

# From racial struggles to nationalist ideologies: the politico- cultural approach to decolonization in Ghana and Senegal

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## Résumé

*Cet article analyse les impacts du panafricanisme et de la négritude comme mouvements anticoloniaux au Ghana et au Sénégal. Ces mouvements ne sont pas nés dans les zones coloniales, ils ont plutôt des racines étrangères et la nature de leurs origines montre leurs différentes circonstances contextuelles. Cependant, ils partagent la base de leur racine, à savoir les misères du peuple noir. Ainsi, la naissance du panafricanisme n'est pas directement liée au facteur colonial au Ghana, alors que celle de la négritude est étroitement liée à la situation coloniale dans les colonies françaises, en particulier le Sénégal. Les résultats acquis par ces mouvements de décolonisation dans ces deux pays montrent une perspective anticoloniale plus aboutie au Ghana qu'au Sénégal. Cette incohérence révèle les limites contextuelles de la négritude dans l'évaluation de la situation coloniale. Pour cerner les impacts de ces mouvements, une analyse comparative est nécessaire pour mettre en lumière leurs différences et leurs similitudes dans la prise en compte du fait colonial.*

*Mots-clés : assimilation, culture, idéologie, liberté, noir*

## Abstract

*This paper analyzes the impacts of Pan-Africanism and Negritude as anti-colonial movements in Ghana and Senegal. These movements are not born in the colonial*

areas, they rather have foreign roots and the nature of their origins shows their different contextual circumstances. However, they share the basis of their root namely the miseries of the black people. Thus, the birth of Pan-Africanism is not directly linked to the colonial factor in Ghana; whereas that of Negritude is closely linked to the colonial situation in French colonies, among which Senegal. The outcomes of the decolonization movements in these two countries show a brighter anti-colonial perspective in Ghana than in Senegal. Such incoherence reveals the contextual limits of Negritude in assessing the colonial situation. To pinpoint the impacts of these movements, a comparative analysis is necessary to put to light their differences and their similarities in the consideration of the colonial fact.

*Keywords: assimilation, black, culture, freedom, ideology*

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## Introduction

The era of decolonization has been one of the brightest in Africa, in terms of history and political approaches concerning the liberation of the former colonies from foreign domination. These independence struggles were built on a set of nationalist ideologies regarding the nature, scope, and impact of colonial theories aiming at putting in a canvass the invaded people. In response to those theories, two main movements for the freedom of the colonies emerged especially in West Africa; they were masterminded by prominent figures. In fact, Kwame Nkrumah and Leopold Senghor led the famous political struggles based on Pan-Africanism and Negritude to put an end to colonization in their respective countries. Actually, these ideologies are based on the reappropriation of black identity and African redemption. Indeed, the domination of Whites over Blacks in this context has led to the devaluation of the black man through the stigmata of slavery and racial stereotypes; hence the need to emancipate through the affirmation of black cultural identity. Pan-Africanism and Negritude meet on the path of liberation, independence, and the fight against racism since they played a crucial role in the advent of political movements. Opposed to colonial domination, exploitation and racial discrimination, they supported the struggle for freedom for national sovereignty and self-determination of African peoples. Research has been already carried on such themes, however separately, in accordance with the particular movement in its own colonial framework. It remains unclear how these two ideologies responded as a single theory leading to independence. Hence, this

current paper approaches these two principles through a comparative lens in order to analyze their impacts on the struggle against colonization in Ghana and Senegal, it involves contextualizing and identifying similarities and differences. It sounds weird to study the impacts of different ideologies in different colonial contexts, but acknowledging the fact that colonization was more of an economic domination than any other form of oppression, it becomes clear that these two movements share common grounds in countering colonization in their respective areas.

Both Pan-Africanism and Negritude have overseas cradles and they embodied the struggle against colonization, then from racial hegemonic counterclaims and the need for socio-economic freedoms, they formed knobs of political theories that aimed at national constructions for the birth of new nations. So, the purpose of this paper is to, comparatively, highlight the coherence of these movements in the light of colonization in a liberationist scope. Therefore, its objective is to demonstrate how these social and cultural anthropological creeds on the black race served in contradicting the colonial pace in the aforementioned former colonies and to create the impetus for political parties' emergence. The research technique used in this work is content analysis which enables to extract significant information, to identify important trends or perspectives, and to deepen the understanding of the phenomena under study from the content of the data collected. The three parts structure of this paper analyzes the colonial administration concepts in both Ghana and Senegal, in order to put to light the coherence of the sprouting these two movements. The study of the origins of these cultural ideologies and their coherence as counter hegemonic discourses to colonization comes after and explains the birth context of Pan-Africanism and Negritude. The final part of this work is dedicated to the scrutiny of the outcomes of Pan-Africanism and Negritude as vehicles for political movements in the light of decolonizing nationalism.

## **1. A Racial Approach of Colonial Administration Theory**

### ***1.1. Theory Based on Conquest Approaches***

Colonial administration theories were built according to the will of the colonizer to administer his colonies and respond to the suitable

way for colonial economic exploitation. British and French administrators defined a set of policies to rule their colonies in the required manner. They did so by resorting to many methods which at the end became the watershed of the colonizer's identity. Indirect rule for the first, and direct rule for the second were the concepts that were put forth by the masters to direct colonial exploitation. They both aimed at creating the socio-political environment that would foster profit making. Despite their common motivations, the policies are genuinely different and they stem from either colonial pragmatism, or from the way in which the colony was acquired.

Actually, the way the French theorized colonization after the Berlin conference showed a military approach based on conquests, while the British one was based rather on diplomatic advance, albeit quite aggressive. This one took place even before the Berlin conference and was kept on in their inland move in the Gold Coast. However, military confrontations opposed them with resisting kingdoms, such as the case with Ashanti. The main reason of the colonial ventures was to acquire lands to develop sustaining crops for national industrialization, which would have come to nothing had not raw materials formed the ground of their success. Henceforth, the French militarily acquired those lands which were being part and parcel of the French territory. The same objective pushed the British to find lands, but through offering their cooperation to the threatened tribes of the coast along their future colony. Thus, in protecting those communities from their rivals, they managed to assure their security by gradually imposing their jurisdiction in administering their found lands. There started a sort of cooperation with the local chiefs in order to take a smooth control of the political chiefdoms. This invading strategy will be used all along the taking-over process, granting the local chiefs their common titles as local rulers, while the ruling norms were shaped by the British to get closer to their economic motivations. Therefore, they developed a sort of dual mandate, setting roles to each of the chiefs for their contribution to the success of the colonial endeavor. Yet, for the French approach, which laid on conquests, the colonies were to be juxtaposed to French political administration since the colonies were considered to be integrating parts of France. Hence the prevailing administration in the metropolis had to be the same in the colonized territories, this conception led into giving shape to the

universal theory of a French territory. In other words, French colonies were believed to become French territorial continuation, and it required to duplicate the national customs in those territories. This initiative sprouted from the assumptions on the local people races and cultures considered as being primitive. Such an approach was a complementary one, useful in justifying the presence of the French administrators in those societies. Sophie Le Callenec brings an explanation of such a motivation by arguing:

Son objectif était d'intégrer les peuples colonisés au peuple colonisateur dans une sorte d'aboutissement de principe de l'administration directe. Le système administratif, judiciaire, politique et économique devait être calqué sur l'organisation de la métropole et intégré à celle-ci. A terme et sous certaines réserves, les colonisés pouvaient tout simplement devenir citoyens à part entière au sein du pays colonisateur et acquérir le même statut et les mêmes droits que tout autre citoyen. (Le Callenec, 2008 : 353)

Unlike the British, the French did not seek to collaborate with the chiefdoms; they rather based their approach on the fact that they conquered lands, and transformed it, through treaties, into the property of their government. Consequently, the jurisdiction in the metropolis must be echoing the political administration as a sort of continuum of the French Republic. As such, the policy of a universal France required a direct control of their colonies which were part of France. Despite these contrasting ways of acquiring colonial lands, the economic motivations are the same: exploiting the natural resources for providing the industries, the new economic force of the western nationalism.

### ***1.2. A Statement of Anthropological Preconceptions***

The schedule planned by both French and British colonizers did not take into account any aspect of the socio-economic development of Africans they were visiting. Up to now, what they say publicly is different from what they are planning to do in real. For instance, saying that they were in Africa to civilize them but never they were there to dominate Africans psychologically, exploiting the cheap workers' labor and stealing their raw materials. As for the British, the French's political organization of their colonies started in an embryonic manner in the coastal lands where they set foot in the very

beginning. This gave rise to the mixed children who were to play an important role before the advent of Blaise Diagne into political circles in the “mother land”. They represented the socio-cultural success of the colonial missionaries through the creation of a new type of society opened to the French culture and lifestyles. This teaching approach will be known later on as assimilation. It was mainly built on the thoughts that Africans were weird humankind, and to transform them into mature normal human sets, they had to be assimilated. This racial conception served to back up the universal theory and usurp the autochthonous lands for the sheer logics of economic exploitation. The British indeed did seek to fully take advantage of the colonial situation, but they did not commonly resort to racist paradigms as did the French. Therefore, to highlight the impacts of cultural colonization, the French colonial theories are the best at hand to pinpoint an in-depth conception of cultural denial of the Africans. It means that for both of the colonial masters, the dominating approaches in creating subjects for the colonial exploitation were present, but the French one was the most engaging. It led to the creation of the code for indigenous people which also existed in the British colonies, but just regarding the exploiting range of colonialism. Hence, in the French territories, the indigenous people suffered from the lot of assimilation which contributed to the advent of a new socio-cultural layer rejecting totally their African cultures as being the manifestation of inner backwardness and so-called primitivism. Thence, the French relied on educating some of the populations in order to assimilate them. This educational approach completely disregarded any recognition of the cultural heritage of Africans. For the champions of such a theory, the cultural mission of colonization was to shape the African at the image of the French, through social recreation. This perspective is known as being cultural imperialism advocated by French colonial administrators, as Raymond Betts deems it to be:

The form of cultural imperialism which was bound to result from such questionable moralizing contained the notion of the right of a “superior” society to dominate and ‘instruct’ a ‘lesser’ one. Clearly put, the conquered were to absorb the customs and institutions of the conquerors; it was “the white man’s” burden translated into French by the word ‘assimilation’. (Betts, 1961: 30)

The African consequently ended up adopting the Eurocentric point of view on his own inferiority and naturally accepted western theories. Subsequently, this new mindset propelled him into a fundamental self-questioning of any affinity to blackness. The ongoing attacks on the Africans' culture and race became therefore, the new intellectual attitude from the African elite; encouraging its rejection in favor of western cultures. Such a stance emanates from the desire to suppress colonized people yearn for affirmation, in order to enslave them and perpetuate colonization. Hence the necessity to consider Fanon's theory of cultural alienation process (Fanon, 1956: 127) in which at the end black people dismissed their racial origins in favor of French customs and culture, as being that of the superior and good race.

However, assimilation is debatable in the sense that the genuine French citizens (born in France and grew up in French cultural norms) are not subjected to economic exploitation. Whereas in the colonial territories, the colonial masters needed workforce in other words, the purpose of the theory was to be controlled, for the citizens should not outnumber the subjects who represented the needful potential for economic exploitation. This argument is defended by Papa Ibrahima Seck, from an afro-centric perspective he developed the idea according to which, the colonizers were not really keen on assimilating the local population, because the inner drive of colonization lays on economic domination. Then integrating the indigenous in a political system based on citizenry which appeals to equality between the French people and the colonized were unconceivable (Seck, 1993: 58). In an attempt to underline the dangers, set in this cultural policy, Raymond Betts enlightens Napoleon warnings when he writes:

Napoleon thought in granting the colonies the same laws as those of France, the colonists and the natives would soon be able to gain control of local government machinery and would inevitably upset the economic regime of the colonies, a regime dependent in his eyes on cheap slave labour. (Betts, 1961: 17)

The incoherence noticed here is at the source of the conflicting interests which are bound in assimilation policy. The dialectic interests of the divergent socio-political strata generate an existential paradox

stemming from the sharp feature of the colonizer-colonized domination whose objective enables the internment of assimilation to gaping socio-legal barriers. This inconsistency updates the incongruities of the cross-relation between the policy and its workability. For Albert Memmi, this incoherence highlights the concept of colonial racism which he analyzes in such way:

Colonial racism is built from three major ideological components: one, of the gulf between the culture of the colonialist and the colonized, two the exploitation of these differences for the benefit of the colonialist, three, the use of these suppose differences as standard of absolute fact. (Memmi, 1991: 137).

The threat embodied by the educated Africans puts to light the concept of colonial racism which naturally impels the necessity to reduce assimilation policy's range. Its second interest lays on the need to maintain under economic domination the majority of the colonial people. As for the French, the British while not experiencing a direct racial domination went through fearing the educated populations in Gold Coast. The phenomenon took place overtly, and contributed into shaping the colonizers in general as being loathe to the social progress of colonized people. One can read through these following lines from Post, the opposition to the social advance of the African in the British colonial context:

(...) The educated African imitates European dress and customs closely, however ill adapted to his conditions of life and may be heard to speak of going 'home' to England. ... the Europeanised African is indeed separated from the rest of the people by a gulf which no racial affinity can bridge. He must be treated- and seems to desire to be treated- as though they were of a different race. (Quoted in Post, 1970: 37)

One can notice therefore, a certain inconsistency in the civilization impulse fiercely defended by the colonizers, insofar as, one conceives civilization as acquiring new ways of life needful for a given population. Accordingly, this contradiction is due to racist assumptions directed against the cultural and biological hybrids. This approach is only but a desire to maintain colonization as a system of oppression in which we find subtle relations of domination, proving however protean due to the colonizers whose national peculiarities



steer the socio-political management of the colonies. Throughout the French colonial theories, one can decipher association too which is believed to replace assimilation. Yet, in practice the racial domination still remained as paternalism kept on defining socio-cultural characters of the local population in favor of colonial exploitation. To counter this race-based domination, foreign concepts will be put forth to end colonization.

## **2. The Unfolding of Anthropological Based Movements for Freedom: The Socio-Political Contexts of The Birth of Pan-Africanism and Negritude**

The first impulses of racial nationalism started in the United States. Considering slavery as the ancestor of colonialism, one can notice similarities regarding the type of economic exploitation to which slaves underwent before the advent of colonial masters. They worked in harsh conditions and were not granted any social consideration because of their skin color. Even in the countries like Martinique, the same sort of exploitations based on racist assumptions were thriving, however, the case of the slaves was anterior. It promoted the development of racial unity against the injustices they were going through. They employed labor resistance and self-affirmation as their chosen methods of action, as their skin colors kept them to be disdained. Du Bois, stresses such forms of injustice and the slaves yearn for better consideration expressed through sorrow songs by highlighting:

Through all the sorrow of the sorrow songs there breathes a hope - a faith in the ultimate justice of things. The minor cadences of despair change often to triumph and calm confidence. Sometimes assurance of boundless justice in some fair world beyond. But whichever it is, the meaning is always clear: that sometime, somewhere, men will judge men by their souls and not by the colour of their skins. (Du Bois, 1903: 274)

In their struggles for better social conditions through claiming equality between Whites and Blacks, slaves saw gradually their lot changing till the abolition of slavery thanks to economic complementary policies. Nonetheless, racial discriminations got a

thrust through the 13th, 14<sup>th</sup>, and 15th Amendments, subsequently, lynching, intolerance and so on continued and ushered the start of Negro nationalism. Whereas in the Antilles, people of African descent suffered from French colonization in two ways: the educated ones endured cultural domination, while the majority of the population was choking under the slashes of economic exploitation. But the ideology that was to be called later on Negritude saw its first manifestations in the United States, where the black color skin was subjected to racial prejudices. As for the slaves who fought for self-affirmation, the Blacks continued to fight for self-recognition in order to counter the attacks on their race as propelled by white supremacist ideology. The latter sought to keep the Blacks continuously at the mercy of the white American society. Then it happens sometimes for the Negro to feel ashamed of his situation, and to end up despising himself in the quest for redemption in a light skin so as to escape from racial prejudices.

The cultural movement known as the New Negro or the Black Renaissance inspired the future founders of the Negritude movement in the Quartier Latin. Fitting in the boots of their precursors, the founders of the black francophone literary movement went against assimilation through undergoing racist attacks despite their acceptance in the French metropolis as being the products of French supremacist colonial ideology of assimilation. Besides, the fathers of Negritude, mainly those from Antilles, intended to carry on the struggles started by Dr Sajous, Paulette Nardal, Andre Nardal and their acolytes. Indeed, the latter rejected French colonialism in the one hand because of the harsh economic treatment to which the black community was subjected to. The population in Martinique was divided into social groups, following a hierarchy on whose down ending one could find the majority of the black community. Their workforce was needed to develop colonial capitalism which set the population to dreadful and oppressive socio-economic rules (Blérald, 1981: 24-25). The colonial administration was in the hands of the petty bourgeoisie dedicated to increase the value of its capital. All the measures undertaken thus went against an improvement of the situation of the black people and enlarged therefore, the latter's range of humiliation. The Whites were lords and the local population, the serfs doomed to hard works. For existing, black men were bound to get rid of racial prejudices and for that assimilation was preached. It was not yet an effort of loyal

integration, but rather an attempt to use assimilated black people into enslaving their brethren.

Africa benefited from the Diaspora valiant defenders for its cause. At the end of the 1930-1940 decade, the latter were joined by young African socialist intellectuals looking forward to restoring Africa's image. Jomo Kenyatta and Dr. J. B. Danquah, accompanied by Dr. Peter Miliard, Amy Ashwood Garvey and others sought for the liberation of Ethiopia and finally changed the name of their association into The Abyssinian Association. The International African Service Bureau replaced later on the Abyssinian Association and among its members one can name T. R Makonen, Mr. Wallace Johnson, C.L.R. James, Jomo Kenyatta, etc. The organization was linked to any motivation, any ideology except liberating Africa and black colonized people from foreign domination.

The integration of young African intellectuals reflected a new African vision based on political nationalism under the influence of Pan-Africanism. It kept on attracting young Africans opened to the new pan-African ideal. Issues related to the liberation of colonies, wherein economic oppression was raging, have partly fostered the membership of these young intellectuals into the pan-African movement and most of them were Marxists. See Asante's *an Afrocentric Pan Africanist Vision*. They created with their elders the Pan-African Federation; its theoretical conceptualization was sponsored by the ideology of the pan-African trend, originally set on the social rehabilitation of Blacks and the political liberation of those people under colonial rule. In addition, these colonized territories, especially the African colonies, would be more represented thanks to the intellectual mass present in the British metropolis fighting to put an end to their territory's colonial situation.

As the concern of colonial workers grew intense, the International African Service Bureau and the World Federation of Trade Unions got naturally linked in order to bring the solutions in protecting workers' rights, as sought by socialist humanist principles. As a result, the African colonies got represented at the global level in the defense of their interests. Moreover, The League of Colored People, created by Harold Moody, published in July 1944 a charter in which their essential points concerning the liberation of African

colonies became known. An extract from this charter by Imanuel Geiss reads as follow:

(...) the colonial powers should draw up plans for the economic, political, social and educational advance of the African territories under their control; that economic development should benefit only the inhabitants of the territories concerned; that a comprehensive educational programme be adopted; that Africans should at once be given a majority in all legislative bodies to prepare for full self-government at the earliest possible opportunity; and that the colonial powers should assume the obligation to render account to an international body about their administration in Africa and about the steps they were taking to transfer sovereignty. (Quoted in Geiss, 1974: 386-387)

During the decade 1930-1940, Negritude emerged at last as a movement really directed against French colonization. This time, Césaire, Damas, and Senghor were to give the concept a central core in the struggle against assimilation. It implied at the very beginning a protest against the attitude of the Europeans who wanted to ignore the black reality. Restoring black man's dignity was about to acknowledge his right on his personality. So, at the foundation of Negritude, one came across a historical situation, of the African as a pariah, assimilated and alienated by the colonial tutelage, painfully felt and later on a real concern for independence and cultural promotion (Thomas, 1965: 22). Negritude would therefore spread through poetry to restore the dignity of the colonized people in their road to self-determination. Stressing the link between cultural revival and poetry, Senghor puts forth:

Nous disions simplement que la culture était plus importante que la politique, et que la « Traite des Nègres » s'expliquait, d'abord, par le mépris culturel. Et que l'instrument le plus efficace de notre libération serait la Négritude, plus exactement la Poïésis : la création. (Senghor, 1988: 143).

Hence, culture was the key element on which political liberation was to be achieved according to the fathers of Negritude. In such logics, Césaire and Damas respectively dismissed the white society and its supremacist values, condemning therefore the West.

Senghor fits in the boots of both Cesaire and Damas in restoring black people cultures. Yet, his role in the Negritude will be stressed in the course of the struggle for independence of his country.

In short, the origins of Negritude and Pan-Africanism are close in their spirit however in the development of their theories; both ideologies got imbedded with new concepts that would variously serve the interest of Nkrumah and Senghor in creating political organizations for the struggle against colonialism.

### **3. Pan-Africanism and Negritude and the Rise of Nationalism into CPP and BDS**

During the big pan-African conference held in Manchester in 1945, Kwame Nkrumah played an important role in the debunking of the colonial mission which, in fact, was based on sheer imperialism. He was supposed to present during that gathering the session on “*Imperialism in North and West Africa*”. His analysis went straight on strengthening Marxist approaches on colonial exploitation. As such, he defended the needs to implement economic democracy in the purpose of freeing the masses from economic oppression. Therefore, the colonial workers were to be in the front lines of the struggle for self-determination. These orientations helped Nkrumah to sustain the perspectives of his anti-colonial fight through revolutionary political activism, for the colonized people needed economic emancipation which should lead to political independence. From the Manchester Congress to the setting of the Conventional People’s Party, Nkrumah developed further on his ideas related to the link between colonialism and imperialism in *Towards Colonial Freedom*. Inspired by Lenin, he definitely agreed on the fact that colonial people are under dire economic exploitation and the solution must come from the exploited masses. In these lines one can read the link he created between colonial exploitation and nationalist perspectives:

That is one of the reasons why we maintain that the only solution to the colonial problem is the complete eradication of the entire economic system of colonialism, by colonial peoples, through their gaining political independence. Political freedom will open the way for the attainment of

economic and social improvement and advancement.  
(Nkrumah, 1962 : 20)

From Nkrumah's point of view, one can decipher Zuccarelli's perspectives on nationalist political parties, where a certain harmony needs to be present in order to associate the political leaders and the masses. In fact, the latter are supposed to back up the political movements through acknowledging the political leaders' determination in freeing them from the choking imperial economic system. Indeed, Zuccarelli defines a political party as being a structured community aiming at a vital conquest for the political power for the triumph of an ideology, the desires of a social group or any popular will (Zuccarelli, 1970: 2). Therefore, the CPP will easily get in touch with the masses in the purpose of delivering them from colonial exploitation which leads to independence. So, from the ideological perspectives developed by the panafrican ideal, a conceptual framework for nationalism was being prepared and it helped Nkrumah to put in a theoretical framework for Ghanaian nationalism under the leadership of his political organization. That type of theoretical base was however, different from the impulse sprouting from Negritude. Actually, Senghor developed Negritude as Nkrumah did with Pan-Africanism, but the Senegalese approach did not get into delivering the masses from their colonial exploitation. Indeed, from the very beginning of Negritude, one can see an ideology based on cultural revival which did not allow an anti-imperialist posture to grow up.

Another point also which Nkrumah got from the late developments of Pan-Africanism is the provision of means of action as a method to get rid of colonialism. Since the Manchester Conference, pan-Africanists from the black continent have agreed on the organization of the masses as being a key factor in the nationalist struggle while favoring non-violence. Such organization was to go under the banner of legal ways and lead constitutional struggles to come up to independence. In that logic, the main concern laid on organizing the colonial masses for the upcoming struggle. This kind of organization was to take place progressively as the masses got aware of their situations of exploited colonial workers in need for socio-economic freedom. Still in *Towards Colonial Freedom*,

Nkrumah states the intentions of such an organization as reads the following passage:

The main purpose of the organization is to bring about the final death of colonialism and the discontinuance of foreign imperialist domination. The organization must root itself and secure its basis and strength in the labour movement, the farmers (the workers and peasantry) and the youth. (Nkrumah, 1962 : 41-42)

Actually, the need for unity propelled the long for organization; as such, political organizations, trade unions, farmer’s unions, cooperatives societies, youth movements, etc. (Nkrumah, 1973: 60) were all summoned to gather and back up the national liberation struggle. This search for unity in strengthening the CPP’s nationalist ideology, considered as being the first stage of the revolution was even carried on in the remotest villages in order to awake people on their conditions of servitude. The masses’ awakening went through a political education on colonial exploitation and triggered their political consciousness at the eve of independence struggle. Furthermore, the organizations of the masses had to test their potential as part of the methods to nationalism. Indeed, through demonstrations and strikes, the colonial subjects, as boosted in the ideological stances of the late development of Pan-Africanism, were appealed to try their strength through creating political turmoil in order to inflect the colonial administration and deal blows to colonial policies. Then demonstrations, strikes, and boycotts were the means with which the colonial subjects would gradually seek to overcome colonial imperialism (Nkrumah, 1961: 8) as proposed at the Manchester Congress according to Immanuel Geiss: “The strategy proclaimed was to organize the masses, trade unions and political parties to engage in a struggle for political power, first with non-violent means and if only necessary by threat of force” (Geiss, 1974: 48). Therefore, the Ghanaian nationalist revolution is modeled through the tactical approaches stemming from pan-Africanist non-violent visions considered as being legal in the sense that it did not involve armed rebellion, hence the concept of positive action explained by Nkrumah as follows:

Je dis que « l’action positive » supposait l’utilisation de tous les moyens légitimes et constitutionnels permettant de s’attaquer aux forces de l’impérialisme dans le pays. En

voici les armes : action politique légitime, campagnes de presse, éducation des masses et, en dernière analyse les grèves menées selon mes règles constitutionnelles, boycottage et non coopération basée sur le principe absolu de la non-violence à l'exemple de Ghandi aux Indes. (Nkrumah, 1960 : 121)

Unlike Negritude which is a literary movement based on poetry, any strategic approach emerged from it. Besides, its lack of ideological revolution grounded on imperial counterclaims did not favor a firm stand in backing BDS political grouping as did Pan-Africanism at the start of the political liberation under CPP guidance.

## Conclusion

Pan-Africanism and Negritude both fostered the nationalist approach in Ghana and Senegal. The comparison between the two movements shows that they managed to set room for the possible flourishing of freedom in the colonial context. However, given that the colonizers came in Africa with their respective peculiarities, they developed different colonial policies for their economic perspective which was yet common: the exploitation of colonial workforce. Therefore, basing the comparison of their contributions in the analysis of their common economic perspectives, one comes to the conclusion that Pan-Africanism far outweighs Negritude in serving as a policy against imperial maneuverings on the black race. Nonetheless, when the analysis is supported by the respective response regarding colonial policies' peculiarity, Negritude becomes a valid answer towards colonial principles. Senghor's weakness was to believe that grounding economic struggle on the cultural one would totally free both the assimilated elites and the colonial workers in a nationalist view. In addition, the lack of political unfolding, as was not the case of Pan-Africanism, pushed Negritude to remain stuck to the literary verge of the nationalist struggle, and the resulting political immaturity could not favor the rise of a political union leading towards the development of early political activism of francophone colonial Africa. As a consequence, the theoretical basis that Pan-Africanism benefitted from the ideological perspective which led to the Marxist approach of imperialism in British colonial Africa could not have been similar.



Neither, the peasantry and the colonial workers in general, in Senegal could have developed a strong sense of imperial nationalist approach in the very beginning of BDS, nor could it trigger the political consciousness of the masses on the eve of nationalist struggles. Henceforth, the upshot of this paper puts forth that at the beginning of the independence struggles, Pan-Africanism as an anti-colonial movement has been more important in terms of political contribution and served the nationalist cause better than Negritude in its approach to nationalist fights right after the Second World War.

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