limitations remained. The third period, began with the rehabilitation of Nkrumah's figure in the early 1990s. This, together with the end of the Cold War and the resurfacing of new primary sources allowed for a more scientific analysis of Nkrumah's times. The essay is built on the consideration that the debate on the role of the first President of Ghana in the liberation and unification of the continent is still vibrant. Moreover, to this day, his legacy is amply discussed both in academia and outside it. As for the latter, Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist proposals still attracts followers all over Africa and even in the Diaspora. The corpus of literature on Nkrumah and Nkrumaism is vast. This essay provides the reader with an instrument to understand, rationalise and categorise this enormous production, trying also to highlight the latest developments of the historiography on this subject. The article will also provide the reader with useful information about the primary sources, especially those that have become available in recent years.

Keywords: Kwame Nkrumah, Nkrumaism, Nkrumahism, African liberation, Pan-Africanism, Ghana's foreign policy

1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, a new wave of interest has surrounded the figure of Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) both within the academia and outside it. Much of Nkrumah's significance as a statesman and ideologue lies in his Pan-Africanist convictions and policies, which envisaged the political and economic liberation of the continent from the yoke of colonialism and neo-colonialism and the establishment of a socialist continental Union of African States. His ideology was based on black nationalist and Pan-Africanist thoughts and philosophies integrated with Marxism, Gandhism (at least until 1960) and the strong belief in "Positive Non-alignment" or "Positive Neutrality". Since the early 1960s, all these elements found a synthesis in an ideology for the revolutionary transformation of Ghana and Africa: Nkrumaism.¹ Several African nationalist movements got inspired by Nkrumah's policies, ideas, writings and speeches.²

Building on the historical, political and cultural importance of Nkrumah, this article examines the historiography on Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist ideology and deals in particular with his foreign policy. The corpus of literature on Nkrumah and Nkrumaism is vast. This essay provides the reader with an instrument to understand, rationalise and categorise this enormous production, trying also to highlight the latest developments of the historiography on this subject. The article will also provide the reader with useful information about the primary sources, especially those that have become available in recent years.

The article analyses three major periods which characterised the historiographical debates on Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism. Section number two will introduce these three periods by exploring the personal literary production of the Ghanaian statesman and any Nkrumaist publication produced until his death (1972). The third section describes the first period of historiography and coincides with Nkrumah's political life between 1945 and 1972. During these years, pro and anti-Nkrumah parties clashed vigorously. The fourth section of the article deals with the second period which stretches between the 1970s and 1980s, in which the publication of numerous studies as well as memoirs of protagonist of Nkrumah's times began to shed new light on the life, convictions and policies of the Ghanaian leader. Thus, a more detached analysis of the facts also began to emerge. Still, limitations on the access to primary sources as well as the overall influence of "Afro-pessimism" in this period negatively affected the debate. The final section explores the third period, which began when the figure

1 Nkrumaism can be found spelled also as "Nkrumahism". The most common spelling at Nkrumah's time was the former.

2 See, M Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African nationalism: Ghana's Pan-African foreign policy in the age of decolonisation* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); A Biney, "The legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in retrospect", *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 2 (3), 2008, p. 132.

of Nkrumah started to be rehabilitated in Ghana in the early 1990s. This, together with the end of the Cold War and the resurfacing of new primary sources allowed for a more scientific analysis of Nkrumah's times. Since then, new perspectives are being explored and the figure of the Ghanaian statesman is at the centre of interesting academic debates. Moreover, outside the academia, Nkrumah is again internationally recognised as positively influential.

2. NKRUMAH'S WRITINGS AND NKRUMAIST LITERATURE UNTIL 1972

Any analysis of the historiography on Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism has to begin with his own works.³ Indeed, the Ghanaian statesman was both a politician and a prolific writer and theorist. According to Rooney, "For the countries of Africa he tried to be both Marx and Lenin. He produced the new ideology and attempted to implement it".⁴ Nkrumah used his vast literary production for spreading his political message not only to Ghanaians but to all Africans. Of course, the fact that he was deeply and daily engaged with the politics of Ghana and Africa raises doubts about his credentials as the real author of all his writings.⁵ References to ghost writers abound in the literature and, although almost impossible to prove, these allegations cannot be easily dismissed.⁶

Nkrumah's first political pamphlet *Towards colonial freedom*, written between 1942 and 1945 already contained the core of his Pan-Africanist and nationalist convictions expressed through Marxist analysis.⁷ One interesting detail is the author's opening citations of three very different intellectuals (Giuseppe Mazzini, Wilhelm Liebknecht and Joseph Ephraim Casely Hayford), showing the vastness of his ideological reservoir. Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism was particularly influenced by the Trinidadian Pan-Africanist George Padmore.⁸ The roots of Ghana's Pan-African policy can be dated back to 1945 when Nkrumah and

3 For an overview of Nkrumah's literary production see, A Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 119 – 135 and 155-172.

4 D Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and tragedy* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2007), p. 11.

5 I Wallerstein, "Implicit ideology in Africa: a review of books by Kwame Nkrumah", *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 11 (4), 1967, p. 519.

6 See, for instance: SW Thompson, *Ghana's foreign policy, 1957-1966: Diplomacy, ideology, and the new state* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), pp. 48, 95, 267 and 320; KK Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black expatriates and the civil rights era* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), p. 225; Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 125.

7 K Nkrumah, *Towards colonial freedom: Africa in the struggle against world imperialism* (London: Heinemann, 1962). For Nkrumah's earlier writings see, M Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The years abroad, 1935-1947* (Accra: Freedom Publications, 1996).

8 George Padmore (1903-1959) was a Trinidadian journalist, activist and Pan-Africanist. From 1957 until his death he worked in Ghana as "Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs".

Padmore first met in the United Kingdom and started working together for the Fifth Pan-African Congress held in Manchester in the same year.⁹ It is no coincidence that until Nkrumah published his autobiography *Ghana* (1957), the most important texts pertaining to Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism were Padmore's *The Gold Coast revolution* (1953) and *Pan-Africanism or communism?* (1956).¹⁰

In the Nkrumaist narrative, which also included Padmore's writings, the independence of the Gold Coast was not considered as an end in itself, but it was immediately connected with the wider struggle for the attainment of African liberation and unity. Nkrumah's autobiography, also a "profoundly political document", includes direct references to the role of Ghana in the struggle for African independence and unity.¹¹ He argued that, "It is our duty as the vanguard force to offer what assistance we can to those now engaged in the battles that we ourselves have fought and won".¹² Even his subsequent work, *I speak of freedom* (1961), emphasised not only Ghana's victorious struggle for the independence but also the role of the new nation for the unification and liberation of Africa.¹³

After Padmore's death in 1959 and the first setbacks of the Pan-Africanist struggle during the first phase of the Congo Crisis (1960-61), Nkrumah began radicalising his views on Pan-Africanism.¹⁴ The book *Africa must unite* (1963) represents the manifesto of this new phase, in which the Ghanaian leader called for a united socialist continent, capable of managing its own affairs economically, politically and militarily and thus fighting against Africa's "greatest danger [...] neo-colonialism and its major instrument, balkanisation".¹⁵ The book, dedicated to Padmore, was not meant to be a mere reading for intellectuals. It was, instead, circulated just before the 1963 founding conference of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at Addis Ababa to present Nkrumah's proposals for a political Union of African States to be presented at the venue. By writing the book, Nkrumah wanted to, "place developments in Ghana in the broader context of the African

9 See, K Nkrumah, *Ghana: The autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1957), pp. 48-63; H Adi and M Sherwood (ed.), *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress revisited* (London: New Beacon Books, 1995); Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*, pp. 111-124.

10 G Padmore, *The Gold Coast revolution* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1953); G Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or communism?* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956).

11 Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 11. This expression is used by Padmore himself in his review of the autobiography, in G Padmore, "Ghana — L'Autobiographie de Kwame Nkrumah", *Présence Africaine* 12, 1957, pp. 27-31. According to Ahmad Rahman, Nkrumah used the autobiography to present "his life story as a heroic epic", in AA Rahman, *The regime change of Kwame Nkrumah: Epic heroism in Africa and the diaspora* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 9.

12 Nkrumah, *Ghana*, p. 290.

13 K Nkrumah, *I speak of freedom: A statement of African ideology* (London: Heinemann, 1961).

14 See, F Gerits, "When the bull elephants fight": Kwame Nkrumah, non-alignment, and Pan-Africanism as an interventionist ideology in the Global Cold War (1957-66)", *The International History Review* 37 (5), 2015, pp. 951-969; Grilli, *Nkrumaism*.

15 K Nkrumah, *Africa must unite* (New York: Praeger, 1963), p. 173.

revolution; and to explain my political philosophy based on my conviction of the need for the freedom and unification of Africa and its islands".¹⁶ His proposals, which included the establishment of a continental government, continental economic planning and an African common defence force, were rejected at the conference by the majority of African leaders.¹⁷ Instead, the newly born OAU took a very different form from the one envisaged by the Ghanaian leader. Nevertheless, *Africa must unite* remains to this day one of the most interesting and radical call for transformation of Pan-Africanism into a concrete political project.

In *Consciencism*, published in 1964, Nkrumah describes, in detail, his political philosophy.¹⁸ A key concept of the book is the consideration that the African continent needed a philosophy, called Consciencism, which could work as a synthesis of what the historian Ali Mazrui later called Africa's "Triple Heritage"¹⁹, meaning African "way of life", Christianity (including "the culture of Western Europe") and Islam.²⁰ Meanwhile, Nkrumaism; a term never mentioned in *Consciencism* was taking its final form and became the official ideology of the one-party state established by the Osagyefo in Ghana in January 1964.²¹ *Neo-Colonialism: the last stage of imperialism* (1965) was Nkrumah's last book before his political demise.²² In this influential treatise on economics and politics, Nkrumah presented all the reasons why his battle against neo-colonialism was of major importance, and that this fight had to be considered as important as the one against colonialism, apartheid and settler regimes.

Until the coup of 24 February 1966, the Ghanaian government and agencies printed and distributed thousands of copies of Nkrumah's speeches, articles and pamphlets which are important sources for understanding Nkrumah's political thought.²³ The Bureau of African Affairs, Nkrumah's main Pan-Africanist institution produced, printed and distributed among African freedom fighters, political publications such as *Voice of Africa*, *The Spark*, *Freedom Fighter* and

16 Nkrumah, *Africa must unite*, p. xi.

17 Z Červenka, *The Organisation of African Unity and its charter* (London: C.Hurst & Company, 1968), p. 9.

18 K Nkrumah, *Consciencism: Philosophy and ideology for decolonisation and development with particular reference to the African revolution* (London: Heinemann, 1964).

19 AA Mazrui, *The Africans: A triple heritage* (Boston: Little Brown, 1986); AA Mazrui, *Nkrumah's legacy and African's triple heritage: Between globalisation and counter terrorism* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 2004).

20 Nkrumah, *Consciencism*, p. 68. Although not specified in the book, this concept is clearly based on the thought of the early Pan-Africanist Edward Wilmot Blyden (1832-1912) as expressed in his *Christianity, Islam and the negro race* (London: W. B. Whittingham & Co., 1887).

21 Osagyefo, translated "the redeemer" in Akan, is a title attributed to Nkrumah.

22 K Nkrumah, *Neo-colonialism: the last stage of imperialism* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1965).

23 A collection of Nkrumah's speeches is currently published as K Nkrumah, *Selected speech of Kwame Nkrumah* (compiled by S Obeng), 2 Volumes, (Accra: Afram Publications, 2009).

The Pan-Africanist Review.²⁴ Articles by Nkrumah as well by the main protagonist of Ghana's political and cultural life were published in these reviews. Other important publications in this period were the ones produced by Nkrumah's supporters and members of his government. Erica Powell's *Kwame Nkrumah of the new Africa* (1961), Alex Quaison-Sackey's *Africa unbound* (1963), Michael Dei-Anang's *Ghana resurgent* (1964) and Kwesi Armah's *Africa's golden road* (1965) are such examples.²⁵ All of them tried to present Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism as the only viable solution for the challenges that the continent was facing. In spite of lacking objectivity, these books are still interesting as they offer an overview on Nkrumah's ideology during his rule. *The mind of Africa* (1962) by the Ghanaian philosopher William Emmanuel Abraham complete the list of publications that can be considered as clearly sympathetic to Nkrumah.²⁶ In the book, Abraham explains the philosophical basis of African tradition and the need for African unity. In Abraham's own words (2015), "one issue which was at the heart both of Nkrumah's vision and *The mind of Africa* is Pan-Africanism".²⁷

Between 1966 and 1972, from his office in Conakry where he went into exile after the coup, Nkrumah kept writing and coordinated the publishing of all his previous and new materials through a publishing company he himself established called *Panaf*.²⁸ In his new works, Nkrumah explained in more details the dangers of neo-colonialism and the solutions Pan-Africanism could offer.²⁹ In 1968, he also published *Handbook of revolutionary warfare*, making a clear statement in favour of armed struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism.³⁰

24 A selection of articles from *The Spark* was published in a book form as *The Spark Editors* (ed.), *Some essential features of Nkrumaism* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1964).

25 E Powell, *Kwame Nkrumah of the new Africa* (London: Nelson, 1961); A Quaison-Sackey, *Africa unbound: Reflections of an African statesman* (New York: Praeger, 1963); M Dei-Anang, *Ghana resurgent* (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1964); K Armah, *Africa's golden road* (London: Heinemann, 1965).

26 WE Abraham, *The mind of Africa* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1962). Abraham (1934) collaborated with Nkrumah in the writing of *Consciencism*. Prof. AJ Ayer maintained that Abraham was the real author of the book. See, Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 125.

27 WE Abraham, *The mind of Africa* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2015), p. vii.

28 Created in 1967 due to the fact the previous publishers were refusing to work again with the deposed leader.

29 K Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo* (New York: International Publishers, 1967); K Nkrumah, *Voice from Conakry* (London: Panaf, 1967); K Nkrumah, *Dark days in Ghana* (New York: International Publishers, 1968); K Nkrumah, *Class struggle in Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1970). Other pamphlets were also published by Panaf. See for instance; K Nkrumah, *A Call for Positive Action and armed struggle* (London: Panaf, 1968); K Nkrumah, *Ghana: The way out*, (London: Panaf, 1968) both of which were later reprinted in K Nkrumah, *The struggle continues* (London: Panaf, 1973).

30 K Nkrumah, *Handbook of revolutionary warfare: a guide to the armed phase of the African revolution* (London: Panaf, 1968).

In 1968, Nkrumah met Stokely Carmichael (later known as Kwame Ture in honour of Nkrumah and Sekou Touré) in Conakry. There, the two Pan-Africanists established the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AARP), an Nkrumaist Pan-Africanist organisation which is still active to this date. A year later, Carmichael published his first article on Pan-Africanism, stating,

I have looked and I have seen. I have been waiting for and seeking for a black man outside of our generation who knows what is going on. I have found one – Dr. Nkrumah. He knows precisely what the struggle is. We should bring Dr. Kwame Nkrumah back to Ghana. I would not deny that he made some mistakes. But he was the first person to talk about Pan-Africanism as a concrete term.³¹

Unfortunately for Nkrumah, Conakry did not become his “Elba”.³² The Ghanaian leader died in Romania in April 1972 without setting foot again in his motherland. In his will, Nkrumah appointed June Milne, his research and editorial assistant since 1957, his literary executrix. As a consequence, Milne took over the control of *Panaf* and kept publishing Nkrumah's works, including the posthumous *Revolutionary path* (1973) and *Rhodesia file* (1976), until her retirement in 1987.³³

3. THE DEBATE ON NKROMAH'S PAN-AFRICANISM UNTIL HIS DEATH (1947-1972)

Since the late 1940s, the Gold Coast began to attract several scholars interested in the study of the ongoing impressive and unprecedented changes happening in the colonial state and society. F.M. Bourret's *The Gold Coast* (1949), later re-edited in 1951 and again in 1960 under the title *The road to independence, 1919-1957* is one of the first and most important studies on the transition from colonialism to independence in the West African country.³⁴ Apter's *Gold Coast in transition* (1955) also deals with the same subject but goes even further analysing in detail, the role of Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party (CPP) in driving the change.³⁵ The following two re-editions of the book under the title *Ghana in transition* (1963 and 1972) were updated by Apter with further considerations on the evolution of Nkrumaism and its application in Ghana.³⁶ To this day, this work is still one of

31 S Carmichael, “Pan- Africanism- Land and power”, *The Black Scholar* 1 (1), 1969, p. 41.

32 The reference to Elba is made in KW Grundy, “Nkrumah, Tshombe & Nixon. A review of: Dark Days in Ghana by Kwame Nkrumah”, *Africa Today* 16 (1), 1969, p. 22.

33 K Nkrumah, *Revolutionary path* (London: Panaf, 1973); K Nkrumah, *Rhodesia file* (London: Panaf, 1976).

34 FM Bourret, *Ghana: the road to independence, 1919-1957* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

35 DE Apter, *The Gold Coast in transition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955).

36 Apter, *The Gold Coast in transition*.

the most important treaties on Nkrumah's ideology and its consequences on the Ghanaian state and society. Meanwhile, several authors gave their contribution to the study of the independence process in Gold Coast/Ghana.³⁷

In 1955, the journalist Bankole Timothy published *Kwame Nkrumah: his rise to power*, the first complete biographical work on the African leader.³⁸ While limited in sources and analysis, this work included, notably, interesting criticisms on Nkrumah's undemocratic practices. Later, he expanded his analysis in the two revised editions (1963 and 1981, the latter under the title *Kwame Nkrumah: from cradle to grave*). Even more critical was Dennis Austin whose *Politics in Ghana* (1964) is still one of the fundamental text on the transition from colonial Gold Coast to independent Ghana.³⁹ In this seminal book, Austin, who lived and taught in Ghana between 1949 and 1959, did not hide his strong criticism against Nkrumah and for the first time he amply referred to the bitter and often uneven fight between the Ghanaian leader and the political opposition, including the traditional authorities. With regard to Nkrumah's Pan-African policy, Austin maintained that, "Ghana was isolated within the Pan-African movement".⁴⁰ He also ridiculed Nkrumah's *Africa must unite*, labelling the book as, "an inelegant mixture of rambling argument and unrelated comment on Ghanaian politics, but remarkable for his obsession both with "neo-colonialism" [...] and its *simpliciste* (italics by the author) belief in the possibility of a "major political union of Africa".⁴¹ Since the late 1950s, Nkrumah's ideology was also included in several important studies on the history and evolution of Pan-Africanism.⁴² Other studies published during Nkrumah's time in office (1957-1966) analysed his policies, ideology and views on African socialism.⁴³

The fall of Nkrumah in February 1966 at the hands of the National Liberation Council (NLC) opened up debate among journalists, political scientists

37 See for instance, HL Bretton, "Current political thought and practice in Ghana", *American Political Science Review* 52, 1(1958), pp. 46-63; R Soloway, "The new Gold Coast", *International Affairs* 31 (4), 1955, pp. 469-476.

38 B Timothy, *Kwame Nkrumah: His rise to power* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1955).

39 D.Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

40 Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, p. 395.

41 Austin, *Politics in Ghana, 1946-1960*, p. 398.

42 See for instance, C Legum, *Pan-Africanism: A short political guide* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1962); R Emerson, "Pan-Africanism", *International Organisation* 16 (2), 1962, pp. 275-290; G Shepperson, "Pan-Africanism and "Pan-Africanism": Some historical notes", *Phylon* 23 (4), 1962, pp. 346-358; I Wallerstein, *Africa: The politics of unity* (New York: Random House, 1967); I Geiss, *The Pan-African movement* (London: Methuen, 1974); CRL James, *A history of Pan-African revolt* (Washington DC: Drum & Spear Press, 1969).

43 KW Grundy, "Nkrumah's Theory of Underdevelopment: an Analysis of Recurrent Themes", *World Politics* 15 (3), 1963, pp. 438-454; L Tiger, "Nkrumah's Ghana and the theory of charisma", *Bulletin of African Studies in Canada* 2 (1), 1964, pp. 2-10; C Legum, "What kind of radicalism for Africa?", *Foreign Affairs* 43 (2), 1965, pp. 237-250; W Friedland and C Rosberg (ed.), *African socialism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

and historians, who published many articles and books on Nkrumaism and the future of Pan-Africanism. Bob Fitch and Mary Oppenheimer's *Ghana: End of an illusion* (1966) criticised the fallen regime from a Marxist perspective.⁴⁴ The political scientist, Ali Mazrui and the journalist Russel Warren Howe instead examined the subject from a liberalist perspective. Their articles published in the Ugandan magazine *Transition* in 1966, respectively "Nkrumah: the Leninist Czar" and "Did Nkrumah favour Pan-Africanism?" are to this day great classics of the debate concerning Nkrumah and Nkrumaism.⁴⁵ Mazrui tried to differentiate between Nkrumah the "African" and Nkrumah the "Ghanaian", stating quite clearly that, "By working hard to keep Pan-Africanism warm as a political ideal, Nkrumah was a great African. But by the tragedy of his domestic excesses after independence, Nkrumah fell short of becoming a great Ghanaian".⁴⁶ Responding to Mazrui, Warren Howe instead refused to recognise the fallen President of Ghana as a "great African" maintaining, "Nkrumah's African policy, since Ghanaian independence, was nine long years of persistent sabotage of anything tending toward Black African harmony, cooperation, or unity, using any tool that came to hand".⁴⁷ The two articles unleashed an interesting debate among the authors and the readers of *Transition*, who expressed themselves through letters to them.⁴⁸ Even Nkrumah wrote to *Transition* in response to Mazrui's article, but just to state that while admiring the skills of the latter he was not provoked enough to reply.⁴⁹ Mazrui also published shortly afterwards *Towards a Pax Africana* (1967) as part of his overview of contemporary African political thought and he examined in depth Nkrumah's ideology and significance.⁵⁰

In 1966, the NLC used the impounded materials of the Bureau of African Affairs archive to prepare two booklets to discredit the former government, thereby justifying the coup itself with the intent of regaining Ghana's credibility in the eyes of moderate African states.⁵¹ These booklets are: *Nkrumah's subversion in Africa* and *Nkrumah's deception of Africa*. For years, these have

44 B Fitch and M Oppenheimer, *Ghana: End of an illusion* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1966); See also, J Mohan, "Nkrumah and Nkrumahism", *Socialist Register* 4 (4), 1967, pp. 8-17.

45 AA Mazrui, "Nkrumah: the Leninist Czar"; WR Howe, "Did Nkrumah favor Pan-Africanism?", *Transition* 27, 1966, pp. 13-15.

46 Mazrui, "Nkrumah: the Leninist Czar", p. 17.

47 Howe, "Did Nkrumah favor Pan-Africanism?" p. 13.

48 AA Mazrui et al., "Polemics", *Transition* 75 (76), 1997, pp. 134-154. See also, MO West, "Kwame Nkrumah and Ali Mazrui: An analysis of the 1967 Transition debate", *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 8 (6), 2015, pp. 122-140.

49 See, Letter from Secretary of Kwame Nkrumah to *Transition*, published in *Transition* 27, 1966; See also, Mazrui, *Nkrumah's legacy*, p. 12.

50 Mazrui, *Towards a Pax Africana*.

51 For an overview of the papers of the Bureau of African Affairs currently kept in Ghanaian archives see, M Grilli, "Nkrumah, nationalism, and Pan-Africanism: The Bureau of African Affairs collection", *History in Africa* 44, 2017, pp. 295-307.

been the only known sources for studying the history of the Bureau and the most controversial Pan-Africanist policies of Nkrumah's government. Also in 1966, Colonel Akwasi Amankwaa Afrifa, one of NLC's leaders and head of state of Ghana in 1969-1970 published his memories of the coup, explaining the motives that drove the military towards it.⁵² Interestingly, in the introduction to the book, Tibor Szamuely, a former lecturer of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute of Winneba (KNI), defined Nkrumaism as, "basically much nearer to the fascist than to the communist pattern".⁵³

Quite critical against the fallen regime was also Henry Bretton's *The rise and fall of Kwame Nkrumah: a study of personal rule in Africa* (1966).⁵⁴ Building on his profound knowledge of Ghana, Bretton analysed in depth, the reasons why Nkrumah's government evolved into a regime and how the Ghanaian leader justified his personal absolute power through ideology and how he built his "personal political machine".⁵⁵ Few years later even Peter Omari, a sociologist who worked for Nkrumah's government, published another critical study on Nkrumah's rule in Ghana: *Kwame Nkrumah: the anatomy of an African dictatorship* (1970).⁵⁶ Between the late 1960s and early 1970s, in the wake of Mazrui and Bretton's analysis, several authors wrote about Nkrumah's choice of the one-party state option, which according to his detractors was meant to be extended by the Ghanaian leader to the whole continent.⁵⁷ Aristide Zolberg is the author of interesting writings on the matter.⁵⁸ He also edited together with Foster the volume, *Ghana and the Ivory Coast: Perspectives on modernisation* (1971) in which several authors, including the editors, analysed the differences and similarities of Nkrumah's Ghana and Félix Houphouët-Boigny's Ivory Coast after the famous wager between the two leaders was made in 1957.⁵⁹ Other important

52 AA Afrifa, *The Ghana coup: 24th February 1966* (London: F. Cass, 1967).

53 T Szamuely, Introduction to Afrifa, *The Ghana Coup*, p. 15.

54 HL Bretton, *The rise and fall of Kwame Nkrumah : A study of personal rule in Africa* (New York: Praeger, 1966).

55 Bretton, *The rise and fall of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 7.

56 P Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah: The anatomy of an African dictatorship* (London: C. Hurst, 1970).

57 See, DG MacRae, "Nkrumahism: Past and future of an ideology", *Government and Opposition* 1 (4), 1966, pp. 535-546; P Jr Mahoney, "Nkrumah in retrospect", *The Review of Politics* 30 (2), 1968, pp. 246-250; S Ryan, "The theory and practice of African one partyism: The CPP re-examined", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (2), 1970, pp. 145-172.

58 See, in particular, AR Zolberg, *Creating political order: The party states of West Africa* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co, 1966).

59 P Foster and AR Zolberg (ed.), *Ghana and the Ivory Coast: Perspectives on modernisation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971); On the same subject see also; J Woronoff, *West African wager: Houphouët versus Nkrumah* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1972). See also, E Prosperetti, "The hidden history of the West African wager: Or, how comparison with Ghana made Côte d'Ivoire", *History in Africa* 45, 2018, pp. 29-57.

studies analysed other aspects of Nkrumah's rule as well as his overthrowing, a topic which would attract much interest in the next decades.⁶⁰

In 1969, the American historian and political scientist Scott W. Thompson published *Ghana's foreign policy*.⁶¹ As the title suggests, it was the first ever published study on Ghana's external projection, focusing, in particular, on the various ways in which Nkrumah tried to put Pan-Africanism into practice in a coherent foreign policy. Although impressive in the volume of information provided to the reader, this study has evident flaws. First of all, while the author had to make an extensive use of oral testimonies due to the lack of written primary sources, he used them largely uncritically.⁶² Secondly, the Cold War ideological confrontation as well as Thompson's personal political beliefs strongly inform the contents of the study.⁶³ As a result, the book appears to some readers as biased against Nkrumah, whose Pan-Africanist foreign policy is labelled quite simply as "*Opéra Bouffe*".⁶⁴ Yet, despite these shortcomings, Thompson's study is still the most cited on Ghana's foreign policy under Kwame Nkrumah.

4. MEMORY AND OBLIVION (1972–1991)

At the time of Nkrumah's death (27 April 1972), the optimistic first season of African post-independence period, associated with the modernisation paradigm, was already fading away and the season of "Afro-pessimism" (dependency/underdevelopment school) was beginning.⁶⁵ For many years, Nkrumah's figure, once hugely popular in Ghana and Africa partially lost its appeal. Despite few

60 On the coup, see, KA Ocran, *A myth is broken: An account of the Ghana coup d'état of 24th February 1966* (New York: Humanities Press, 1968); HL Bretton, "The overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah" in A Gyorgy (ed.), *Problems in international relations* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 277–299. Other interesting studies published in this period include, R Genoud, *Nationalism and economic development in Ghana* (New York: Praeger, 1969); R Addo-Fening, "Gandhi and Nkrumah: A study of non-violence and non-co-operation campaigns in India and Ghana as an anti-colonial strategy", *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 13 (1), 1972, pp. 65–85; EO Saffu, "The Bases of Ghana–Upper Volta relations during the Nkrumah regime", *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 4 (2), 1970, pp. 195–206; FA Botchway, *Political development and social change in Ghana: Ghana under Nkrumah, a study of the influence of Kwame Nkrumah and the role of idea in rapid social change* (Buffalo: Black Academy Press, 1972); J Mohan, "Ghana, the Congo, and the United Nations", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7 (3), 1969, pp. 369–406.

61 Thompson, *Ghana's foreign policy*.

62 For comments on Thompson's use of primary sources see, J Mohan, Review of Scott Thompson's "Ghana's foreign policy", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 8 (1), 1970, pp. 158–159; Grilli, *Nkrumaism*.

63 Mohan, Review of Scott Thompson's "Ghana's foreign policy", p. 157; Grilli, *Nkrumaism*. For a similarly critical review of Thompson's *Ghana's foreign policy* see, K Ankomah's Book review, *The American Political Science Review* 64 (3), 1970, pp. 979–980.

64 Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy*, p. 418.

65 P Nugent, *Africa since independence* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 5.

attempts to revitalise it, political Pan-Africanism also seemed to be weakening, or at least remaining crystallised for better days to come.⁶⁶ In Ghana, the memory of the Osagyefo was evoked briefly and contradictorily by the dictator Ignatius Kutu Acheampong (1972-1978) and more openly by President Hilla Limann (1979-81). In general, however, Nkrumah's policies and ideas were considered in Ghana as outdated if not dangerous and in many ways he was "ridiculed", at least until the mid-1980s.⁶⁷

Once Nkrumah's body was returned to Conakry, a two-day state funeral took place in Guinea (13-14 May 1972). In the first day of mourning, a symposium was held in the *Palais du Peuple* in the Guinean capital city, where Sekou Touré, Amílcar Cabral, Koptar Ould Daddah and Sourou-Migan Apithy paid their respects to the memory of the late Pan-Africanist leader.⁶⁸ Cabral's allocution which was published in 1973 in *Présence Africaine*, stressed that there was no need to "rehabilitate" a figure who was only a victim of treason.⁶⁹ Cabral maintained, "Kwame Nkrumah will live again each dawn in the hearts and in the determination of freedom fighters, and in the actions of all true African patriots".⁷⁰ The same issue of *Présence Africaine* where Cabral's speech was published was entirely dedicated to Nkrumah. In it, many authors, including Thomas Hodgkin and Samuel Ikoku, discussed Nkrumah's contribution to Pan-Africanism and African politics or celebrated the memory of the deceased leader with poetry and personal thoughts.⁷¹ Other interesting comments on Nkrumah's death and heritage were also published in the same period.⁷²

Meanwhile, a significant number of memoirs of protagonist and eye-witnesses of Nkrumah's times began to emerge. This can be considered as the peculiar tract of this period. Some memoirs were published effectively before the Osagyefo's death, in particular: H.T. Alexander's, *African Tightrope* (1965), Jeffrey Bing's *Reap the whirlwind* (1968) and Samuel Ikoku's *Le Ghana de Nkrumah*

66 Nyerere remained the main proponent of Pan-Africanism after Nkrumah's death. The Sixth Pan-African Congress was organised in Tanzania in 1974 but it was not followed by another one before 20 years. The Seventh Pan-African Congress took place in 1994 in Uganda. See Biney, "The legacy of Kwame Nkrumah", pp. 145-147.

67 Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 9.

68 J Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah : the Conakry years, his life and letters* (London: Panaf, 1990), p. 263.

69 A Cabral, "Allocution prononcée à l'occasion de la journée Kwame Nkrumah", *Présence Africaine* 85, 1973, pp. 5-10.

70 Cabral, "Allocution prononcée à l'occasion de la journée Kwame Nkrumah" p. 9; also quoted in translation in Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 263.

71 SG Ikoku, "A tribute to Kwame Nkrumah", *Présence Africaine* 85, 1973, pp. 32-38; T Hodgkin, "Nkrumah's radicalism", *Présence Africaine* 85, 1973, pp. 62-72.

72 J Herve, "Kwame Nkrumah: His last views of African struggle", *The Black Scholar* 4 (10), 1973, pp. 24-27; KP Tunteng, "Kwame Nkrumah and the African revolution", *Civilisations* 23/24 (3/4), 1973/1974, pp. 233-47; AA Mazrui, "Nkrumah, Obote and Vietnam", *Transition* 43, 1973, pp. 36-39.

(1971).⁷³ The majority, however, were published afterwards and they, as well as the previous ones, added fundamental information on the life, beliefs and policies of the late first President of Ghana. These included: Ras Makonnen's *Pan-Africanism from within* (1973), Michael Dei-Anang's *The administration of Ghana's foreign relations* (1975), Kwesi Armah's *Ghana: Nkrumah's legacy* (1975), Tawia Adamafio's *By Nkrumah's side* (1982), Erica Powell's *Private secretary* (1984) and Kofi Batsa's *The Spark* (1985)⁷⁴. Considering his role as lecturer of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, even K. Afari-Gyan's publications of this period can be considered as personal accounts on Nkrumah's times.⁷⁵ The famous Pan-Africanist C.R.L. James published a book (*Nkrumah and the Ghana revolution*, 1977) which is at the same time a reflection on the contribution of the late Ghanaian leader to Pan-Africanism and African nationalism and a personal account of his relationship with both him and Padmore.⁷⁶ Other memories of non-Ghanaians, particularly political activists who visited or worked in Ghana between 1951 and 1966, also include interesting references on Nkrumah.⁷⁷

Important studies which predated these publications like Thompson's could not of course include the new information offered to the readers by these memoirs. It is for this reason that, to this day, these books are so important for any analysis of Nkrumah's government and ideology. In particular, any study on Nkrumah's foreign policy and Pan-Africanism must take into consideration memories such as Ikkoku, Makonnen and Batsa's which offer invaluable insights into the work of the most controversial Pan-Africanist institutions of Nkrumah's government (such as the Bureau of African Affairs and the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute) of which until very recently there was a dearth of archival records.

73 HT Alexander, *African tightrope* (London: Pall Mall Press, 1965); G Bing, *Reap the whirlwind: An account of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana from 1950 to 1966* (London: Mcgibbon & Kee, 1968); SG Ikkoku (J Sago), *Le Ghana de Nkrumah, autopsie de la 1^{re} République 1957-1966* (Paris: François Maspero, 1971).

74 R Makonnen and K King, *Pan-Africanism from within*; M Dei-Anang, *The administration of Ghana's foreign relations, 1957-1966: A personal memoir* (London: Athlone Press, 1975); K Armah, *Ghana: Nkrumah's legacy* (London: Rex Collings, 1974); T Adamafio, *By Nkrumah's side - The labour and the wounds* (London: Westcoast & Collings, 1982); E Powell, *Private secretary / female/Gold Coast* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1984); K Batsa, *The Spark : Times behind me - From Kwame Nkrumah to Limann* (London: Rex Collings, 1985).

75 K Afari-Gyan, *The political ideas of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: African Heritage Studies, 1976); K Afari-Gyan, "Kwame Nkrumah, George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois", *Research Review* 7 (1/2), 1991, pp. 1-10; K Afari-Gyan, "Nkrumah's ideology". In: K Arhin (ed.), *The life and work of Kwame Nkrumah* (Accra, Sedco, 1991), pp. 165-179.

76 CRL James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana revolution* (London: Allison & Busby, 1977).

77 See, for instance, R Wright, *Black power: A record of reactions in a land of pathos* (New York: Harper, 1954); A Hutchinson, *Road to Ghana* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1960); JA Oginga Odinga, *Not yet uhuru* (London: Heinemann, 1967); M Angelou, *All God's children need traveling shoes* (New York: Random House, 1986).

Despite the lack of primary sources and the decreased interest for Nkrumah, political scientists and historians kept analysing the question “what went wrong?”.⁷⁸ Notable are Killick and Jeffries’ contribution for what concerns economics and Jones’ for what concerns politics.⁷⁹ Interestingly, new biographies were published, trying to offer new insights of the life of Kwame Nkrumah, for instance, during his American years or during his exile.⁸⁰ Interesting works, especially by Opoku Agyeman and Olajide Aluko added new information about crucial aspects of Nkrumah’s foreign policy, dealing respectively with East Africa and Nigeria.⁸¹ The former studied in particular the relationship between Nkrumah, Obote, Kenyatta, Mboya and Nyerere. His focus was then in identifying how and why Nkrumah worked against the East African Federation. Aluko instead focused his analysis on the struggle for leadership and influence in West Africa between the two former “sister colonies”. The reciprocal distrust of Ghanaians and Nigerians in the previous decades was rooted in the harsh confrontation which the two countries entertained even before independence. Various studies were instead devoted to the coup that ousted Nkrumah, since the subject allowed reflections on the actual freedom of the African nations and the influence if not the direct intervention of superpowers in the internal affairs of independent

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- 78 See for instance, HH Werlin, “The consequences of corruption: The Ghanaian experience”, *Political Science Quarterly* 88 (1), 1973, pp. 71-85; HL Bretton, *Power and politics in Africa* (Chicago: Aldine, 1973).
- 79 T Killick, *Development economics in action: A study of economic policies in Ghana* (London: Heinemann, 1978); R Jeffries, *Class, power and ideology in Ghana: The railwaymen of Sekondi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1978); T Jones, *Ghana’s first republic, 1960-1966: The pursuit of the political kingdom* (London: Methuen, 1976).
- 80 B Davidson, *Black star: A view of the life and times of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Praeger, 1974); JH Clarke, “Kwame Nkrumah: His years in America”, *The Black Scholar* 6 (2), 1974, pp. 9-16; Y Smertin, *Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: International Publishers, 1987); Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah*; AB Assensoh, *Kwame Nkrumah: Six years in exile, 1966-1972* (Ilfracombe: Stockwell Publishers, 1978); AB Assensoh, *Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana: His formative years and the shaping of his nationalism and Pan-Africanism, 1935- 1948* (Devon: Stockwell Publishers, 1990).
- 81 O Aluko, “After Nkrumah: Continuity and change in Ghana’s foreign policy”, *Journal of Opinion*, 5(1), pp. 55-62; O Aluko, *Ghana and Nigeria 1957-70: A study in inter-African discord* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1976); O Agyeman, “The Osagyefo, the Mwalimu, and Pan-Africanism: A study in the growth of a dynamic concept”, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 13 (4), 1975, pp. 653-675; O Agyeman, “Kwame Nkrumah and Tom Mboya: Non-Alignment and Pan-African trade unionism”, *Presence Africaine* 103, 1977, pp. 59-85; O Agyeman, “The supermarxists and Pan-Africanism”, *Journal of Black Studies* 8 (4), 1978, pp. 489-510; O Agyeman, “Kwame Nkrumah’s presence in A.M. Obote’s Uganda: A study in the convergence of international and comparative politics”, *Transition* 48, 1975, pp. 13-18 and 20-24; Opoku Agyeman later re-edited these articles along with new materials in O Agyeman, *Nkrumah’s Ghana and East Africa: Pan-Africanism and Africa interstate relations* (Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1992).

African nations.⁸² Finally, a number of other works kept examining Nkrumah's political figure and his ideology.⁸³

From the mid-1980s a renewed interest in Nkrumah and Nkrumaism began to emerge in Ghana. Rooney, the author of a new biography on the Ghanaian leader *Kwame Nkrumah: The political kingdom in the third world* (1988), immediately observed this change, "throughout much of this time [since the coup] Nkrumah and his rule were ridiculed and derided. In the 1980s, however, the perspective is shifting".⁸⁴ Rooney's work as well as other contemporary writings certified that the debate on Nkrumah was far from being over, that new path of research could be undertaken and that Nkrumaism had still appeal among activists as well as intellectuals.⁸⁵

Two symbolical events certified the passage towards a new phase of the debate on Nkrumah and Nkrumaism in Ghana. The first was the publication, in 1991, of the papers of the symposium "The life and work of Kwame Nkrumah", organised by the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana between the 27 May and the 1 June 1985.⁸⁶ Regardless of the effective value of the publication itself, which is remarkable, it symbolised that Nkrumah's times could be openly discussed in Ghana both in the Academia and outside it. The second symbolical event of this period was the construction of the Kwame Nkrumah Mausoleum in Accra in 1992 and the consequent transfer of the body of the late first president of Ghana from his hometown of Nkroful to the new grave,

82 D Austin and R Luckham (ed.), *Politics of the sword: A personal memoir on military involvement in Ghana and of problems of military government* (London: Rex Collings, 1977). References on the involvement of the American Central Intelligence Agency in the coup against Nkrumah can be found in J Stockwell, *In search of enemies: A CIA story* (New York: Norton, 1978); See also, P Barker, *Operation cold chop: The coup that toppled Nkrumah* (Tema: Ghana Publ. Co., 1979); S Baynham, *The military and politics in Nkrumah's Ghana* (London: Boulder, Westview, 1988).

83 BS Monfils, "A Multifaceted image: Kwame Nkrumah's extrinsic rhetorical strategies", *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (3), 1977, pp. 313-330; S Metz, "In Lieu of orthodoxy: The socialist theories of Nkrumah and Nyerere", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 20 (3), 1982, pp. 377-392; Reflections on Nkrumah's role within the Pan-African movement can be also found in M Tsomondo, "From Pan-Africanism to socialism: The modernisation of an African liberation ideology", *A Journal of Opinion* 5 (4), 1975, pp. 39-46; VB Thompson, *Africa and Unity: The evolution of Pan-Africanism* (London: Longman, 1977).

84 Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 9.

85 MW Williams, "Nkrumahism as an ideological embodiment of leftist thought within the African world", *Journal of Black Studies* 15 (1), 1984, pp. 117-134; KD Agyeman, *Ideological education and nationalism in Ghana under Nkrumah and Busia* (Accra: Ghana Universities Press, 1988); CC Smith, "Nkrumahism as utopianism", *Utopian Studies* 3, 1991, pp. 31-36; R Ofori, "The Man Nkrumah", *West Africa* 3 (834), 1991, pp. 254-257; Some reflections on Nkrumaism - although hagiographic - can be found in K Krafona, *The Pan-African movement: Ghana's contribution* (London: Afroworld, 1986); KB Hadjor, *Nkrumah and Ghana: The dilemma of post-colonial power* (London: Kegan Paul, 1988); JN Meyer, *Dr. Nkrumah's last dream: Continental government of Africa; Osagyefo, dreamer, philosopher, freedom fighter, analyst, strategist, political architect, hero of the wind of change* (Accra: Advance Publishers, 1990).

86 Arhin (ed.), *The life and work of Kwame Nkrumah*.

just in front of the old parliament of Ghana. With this move, the Ghanaian President J. J. Rawlings was transforming the most controversial figure of the history of his country, into the father of the nation. Globally, the end of the Cold War led also to a reconsideration of the past decades. The historical debate began to be de-ideologised and this included also the one on Nkrumah's ideas and policies. Thus, from the early 1990s, both Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians began to look at the history of the Osagyefo with different perspectives.

5. A RENEWED INTEREST IN NKRUMAH AND NKRUMAISM (1991-2019)

The reconsideration of Nkrumah's figure in a post-Cold War world did not automatically mean his sanctification or glorification. Quite on the contrary, one of the most important works of this period was a study which in some ways contested Nkrumah's myth. It was Jean Allman's *Quills of the porcupine* (1993).⁸⁷ This study dealt with Asante nationalism and particularly the development of the National Liberation Movement (NLM) and its struggle against Nkrumah's political project.⁸⁸ In particular, Allman contested Nkrumah's narrative which saw him as the only bearer of a modern nationalist project against a backward tribalism. Instead, she described a case of a contesting nationalist project, a very successful theme in the study of African history in recent years. Moreover, she offered a different point of view on the relationship between traditional authorities and politics in post-colonial Africa. In the wake of this study, Richard Rathbone published *Nkrumah and the chiefs* (2000), which examined in details the policies of the Osagyefo with regard to traditional authorities, further complicating the narrative on the triumph of Nkrumaism over tribalism.⁸⁹ Meanwhile, the heritage and legacy of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana began to be discussed in the academia, including considerations on the old wager with Houphouët-Boigny.⁹⁰

87 JM Allman, *The quills of the porcupine: Asante nationalism in an emergent Ghana* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).

88 Just few years before Joe Appiah one of Nkrumah's main political adversaries had published his memoirs, providing new insight on the relationship between Nkrumah and the oppositions. J Appiah, *Joe Appiah: The autobiography of an African patriot* (New York: Praeger, 1990).

89 R Rathbone, *Nkrumah and the chiefs: The politics of chieftaincy in Ghana 1951-60* (Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2000).

90 Y Saaka, "Recurrent themes in Ghanaian politics: Kwame Nkrumah's legacy", *Journal of Black Studies* 24 (3), 1994, pp. 263-280; AB Assensoh, *African political leadership: Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, and Julius K. Nyerere* (Malabar: Krieger Publ. Co., 1998); KO Boansi and RA Denmark, "Notes towards the settling of an old wager: Lessons learned from Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire", *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* 25 (2), 1999, pp. 1-41; O Agyeman, *The failure of grassroots Pan-Africanism: The case of the All-African Trade Union Federation* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003).

During the 1990s, new biographies were published. Particularly interesting is Sherwood's *Kwame Nkrumah: The years abroad* (1996).⁹¹ The book offered fresh information about Nkrumah's early political activities in the United States and the United Kingdom, exploring the relationship between the future leader and Pan-Africanists and radicals in America and Europe. Few years later, June Milne published *Kwame Nkrumah: A biography* (1999), her own account on the life of the late Ghanaian Pan-Africanist and their personal relationship.⁹² At the time, the book had a particular value since it unveiled many details of the work behind some of Nkrumah's most important writings.

Meanwhile, other memories of retired diplomats added new fundamental information to fully understand Ghana's foreign policy under Nkrumah. Quarm's *Diplomatic servant* (1995) and *Diplomatic offensive* (1997) offered an insight into the birth and development of the foreign service under Nkrumah as well as the ways in which Ghana's Pan-African foreign policy was put into practice.⁹³ David Bosumtwi-Sam's *Landmarks of Dr Kwame Nkrumah* (2001) also provided interesting comments on Nkrumaism and its translation in the external projection of the government of the Osagyefo.⁹⁴ Kwesi Armah's *Peace without power* (2004) had, and still has a particular value in being, as Dei-Anang's memories, both an account of the author's personal experience as a diplomat and a study concerning Ghana's foreign policy under Nkrumah.⁹⁵

In December 1999, Nkrumah was voted by the African audience of BBC's Focus on Africa as "Africa's Man of the Millennium" testifying his still strong popularity in the continent.⁹⁶ Just one year later, from the pages of *Transition*, Russel Warren Howe wanted to describe Africa's main independence leaders as he knew them, looking for a figure which deserved the title as Africa's "man of the century".⁹⁷ Quite interestingly, the judgment on Nkrumah was still harsh, discharging ideally the vote just expressed by the BBC listeners. Mazrui, the other protagonist of the 1966-67 *Transition* debate, instead proved to be more balanced confirming somehow that he "warmed up to Nkrumah over time".⁹⁸ Mazrui's constant use of the concept of Africa's "Triple Heritage" showed to what

91 Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*.

92 Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah*.

93 SE Quarm, *Diplomatic servant: Reflections of a pioneer in Ghana's diplomatic service* (Accra: Afram Publishers, 1995); SE Quarm, *Diplomatic offensive: An overview of Ghana's diplomacy under Dr. Kwame Nkrumah* (Accra: Afram Publishers, 1997).

94 D Bosumtwi-Sam, *Landmarks of Dr Kwame Nkrumah* (Accra: Ussh Graphic Designs, 2001).

95 K Armah, *Peace without power, Ghana's foreign policy 1957-1966* (Accra: Ghana University Press, 2004).

96 Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 1. On the references to Nkrumah at the Seventh Pan-African Congress in Uganda (1994) see, Biney, "The legacy of Kwame Nkrumah", p. 146.

97 WR Howe, "Men of the century", *Transition* 86, 2000, pp. 36-50.

98 West, "Kwame Nkrumah and Ali Mazrui", p. 123.

extent he found Nkrumah's ideology and philosophy appropriate to describe Africa's past and future, despite its criticisms.⁹⁹ In 2002, Mazrui gave a series of lectures at the University of Ghana on Nkrumaism and its actual significance in the post 9/11 world which were later published in *Nkrumah's legacy and Africa's triple heritage between globalisation and counter terrorism* (2004).¹⁰⁰ In the lectures, he supported Nkrumah's theory of the Triple Heritage but he also kept distinguishing between "positive" Nkrumaism and "negative" Nkrumaism, in an attempt to identify the mistakes made by the Osagyefo during his rule and confront them.¹⁰¹ As stated clearly by the Ugandan historian, the simple fact he could give these lectures in Ghana two decades after he had been prevented to do so testified how the political climate had changed. He maintained, "Some of the healing has taken place concerning Ghanaian responses to Kwame Nkrumah. The name of Nkrumah still evokes emotions one way or the other, but at least we are now able to come to terms with his significance for both Ghana and Africa".¹⁰²

An interesting debate on the actual importance of Nkrumah in the politics of Africa and the black world globally took place in 1996 between two influential personalities: Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) and Molefi Kete Asante.¹⁰³ The two thinkers met at the University of Cincinnati in February 1996 as the two main orators in a venue organised by the "United Afrikan Organisation" to talk about Pan-Africanism and Afro-Centrism, their respective political philosophies.¹⁰⁴ Central in the dialogue was the figure of Kwame Nkrumah whom both orators claimed as fundamental for their systems of thought. Molefi Asante argued that Pan-Africanism could not actually exist without an Afro-centrist philosophy and that indeed even "Nkrumah believed fundamentally in an afro-centrist worldview" even if he did not state it clearly in *Consciencism*.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, he discarded Ture's call for a socialist united Africa on the ground that socialism, as much as capitalism, are nothing but European concepts, alien to the African tradition. Ture responded reaffirming the basic concepts of Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism. The latter, Ture maintained, was rooted in the Pan-Africanist tradition, developed long before Afro-centrism and it is based on "revolutionary organisation" aiming at the liberation and unification of the continent under

99 Mazrui, *The Africans*.

100 Mazrui, *Nkrumah's legacy*.

101 Mazrui, *Nkrumah's legacy* p. 22.

102 Mazrui, *Nkrumah's legacy*, p. vii.

103 Stokely Carmichael, also known as Kwame Ture (1941-1998) was a Trinidadian-American civil rights activist and Pan-Africanist. Molefi Kete Asante, born Arthur Lee Smith Jr. (1942) is a prominent figure in the American academia and one of the main proponents of Afrocentrism.

104 "Africa & the Future" debate, recorded on 2 February 1996 at the University of Cincinnati. The recorded video of the venue can be found here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o3zolaSp0Kk&t=3819s>, accessed 27 June 2019.

105 Quoted from the debate.

socialism. Echoing Nkrumah's words, he explained, "there is no such thing as African socialism, Chinese socialism, Russian socialism. There is only one socialism: scientific socialism [...] socialism as capitalism are two economic systems, they have absolutely nothing to do with Europe".¹⁰⁶ In 1997, Kwame Ture maintained, "The All-African People's Revolutionary Party knows that the correct ideology for Africans [over] the world is Nkrumahism [...] Dr. Nkrumah was one of the first people to wake me up. It was he who began to wake up everyone".¹⁰⁷

Quite interestingly, in the 1996 debate with Molefi Asante, Ture included the Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi in a list of Pan-Africanist leaders he praised.¹⁰⁸ In those same years, Gaddafi began publicly endorsing Nkrumah's ideas as part of a medium-long term strategy to relaunch Pan-Africanism in the form of a new African Union.¹⁰⁹ Mazrui recalled that period in his 2002 lectures in Ghana, "In the new millennium, African leaders have started discussing once again concepts like "continental union" and regional integration. In October 2000, I spent three hours with Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi [sic] in his tent in Tripoli discussing Pan-Africanism and Pan-Arabism. The ghost of Kwame Nkrumah was present in that tent in Lybia".¹¹⁰ The new African Union was created in 2002 in place of the Organisation of African Unity, with the aim of enhancing the process of political unification of the continent. In 2005, Gaddafi maintained, "Had we heeded [Nkrumah's] advice at that time, Africa would now be like the United States of America or at least close to it. But we did not heed his advice, and even worse we ridiculed those predictions".¹¹¹

Molefi Asante has written thought-provoking pages about Pan-Africanism and the role played by Gaddafi and Nkrumah.¹¹² Other Afrocentric scholars also wrote important works on the Osagyefo and his role in the struggle for African liberation and unity.¹¹³ Particularly stimulating are Poe, Botwe-Asamoah and

106 Quoted from the debate.

107 S Carmichael, "Pan-Africanism – Land and power", *The Black Scholar* 27 (3-4), 1997, pp. 60 and 62 (it is partially a re-edition of the article published in *The Black Scholar* in 1969 under the same title).

108 The list included of course; Kwame Nkrumah, then Sekou Touré, Patrice Lumumba and Gamal Abdel Nasser.

109 See Biney, "The legacy of Kwame Nkrumah", pp. 147-148.

110 Mazrui, *Nkrumah's legacy*, p. 11.

111 See, abridged version of Gaddafi's address to the AU summit, July 4– 6, 2005, *New African*, August/September 2005, quoted in Ama Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 182.

112 See chapter seven (Kwame Nkrumah's and Muammar Gaddafi's Vision of Africa), in MK Asante, *Facing south to Africa: Toward an Afrocentric critical orientation* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014), pp. 77-91; MK Asante, "The character of Kwame Nkrumah's united Africa vision", *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4 (10), 2012, pp. 12-25.

113 See for instance, K Nantambu, "Pan-Africanism versus Pan-African nationalism: An Afrocentric analysis", *Journal of Black Studies* 28 (5), 1998, pp. 561-574.

Rahman's works.¹¹⁴ In the case of the first two authors, the Afrocentric approach is evident even from the titles of the volumes. Both books are also edited by Molefi Asante and are thus ascribable to his school of thought. The third volume is probably the most innovative since it offers the examination of original documents of the CIA which regard to the coup that overthrew Nkrumah. The three book, however, as underlined by Biney, "tend to fall into an uncritical Afrocentric examination of Nkrumah's ideology within hagiographic tradition".¹¹⁵

The new political climate favoured a more open debate and new primary sources also allowed the exploration of new aspects on Nkrumah's Pan-Africanist and nationalist policies.¹¹⁶ Particularly interesting are contributions about the relationship between Nkrumaism and religion¹¹⁷ and the symbolisms which characterised Nkrumah's nationalist project.¹¹⁸ One of the most remarkable contribution of the last fifteen years is Ama Biney's work. Through her writings, Biney offered for the first time a comprehensive and detached analysis of Nkrumah's ideology as expressed in his books, pamphlets, articles and speeches.¹¹⁹ She herself stressed the need for this type of work, "In a post-Cold War world and

114 Z Poe, *Kwame Nkrumah's contribution to Pan-Africanism: An Afrocentric analysis* (New York: Routledge, 2003); K Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah's politico-cultural thought and politics: An African-centered paradigm for the second phase of the African revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2005); Rahman, *The regime change*.

115 Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 7.

116 See for instance; E White, "Kwame Nkrumah: Cold War modernity, Pan-African ideology and the geopolitics of development", *Geopolitics* 8 (2), 2003, pp. 99-124; G Serra, *From scattered data to ideological education: Economics, statistics and the state in Ghana, 1948-1966* (PhD, London School of Economics, 2015).

117 See for instance, R Simms, "'I am a non-denominational Christian and a Marxist socialist': A Gramscian analysis of the Convention People's Party and Kwame Nkrumah's use of religion", *Sociology of Religion* 64 (4), 2003, pp. 463-477; R Simms, "Christianity is black with a capital 'B': The religion and politics of Kwame Nkrumah", *The Western Journal of Black Studies* 30 (2), 2006; RY Owusu, *Kwame Nkrumah's liberation thought: A paradigm for religious advocacy* (Trenton: Africa World, 2006).

118 See for instance, JB Hess, "Imagining architecture: The structure of nationalism in Accra, Ghana", *Africa Today* 47 (2), 2000, pp. 35-58; JB Hess, "Exhibiting Ghana: Display, documentary, and 'National' art in the Nkrumah era", *African Studies Review* 44 (1), 2001, pp. 59-77; H Fuller, "Civitas Ghanaensis Conditor: Kwame Nkrumah, symbolic nationalism and the iconography of Ghanaian money 1957 - the Golden Jubilee", *Nations and Nationalism* 14 (3), 2008, pp. 520-541; H Fuller, *Building the Ghanaian nation-state: Kwame Nkrumah's symbolic nationalism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

119 Biney, "The Legacy of Kwame Nkrumah"; A Biney, "The development of Kwame Nkrumah's political thought in exile, 1966-1972", *The Journal of African History* 50 (1), 2009, pp. 81-100; Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*; A Biney, "The intellectual and political legacies of Kwame Nkrumah", *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4 (10), 2012; A Biney, "Ghana's contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle: 1958-1994". In: South African Democracy Education Trust (SADET), *The Road to Democracy in South Africa, Volume 5, African Solidarity, Part 1* (Pretoria: Unisa Press, 2013), pp. 79-120.

with historical events placed firmly in the past, a greater sense of perspective becomes possible in soberly reassessing Nkrumah's role and contribution".¹²⁰

In 2007, an important event contributed to further increase the interest in Kwame Nkrumah both inside and outside the Academia: the 50th Anniversary of the Independence of Ghana.¹²¹ The Golden Jubilee was not only an occasion to affirm Ghanaian nationalist pride. It instead involved also the African Diaspora, closely connected with Ghana because of the ancient and painful memories of the slave trade but also because of the Pan-Africanist connections which Nkrumah fortified in the 1950s and 1960s.¹²² Both these elements also re-evoked in the contemporary celebration of the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire, became the basis for the launch of the "Joseph Project", whose goals were, "to celebrate African excellence and to welcome the Diaspora back home – to Ghana".¹²³

In the last twenty years, the Academic world examined with growing interest the history of trans-continental and trans-national movements of ideas and people in and outside Africa.¹²⁴ With regard to Nkrumah's Ghana, the work of Adi and Sherwood offered interesting insights into the relationship between Nkrumah and several Pan-Africanist figures in America, Russia and Europe.¹²⁵ Adi and Sherwood's production is also part of a wider literature that looks at questions like the struggle for human rights, the fight against racism, anti-colonial and radical activism at a transnational level.¹²⁶ Within this vast literature,

120 Biney, *The political and social thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p.1.

121 June Milne reflected on Nkrumah's legacy in the African continent in J Milne, "The coup that disrupted Africa's forward march", *New African* 448, 2006, pp. 14-17. In the occasion of the 50th anniversary and in view of the renewed interest for Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, Rooney's *Kwame Nkrumah* was reprinted, as Sawyer wrote, "against [a] background of oversimplification, tending towards both deification and demonisation", Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 13. On the anniversary see also, DE Apter, "Ghana's independence: Triumph and paradox", *Transition* 98, 2008, pp. 6-22; E Akyeampong and A De-Graft Aikins, "Reflections on independence and after", *Transition* 98, 2008, pp. 24-34.

122 MD Commander, "Ghana at fifty: Moving toward Kwame Nkrumah's Pan-African dream", *American Quarterly* 59 (2), 2007, pp. 421-441.

123 Commander, "Ghana at fifty", p. 430.

124 On the role of Ghana as a transnational hub during Nkrumah's rule see, K Walraven, *The yearning for relief: A history of the Sawaba movement in Niger* (Leiden: Brill, 2013); M Terretta, *Nation of outlaws, state of violence: Nationalism, grassfields tradition, and state building in Cameroon* (Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2014).

125 H Adi, *West Africans in Britain 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and communism* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998); H Adi, "Pan-Africanism and West African nationalism in Britain", *African Studies Review* 43 (1), 2000, pp. 69-82; Adi and Sherwood (ed.), *The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress*; Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah*; M Sherwood, "Pan-African conferences, 1900-1953: What did "Pan-Africanism" mean?", *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4 (10), 2012; M Sherwood, "George Padmore and Kwame Nkrumah: a tentative outline of their relationship". In: F Baptiste and R Lewis (ed.), *George Padmore: Pan-African revolutionary* (Miami: Ian Randle Publications, 2009).

126 See for instance, MP Guterl, "Comment: The futures of transnational history", *The American Historical Review* 118 (1), 2013, p. 131; JS Allman, "Nuclear imperialism and the Pan-African

the figure of George Padmore has recently attracted a particular interest among historians, for the Trinidadian Pan-Africanist, as brilliantly underlined by Leslie James in her *George Padmore* (2014), was a “truly transnational figure”.¹²⁷

Gaines’s *American Africans in Ghana* (2006) explored the whole experience of Afro-American expatriates in the Ghana of Nkrumah, who included the famous Pan-Africanist W. E. B. Du Bois. The book offered important new elements for a reflection on the Pan-Africanist ideology of the Osagyefo, the connections he entertained with different worlds and the relationship between Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians in Nkrumaist Ghana. Jean Allman contributed to the debate on these transnational connections in her ground-breaking article *Nuclear imperialism and the Pan-African struggle for peace and freedom* (2008).¹²⁸ In this article, Allman ideally invited scholars to interrogate the history of Nkrumah’s Pan-Africanism without judging the facts *ex post facto* but rather understanding their development in their historical context. As Jean Allman has rightly pointed out, for too long,

many scholars of African nation and nationalism have been immobilised by what has been widely deemed the failure of the nationalist and Pan-Africanist project in Africa. [...] Yet these are stories we need to remember [...] ‘nation-time’, liberation times, times when Pan-Africanism recognised no boundaries and a United States of Africa was considered not a pipe dream, but a plan just shy of a blueprint.¹²⁹

Jeffrey Ahlman is probably one of the scholar who has provided the most interesting new contributions on the study of Nkrumah’s times in the last years. Thanks to new primary sources, he has explored the impact of Nkrumaism in the daily life of Ghana as well as Nkrumah’s attempts to transform the latter into a “Pan-African nation”.¹³⁰ With regard to Nkrumah’s foreign policy, Ahlman has published two articles which have opened promising perspectives: *The Algerian question in Nkrumah’s Ghana* (2010) and *Road to Ghana* (2011).¹³¹ In the first

struggle for peace and freedom: Ghana, 1959–1962”, *Souls* 10 (2), 2008, p. 85.

127 See for instance, L James, *George Padmore and decolonisation from below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the end of empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), p. 1; C Polsgrove, *Ending British rule in Africa: writers in a common cause* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009); H Adi, *Pan-Africanism and communism. The communist international, Africa and the diaspora, 1919-1939* (Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, 2013); H Weiss, *Framing a radical African Atlantic: African American agency, West African intellectuals and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

128 Allman, “Nuclear imperialism”, pp. 83–102.

129 Allman, “Nuclear imperialism”, p. 85.

130 JS Ahlman, “Managing the Pan-African workplace: Discipline, ideology, and the cultural politics of the Ghanaian Bureau of African Affairs”, *Ghana Studies* 15, 2012, pp. 337–371; JS Ahlman, “A new type of citizen: Youth, gender, and generation in the Ghanaian Builders Brigade”, *Journal of African History* 53 (1), 2012, pp. 87–105.

131 JS Ahlman, “The Algerian question in Nkrumah’s Ghana, 1958–1960: Debating “violence” and “non-violence” in African decolonisation”, *Africa Today* 57 (2), 2010, pp. 67–84; JS Ahlman, “Road

seminal article, Ahlman described the debate on violence and non-violence among African freedom fighters in the late 1950s and early 1960s. In particular, the author analysed how Nkrumah's nonviolent "Positive Action" was challenged by Fanon's call to arms at the All-African People's Conference (1958) and the way in which the contemporary events in other parts of the continent especially in Algeria, made Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians to reconsider their faith in absolute non-violent methods of struggle.¹³² The second article is also important as it discusses at the same time the impact of Nkrumaism in Southern Africa and, on the contrary, the impact of Southern African struggles on Ghana's foreign policy. In the perspective offered by these two writings, Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism has to be studied in the context of a trans-national net of connections and exchanges which shaped the late colonial and early independent Africa. In 2017, Ahlman published a book which is destined to become one of the reference works on Nkrumah and Nkrumaism: *Living with Nkrumahism*.¹³³ The author shows how Nkrumah's ideology was conceived by the Ghanaian leader and his entourage and how it was "lived" by common Ghanaians and how they negotiated and reinterpreted it.

In recent years, in the wake of Ahlman's work, other scholars have begun examining new and unexplored aspects of Nkrumah's foreign policy, making ample use of the important new materials which have become available in the last two decades. Frank Gerits' work explores the crucial role played by Nkrumah's Ghana in the Cold War, more specifically in the "Ideological Scramble for Africa".¹³⁴ In his ground-breaking PhD research, Gerits describes the international competition between US, France, Ghana and the UK to conquer the "minds" of African peoples. Nkrumah, according to Gerits, projected his Pan-African ideology as an alternative to Cold War ideologies. Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism, according to an article also authored by Gerits, can be seen as an "interventionalist ideology in the Global Cold War".¹³⁵ Other authors like Nwaubani, Iandolo and Landricina have

to Ghana: Nkrumah, Southern Africa and the eclipse of a decolonising Africa", *Kronos* 37 (1), 2011, pp. 23-40.

132 See also, B Sutherland and M Meyer, *Guns and Gandhi in Africa: Pan African insights on nonviolence, armed struggle and liberation in Africa* (Asmara: Africa World Press, 2000); M Grilli "Nkrumah's Ghana and the armed struggle in Southern Africa (1961-1966)", *South African Historical Journal* 70 (1), 2018, pp. 56-81.

133 J S Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2017).

134 F Gerits, *The ideological scramble for Africa: The US, Ghanaian, French and British competition for Africa's future, 1953-1963* (PhD, European University Institute, 2014).

135 F Gerits, "When the bull elephants fight"; See also, F Gerits, "Bandung as the call for a better development project: US, British, French and Gold Coast perceptions of the Afro-Asian Conference (1955)", *Cold War History* 16 (3), 2016, pp. 255-272.

worked on the relationship between Nkrumah's Ghana and the two sides of the Cold War.¹³⁶

Matteo Grilli, who is the author of this article, has dealt with the spreading of Nkrumaism in Africa. *Nkrumaism and African nationalism* (2018), examines Ghana's Pan-African foreign policy during Nkrumah's rule, investigating how Ghanaians sought to influence the ideologies of African liberation movements. Grilli writes, "in a world of competing ideologies, when African nationalism was taking shape through trial and error, Nkrumah offered Nkrumaism as a truly African answer to colonialism, neo-colonialism and the rapacity of the Cold War powers". In his book, Grilli sets out to demonstrate how Ghanaians used three institutions, the Bureau of African Affairs, the African Affairs Centre and the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, to spread Nkrumaism within the ranks of African nationalist parties and movements. As Grilli underlines, "although virtually no liberation movement followed the precepts of Nkrumaism to the letter, many adapted the principles and organisational methods learnt in Ghana to their own struggles".¹³⁷ This book, for the first time, details the life of African freedom fighters in Ghana and the ways in which they became influenced by Nkrumah's ideology.¹³⁸ Thus, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism* is at the same time a study on Ghana's foreign policy and one on Pan-Africanism and African nationalism at a continental level. In a recent article, Grilli also discusses the role of Nkrumah's Ghana in the armed struggle in Southern Africa, offering new information on the training camps and Ghanaian policies relating to the use of guerrilla warfare in African liberation struggles.¹³⁹

A common trait of all these recent studies on Nkrumah's foreign policy is the use of a wide variety of primary sources, retrieved in different parts of the world, thus highlighting the international and transnational dimension of this history.¹⁴⁰ Some of these sources had never been used before. In particular, Ahlman, Grilli

136 See for instance, E Nwaubani, *The United States and decolonisation in West Africa, 1950-1960* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, 2001); Z Levey, "The rise and decline of a special relationship: Israel and Ghana, 1957-1966", *African Studies Review* 46 (1), 2003, pp. 155-177; D Laumann, "Che Guevara's visit to Ghana", *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 9, 2005, pp. 61-74; S Mazov, *A distant front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956-1964* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010); A landolo, *Soviet policy in West Africa, 1957-64* (PhD, University of Oxford, 2011); A landolo, "The rise and fall of the "Soviet model of development" in West Africa, 1957-64", *Cold War History* 12 (4), 2012, pp. 683-704; M Landricina, *Nkrumah and the West: The Ghana experiment in the British, American and German archives* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2018).

137 Grilli, *Nkrumaism*, p. 4.

138 On the life of freedom fighters in Ghana see also, M Grilli, "Southern African liberation movements in Nkrumah's Ghana", Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History, forthcoming.

139 Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana and the armed struggle".

140 For example, for his *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*, Grilli used archival sources from Ghana, UK, Zambia, South Africa, USA and Portugal. He also collected oral interviews in Ghana, South Africa, Lesotho, Zambia and eSwatini.

and Gerits have extensively used the important papers of the Bureau of African Affairs Collection held at the George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs in Accra, Ghana. These documents, deemed lost for decades, have become available to scholars since the late 1980s but only recently they have been used extensively for research purposes. These materials are extremely important for both the history of Ghana and that of liberation movements hosted in the country during Nkrumah's times. Grilli has recently published an archival report on this collection, where information is also provided on documents pertaining Ghana's "Pan-African institutions" in other Ghanaian archives.¹⁴¹ The most important documents on Nkrumah's ideology and foreign policy, other than those of the Bureau of African Affairs Collection, are undoubtedly those of the Public Records and Archives Administration Department (PRAAD) in Accra, Ghana.

The academic and non-academic debate on Nkrumah is still vibrant. The 100th anniversary of the Osagyefo's birth (2009), for instance, was the chance for the AARP to celebrate his enduring legacy.¹⁴² The year after, the first inaugural Kwame Nkrumah International Conference (KNIC) was held at Kwantlen Polytechnic University (Ghana). This, as well as the following three bi-annual KNIC conferences sought to "enhance Pan-African agency through cutting edge research and innovative ideas on Pan-African development within context of 21st century global trends".¹⁴³ Many authors, including Poe and Molefi-Asante has participated in the works of the KNIC.¹⁴⁴ In 2013, the 50th anniversary of the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana (Legon) was celebrated with an international conference.¹⁴⁵ Finally, the celebrations for the 60th anniversary of Ghana's independence in 2017 were once more an occasion to discuss the legacy of Nkrumah in Ghana and in Africa.

6. CONCLUSIONS

For decades, a vast debate has developed in Africa as well as outside Africa on Nkrumah and his heritage. Several scholars, intellectuals and politicians labelled the Ghanaian leader as one of the biggest failure of the post-colonial African leadership. Others fed his myth to the point of glorifying his martyrdom

141 Grilli, "Nkrumah, nationalism, and Pan-Africanism".

142 See AARP, Press Release for "Nkrumah@100 Commemorations", 21 September 2009; <https://aarp-intl.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/AAPRNkrumahBirthdayStatement-Sep09.pdf>, accessed 30 June 2019.

143 <https://networks.h-net.org/node/28765/discussions/118725/cfp-fourth-biennial-kwame-nkrumah-international-conference>, accessed on 30 June 2019.

144 See for instance, the special issue of *The Journal of Pan African Studies* 4 (10), 2012 dedicated to the 2010 KNIC.

145 See, J Allman, "Kwame Nkrumah, African studies, and the politics of knowledge production in the black star of Africa", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46 (2), 2013, pp. 181-203.

by the hands of neo-colonialists. Others, like Ali Mazrui, discussed “positive” and “negative” Nkrumaism with the hope of promoting a new synthesis of Nkrumah’s ideas and policies, amended from their most controversial aspects. The aim of this article was to rationalise and categorise the huge production on Nkrumah. After examining Nkrumah’s own works as well as Nkrumaist literature, the article had described the evolution of the debate on this crucial figure of African history. Following a period of highly ideologised portraits of Nkrumah, the last three decades have seen the emergence of new approaches, finally detached by partisan positions. Primary sources have become more available to scholars, allowing for a deeper understanding of the man and his policies. Also, and this is probably the most important contribution of the recent literature, the importance of Nkrumah has been highlighted at a continental level. Studying Nkrumah’s ideology and foreign policy is not only important for the history of Ghana but for the whole continent.

Undoubtedly, the interest surrounding Nkrumah is not only due to a mere intellectual curiosity. A crucial aspect which informs the debate is the fact that to this day his Pan-Africanist proposals attracts followers all over Africa and even in the Diaspora. These followers are attracted by an ideology which is African in form and contents and which claims to be, as a consequence, independent from foreign ideologies and interests. The name of Nkrumah is still widely evoked by protest movements, political parties and politicians, either as just an abstract symbol of freedom and Pan-Africanism or as the bearer of a concrete proposal for a radical change in African politics. The words of Rooney, written in 1988, still capture the power of Nkrumah’s thought and their potential impact on African politics, “Learning from his mistakes could still save Africa’s leaders from future blunders, while the inspiration of his idealism still impels them towards the elusive goal of a prosperous and united Africa”.¹⁴⁶ What appears clear to the author of this article is that the debate on Nkrumah and his Pan-African ideology is far from being exhausted both in the academia and outside it. Many more pages wait to be written on this key figure of Modern African history. The hope of the author of this article is that these pages would be helpful to new scholars interested in approaching the study on Nkrumah and Nkrumaism.

146 Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 11.