

Ghana (1957 - 1966): Reflections And Lessons From A 20th Century Pan-African Liberated Nation-State

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Abstract

This article examines Ghana's role as a Pan-African Liberated Nation-State, between 1957 and 1966, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah and the Convention People's Party as an example for contemporary institutions of higher education in Africa. The paper contends that these institutions could be leading the Pan-African movement if they were indeed liberated spaces promoting African agency, in conversation with Pan-Africanists, and concerned with Africa's liberation and unification. It introduces novel terminology needed to examine the liberatory nature of African institutions from a position of African agency. Finally, the article argues that three zones should be added to Kwame Nkrumah's zonal analysis namely (1) *optimal zone*, (2) *forwarding zone*, and (3) *retarding zone* (Poe, 2016).

Keywords: Pan-Africanism; Liberated Zone; Ghana; Pan-African Nation-State

Résumé

Cet article examine le rôle du Ghana en tant qu'État-nation panafricain libéré, entre 1957 et 1966, sous la direction de Kwame Nkrumah et du Convention People's Party, un exemple pour les établissements d'enseignement supérieur

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contemporains en Afrique. L'article soutient que ces établissements pourraient être à la tête du mouvement panafricain s'ils étaient effectivement des espaces libérés promouvant l'action africaine, en conversation avec les panafricanistes et concernés par la libération et l'unification de l'Afrique. L'article introduit une nouvelle terminologie nécessaire pour examiner la nature libératoire des institutions africaines à partir d'une position d'action africaine. Enfin, l'article soutient que trois zones devraient être ajoutées à l'analyse zonale de Kwame Nkrumah, à savoir (1) la zone optimale, (2) la zone d'avancement et (3) la zone de retardement (Poe, 2016)..

Mots clés: Panafricanisme ; Zone libérée ; Ghana ; État–nation panafricain

Introduction

The inspiration for this paper comes from Kwame Nkrumah's brainchild, the All–African People's Revolutionary Party (Nkrumah, 1969) (A–APRP) and its commitment to creating the much–needed Pan–African Interdependence Movement (PAIM)¹; a movement in which 'liberated' African nation–states and 'liberation organisations' collectively depend on each other to improve the lives of the African masses. The inspiration to write was rekindled after participating in the All–African Peoples' Conference @ 60 (2018–AAPC1)², held in Accra, Ghana and collaboratively sponsored by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana at Legon; the Trades Union Congress (TUC) of Ghana; the Socialist Forum of Ghana (SFG); Third World Network–Africa; and Lincoln University, PA, USA. The conference was a 2018 commemoration of the 1958 All–African People's Conference (1958–AAPC1).

The 2018–AAPC1 reflected on contemporary issues facing Africans globally. Participation was multigenerational and attendees were from all geographical regions of the planet. There were numerous formal and ad hoc discussions on the unfinished goals of the 1958–AAPC. It was reaffirmed that

1 This term is a refinement of the popular term, "African unity movement". The Pan–African Interdependence Movement (PAIM) embraces Nkrumah's announcement that Ghana's independence meant nothing if it was not connected to the total liberation of the African continent (Nkrumah, 1973d, p. 121). Spokespersons of Pan–African Nationalism (Poe, 2015a) often indicated that African independence required the interdependence of African persons and people. See also the original mission and vision statement of the African Union Commission (2004, pp. 20–27).

2 The number "1" is attached to distinguish this conference from a second conference held in Accra, Ghana, of a similar name, sponsored by the Pan–African Federalist Movement.

real African independence needs a formidable Pan–African Interdependence Movement (PAIM) to successfully complete the decolonisation of Africa. Nkrumah³ suggested the organisational form of this type of movement to be a committee of political coordination, aptly called the “All–African Committee for Political Co–ordination (AACPC)” (1969, p. 58). His published theories on ‘positive action(s)’ in relation to ‘liberated zones’, and ‘optimal levels of Pan–African agency’ undergird the concepts presented in this paper. Additionally undergirding this paper are this author’s Pan–African experiences and initiatives that span a period of 50 years, 25 of which have seen him participating in the political education institutions of the A–APRP. Given this background as context, the paper’s content uses Nkrumah’s strategic zonal analysis theory along with other pertinent statements about empowering the African masses from his co–president, Ahmed Sékou Touré (1922–1984).⁴ The relationship between Nkrumah, as the head of state and Pan–Africanist liberation leader, and Touré as the head of state and a sibling Pan–African liberation leader accelerated a Pan–African thrust toward material support for continental decolonisation. This was an important lesson that should be taught in all political science curriculum throughout African secondary educational institutions and higher. Nkrumah and Touré became an exemplar of what could have been possible between liberated nation–states and liberation parties. After the overthrow of the Convention People’s Party, it was Guinea–Conakry, led by the Democratic Party of Guinea (PDG), that allowed and encouraged Co–President Nkrumah to continue collaborating with and advising liberation organisations such as the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), the Cuban Communist Party, along with the creation of the A–APRP. Some contemporary authors repeat the imperialist narrative that Nkrumah stopped working for the elimination of colonialism and neo–colonialism after being forced out of the presidency of Ghana by foreign sponsors and internal collaborators. These authors have not looked carefully at the strategy and tactics of the Pan–African revolution; too often they serve as academicians who push imperialist narratives through the formal educational institutions that employ them.

3 The authoritative voice of Kwame Nkrumah is validated by his service as the founder and chairperson of the Convention People’s Party; founder of the All–African People’s Revolutionary Party; first Prime Minister and President of Ghana (1957–1966); Co–President of PALZ Guinea (1966–1972) with President Sekou Touré; African of the Millennium as voted by the British Broadcasting Company’s African listenership.

4 Significant books of note, published by Republic of Guinea’s state press, were *Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution* (1976); *United States of Africa* (1980); *Revolution, Culture and Pan–Africanism* (1976); and *Enhancing the People’s power* (1983).

Sékou Touré's dialectical approach to culture, with his recognition of the tension between tradition and innovation, and his elucidation of the 'People's Class', 'Anti-People's Class', and the 'Party-State' concepts added to the tool kit of liberation organisations concerned with consolidating victories against internal agents of recolonisation and neocolonisation. Touré's text, *Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution*, (1978, pp. 183–199) is a classic addition to the scholarship on class struggle. The book titled, *Revolution-Culture and Panafricanism* (1976) expounded that "Revolutionary Panafricanism having for fundamental reference Africa of Peoples must lean on Peoples in front of States" (Touré, p. 175). Even as Touré headed a nation-state he clearly understood that the struggle for Pan-African unity had to be prosecuted by the collective agency of the mass population. In published texts of the le Parti Democratique de Guinée (PDG) class struggle is described as a battle between the People's class and the anti-People's Class. This required a cultural revolution that was to be linked to an intellectual revolution. The members of the Pan-African Intelligentsia (PAI) were tasked with sparking the revolutionary mass consciousness needed to reignite mass movements for power and improvement. This was done by artists and educators, and history has shown repeatedly that merely controlling the state apparatus of a nation is not enough to make fundamental change on a global scale.

Pan-African Liberation Zones (PALZ) were more prevalent on the continent within the first ten years of independence. The concept of 'liberated zones' is introduced by Kwame Nkrumah in the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution* (1969).⁵ During this period Ghana, Guinea-Conkary and Tanzania (originally named Tanganyika) should each be considered as liberated zones. Tanzania was considered a Pan-African liberated zone after independence primarily due to the nation's implementation of Pan-African and decolonial policies internally and externally.

5 Kwame Nkrumah identified three zones in this text. The zones are described as follows: 1) Liberated areas are zones organised by an anti-capitalist and radical political party. These political parties seek to decolonise the zone and extend the decolonisation across Africa; 2) Zones under enemy control are zones that are heavily controlled by imperialists. These zones are economically and politically controlled by foreigners and/or puppet governments; and 3) Contested Zones are zones that are in transition and can be the staging group to organise liberation movements for a neighbouring country or to be transformed to liberated zones by liberation leaders (Nkrumah, 1969). The zones that are described above were based in a war-like setting and as such some of the characteristics will change when transferring this analysis to different spaces.

Tanzania, under the leadership of Julius Nyerere's Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), later renamed the Chama Cha Mapenduzi (CCM), promoted the Ujamaa project whose aim was to delink Tanzania from its former coloniser and position the Tanzanian people at the centre of their own liberation and development (Otunnu, 2015; Pallotti, 2009). Guinea-Conakry under the leadership of Sékou Touré's le parti Démocratique de Guinée (PDG) can also be described as a liberated zone particularly for their delinking from French political control and their Pan-African policies aimed at liberating African People's class. Their role in the Guinea-Ghana-Mali union also points to their liberated status. Ghana between 1957–1966 was a PALZ that was central to the Pan-African movement during this period. Kwame Nkrumah's CPP declared Ghana as a PALZ at independence when he declared that Ghana's independence was meaningless without the liberation of the rest of Africa. Ghana instituted Pan-African policies in its development plans, internal and external policies and the nexus of this activity was the creation of the Bureau of African Affairs (Grilli, 2017).

Ghana serves as an exemplar for institutions across Global Africa as a PALZ in the 20th century. However, non-state institutions can also incorporate the strategies employed by Ghana to develop liberated spaces inside or outside of neo-colonial states. Institutions of higher education in Global Africa are poised to become PALZ with specific focus on those institutions at historic sites of resistance such as the Dar es Salaam School, the Dakar School and the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ghana. One of the first things that must occur to create PALZs is the development of Nkrumahist and People's class-oriented curricula.

This article intends to engage Kwame Nkrumah's zonal analysis and the exemplar of Ghana under the leadership of the Convention People's Party as a model for institutions of higher education in Global Africa. These institutions could provide better assistance to the Pan-African movement if they were indeed liberated spaces promoting Pan-African agency, in conversation with Pan-Africanist organisations concerned with Africa's liberation and unification. However, most institutions of higher education in these spaces embrace and model Eurocentric education in their features and curriculum. In order to properly situate Global African institutions of higher education it is important to develop liberatory language that can guide the assessment of existing institutions and organisations yet to be developed. The use of liberatory language is needed to appreciate what Ghana became from the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s and is paramount to extracting the lessons of Ghana for contemporary Pan-African

application. A language that has restored agency⁶ will enable learners and educators to understand the magnitude of the Pan-African initiatives launched (wa Thiong'o, 2018; Masaka, 2021). The new terminology introduced contributes to scholarship that challenges Eurocentric ways of knowing, explaining and interpreting.

Transforming terminology to embrace a liberatory approach to education is at the heart of restoring agency to Global Africa. Colonial and neo-colonial mentalities, paradigms, and assumptions are recipes for making unsuspecting subjects colonial slaves again. These mental frameworks, therefore, must be mitigated until they can be avoided and replaced. The liberating terminology recommended in this paper seeks to reduce the debilitating effects of the colonial mentality embedded in the the social climates and curricula of today's colonised and neo-colonised institutions. "Global Africans" is a popular term used in the report from the 2018-AAPC1 (Organising Committee of the 60th Anniversary Commemoration of the All-African Peoples' Conference, 2019) which helped add breadth to the identity of Pan-Africanists. The new terms in this paper include: 'African ascendants', 'Pan-African Interdependence Movement (PAIM)', 'Communal Nations', 'Pan-African Liberated Zone (PALZ)', 'Pan-African Personality', 'Pan-African Intelligentsia' (PAI), 'The People's class', 'African Unity Movement' (AUM), and the 'Pan-African Nationalist Movement' (PANM). These terms will be defined in detail to provide an epistemological grounding to examine Ghana during the tenure of the study and to transpose the definitions to research on Pan-Africanism.

This paper is divided into four equally important sections. The introduction is followed by a section addressing needed Pan-African epistemological concepts. The next section addresses the relationship between Pan-Africanism and class struggle. The second to last section engages with reflections and some lessons on Pan-African liberated zones and the next steps to consider in building liberated spaces. Finally, the last substantive section recommends a criterion for an applied Zonal Analysis for Institutions of Higher Education in the following zones: (1) Retarding Zone – anti-African academic space; (2) Contested Zone – multinational-centred space; (3) Forwarding Zone – African liberated space; and (4) Optimal Zone – space in support of Pan-African unity; this is followed by a conclusion.

6 Restored agency in this context speaks to the presentation of the Pan-African personality as a key enriching factor of liberation education.

Pan-African Epistemological Concepts

This section will introduce the reader to Pan-African terms that have been introduced by the author. These terms are not widely used or are new to the discourse on Pan-African epistemology. Epistemologically research and discourse about the Pan-African movement is often rooted in a Eurocentric view of Africa. The Pan-African movement has given rise to the ‘African ascendant’. This is a person, or organisation, that identifies ideologically and programmatically with the political choice to commit one’s life to the achievement of Pan-African power for the African People’s class. This identity indicates an affinity for Pan-African nationalism (Poe, 2015b). African ascendancy is an active identity adding purpose to the life of the claimant. This concept is derived from the realisation that identities are dialectical and not only express points of origin but also point to where one is committed to going. The term ‘African descendant’ describes a person or a collective agent that has African ancestry or African origin. It is a passive term that tells little about the entity claiming it. The term reveals little about political leanings or national allegiance. The term ‘African ascendant’ has a greater potential for energising African agency than a passive descriptor. The need for a movement for Pan-African interdependence today is a requirement for African independence on a macro-level. ‘Independent’ micro-nations that exist on the African continent are losing their gained independence to neocolonial forces by not being able to protect their economies or their populations (Rahaman, et al., 2017).

Now, more than at any time in the recent past, the clarion call for the Pan-African Interdependence Movement (PAIM) must be mobilised to push the continental African nation-state into functional operations. The PAIM, a natural development of the African Unity and African Liberation movements, includes the collection of African organisations and key personnel that cooperated to bring a cessation to European classical colonialism in Africa. Tactical unity within the movement existed on the ideas of socialism and unity. Only those territories and organisations that favoured the option of socialism and unity should be seen as Pan-African nationalists and should more appropriately be recognised as the Pan-African Interdependence Movement (PAIM), a distinct Pan-African nationalist subset of the African Liberation Movement (ALM) (Nkrumah, 1969).

Authoritative organisations of collective agency have far too often been pejoratively classified as “tribes” and their leadership structures as “chieftaincies” by most Eurocentric literature attempting to categorise Africa’s social order. This is terminology that obscures the existence of the myriad of

“communal nations” that have existed on the African continent along with their governing nation-states that they gave rise to. The centralised Nile Valley government of Kemet (KMT), now called ancient Egypt, reveals the debilitating lens of colonial nomenclature. KMT, if properly understood as a unitary organisation of 44 communal nations connected naturally through the shared cultural experience of managing the Nile flood, would add heft to the historic record of African governance (King, 2015). The point is that the existence of nations in Africa did not begin in the 20th century. In fact, there were numerous communal nations and confederations that fought against foreign encroachments and sometimes each other (Shillington, 2019).

There were, and continue to be, multiple communities across Ghana many of which should be recognised as communal nations according to their population sizes, geographic expanse, and influential political-economic resources (Izuagie and Sado, 2015). Historically, each of the communal nations had distinguishing customs, traditions, and local authoritative organisations. Sometimes these communal entities would be organised into broader federations and empires. Structural rigidity was often the approach of tradition, but fluidity became a cultural/social technique when confronting natural and social obstacles threatening the healthy living of community members (Shillington, 2019).

Academically trained historians tend to illuminate commercial empires or military empires when surveying the nation-state developments that arose in West Africa. Nevertheless, diverse organisational models in this part of Africa shared a similar goal i.e., to improve the members’ lives within their communal nations. These communal nations had people in powerful positions as monarchs and/or presidents and other titular executives of their own that Eurocentric academics and other imperial agents have categorised as ‘chiefs’. For centuries and millennia, these communal nations of various sizes collaborated with each other. They united into federations or general unions covering large geographic areas and at other times formed small groups that would come to be called clans by anthropologists.

The 1958 All-African Peoples Conference

Nkrumah, the founder of both the Convention People’s Party (CPP) and the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party (A-APRP), wrote his text titled, *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* (1969) from his PALZ base in Guinea-Conakry, while serving as its co-president. In that book he identified three zones, as noted earlier, namely, 1. Liberated areas; 2. Zones under enemy control; and 3. Contested zones

(i.e., hot points) (p. 43). Nkrumah's zonal analysis included a historical and contemporary (at the time) analysis of geopolitics and the state of African people globally. Embedded in the ideas and writings of Nkrumah one can find the African personality which is keenly tied to the zonal analysis. The Pan-African personality, which at minimum assumes the identification of Africa as a homeland for people of African descent globally, was a central component of the class struggle in Ghana and Guinea (Poe, 2015a).

The Pan-African personality looks not only in the traditions of culture but actively employs a forward-looking vision of uniting Africa into a powerful continent-wide nation that will help to improve the human condition. Contemporary struggles against xenophobia among various African collectives are showing that the broader African personality does not exclude such relationships (Asuelime et al., 2015). The Pan-African personality assumes a composite culture and Pan-African identity. It seeks the African personality in its global redemptive manifestation (Zecca et al., 2013). Historically rooted in the millennia of social evolution, the Pan-African personality is enriched with the refinement of African cultural innovations created outside of Africa to ensure the well-being of 'All-Africans', not merely the residential inhabitants of the African continent nor limited to the inhabitants of the African diaspora (Dei, 2012). Projecting the identifying elements of the Pan-African personality, as distinctly narrower than the African personality, is a contemporary exigency of the PAI, as identity debates rest in the purview of that sector of African society.

The PAI is distinct from the African intelligentsia because of its focus on devoting its resources toward the establishment of continental Pan-African institutions and a continental nation-state in the service of the African People's class (Mkhwanazi, 2017). In this regard it uses its access to information and related resources to update and apply Nkrumah's zonal analysis to the living spaces that Africans inhabit, and, if possible, to develop strategies to impact all institutions they influence in the interest of the African masses and humanity in general. In short, those members of the PAI are duty-bound to assist in the victory of the People's class by assisting in the Pan-African revolution.

The struggle for optimal African agency for continental development through continental unity requires a short introduction to those not familiar with the 'People's class' concept, a term made popular through the African liberation experience. This concept is summarily introduced in the works of the CPP's founder, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (1909 – 1972) who declared the CPP as a mass-based political party. He defined classes succinctly in his text

titled, *Class Struggle in Africa* (1970) by stating:

For in the final analysis, a class is nothing more than the sum total of individuals bound together by certain interests which as a class they try to preserve and protect.

Every form of political power, whether parliamentary multi-party, one-party or open military dictatorship, reflects the interest of a certain class or classes in society. (pp. 17–18)

Nkrumah enables observers of class struggle to clearly see a model that is freed from the straitjacket of Marxist dogmatists, who provided excellent details of class evolutions in European history but did not grasp the peculiarities of the economic and political class formations within African historical evolution. Nkrumah did, however, acknowledge the inevitability of class struggle in the above-mentioned text (Nkrumah, 1970b). The concept of the class embodied by the African masses was further clarified by Ahmed Sékou Touré the leader of Parti Démocratique de Guinée (PDG), the CPP's sibling organisation. In Touré's text titled, *Strategy and Tactics of the Revolution* (1978), he stated,

The most reliable, the infallible operational bases of the Revolution remain the masses, the exploited classes, the disinherited who are working, toiling and hoping. It is those of the **People's class** [emphasis mine] who have acquired through class struggles, an acute class awareness. That is why, it is always advisable, in analysing [sic] the revolutionary process, to define clearly the dynamic contour of the classes that are truly apt to undertake, pursue and continuously radicalize the Revolution. At this level, an error of appreciation may be fatal to the revolutionary movement. (p. 307)

At first glance, the “People's class” may seem like an alternative title for “the masses” but the class designation reminds one of the class interests that animates the purposeful agency of the masses. The People's class is a wilful entity that is in opposition to the anti-People's class, which is described by both Nkrumah and Touré as those actors blocking the socialist development of the masses and promoting the interest of imperialism. Classes compete for the control of nation-states and related institutions of power. This is precisely what makes the concept of the People's class germane to this narrative.

The African Unity Movement (AUM) and Pan–African Nationalist Movement (PANM) are monikers for that association of African agents committed to the rapid evolution and revolution of a continent–wide autochthonous government and cultural institutions. These continental nationalists are to be distinguished from regionalists and micro–nationalists opposed to a politically organised African continental nation as a minimum requirement to ensure decolonisation (Nkrumah, 1970). The ALM was subsumed for a while under the oversight of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). With the refurbishing and resurrection of an African Union (AU) the PANM was brought into clearer focus and distinguished from African liberators that sought irredentists or nationalisms wedded to colonial borders. In this work, the PANM speaks to those who promoted the establishment of Africa as one nation under scientific socialism similar to Nkrumah’s description of Pan–Africanism (1969). The AUM was a broader movement that included the PANM and federalists ranging from those in favour of a centralised union to those that would rather have loosely federated forms of continental unity not subject to a central authority. Some of the participants of the Casablanca Group were a part of this movement for a union while the latter group formed the Monrovia Group (Thompson, 1969). One distinguishing factor between these collectives was the concept of sovereignty. The Casablanca Group sought the sovereignty of the African masses while the Monrovia Group considered the sovereignty of the national borders they inherited from the colonial experience as sacred (Ifidon, 2011; Poe 2005). The explanation of these terms was extensive but necessary. Without the use of these terms, certain important lessons for establishing a liberated territory committed to Pan–Africanism might escape an activist/scholar.

Nkrumah’s territorial analysis was written while the African liberation struggle was being assessed by using “units of measure” comprising geopolitical territories and the human inhabitants transforming the social relations within those territories⁷. The philosophic formula that undergirded the transformation was graphically presented in the last chapter of Nkrumah’s text *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De–colonization* (1964). The PALZ qualifies the positive action by including the trajectory of Pan–African Nationalism and policies consistent with the achievement

7 It is important to note at this point in the paper that Nkrumah’s presentation of zones was written about as a description of social spaces under conflict with oppressive and exploitative organisations of tyrannical hegemony. In fact, it is clearly war terminology. Nkrumah wrote while attempting to liberate and defend a national territory and the institutions within it. This paper will apply this warrior approach specifically to educational institutions that the PAI inhabit.

of the African Interdependence Movement (AIM). Liberated territories described in the text, *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-colonization*, are summed up in the *Encyclopedia of Black Studies* as follows:

1. Revolutionary African ideology requires the positive synthesis of the traditional African base culture with the Islamic and Euro-Christian impact.
2. When a foreign philosophy is studied, it should be seen in the context of the intellectual history to which it belongs and the context of the milieu in which it was born.
3. Most African traditional societies see humans as essentially spiritual beings.
4. Positive action leads to liberated territories while negative action supports various forms of foreign domination.
5. In order for a country to apply socialism it must be liberated, be unified and embrace philosophical materialism. It also needs a philosophical consciencism to hold to its general nature while allowing for its individuality in the family of nations. It does this through its response to the material conditions of the territory, its generation of dialectical moments, and its employment of “positive action” through a mass party. (Poe, 2005, p. 197)

The criteria above are compiled primarily from Nkrumah’s *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* (1969), but include a few salient points from Sékou Touré’s *United States of Africa* (1980). Touré’s points are important because of his hindsight as leader of the PDG and as a witness to the weaknesses of the African nation-states that comprised the OAU. The PDG’s organisation of the party-state of Guinea, as a PALZ, lasted for 18 years beyond the termination of the CPP’s control of the Ghanaian PALZ. After the 1984 death of Sékou Touré, the PDG was ousted through a military seizure of the government in the same manner the CPP had been, by some of the same imperialist collaborators.

Nkrumah’s *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution* (1969) was published while he served as the co-president of Guinea-Conakry. In that book, he spoke openly about his preferred

Pan-African nationalism, rather than the limitations of his Ghanaian micro-national identity. He saw the more limited identity as an insufficient anachronism for the final development of the African masses. Sékou Touré, one of the kindred spirits of the Ghanaian PALZ and a co-founder of the Union of African States (UAS), would increasingly agree as evidenced in the publications of the PDG. Two texts specifically address these themes: *Revolution, Culture, and Pan-Africanism* (1976) and the *United States of Africa* (1980).

Reflections And Some Lessons On Pan-African Liberated Zones

Pan-African Liberated Zones (PALZs) had minimal requirements to be considered as such. PALZs, at the time of the CPP rule in Ghana, were expected to support all African liberation movements and sibling organisations fighting against imperialism and for Pan-African unity. They were also expected to support revolutionary liberation movements in contested and enemy-held zones of Africa. In addition, the CPP constructed organic linkages and liaisons that focused on political and economic life with the other liberated zones of the African nation⁸. To perform the above expectations, the PALZ must continuously make objective and up-to-date analyses of both popular progress of mass empowerment and alternatively of enemy aggression. The Bureau of African Affairs took on this task as the foundation for Ghana's Pan-African liberated research (Ahlman, 2012). PALZs, by definition, are not expected to be passive or neutral in the face of regressive challenges. They take sides and take action to recapture territories and other zones lost to the enemy and rectify mistakes that enabled enemy victories such as any renewed form of colonialism or other forms of oppression. "The main criterion for judging liberated zones is the actual direction in which they are moving since our assessment is of changing and not static phenomenon." (Nkrumah, 1969, p. 48)

Sékou Touré, wrote in his text, *United States of Africa* (1980), that a liberated society (zone) was one that practised national unity in the support of the working masses. The governing organisation had to work with weak members of the society and develop strong cadre to become the destroyers of imperialism. Such a society had to ensure that power was placed in the hands of the People's class and that power would grow proportionately as the members of that class mastered politics, science, techniques, and technology to ensure that the masses were no longer manipulated by so-called smart persons and

8 African nation refers to the global African nation. It does not presuppose that Africa is one country or that there is no diversity in Global Africa. It is a political designation signifying the unity of African people globally and the power that will ensure with this unity.

elite cliques. Finally, as an organisational tool of mass governance, similar to the PDG's local revolutionary authorities (pouvoir révolutionnaire local) (PRLs) were established throughout the liberated zone at various territorial levels (Touré, 1978).

The PRLs, were essentially the local manifestation of the PDG. Guinea was not the only PALZ to implement such organisation of the masses. During its time as a PALZ the Libyan Jamahiriya followed the edicts of "*The Green Book*." (Al-Gaddafi 2016), which described a similar organisation of "direct democracy", to consolidate the organisation of mass governance at various levels throughout the nation-state. Other revolutionary organisations in Algeria, Guinea, Bissau, and especially those that had to use armed struggle to liberate territories, relied on mass mobilisation which was best done through mass organisation. The Convention People's Party (CPP) learned these requirements and expectations early on in their rise to political success, which is described further in the next section of this paper.

Ghana, the Vital Nexus, and the Pan-Africanist Victory

Ghana's 1957 advent as a PALZ unveiled a powerful collaboration of social movements that overcame a colonial administration, organised a mass-based nation-state, and launched the ALM. There were territories in Africa, prior to 1957, that had won political independence from imperial overlords, and many more would follow in the decade of the 1960s, yet only a few made an impact on Africa's ending of "classical colonialism" in the way that the Ghanaian PALZ did. The abnormal establishment of a PALZ was at least a decade in the works prior to the official 1957 date (Allman, 2008).

The nexus of African social movements that led to Ghana's PALZ status shared a common cause: to transform the relationship of African nation-states with each other and with the rest of the world. Three of the significant African collective agencies are briefly examined here: communal nations in the Gold Coast colony; African ascendants in the Pan-Africanist movement; and budding African liberation organisations. This was the essential component of the nexus, the content and agency of the collective movement. What follows is the context of the imperialist internal rupture.

The catastrophic death and destruction of capital that appear to be endemic to competitive capitalist relations destabilised the colonial metropolises of Europe from 1914 through 1949. The disorder caused by the warring governments revealed the societal frailty of the empire which had

propagated itself as the citadel of civilization. During this same period, two gigantic socialist nation-states emerged as rising options to the capitalist powers in global international relations.

Africans, at home and abroad (in Africa and elsewhere), were active participants in the shaping of this global context. Imperial destabilisation provided opportunities for liberation activities to mature in a variety of African collective agencies (Bush, 2011). It was the nexus of organised activity among these collective agencies which sped the rupture in the capitalist world order and allowed the world a preview of a PALZ. That PALZ would come to control the hearts and minds of millions along with the economic reserves of a former prosperous colony. Each of the collective agents that comprised the nexus was rewarded with significant, albeit brief, victories. Each is briefly reviewed along with their role in establishing the premiere Pan-African victory. Who specifically were those critical African social movements that collaborated and gained control of the resources of an ex-colonial nation-state? They were the communal nations of the Gold Coast Colony, the Pan-African ascendants abroad, and the ALM (Botchway, 2018). Each social movement sought an end to the exploitative and oppressive relationship between European colonial imperialism and Africa. They agreed on what they were against but not necessarily on what they were for. The CPP found this out in its effort to organise the communal nations in the Gold Coast Colony.

The push for the liberation of various African territories is as old as the colonisation of African persons and African communal nations. Movements that established communal “maroon” nations and “quilombo nations” along with colonial resistance movements on the African continent were the predecessors of entities like the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Community Leagues (UNIA-ACL) as well as the Pan-African Conference and Congress movements (Whitfield, 2018).

The 1945 Pan-African Congress meeting held in Manchester, England gave another impetus to the ALM with a specific plan for Africans abroad to return to their home territories to liberate them while simultaneously uniting the liberation organisations and movements (Nkrumah, 1973; Sherwood, 2012). Upon the victory of the CPP’s control of the nation-state of Ghana, resources were immediately put in place to service other liberation organisations. These actions sped up the political decolonisation of African territories (or so it seemed).

The CPP’s use of the term “All-African” was essentially interchangeable with “Pan-African”. Neither term was an adjective describing geographical

spaces. Both phrases are nominal terms of socio-cultural movements concerned with “optimal” African agency. Both phrases also signified the colonial-era arrival of the Pan-African movement into the competitive formal arena of nation-state politics in the African homeland. The 1958 AAPC was a conference committed to advancing the Pan-African revolution along with a four-stage strategy (Campbell, 1996; Grilli, 2018).

Each of the Gold Coast-controlled communal nations had a history of interrelationships and the CPP understood that bringing the masses together under a new collective nationalistic identity required a proliferation of its organisational work to transform the variety of micro-nationalist identities into the collective identity of the new nation of Ghana.

Even prior to independence, the CPP began to use its offices of the state to improve the lives of Ghanaian residents by qualifying their education and skill levels (Frehiwot, 2015). The transformation of the CPP from a vanguard party to a mass party took place during the implementation of its Positive Action campaign which required the participation of most segments of society in the Gold Coast colony (Mensah, 2016). The campaign became a movement that politically empowered the CPP and allowed the party to rapidly move into control of the internal governance of the colony until complete control of the nation-state was achieved. All of this happened in less than a decade. True to the CPP’s pledge and plans, the masses were immediately gifted with initiatives to improve the economic and cultural well-being of all living within the former colony.

Halfway through the 20th century, the one-year-old CPP experienced a nexus of historic opportunities which it took advantage of to initiate a “beachhead” of Pan-African unity and support for the ALM. The CPP was launched in 1949 and in fact, was a child of the Pan-African movement and the youth wing of the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) (Thompson, 2015). The nationalistic enthusiasm of that youth wing along with the militant consciousness that was rising among soldiers, trade union workers, farmers, and market women in the Gold Coast colony pushed Kwame Nkrumah, then the secretary of the UGCC, to resign from that organisation to lead the transformation of the Convention Youth Organisation of the UGCC into a political party seeking immediate liberation from British colonial control.

The protracted wars between competing European empires weakened the Gold Coast colony’s zone of governance. By 1945 there was a different attitude toward the colonial masters amongst the colonial subjects. Challenges to alien economic and political control were growing from different segments

of African communities: trade unions, market associations, students, and professionals. Even lawyers and traditional leaders were pushing back against colonial domination. A sense of militancy had risen for the soldiers who fought in the European wars that were supposed to end fascist rule only to return to areas in which colonial fascism was still plaguing their families. The militant attitude of righteousness came along with the realisation that the colonial powers were fallible. This shifted the psychological balance in the Gold Coast colony such that Ghana was emerging on the horizon. The veterans' battle experiences taught them that colonists could be hurt and, if necessary, killed.

The Gold Coast intelligentsia and professionals of privilege could not see the raging hurricane on the horizon that would turn the zone of governance into an intensified "hotly" contested zone. Proclamations and declarations to the colonial metropolises were no longer satisfactory means of protest. Liberty was no longer limited to legal battles among lawyers and the colonial apparatus.

The uniting of the rebellious spirit of the masses into a unified liberation movement awaited the rise of the CPP into a mass party. "Freedom Now" became the demand of the powerful CPP and all its affiliates. The goal of the CPP was to liberate the Africans in Africa generally and in West Africa particularly (Mensah, 2007). Their task never was liberty just for Africans in the Gold Coast colony. To do this the Gold Coast colony had to be liberated from the British Empire and reborn according to the ideals of the Pan-African personality.

The CPP organised a plenum of social forces in the Gold Coast colony to mould them into an effective national union able to defeat the British colonial project. The British Empire refused to consider the demands of the CPP (White, 2003). In response, the CPP launched the weapon of "non-violent" non-cooperation. The Positive Action campaign, as it was called, was an unavoidably violent campaign in the sense that the CPP threatened to use it as a weapon to encourage the working population of the Gold Coast colony to withhold labour from employers AND to boycott goods (Nimako, 2010). The CPP's leadership spoke of Positive Action as a moral alternative to armed struggle. To the imperial order, this was a violent ultimatum that the colonial subjects had no right to demand.

Pan-African Intelligentsia

Another special ingredient was added to the activity and ideology of the CPP. That ingredient was the PAI, a growing contingent of "African ascendants" from the European portion of the Asian continent and the Americas. PAI special forces shared a uniform idea of making the new Ghana the base of a Pan-African-inspired

liberation movement that would work to liberate the entire mother continent (Frehiwot, 2015). These special forces included Pan-Africanist personalities and their organisations committed to the Pan-African movement during this period. The PAI in Ghana at the time embraced the idea from that point forward that,

1. Pan-African evolution of the African political and social order has a protracted rhythm with ebbs and flows;
2. Pan-Africanism required the revolutionary modification of national boundaries from the colonial ones that limited the agency of the African masses; and
3. Pan-Africanism advocated that the African continent was the ideal geographic homeland for the African nation.

The new nation of Ghana ushered in a period when the CPP and the PAI established a symbiotic relationship that would enhance the ALM (Gyamfi, 2021). The powerful relationship between these two entities was not a mistake. In fact, it was called for by the 1945 Pan-African Congress meeting held in Manchester, England when African ascendants met to plan a future strategy of African decolonisation. That meeting was a nexus of Pan-Africanists from various countries across four continents. It was also a nexus of the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League (UNIA-ACL), the Garvey movement, and the Pan-African Congress movement, often attributed to W. E. B. DuBois' inspiration (Fergus, 2010). The real inspiration behind both historic movements was the committed multitude of cadre that were organised for mass African empowerment. As in the case of the CPP, it is important to stress that there was a long list of women and men that made up the PAI and they spanned the globe (Allman, 2013). The success of the CPP's organisation of the Ghanaian masses now gave the PAI the tool of a nation-state in the African motherland with ample resources to electrify the liberation movements throughout the African continent. Securing the Ghanaian masses was the first strategic step.

The CPP were exemplars of the Pan-African personality and it linked Ghana's nationalism to the PANM. Several of the CPP leaders studied and made connections with the Pan-African movement in Europe and the USA. Nkrumah was admittedly the most notable articulator of the CPP ideology and that of the PANM. There were, however, other CPP leaders that had interlocking relationships with both the PAI and international workers employed

in shipping and related types of mobile employment in Europe and the Americas as well as with Africans from all parts of Africa (Padmore, 1953).

General plans were made by these Africans to unite and liberate various home territories prior to the formation of the CPP. Proposals were launched among participants of the 1945 Pan–African Congress along with organisations such as the African Student Association of North America, the West African Student Union, the West African National Secretariat, and the Circle (Nkrumah, 1973; Sherwood, 1996). The Gold Coast colony would soon become the outstanding praxis of these proposals.

The CPP used political education and propaganda as weapons to etch awareness of the Pan–African agency on another level with the December 1958 All–African People’s Conference. Sixty–two liberation organisations attended with invited observers interested in the furtherance of the Pan–African revolution. The amazing thing about this conference was that it formally launched the ALM and activated a formal organisational base in the PALZ of Ghana. Both activities as well as their follow–up actions impregnated the Ghanaian social environment with a sense of continental leadership.

The overwhelming majority of Ghanaians, for the time in which they accepted CPP leadership, merged their nationalist interest with that of Pan–African nationalism. Ghanaian nationalism was the progeny of Pan–African nationalism for the former without the latter was fragile and prone to fissures from retrograde irredentist identities.

Lessons from the Pan–African Liberated Zone

There are several very important lessons to learn from the era of 20th–century Pan–African Liberated Zones (PALZ), especially from the Ghanaian nation–state from 1957 to 1966. The first, and maybe the most important of these lessons is that PALZs must immediately commit to building additional PALZs as soon as possible. It was because of this awareness that Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of the CPP, was able to survive the 1966 coup d’état of Ghana. The PDG of Guinea (Conakry) PALZ, immediately gave Nkrumah homage and accepted him as co–president of the Guinean nation–state. In this role, Nkrumah remained tasked to continue supporting other liberation organisations and leaders. These were important years for the CPP founder as he was able to produce and publish works that allowed him to share his experiences with future liberation organisations and budding nation–states. During this time, he was also able to set the groundwork for his second political party: the All–African People’s Revolutionary Party (AAPRP).

The task of this second political party launched by Nkrumah was not designed to run for any nation-state office on the African continent but was to be a propaganda organisation that would qualify the ALM by uniting the African liberation organisations into two formations: one called the All-African Committee for Political Coordination (AACPC) and the other called the All-African People's Revolutionary Army (AAPRA) to unite the fighting forces against imperialism and their African collaborators. His entire plan was sketched out in his book titled *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare* published in 1969. This book should be considered a required reading for all PALZs and PALZ architects.

Another lesson that should become painfully clear is that imperialism will resort to assassinating the leadership of PALZs. Those assassinations are usually physical but are sometimes imagined. Physical assassination is easy to understand but imagined assassinations are equally effective as they attempt to remove the voices of the liberation leaders from the ears of the masses. Physical assassinations, like that of Patrice Lumumba or Thomas Sankara, turn the assassinated leaders into martyrs immediately. Assassinations of imagination delay martyrdom and are equally effective as a damper on activity, if not more so, than physical assassination. Consider the propaganda of the imperialist forces after Nkrumah relocated to Guinea (Conakry). News agencies of the Western media broadcasted that Nkrumah was living out his life in exile. Some well-respected African history scholars to this day make that claim. This was a propaganda theme that was used to disparage the PANM and the ALM.

That lesson helps us to recognise that the first stages of liberation involve a war of propaganda and education. The military component of liberation wars is secondary. The goal of these types of wars is the acquisition of the hearts and minds of the masses. This is what the PALZs, the colonial and neo-colonial zones (enemy-held zones) compete for. The task of the PAI is made ever clearer with the realisation that territory is only one realm of the zones to be liberated. The educational zones, especially the institutions of higher education, remain battlefields that influence upcoming generations and for that reason, the intelligentsia is duty-bound to apply zonal analysis to the environments in which they operate.

Currently, the PAI, at a minimum, should use its access to information and related resources to update and apply Nkrumah's zonal analysis to the living spaces that they inhabit, and, if at all possible, to develop a strategy to impact all institutions they influence in the interest of the African masses and humanity in general. In short, those members of the PAI are duty-bound to assist

in the victory of the People's class by assisting in the Pan–African revolution.

What follows is an applied zonal analysis designed for institutions where Africans and the PAI find themselves. This rubric will help organisers to assess which academic institutions engender, develop, and fortify optimal Pan–African agency, or which academic institutions neuter, maldevelop and make self-destructive African agency. The utility of these organised institutions spans a “goal-affirmation” range. The categorical names within the range are inspired by Nkrumah's zonal analysis. They include the terms from the *Handbook* (1969) but are adjusted to the specific context of the intelligentsia. As such, three additional zones are added to the tool kit of the PAI's social environment assessment: (1) optimal zone, (2) forwarding zone, and (3) retarding zone. The utility of these zonal indicators is that they clarify parameters and offer recommendations to create safe and nurturing spaces for the PAI in educational institutions. This is done by identifying:

- Available institutional supporters of Pan–African agency at all levels
- Educational institutions that celebrate Africity
- Educational institutions that contribute to the African renaissance
- Educational institutions that uphold and advocate the principles of Maat

Retarding Zone: Anti–African Academic Space

- Administrative sponsorship of xenophobic (especially Anti–Pan–African) activity
- No institutional resources for instruction on Pan–African agency
- Lethargic students and faculty around world and African affairs
- An area where there is allowance of anti–African pedagogy and curriculum
- Sustained absence of African presence in the faculty, administration, and student body
- Placement of openly racist and/or imperialist personnel in prominent positions

Contested Zone: multinational-centred zone

- Encouragement of multi-cultural education
- Growing diversity in a previously European social environment
- Diversity of culture-based patriotisms
- Administrative sponsorship of multicultural activity inclusive of Africanisms
- Balanced allocation of resources reflecting multicultural “parity” approach
- Debate of students and faculty concerning social, political, and economic status quo.

Forwarding zone: African Liberation Zone

- Celebrates diversity without coercion
- Growing presence of Pro-African and indigenous personnel
- Abandonment of imperialist patriotism
- Administrative sponsorship of research in traditional Africa
- Allocation of resources in a (non-Eurocentric) fair and transparent contest
- Debate among students and faculty around the direction of the campus in terms of national policy, especially toward Africa

Optimal Zone: Zone in support of Pan-African unity

- Supports the transmission of Maatian ethics and the ‘African aesthetic’
- Growing indigenisation and Pan-Africanisation
- Support for Pan-African and anti-imperial patriotism
- Administrative sponsorship of multicultural activity inclusive of Pan-Africanism
- Allocation of resources for African nation-building
- Debate among students and faculty concerning Pan-African Nationalism

Finally, the contemporary thought that the military and the police should stay out of politics does not work for PALZs. Rather, the ideological training of the military and the police is a requirement to sustain their cooperation with liberation work. During the current era of neo-colonialism in Africa, only the ideologically trained armed forces will defeat the zombies of colonialism and neocolonialism. They must have a working knowledge of the political line asserted by the liberating organisation and the goals of the revolution. This knowledge must not depend on the dictates of so-called superior officers. They must remain true to the hopes and aspirations of the masses. In fact, in finality, they must be one and the same with the masses with whom they will remain loyal. This is the required vaccine against the spike in coup d'états.

CONCLUSION

The most powerful Pan-African agential form in the post-WW2 era was the Pan-African liberated nation-state. Ghana, the penultimate leader in the PALZ formations, became known as, “the fountainhead of Pan-Africanism” (Breitman, 1965) and it led the way to the creation of the UAS. The UAS, as the initiating core of the liberated African territories, was dedicated to the immediate establishment of a Pan-African nation-state that would be the central organising force of a continental-wide African government.

Cognisant of the fact that liberated zones are achievable at a variety of levels, this paper has stressed the need for more PALZs to be created. The paper calls for consistent “zonal” assessments of these institutions, categorised within a range of liberatory to enemy-held institutions for the Pan-African personality or Pan-African Nationalism or both. The ideal institution will be moving in the direction of the liberated zone. The identification of higher education institutions supporting Pan-Africanism will help with the fortification of the PAI, an exigency for the prosecution of the All-African People's War.

The PAI was tasked to remain as a change agent and assist the African masses by recommending appropriate parameters to reach optimal African agency. The PAI should provide specialised skills that multiply the power of the African masses. The Pan-African Nation is the optimal form of the Pan-African personality today. The PAI, at this particular time, is the heart (in the Kemetic sense of being the seat of conception) of the Pan-African personality. The People's class is the body and spirit of the Pan-African personality. The All-African People's War is this class's assertion of coming of age.

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