

“There is a New African in the World!” – Kwame Nkrumah and the Making of a “New African (Wo)Man” in Ghana 1957–1966

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ABSTRACTS

An der Schwelle zu Ghanas Unabhängigkeit am 6. März 1957 wandte sich Kwame Nkrumah, Anführer der afrikanischen Regierung des Landes, mit seiner historischen Rede „Ghana is free forever“ an die Welt. Diese herausragende Figur der pan-afrikanischen Bewegung erklärte unter anderem: „[W]e shall no more go back to sleep [...] [F]rom now on, there is a new African in the world[!]“ Wie unterschied er zwischen einem „neuen“ und einem „alten“ Afrikaner? Dieser Beitrag untersucht den Charakter dieser Vision eines „New African“. Nkrumah glaubte nicht an dessen Existenz *per se*. Vielmehr musste eine gezielte Hominisierung dieses neuen Wesens erfolgen. Daher fügte Nkrumah Folgendes hinzu: „[F]rom [...] today, we [Ghanaians] must change our attitudes, our minds [and] realise that [...] we are no more a colonial but a free and independent people!“ Veränderung bedeutete für ihn eine Anthropogenese, um der Welt zu zeigen, „that [...] the African [...] is somebody!“ und „capable of managing his [or her] own affairs.“ Nkrumahs Ansicht nach musste sich Ghana, das er bis 1966 regierte, für die vollständige Dekolonialisierung Afrikas, die Einheit des Kontinents, die Entwicklung des Geistes einer afrikanischen Persönlichkeit sowie für die Wiedererlangung der afrikanischen Selbstkontrolle und Kreativität einsetzen. Dies erforderte, dass die Hominisierung des „New African“ von Ghana ausging. Welche Initiativen und Prozesse wurden angestoßen, um diese Transformation der Einstellungen und eine intellektuelle Wiedergeburt in Ghana zu erreichen? Dieser Artikel bietet eine historische Untersuchung der Bildungs- und Kulturinitiativen sowie der politisch-ideologischen Trainings und Kaderschulen, insbesondere des *Ghana Young Pioneers Movement* und des *Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute*, die Nkrumah, Afrikas „Man of the Millennium“, mit dem Ziel ins Leben rief, die Herausbildung der Einstellungen und des Geistes eines „New African“ in Ghana im Zeitraum von 1957 bis 1966 voranzutreiben.

On the eve of Ghana's independence on 6 March 1957, Kwame Nkrumah, leader of the African government of that country, made his "Ghana is free forever" historic speech to the world. This Pan-Africanist extraordinaire declared, *inter alia*, that: "[W]e shall no more go back to sleep [...] [F]rom now on, there is a new African in the world[!]" How did he differentiate between a new and old African? This study, interested in the character of this envisioned "new African," perceives that Nkrumah did not think that this African already existed. Rather, a purposeful hominisation of this "new" being needed to occur. Hence, Nkrumah added that: "[F]rom [...] today, we [Ghanaians] must change our attitudes, our minds [and] realise that [...] we are no more a colonial but a free and independent people!" Change, as he emphasised, meant an anthropogenesis for the "new" being to "prove," as Nkrumah added, "to the world that [...] the African [...] is somebody!" and "capable of managing his [or her] own affairs." In Nkrumah's view, Ghana, which he ruled until 1966, had to champion the total decolonization of Africa, continental unity, development of the spirit of African Personality and renaissance of African self-possession and creativity. This, therefore, required that the hominisation of the "New African" had to start from Ghana. What initiatives and processes were offered to engender this transformative attitudinal and intellectual rebirth in Ghana? This article offers a historical examination of the educational and cultural initiatives and political-ideological training movements and cadre schools, especially the *Ghana Young Pioneers Movement* and *Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute*, which Nkrumah, Africa's "Man of the Millennium," provided intentionally to help bring about the necessary attitudinal and intellectual moulding of a "New African" in Ghana from 1957–1966.

1. Introduction

Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana and voted Africa's "Man of the Millennium" by the British Broadcasting Corporation,¹ engaged in nationalist and Pan-African projects to bring sustainable independence to Ghana, and to Africa as a whole. His central notions were that Africans should become critically conscious of imperialism and colonialism and resist them; surmount defeatist attitudes, self-pity, and the colonial myth of African inferiority; and unite to build and uplift Africa politically, economically, and culturally. This required a state-led conscientization intervention for the people.² Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party (CPP) government endeavoured to start this conscientization in Ghana, and began to work with other African leaders to create a continental government that would expand conscientization in a united Africa.

1 BBC World Service, 14 September 2000, http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/people/highlights/000914_nkrumah.shtml (accessed 12 January 2019).

2 I use M. Ledwith's definition of conscientization here, which is, "[T]he process whereby people become aware of the political, socioeconomic and cultural contradictions that interact in a hegemonic way to diminish their lives. This awareness, which is based on critical insight, leads to collective consciousness" (p. 100). It makes people become critical thinkers and helps them to unpack and dismantle dominant oppressive thoughts produced by the cycle of socialization (M. Ledwith, *Community Development: A Critical Approach*, Bristol 2011).

Declaring Ghana's independence on 6 March 1957,³ Nkrumah averred that "independence is meaningless unless it is linked with the total liberation of Africa."⁴ As a Pan-Africanist, he envisaged Ghana's new status as inspiring a total decolonization of Africa, continental unity, development of the spirit of African Personality,⁵ and a renaissance of African self-possession and creativity for a "new" rather than a colonial African. Importantly, he stated that: "We shall no more go back to sleep [from] now on, there is a new African in the world."⁶ Nkrumah also asserted: "[F]rom [...] today, we [Ghanaians] must change our attitudes, our minds [and] realise that [...] we are no more a colonial but a free and independent people!"⁷ Clearly, he emphasized change not as biological hominization and a political rebirth of a people, but rather as being mentally reborn through processes that transform attitude and intellect. Nkrumah saw independence as a process that did not end with the formal proclamation of independence. It was a continuous struggle, a mental decolonization, in which the people could sustain valuable aspects of African traditions and institutions, and purge themselves of colonial attitudes, backward ideas, and divisive notions to become free. Freedom is essential in order to gain self-respect. Nkrumah saw it not only as denoting national autonomy, politico-economic independence, and infrastructural growth, but also sovereignty of mind. Freedom of mind required the destruction of what Nkrumah's followers called the "colonial mentality" problem.⁸ Thus, apart from pursuing the utilitarian goal of strengthening political and economic autonomy, Nkrumah also had a vision of creating a "new African," initially in Ghana, by shaping a nationalist psychology and attitude, Pan-Africanist character, and freedom mentality in the people. Nkrumah knew that the world was keen to view Ghana's independence as a crucial test of Africans' ability to be self-determining.⁹ His agenda for creating a new African via a mental and attitudinal rebirth simultaneously involved Ghana's politics and Pan-African political and cultural configurations.¹⁰ He hoped for a vital anthropogenesis to "prove to the world that when the African is given a chance he [or she] can show the world that he [or she] is somebody" and "capable of managing his [or her] own affairs."¹¹

This article offers a history of the educational and cultural initiatives, political-ideological training movements and schools that Nkrumah provided with the intention to help

3 See K. Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom: A Statement of African Ideology*, New York 1962 [1961], pp. 106–108.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 107.

5 O. Gill summarizes how Nkrumah viewed this concept as a philosophy of "common Africanism" that was intended to express 'the present-day African thinking, aspiration, and way of life' in order to 'bind our [different African nations] various parties together in the [sic] unity and oneness of purpose' against 'economic imperialism and racial discrimination' (See O. Gill, 'Ghana and Africa Need a New Type of man: Youth, Nationalism and Masculinity in Gold Coast/Ghana c. 1948–1966, Master in Global History thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2017, p. 6).

6 K. Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, p. 107.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

8 E.B. Laramie, *Political Freedom in Unity*, Accra 1962, quoted in: B.S. Monfilis, *A Multifaceted Image: Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies*, in: *Journal of Black Studies* 7 (1977) 3, p. 313.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

mould the mind of the new African, particularly during the second phase of his political career.¹² Firstly, we will briefly scan Nkrumah's general understanding of education and his view on the imperative of ideological training, and secondly we will shed some light on two vibrant institutions – the Ghana Young Pioneers Movement (GYP) and Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute (KNII) – established by him in 1960 and 1961 respectively, to provide ideological training for children and adults.¹³

2. Nkrumah and the Making of an Independent African: Means and Methods of the Struggle

Nkrumah considered the colonial mentality to be a major problem: “What [is] independence [...] if we throw off political bondage and remain in [...] mental subservience?”¹⁴ In line with this view, Operation Psychology was initiated shortly after the proclamation of independence,¹⁵ to use “visual aids” to interpret “the soul and spirit of independence,”¹⁶ and to bolster the leader image of Nkrumah and his ideas, defined as Nkrumaism (or Nkrumahism),¹⁷ to inspire the people to move away from a colonial mentality, a problem that exposed them to neo-colonialism,¹⁸ and nurture valuable African traditions and creativity. Nkrumah used psychological strategies to become an empowering illustrative model. For instance, his head was depicted on Ghana's stamps and coins.¹⁹ Explaining the psychological goal of this, he averred that “many of my people cannot read or write. They've got to be shown [...] they are [...] independent. [...] [T]hey will see my picture – an African like themselves – and they will say: ‘Look, here is our leader on the stamps. We are truly a free people!’” Furthermore, “[M]y statue also is being built, I am sure the Queen will understand that many of my people still do not believe that we are truly independent. Some [...] expected the Queen to [...] crown me.”²⁰ In addition, Nkrumah

12 The first major part of his career was from 1947 to 1957, when he returned from England to the Gold Coast and spearheaded the local struggle to independence. The second was from 1957 to 1966, when he sought to build an economically independent and socialist state in Ghana. A coup d'état, orchestrated by some Ghanaians with CIA involvement, overthrew his government in 1966. He died in exile in 1972.

13 A. Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, New York 2011, p. 102; K. Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, New York 1963, p. 130.

14 K. Nkrumah, *Speech at the Fourth Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference*, Winneba, Ghana, 10 May 1965, quoted in: K. Nkrumah, *Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah*, London 1967, p. 55.

15 *Evening News*, 22 June 1957, p. 2, quoted in: Monfils, *A Multifaceted Image*, p. 313.

16 *Ibid.*

17 Nkrumaism or Nkrumahism was deemed an African philosophical response to the Western and Eastern philosophies. The two spellings are used interchangeably in this paper.

18 For more on how Nkrumah exposes the nature of neo-colonialism, see K. Nkrumah, *Neocolonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*, London 1965.

19 B. S. Monfils, *A Multifaceted Image*, pp. 313–330.

20 *Daily Graphic*, 21 June 1957, p. 1, quoted in: Monfils, *A Multifaceted Image*, p. 325.

harnessed Ghana's national dance music, that is, highlife, to interpret and inculcate the spirit of independence.²¹

Nkrumah also believed that Ghana, and Africa as a whole, needed "a new ideology, socialist in content and continental [that is, Pan-African] in outlook,"²² to prevent neo-colonialism and produce a conscientized new African who was a revolutionary socialist-oriented democratic patriot, nationalist, and Pan-Africanist. To this end, some statal and parastatal organizations and systems – educational, indoctrinating and ideological – were established to preach an ideological orthodoxy that was intended to mould a new African in Ghana. Organizations that were strongly affiliated to this project included the National Association of Socialist Students Organization (NASSO), which was "officially described as the 'ideological wing of the [Convention People's] Party',"²³ the Bureau of African Affairs, the Ghana Women's League (GWL), the League of Ghana Patriots, the CPP Vanguard Activists, the Workers Brigade (WB), the Kwame Nkrumah Leadership Centre, the United Ghana Farmers' Council, the Young Farmers League, the National Council of Ghana Women (which was a merger of GWL and the National Federation of Gold Coast Women), and the Trade Union Congress. Members of these groups were encouraged to be ideologically disciplined. An example of the practice of shaping was that the Workers Brigade, a type of paramilitary group that also performed construction works and projects and operated state farms, required enlisted members to frequently recite the pledge of the Brigade:

*I pledge my efforts to strive from day to day for the ideals of this Nation of Ghana; I pledge my heart to loyalty to our nation and to the Brigade; I pledge my talents to individual perfection and Social Betterment; I pledge my mind to a greater understanding of my duty as a citizen; I pledge my hands to service to the Community through hard work.*²⁴

Nkrumah also appreciated the media's power to influence. Consequently, he supported a guided use of radio addresses, film, the party press, and state owned media in his venture to educate, ideologize, and mobilize people in Ghana.²⁵ State TV was advised to see education as its objective.²⁶ Nkrumah considered that the propagation of his agenda in the country and on the continent also required an ideological journal or journals.²⁷ Hence,

21 N. Plageman, *Highlife Saturday Night: Popular Music and Social Change in Urban Ghana*, Bloomington 2013, pp. 147–182.

22 K. Nkrumah, *Why the Spark?*, Accra 1964, p. 3; Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, p. 130.

23 C. Legum, *Socialism in Ghana: A Political Interpretation*, in: W.H. Friedland and C.G. Rosberg, Jr. (eds.), *African Socialism*, Stanford 1964, p. 138.

24 See P. Hodge, *The Ghana Workers Brigade: A Project for Unemployed Youth*, in: *The British Journal of Sociology* 15 (1964) 2, pp. 113–128.

25 K. Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah*, London 1957, p. 75; K. Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, pp. 55–56; K. Nkrumah, *The Voice of Africa*, Speech for the Opening of the Ghana External Broadcasting Service, 22 October 1961, <http://nkrumahinfobank.org/article.php?id=469&c=46> (accessed 12 January 2019); K. Nkrumah, *Speech on the Inauguration of GBC-TV*, Accra 1965.

26 K. Nkrumah, *Speech on State Opening of Ghana's Parliament*, 15 October 1963.

27 K. Nkrumah, *Why I Founded the Spark*, in: *Spark* 100, 13 November 1964, p. 1.

he established *The Spark* in 1962,²⁸ which had a socialist devotion to the liberation and unification of Africa,²⁹ and also discussed the African socialist revolution.³⁰ It was designed “[t]o spell out the content of socialism,” and analyse notions such as African socialism, so that the people would understand “the [...] meaning of socialism and the correct way to [...] achieving it.”³¹ The editors, K. Batsa, a Ghanaian, and S. G. Ikoku, a Nigerian Marxist in Ghana, were tasked “to crystallize Nkrumah’s ... specific policies and to describe the issues each week in ways which reflected his thinking [...]”³²

3. Nkrumah and Education

In addition to this ideological indoctrination, Nkrumah also considered that the necessary attitudinal and intellectual shaping of a “new” Ghanaian, rather than a colonial subject of the Gold Coast, must flourish within a state-led education system. In 1951 his party campaigned for “a unified system of education, free and compulsory elementary, secondary and technical education up to the age of 16 years” and an Adult Education programme that would remove illiteracy as quickly as possible.³³ Unprecedentedly assuming full responsibility for educational policy and practice, his government supported the view that religious and private schools would not be supported by public funds unless prior approval was obtained from the relevant local authority and the central government department.³⁴ Non-public schools were to be closed down by law if their structures and curricula were not considered morally healthy for the pupils. These policies were partially intended to eradicate the strong colonial influence that especially missionary schools had wielded in education, mainly at the primary level. Consequently, many churches took a back seat, and although they attached their names to schools they did not exercise any influence over them. The government expanded school facilities at the primary, middle, secondary grammar and secondary technical levels, while technical institutes, professional training colleges, and universities offered further education and also developed other skills,³⁵ such as new creative ideas, which helped to improve productivity,³⁶ and technical education, which assisted Ghana’s industrialization; they also inspired a decolonized mentality.³⁷

28 This was similar to the *Iskra* of Russia.

29 See Biney, *Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 93.

30 *Spark* 1, 15 December 1962, p. 1.

31 K. Nkrumah, *Why the Spark?*, pp. 3–4.

32 K. Batsa, *The Spark: Times Behind Me: From Kwame Nkrumah to Hilla Limann*, London 1985, p. 15.

33 K.O. Hagan, *Mass Education and Community Development in Ghana: A Study in Retrospect 1943–1968*, Legon 1975, p. 15.

34 See K. Botwe-Asamoah, *Kwame Nkrumah’s Cultural Thought and Policies*, New York/London 2005, p. 182; Gold Coast Educational Department, *Accelerated Development Plan for Education*, Accra 1951.

35 Ghana Office of the Planning Commission, *Seven-Year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development 1963–64 to 1969–70*, Accra 1964.

36 *Ibid.*

37 For an understanding of decoloniality, see S.J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *Decoloniality as the Future of Africa*, in: *History*

Higher education, especially in universities, which were inherited from the colonial regime, was deemed to be not very useful by Nkrumah's government. The university system was therefore mandated to offer a wide array of courses that were more relevant to the country's needs.³⁸ In addition, more African professors were appointed,³⁹ and patriotism and true academic freedom (intellectual freedom compatible with service and loyalty to the community "to which it belongs,"⁴⁰ and its interests) were encouraged.⁴¹ Universities were tasked with supporting good citizenship, public morality, and appropriate behaviour, as well as seeking the people's welfare, solving their economic, cultural, technological, and scientific problems,⁴² and freeing them from ignorance and laziness.⁴³ Accordingly, Nkrumah built a university in Cape Coast in 1962, his first in Ghana, to provide teacher education and educational research for "the enlightenment and upliftment of our people and at wiping out the legacy of illiteracy, miseducation, superstition, distortion and false values."⁴⁴ He also formally opened the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana in 1963, and mandated it to facilitate the:

*[S]tudy [of] the history, culture and institutions, languages and arts of Ghana and of Africa in new African – centred ways – in entire freedom from the propositions and presuppositions of colonial epoch, and [...] definitions of [...] European studies [...] [W]e must reassess and assert the glories and achievements of our African past and inspire our generation and succeeding generations, with a vision of a better future.*⁴⁵

Nkrumah was interested in building a modernized industrialized society,⁴⁶ yet he wanted the people to learn about what he perceived as Africa's precolonial past for inspiration and to help solve problems in the postcolonial moment. It was in this spirit that he named his country after the ancient state of Ghana. He opined: "Ghana [...] reborn will be, like the Ghana of old, a centre to which all the peoples [...] and [...] cultures of Africa may meet,"⁴⁷ in "majesty."⁴⁸ Ghana "kindles in the imagination [...] the achieve-

Compass 13 (2015) 10, pp. 485–496, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/hic3.12264> (accessed 5 March 2019).

38 K. Nkrumah, *The Noble Task of Teaching*, Accra 1961, p. 3.

39 T. Adamafo, *By Nkrumah's Side: The Labour and the Wounds*, Accra/London 1982, p. 67.

40 K. Nkrumah, Speech at the University of Ghana, Legon, 24 February 1963.

41 Nkrumah, *The Noble Task*, p. 167.

42 Nkrumah, Speech at the University of Ghana, Legon, 24 February 1963.

43 Nkrumah, *The Role of Universities*, Accra 1963, p. 1.

44 Nkrumah, Speech for the Opening Ceremony of University of Cape Coast (Read by Kojo Botsio), 15 December 1962, Cape Coast, quoted in: D.A. Dwarko and K.O. Kwarteng, *A History of University of Cape Coast*, Accra 2003, p. 11.

45 Nkrumah, *Strength and Power*, Accra 1963, p. 3.

46 Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, p. 23; K. Nkrumah, Speech at the Seminar for Senior Civil Servants at Winneba, 14 April 1962, quoted in: Nkrumah, *Axioms*, p. 56; K. Nkrumah, Speech at the Laying of Foundation Stone of the Atomic Reactor at Kwabenya, 25 November 1964, quoted in: Nkrumah, *Axioms*, p. 57.

47 Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, p. 96.

48 Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography*, p. 163.

ment of a great [...] civilisation which our ancestors developed [...] before European penetration and [...] domination of Africa.”⁴⁹

It is noteworthy that Nkrumah believed education should be holistic, measured not only by the knowledge or skill that a person can utilize, but rather: “in terms of the soundness of his judgement [...] his power to [...] appreciate the needs of his fellow-men, and to be of service to them [and] be so sensitive to the conditions around him [and] endeavour to improve those conditions for the good of all.”⁵⁰

Thus, Nkrumah also paid attention to non-classroom education (whether it was in schools or outside them). The Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education was launched in 1952 under the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development to support community development and to “teach people, not merely how to read and write, but how to live.”⁵¹ Nkrumah supported the use of non-formal education, such as students reciting the National Pledge and saluting the National Flag at morning school parades, as well as engaging in pre- and post-secondary school and post-university national training,⁵² to teach them values that led to high standards of moral conduct and behaviour: service, responsibility, devotion to Ghana and Africa, respect for superiors, self-discipline, and earnestness.⁵³

As well as supporting formal classroom and informal education, Nkrumah also greatly favoured a state-led ideological indoctrination programme that would help to create the “new” Ghanaian.

4. Nkrumah on Ideological Training

Ideological training was important to Nkrumah. Ideology was a guide to action, hence his dictum that: “Practice without thought is blind, and thought without practice is empty.”⁵⁴ The fundamental ideology that his regime promoted became popularly known as “Nkrumaism”.⁵⁵ As a philosophical guide to action, Nkrumaism was a distillation of his political and socioeconomic ideas for Africa’s self-determination, growth, and well-being. The language of this plan was “clearly a language of socialism, progress and development,”⁵⁶ which S. Carmichael described as “scientific socialism applied to countries emerging from colonialism, and specifically African countries where the Marxist

49 Nkrumah, Speech in Legislative Assembly Moving the Adoption of the Government’s White Paper, 18 May 1956, quoted in: Nkrumah, *Axioms*, p. 47.

50 Nkrumah, Speech at the Opening of the Institute of African Studies, 25 October 1963.

51 Hagan, *Mass Education*, p. 20.

52 Nkrumah, *Revive our Virtues*, Accra 1963.

53 *Ibid.*

54 G. Martin, *African Political Thought*, Basingstoke/New York 2012, p. 87.

55 He called it African Socialism. Later (before 1960) it was designated as Nkrumaism, after 1960, the term Consciencism was also used to refer to the corpus of Nkrumah’s ideology.

56 D. Apter, quoted in: H.L. Bretton, *The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah*, London 1966, p. 87.

capital-labor conflict is only one of a number of fundamental conflicts."⁵⁷ T. Szamueli, a tutor at the KNII, revealed that the Institute considered it as:

*[I]deology of the New Africa [...] free from imperialism, organised on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of [a] 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 the condition for the free development of all.*⁵⁸

Furthermore, Nkrumaism was a political call to the common people to rise "from the scum of the earth to take their place in the sun, a theory springing from a people with a long tradition of collectivisation and faith in majority rule and Democratic centralism."⁵⁹ It was deemed by the CPP, first, as "a constructive alternative [...] to the hypocrisy [...] we have known for 2,000 years of Christendom (European imperialism),"⁶⁰ and, second, "the highest form of Christianity, etc. [...] which teaches that you must remove [...] causes of hate and jealousy among haves and have-nots in order to [...] 'love one's neighbour as one's self'."⁶¹ The *Ghanaian Times* called it "the new African ideology [...] to save our continent from [...] neo-colonialism and show the way for African unity,"⁶² and "solve all [our] problems."⁶³

In summary, Nkrumaism, which was promoted within cadre ideological movements and institutions such as GYP and KNII, generally focused on the rejection of colonialism; attainment of complete independence; positive action as a force against colonialism; the use of violence when positive action is militarily repressed; Pan-Africanism; African continental unity; African cultural and moral renaissance; African nationalism; socialist-inclined non-exploitative African economic methods; democracy and universal adult suffrage; and the positive neutrality of Africa in Cold War politics.

5. Life and Afterlife of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute

When opening the Trade Union Hall in 1960, Nkrumah revealed the completion of "plans for the immediate establishment of a school [...], the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute [...] [to] give ideological training to Party activists, trade union officials and our co-operators of the National Co-operative Council." For the sake of Pan-Africanism, KNII, dubbed "the Mecca of the African Revolution,"⁶⁴ was also to "train freedom fight-

57 S. Carmichael, Marxism-Leninism and Nkrumahism, in: *The Black Scholar* 4 (1973) 5, pp. 41–43.

58 T. Szamueli, The Prophet of the Utterly Absurd, in: *The Spectator*, 1966, quoted in: H.L. Bretton, Rise and Fall, p. 163.

59 Evening News, 20 November 1959, p. 2.

60 Ibid., 23 March 1960, p. 2.

61 Ibid., 26 January 1960, p. 2.

62 Ghanaian Times, 2 January 1962, p. 2.

63 Ibid., 3 January 1962, p. 6.

64 S. Ryan, The Theory and Practice of African One Partyism: The CPP Re-Examined, in: *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 4 (1970) 2, p. 162.

ers [...] for ideological and educational orientation,”⁶⁵ “counteract [...] miseducation [...] and [...] effectively direct the freedom movement for African emancipation,”⁶⁶ and “end [...] the reactionary era in Ghana [...] by conscious ideological education.”⁶⁷ KNII, as E.O. Addo has indicated, marked an important point in “ideological evolution in Ghana since Nkrumah appeared on the political arena in 1949.”⁶⁸ Inaugurated on 18 February 1961, KNII was established to offer two-year courses. K. Addison and J. K. Nsarko were respectively appointed director and deputy director.⁶⁹ KNII comprised two sections: “[T]he Positive Action Training Centre and the Ideological Training Centre, was placed under the exclusive supervision of the Central Committee of CPP, and not the regulation of the Education Department or Ghana Education Trust.”⁷⁰ According to K. Darkwah, this autonomy was deemed relevant because of the curriculum offered by the Institute.⁷¹ It was intended, as Nkrumah put it in 1961, to condition the “comrade” to perpetually uphold the principle “I live not for myself but for the good of the whole.”⁷² Thus, during the five years of its existence, it trained cadres from Ghana and other African countries, such as Nigeria, Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and Zimbabwe,⁷³ to become more sophisticated politically and to refine their ideologies. There were students from the rank and file of the CPP, Trades Union Congress (TUC) activists, and officials of agencies such as GYP, United Ghana Farmers’ Council (UGFC), National Council of Ghana Women (NCGW), and the Ghana Armed Forces.⁷⁴ Students’ ages ranged from 21 to 51. They possessed qualifications that included Teacher Certificate “A,” Secondary and Middle School Certificates, London Chamber of Commerce and City and Guild of London credentials, and degrees in different vocational, technical, and professional disciplines. Some key subjects studied at the Institute were Economics, Government, History, and Philosophy, albeit with an orientation to Nkrumaism. Tutors included some Ghanaian socialist stalwarts, who were popularly known as “socialist boys.” They included editors, journalists, and directors from the state media, and organizers of some government and party agencies. Some tutors came from Senegal and Nigeria,⁷⁵ while communist and socialist teachers from Britain and Eastern Europe also taught there. Lecturers delivered papers on topical issues such as “Nkrumah’s Political Ideology” and “African Unity.”⁷⁶

65 Nkrumah, *Speech at the Opening of the Hall of Trade Unions*, Accra 1960, p. 6.

66 *Ibid.*

67 D. Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy*, Accra 2007[1988], p. 243.

68 W.H. Friedland, *Four Sociological Trends in African Socialism*, in: *Africa Report* 8 (1963) 5, p. 10, quoted in: E.O. Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana*, Lanham, NY/Oxford 1999[1997] p. 156.

69 K. Darkwah, *Kwame Nkrumah and his 'Ideological Institute' at Winneba*, in: B. Lundt and C. Marx (eds.), *Kwame Nkrumah 1909–1972. A Controversial African Visionary*, Stuttgart 2016, p. 45.

70 Nkrumah, *Speech at the Opening of the Hall of Trade Unions*, p. 6.

71 Darkwah, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 43.

72 Nkrumah, *Laying the Foundation Stone of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute*, Accra 1961, quoted in: E.O. Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 155.

73 Darkwah, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 43.

74 Biney, *Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 102.

75 Darkwah, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 45.

76 Biney, *Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 102.

Nkrumah also occasionally lectured.⁷⁷ KNII offered short courses, workshops, and conferences, such as the All African Freedom Fighters Conference in 1962,⁷⁸ for occasional students, consisting of government officials, civil servants, and African revolutionaries. The life of KNII was brought to a close when a military junta overthrew Nkrumah in 1966. Its documents were vandalized and tutors persecuted, with Nkrumah's detractors condemning it as a propaganda machine that enhanced the personality cult of an authoritarian.⁷⁹ KNII was not revived by successive governments. Although its success in fulfilling Nkrumah's goals was difficult to quantify, one evaluation claims that it did not produce disciplined cadres or effective propagandists, except for a few who performed creditably, and its courses were theoretical rather than practical, which meant its impact was marginal.⁸⁰ Other views are more ambivalent,⁸¹ with A. Biney reporting that it "had less success [due to a] lack of the qualified instructors"; nonetheless, KNII "certainly gave useful training to active party workers and some of its graduates achieved rapid promotion in the party hierarchy or in the state corporations."⁸² M. Frehiwot notes that it usefully "served as a conduit of Pan-African education throughout the nation and continent [...] and elevated the struggle for independence from a micro-nationalist slant to a continental approach."⁸³ However, like that of all human institutions, the work of KNII had its limitations. For example, CPP's *Evening News* even indicated that the work ethic of some of the graduates was inadequate.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, KNII encouraged and trained many people to understand and continue Nkrumah's ideas about the need for a new Ghanaian and African, as Darkwah has argued. Its work also inspired the establishment of the Lumumba Institute in Kenya – this was an ideological institute along the lines of the KNII,⁸⁵ and offered logistical support to cadres and Pan-Africanists in several African liberation organizations.

6. The Establishment of the Ghana Young Pioneers Movement

After Nkrumah broached a plan to disseminate his conscientization project to Ghanaian youngsters, his cabinet agreed on 4 August 1959 that the GYP should be established for boys and girls.⁸⁶ In 1960 the government decided to discipline and ideologically

77 Darkwah, Kwame Nkrumah, p. 45.

78 Ibid.

79 See, e.g., H. L. Bretton, *Rise and Fall*.

80 Ryan, *Theory and Practice*, pp. 162–163.

81 See, e.g., A. Biney, *Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 102.

82 Rooney, Kwame Nkrumah, p. 240.

83 M. Frehiwot, *Pan-African Education: A Case Study of the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Print Media and the Young Pioneer Movement*, in: Charles Quist-Adade and Vincent Dadoo (eds.), *Africa's Many Divides and Africa's Future*, Newcastle upon Tyne 2015, p. 317.

84 *Evening News*, 1 October 1965, quoted in: T. Jones, *Ghana's First Republic 1960–1966*, London, 1976, p. 61, quoted in: Darkwah, Kwame Nkrumah, p. 47.

85 Darkwah, Kwame Nkrumah, pp. 47–48.

86 A short descriptive article is in *West Africa*, no. 2, 278, 28 January 1961.

condition Ghanaian youths to “prepare them for future leadership,”⁸⁷ in the same way as similar organizations had done in burgeoning socialist and communist countries in Eastern Europe and Asia.⁸⁸

Organizations such as the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, which Nkrumah considered to be relics of colonialism,⁸⁹ the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), and the Catholic Youth Organisation still existed, but Nkrumah did not find them suitable for offering youth political socialization within the context of Nkrumahist ideological training for nationalism and African pride. A CPP foot soldier in Accra, Z. B. Shardow, became the GYP’s national organizer, with B. A. Quarcoo, a veteran teacher and Boy Scouts commissioner, as his deputy. The leader and life patron was Nkrumah. Rev. Dr. J. S. A. Stephens of the Methodist Church and chairman of the Christian Council Youth Committee became the organization’s chaplain. The Christian Council supported GYP, but some key officers in the Church later condemned aspects of the GYP philosophy, especially its metaphorical allusion to Nkrumah as Messiah and Saviour.⁹⁰ We shall discuss this shortly.

The first 300 members, in Accra, were aged between 8 and 16; they received instruction in Nkrumah’s ideas: basic seamanship, airmanship, soldiering, telecommunications, first aid, and physical education. GYP aimed to make membership compulsory for all children in primary, middle, and secondary schools, just as Ghanaian elementary education was obligatory. Thus, schools were asked to open branches. Two years after its establishment, the membership numbered about 500,000, including 190,000 girls.⁹¹ Students in training colleges and business schools were also recruited. GYP had about one million members by June 1963.⁹²

GYP encompassed three age-determined sub-groups. The first was Nkrumah Youth. Constituting those aged between 17 and 25, its members received technical training in areas such as farming and telecommunications, alongside ideological guidance. Members of the second group – Young Pioneers – were aged between 9 and 16. They specialized in activities such as drama, driving, and crafts. Lastly, the African Personality group included children aged four or five. They sang songs and recited poems about GYP and Nkrumah.⁹³

Monitored by the GYP Authority, and later the Ghana Youth Authority,⁹⁴ under the Ministry of Education, GYP instructors had a reasonable amount of free choice and initiative: the ministry did not determine what the Pioneers had to learn. The initial instructors, including teachers and youth leaders, were volunteers. They eventually re-

87 Adamafo, *By Nkrumah’s Side*, p. 121.

88 *Ibid.*

89 Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 142.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

91 *Evening News*, 14 June 1962, quoted in: E.O. Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 143.

92 Biney, *Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 102.

93 Addo, *Kwame Nkrumah*, p. 143.

94 Youth groups such as Boy Scouts and Girl Guides also came under the GYA. The Ministry of Social Welfare cared for such youth groups as the YMCA.

ceived organizational and ideological training at the leadership training centre in Accra so that GYP would function effectively.

GYP provided members with opportunities for comradeship and national service during their leisure and recreation. They wore a smart ceremonial and working uniform – greyish khaki, with a red, white, and green neck scarf – to give a feeling of comradeship and equality. They received training in military precision to give them regimented discipline alongside instruction in politics, diplomacy, and culture. Some members were sent overseas to socialist countries to acquire vocational skills.⁹⁵ Everyone was taught to memorize and live by codes of discipline and ethics: these revolved around values such as love of country and work; punctuality, discipline, obedience, honesty and morality; field craft (a hobby, handiwork or skill that could easily become an income generator), reliability and secrecy; protection of state property; comradeship and forbearance; unaffectedness; self-control; and the quest for excellence. The members were taught to internalize the ideals of the GYP pledge in order to live by Nkrumah's ideals; to safeguard Ghana's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity from external and internal aggression; to support Ghana and Africa's socio-economic reconstruction; to work for the liberation and unification of Africa; to support workers, farmers, co-operatives, and all other aspects of Ghana; and to accept the CPP's ideals and political supremacy.⁹⁶

GYP's community service activities, such as providing assistance for community development projects and committees, training seminars, and camp courses on the basics of Nkrumahism, leadership, African independence, oratory, and the singing of GYP songs, mainly occurred after school, at weekends, and during school holidays. These were intended to provide members with knowledge that would allow them to organize and sustain a national consciousness that would lead to national growth in their schools and communities. Regular GYP youth sports festivals, rallies, African music and dance events, foot-drill competitions, and award ceremonies were organized at district, regional, and national levels to promote interethnic comradeship and a common Ghanaianess, what E. O. Addo calls "mega-tribe,"⁹⁷ among members, and to create public awareness of GYP's activities. Members also took excursions to learn about Ghana's geography, cultures, demography, and historical sites, thereby honing their national consciousness. They also took practical and theoretical tests and were awarded badges and certificates of merit.

95 Biney, *Political and Social Thought*, p. 102.

96 Addo, Kwame Nkrumah, p. 144.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

7. The Impact of GYP

Was GYP useful? In 1982, T. Adamafo, one of Nkrumah's ministers and close confidants,⁹⁸ who was later imprisoned by Nkrumah,⁹⁹ revealed that he supported the creation of the movement "not because their leader was my personal friend" but because: "I had great hopes for the Ghana Young Pioneers as future leaders [...] [s]tepping into our shoes and crushing successfully the bribery and corruption [...] nepotism, favouritism, tribalism and all [...] vicious 'isms' plaguing [...] Ghana."¹⁰⁰

Even though it had been formed so that a former colony would be in a position to thrive, free from neo-colonialism, the GYP did not escape criticism and demonization by Nkrumah's opponents. It did not survive the 1966 coup. However, before 1966, the movement's patrons had defended it from criticism.¹⁰¹ For example, when the Anglican Bishop of Accra criticized the organization as "godless" in 1962, Adamafo and other leading patrons and government officials immediately ordered his deportation to Britain in August that year for trying to incite conflict between state and church. The bishop had been critical of the "Osagyefo" (lit. Victorious Leader or Saviour/Messiah) personality that the government had created for Nkrumah and was preaching to the youth. For example, GYP members were taught Nkrumah's maxim for political independence: "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all others shall be added"; and they often cheered their political leader with appellations such as "Nkrumah Never Dies" and "Nkrumah is our Messiah" because of their ideological training, which was designed to prioritize national self-determination, confidence in their leader, and a vision of themselves as potential "saviours." In 1961, the *Evening News* explained the "Messiah" metaphor:

*Whoever, see his brothers needs and supplies it [...] is the Messiah, [...] the Christ. [...] This demonstration by no means ended with Jesus. Why? Karl Marx demonstrated the Christ, and so did Lenin [...], Ghandi [...], and [...] Nkrumah. When our history is recorded, [...] Nkrumah will be [...] the Messiah, the Christ of our day, whose first love for mankind wrought changes in Ghana, [...] Africa, and [...] the world.*¹⁰²

Nevertheless, some Protestant leaders agreed with the bishop's opposition. The government strongly reprimanded this, and religion was cautioned to march in the ranks with loyalty of Nkrumah or to march out;¹⁰³ among other invective the bishop was called a "neo-colonialist Lucifer."¹⁰⁴ He was later forgiven by the government and allowed to return in November 1962. Nevertheless, his initial accusation dented the movement's

98 He was once the General Secretary of CPP, Minister of Information, and Minister for Presidential Affairs.

99 Nkrumah suspected that he was part of an assassination attempt made on his life in Kulungugu in Ghana in 1962. Adamafo vehemently denied the charges and was freed.

100 Adamafo, *By Nkrumah's Side*, p. 123.

101 These included, for example, the Rev. Dr. J.S.A. Stephens, Kofi Baako, Krobo Edusei, Prof. Abrahams, Kofi Batsa, and Mowbray Elliot. They had all helped to build the movement.

102 *Evening News*, 23 October 1961, quoted in: E.O. Addo, Kwame Nkrumah, p. 144.

103 *Ghanaian Times*, 14 August 1962; *West Africa*, 11 August 1962, p. 887.

104 *Ghanaian Times*, 9 August 1962, quoted in: E.O. Addo, Kwame Nkrumah, pp. 145–146.

image and the appeal of Nkrumahism in the view of many Ghanaians, who by their indigenous ethnic cultures or religious affiliations subscribed to the idea of a spiritual God or Jesus as the only Messiah. No wonder the charge of teaching godlessness was used by supporters of the 1966 coup. GYP came under much attack after 1966 from the coupists and other anti-Nkrumah groups and parties whose ideological differences with Nkrumah dated from when he established his party in 1949.

Even though GYP was ostensibly formed to allow the youth to become citizens who were energized with the concept of African Personality and filled with godliness (GYP had a chaplain until 1966), respect, and patriotism, it created a range of impressions among different groups of Ghanaians.¹⁰⁵ One view was that GYP taught Marxist materialism, so that the youth would become atheists. This charge was either a misunderstanding or a deliberately concocted fallacy about the movement's philosophy, which emphasized that through hard work, intellectual power, collective strength and effort, patriotism, loyalty to the leader, his vision and country, and loyalty to Ghana, Africa, and Pan-Africanism, the youths could become "saviours" and build a paradise in Ghana, Africa, and globally. Additionally, GYP was viewed as a group of young atheists used by the president for espionage, even to spy on their parents and report them to the authorities, and to amass popular support and idolization for Nkrumah among the youth. However, I have found no record that indicates that the art of espionage was taught in the movement. Perhaps some members "spied" and made reports because they deemed it their patriotic duty to expose people whose actions and utterances they considered to be detrimental to the security of their leader and state, and Ghana's sovereignty.

Conversely, other views considered GYP to be a positive mobilization movement that used civic education and activities to inculcate Nkrumahism and the attitudes and intellectual values that were needed to bring sustainable independence to the new nation. Significantly, Adamafo, who maintained that Nkrumah did him wrong by imprisoning him and became his nemesis, did not criticize GYP when he appraised it in 1982. Because of GYP, "many juvenile delinquents [...] became good boys and girls."¹⁰⁶ Members developed "national pride and patriotism [...] and their loyalty to the Party was remarkable indeed."¹⁰⁷ Hence, the "Youth [...] were unnecessarily feared."¹⁰⁸

GYP had an impact on the lives of many people and the country in various ways. Many of its members developed a love for country and state. This would perhaps have continued if the group had not been banned and there had not been conscious policies to de-Nkrumahize Ghana after 1966. Accordingly, Adamafo, while complaining about considerable indiscipline among Ghanaian youth,¹⁰⁹ indicated that GYP admirably instilled discipline in Ghana's youth, "and at the present time [1982] many key posi-

105 The category of youth is defined generally as those between the ages of 15 and 30, though this can be broadened to 10–35.

106 Adamafo, *By Nkrumah's Side*, p. 121.

107 *Ibid.*, p. 122.

108 See Adamafo, *By Nkrumah's Side*.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

tions in the nation are manned by former members of the Young Pioneers which was so foolishly abolished by the National Liberation Council (NLC).¹¹⁰ The NLC junta wantonly destroyed CPP projects because of an unfettered hatred for Nkrumah.¹¹¹ This de-Nkrumahization project vilified Nkrumah and his ideas, and his followers were persecuted. Fear gripped many loyalists as gun-toting soldiers and police ruled and then proscribed CPP and its political organs after the coup.¹¹² Hence, like Peter who denounced Jesus three times, many frightened Ghanaians denounced Nkrumah. GYP organizers remained silent or went into hiding and exile. With the youth under its control, the new regime compelled some GYP members to reverse their respectful opinions of Nkrumah and their commitment to GYP by forcing them to march around with banners bearing anti-Nkrumah inscriptions, such as “Nkrumah is NOT our Messiah.” Even some frightened party members started to praise the new regime and criticize Nkrumah.¹¹³ Dr. K.A. Busia, a political arch-rival of Nkrumah, and his civilian government took over from the junta between 1969 and 1972. Busia’s government was elitist and conservative, so it did not stop vilifying Nkrumah and his administration’s revolutionary ways. Nevertheless, several people whom I spoke to revealed that GYP, of which they had been members, had the potential to assist in the making and nurturing of Ghana’s new citizens. A clan head in Axim said: “We were taught to love Ghana first, God second and self third [...] today many people don’t have that teaching and such love.”¹¹⁴ Significantly, GYP’s work, and its novelty value, attracted some African countries, including Gambia (in 1961), to send personnel to Ghana to study its structure and activities for replication. Commenting on the relevance of a national youth movement such as GYP, Adamafo observed:

*Youth organisation is one of the most difficult problems confronting any government [...] and unless [...] Governments of Ghana [...] tackle the problem with determination and proper know-how, I do not see much hope for our country in the production of disciplined leaders and citizens in the future.*¹¹⁵

It is worth noting that some members of the military government that overthrew the Busia government wanted to re-establish GYP. However, it could not be revived owing to the lack of trained organizers, a well-thought-out ideology, and potential leaders. Other leaders and their governments have tried to set up youth movements, albeit not with the

110 Ibid., pp. 123–124.

111 For understanding about the political perspective of the junta and the group’s hatred for Nkrumah, see: Ghana Information Services, *The Military Take-Over in Ghana*: broadcast speech by Gen. J.A. Ankrah, chairman of the National Liberation Council, Accra, 28 February 1966; Ghana Ministry of Information, *The Rebirth of Ghana: The End of Tyranny*, Accra 1966; K. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, Accra [1968] 2017.

112 See, e.g., K. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*.

113 For some further understanding about how people altered their ideological consensus and attitudes to Nkrumah after his fall, see Jack Goody, *Consensus and Dissent in Ghana*, in: *Political Science Quarterly* 83 (1968) 3, pp. 337–352.

114 Audio recording from Kofi Christopher to author, Cape Coast 2017.

115 Adamafo, *By Nkrumah’s Side*, p. 124.

Nkrumahist ideological vision. For example, Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings set up the Democratic Youth League of Ghana and African Youth Brigade to create cadres for his Provisional National Defence Council (1981–1992).¹¹⁶ J. A. Kuffour and the New Patriotic Party government administration of 2001–2009 organized the National Youth Employment Programme to mobilize youth, especially the unemployed, to provide jobs for them.

8. Concluding Remarks

Nkrumah's vision for a revolutionary ideologization programme through the KNII and GYP simultaneously attracted many youths and repelled many of Nkrumah's colleagues, who found it subversive or too impracticable. Regardless of this range of views and the extent to which the KNII and GYP succeeded in their work, Ghanaian and African leaders have not stopped searching for methods that will cause positive attitudinal transformation in their citizens.

Nkrumah's programme was designed to follow socialist principles that were conducive to "the conditions of Ghana and the historical and social conditions and circumstances of Africa as a whole,"¹¹⁷ not to capitalism, as this is friendly to colonialism and neo-colonialism and also a complex system for a newly independent nation to embrace. Regardless of his oscillations between African socialism and doctrinaire scientific socialism, one thing is clear: Nkrumah wanted to create a new African who was a devoted nationalist and a dedicated Pan-Africanist, as well as possessing a socialist commitment, in a created "socialist society in which each would give according to his ability and receive according to his needs."¹¹⁸ This new person would be the antithesis of the traditional and conservative colonial subject. GYP and KNII, which served children, youth, and adults, became ideological tools for this hominisation project. If this project is evaluated as a specific event over a specified timeframe, then it failed; but seen as an ongoing process, initiated by Nkrumah, then it did not. However, it would have been more active and visible through institutions such as GYP and KNII had Nkrumah not been overthrown. Nevertheless, Nkrumah has been criticized by some of his hard-line detractors such as H. L. Bretton for failing the youth of Ghana,¹¹⁹ by not instilling a sense of political integrity, civic devotion, and dedication to public life into them.¹²⁰ Yet it is evident that many became patriotic and proud of their leader. Many of such Ghanaians reminisce nostalgically, cherishing the selflessness and love for country and Africa that was cultivated under Nkrumah's government, and complain about the lack of discipline and patriotism today. For example, Adamafo strongly argues that the attempt to create

116 O.Y. Asamoah, *The Political History of Ghana: (1950–2013) The Experience of a Non-Conformist*, Bloomington, IN 2014, pp. 313–314.

117 Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates, 18 April 1961, pp. 2–3.

118 Nkrumah, *Revolutionary Path*, New York 1973, p. 161.

119 Bretton, *Rise and Fall*, p. 148.

120 *Ibid.*

a new African through GYP started well. Bretton has also suggested that the youth came to lack or lacked a “fount of honour;” and had no other example of an inspirational leader than Nkrumah.¹²¹ This was also true when Nkrumah was no longer in power, although openly chanting “Nkrumah is our Messiah” after his downfall would have been impossible; additionally, it would have been unwise for members of KNII to continue advocating their support for Nkrumah’s vision.

Despite criticism of Nkrumah, no African leader and government has latterly found an alternative system to successfully free the citizenry from their colonial mentality. His ideas are still attractive to many people in Ghana and Africa. As early as 1962 a call was made for “the immediate establishment of a chair for the study of Nkrumaism – embracing the life and teachings of the great and immortal Kwame Nkrumah” and furthermore to stress “the people’s forward march to the promised land through socialist reconstruction.”¹²² Although the chair was not established at that time, this call was partly fulfilled by the launching of the Kwame Nkrumah Endowed Chair in African Studies at the University of Ghana, Legon, in 2007.¹²³ Clearly, the task that Nkrumah began was a process, in which the new person is still being created.

This article, which has examined two of Nkrumah’s institutions for citizen mobilization, can potentially be expanded with a study of the periods of the military government and Second Republic, which tried to de-Nkrumahize Ghana and “uncreate” a new (wo)man. Furthermore, studies of other citizen mobilization programmes after 1966 could enrich the discussion that has started here concerning the creation of a new African in Ghana. Finally, there is scope for a comparative study of other African revolutionary regimes that have sought to create a new (wo)man, such as those of Muammar Gaddafi and Thomas Sankara in Libya and Burkina Faso respectively.

121 Ibid.

122 Ghanaian Times, 2 January 1962, p. 2.

123 The University of Ghana established the chair in 2005, first to honour Nkrumah for his significant intellectual contributions to African thought, and for his vision and commitment to the liberation and development of Africans worldwide; and second to promote research, teaching, and promotion of African Studies. See <http://ias.ug.edu.gh/about-us/kwame-nkrumah-chair> (accessed 5 March 2019).