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**African Socialism in Kwame Nkrumah's *Africa Must
Unite* (1963) and Mohamed Boudiaf's *Où Va
L'Algerie?* (1964)**

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Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to:

- *My dear parents: Idir and Fatiha*
- *My brothers: Fateh and Massin*
- *My sisters: Siham and Chahra*
- *My best friend Lamia with whom I shared the work*
- *My Family in law, especially my beloved Hocine*

Tassadit

This work is dedicated to:

- *My parents: Ali and Ouardia*
- *My brother: Hocine*
- *My best friend: Smail, Djamila*
- *My relatives.*

Fatiha

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Abstract

This piece of research studies Scientific Socialism in Africa during the twentieth century within the contexts of Pan-Africanism and Nationalism. The Pan-African aspect of Scientific Socialism is studied in relation to Kwame Nkrumah's *Africa Must Unite* (1963) and the nationalist one is dealt with in relation to Mohamed Boudiaf's *Où Va L'Algerie?* (1964). While Nkrumah adopts Scientific Socialism in the context of Pan-Africanism as a means that unite all the African countries, Boudiaf adopts it in the context of Nationalism, focusing only on his motherland 'Algeria'. Scientific Socialism in this dissertation is studied according to its definition provided by James McCain in his article entitled "Perceptions of Socialism in Post-Socialist Ghana: An Experimental Analysis". McCain views Scientific Socialism as a suitable doctrine that serves the African countries, since each country can adopt it according to its circumstances. For him, Scientific Socialism is the form of Socialism that responds to the African needs, because it is built on observation, experimentation and implication. In fact, leaders must take into consideration the social, economic, cultural and political conditions of their countries, and then they must implement a governmental policy which fits these conditions. In our analysis, we have shown how Scientific Socialism is adopted in *Africa Must Unite* and *Où Va L'Algerie?* by referring to the different sectors on which it is based. Our analysis has shown that both Nkrumah and Boudiaf utilize Scientific Socialism in order to bring development in each one's society, even though the doctrine is used by the two authors in different contexts.

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I. Introduction

During the second half of the twentieth century, Socialism reached Africa to take on a new dimension and fit the African circumstances of post-colonialism. African Socialism was in fact, the result of the independence of the African nations from their European colonizers. Therefore, African Socialism refers to the public rather than the private ownership of the means of production and the natural resources. As all forms of Socialism, it advocates that individuals do not live or work in isolation but in cooperation. Furthermore, everything that people produce is a social product. African Socialism differs from the other forms of Socialism, as it is a scientific one. The Africans adopted the latter, because it is the only form of Socialism that responds to their needs and can heal their problems, like hunger, poverty and ignorance. Additionally, Africans believe that Scientific Socialism is able to offer them opportunities, such as employment, wealth, security and equality in order to facilitate their ways of living.

Moreover, in some African countries; such as Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt and Libya, Socialism is understood in the context of Nationalism and as an ideology that can help these countries to free themselves from colonial dependency, which is mainly based on Capitalism and Imperialism. For instance, Algeria after independence has a diversity of cultures, languages and religions, with political, economic and social problems, with a multiplicity of cultures, languages and religions. Then, nationalist leaders like Mohamed Boudiaf sought to unify the Algerians in order to eliminate these differences. However, in some other African countries, like Ghana, Nigeria and Mali, Socialism is understood in the context of Pan-Africanism. The latter is a political movement which calls for unity between the Africans in order to face the returning of Colonialism. Simply saying, Boudiaf embedded socialism in nationalism whereas Nkrumah did it in Panafricanism.

The difference in the adaptation of African Socialism is apparent in the writings of African leaders, such as the Algerian Mohamed Boudiaf in his book *Où Va L'Algerie?*(1964) and the Ghanaian Kwame Nkrumah in *African Must Unite*(1963). The former expresses Socialism in relation to Nationalism to regenerate the Algerian society that faced many crises during and after the colonial period, aiming to reconstruct a new Algerian democracy, based on the elimination of differences among the Algerian people to unify them under one nation. Nkrumah relates Scientific Socialism to Pan-Africanism, because for him, African countries suffer from some shared problems, such as racism, inequality and division. Therefore, he attempts to propagate the idea of unification at the continental level in order to make Africa a developed continent.

1. Review of the Literature

Many critiques were set and directed to Kwame Nkrumah's Socialism. The latter, in fact, is considered as a goal to reconstruct the African countries as one continent. Many scholars believe that Africa must be unified to erase the traces of imperialism in their economic, political and cultural system. Thus, Steven Metz argues that "Nkrumah recognized the deep impact which Capitalism had had on their societies, and realized that Socialism was a goal to be sought rather than an extant condition".¹In this quotation; Metz claims that Nkrumah notices many effects of Imperialism on the African societies. The Ghanaian leader, according to the same critic, is also convinced that Socialism is not a condition but an objective to follow in order to attain development. Therefore, he tackles the subject of Socialism at the political sphere aiming to unify Africa at a continental level.

Another scholar, Donald M.C, joined Steven Metz in his view about Nkrumah's Socialism. He considers that during the 1950s, the adaptation of Socialism considered as a solution to reject the Capitalist system. Thus, the socialist path is the first stage for being one body living under one continent. Moreover, Donald M.C asserts that "Nkrumah's preference

for and confidence in Socialism is informed by his belief that the socialist path is the fastest and the most guaranteed route to African's development".²In other words, Nkrumah's choice of Socialism is based on his belief that the only and immediate way which ensures the advancement of Africa is Socialism.

To for, Boudiaf's Socialism, it has been used in the context of Nationalism, is reviewed positively by critics, as it is considered as a hope for building a new Algerian society far from Capitalism and Imperialism. Boudiaf's Socialism, which is understood in the Nationalist context, is the feeling which gives courage and strength to Algerian citizens aiming to reconstruct Algeria by using those factors that divided the country; such as the diversity of languages, cultures and religions in a way to create a unified Algeria instead of a divided one. In this context, Harris M. Lentz said that "Boudiaf led a campaign against government corruption and maintained a hard line against the radical islamics".³According to Harris, Boudiaf's first goal is to eliminate governmental corruption. As a result, he seeks to rehabilitate the land and build a pure Algerian government. He is also against the use of Islam in an extremist way, so as to terrify people.

Nacer Boudiaf joined Harris in his view about Mohamed Boudiaf's Socialism, which is understood in a Nationalist context. For him, Algeria is a diversified country which contains more than one culture, one language and one religion. Therefore, these differences should not be seen as an obstacle, but as an advantage which leads to build one union. Thus, Nacer Boudiaf, in his book *Autopsie d'un Assassinat*, claims that "Mohamed Boudiaf avait pensé à une Algérie où l'Amazighité, l'Arabité et l'islamité des Algériens ne doivent pas être exploitées pour les diviser afin de mieux régner sur eux, mais les utiliser pour renforcer l'union dans la diversité".⁴ In other words, Mohamed Boudiaf thinks of a country, where the diversity of language and religion should not be used to divide the people of Algeria and control them, but to reinforce the union, where each one respects the liberty of the other.

Issue and Working Hypotheses

The review of the literature shows that the authors, who reviewed Mohamed Boudiaf and Kwame Nkrumah share the view that both of them adopted the African form of Socialism, Namely, Scientific Socialism. Moreover, the reviewers agreed that Boudiaf and Nkrumah adopt Scientific Socialism as it serves their economic needs. Concerning Mohamed Boudiaf's work, Harris M. Lentz and Nacer Boudiaf show that the Mohamed Boudiaf has given Socialism a Nationalist aspect, as much focus is given to his motherland (Algeria). However, Donald M.C and Steven Metz view that Kwame Nkrumah has given his Socialism a PanAfricanist aspect as he desires to unify Africa at the continental level. As a result, our attention through this research is to analyze Scientific Socialism under Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in Nkrumah's *Africa Must Unite* and Boudiaf's *Où Va L'Algerie?* respectively aiming to show that Scientific Socialism is the best solution for African leaders, to change society either at the National or Continental level. Our aim is also to show that despite the different contexts in which the two leaders adopted Scientific Socialism, their recovery program is based on similar aspects of life being mainly economy and politics. Both leaders sought to develop African countries by recovering agriculture and industry under Socialism. Both of them also found trade unions effective bodies that can mediate between economy and politics by linking the workers to their governments. To our knowledge, none of the reviewers took the initiative to compare between the two forms of African Socialism in order to show the similarities as well as the differences that can exist between the two contexts in which this Scientific Socialism is adopted by the two leaders.

Methodological Outline

To reach the aim of this research, we divide our work into two main chapters. The first chapter presents Scientific Socialism in the context of Pan-Africanism in Nkrumah's *Africa Must Unite* (1963), and the second one studies Scientific Socialism in the context of Nationalism in Boudiaf's *Où Va L'Algérie?* (1964). In each chapter, we present by the academic method of analyzing historical documents, as the works selected for analysis stand for historical and civilization documents. Therefore, we go through the following outline: The introduction of the text, the presentation of the text and the analysis of the text.

Endnotes

¹Metz Steven, “The Socialist Theories of Nkrumah and Nyerere”, (Cambridge University Press: The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol.20, No.3(Sep, 1982), 377, accessed on 02-February-2019 22:55 UTC <https://www.jstor.org/stable/160523>

²M.C Donald, “Its Philosophical application to the “African Socialism”, via Nkrumah, Nyerere and Touré,” *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.12, No,5 (Nov,2018), accessed in 28 January-2019 <https://www.semanticscholar.org>

³M Lentz Harris, “Heads of States and Governments since 1945”, (New York: Library of Congress Cataloging, 1994), 28.

⁴BoudiafNacer, *Autopsie d'un assassinant*, Algeria-Watch, accessed on 01- Juin-2018, <https://algeria-watch.org>

II. Method and Materials

Method

Our study is based on the main corner of African Socialism as they are explained by James A. McCain in his article entitled “Perceptions of Socialism in Post-Socialist Ghana: An Experimental Analysis. African Socialism, according to the latter, was developed during the 1950s, when many states were preparing for independence, a time when the issue of the African leaders was how to build a nation after colonialism. In fact, after independence, African countries are left without transportation, manufacturing and infrastructure. In addition, the colonial power does not develop industries through which African countries can improve their wealth of raw materials. As a result, the African states depended on Europe for processed goods. Nkrumah argues that “only under Socialism can we ensure that the gains of investment are applied for the general welfare and not for the wealthy class”.¹In other words, a society, which adopts Socialism, makes sure that the benefits are not only for the wealthy classes but also for all the other classes of society.

Therefore, for attaining total development, African Socialism aligned itself more with the idea that the best way to address social and economic inequalities is the state control of markets and distribution. James McCain views that African Socialism is a proper instrument to develop the African society. African Socialism becomes popular in African countries thanks to their intellectuals after independence, in order to put emphasis on brotherhood and uniformity. Nkrumah advocates Africa to focus on the values rather than the structure of the traditional African life.

James A. McCain defines Nkrumah’s Socialism as a Scientific Socialism and describes it as the only true Socialism. Scientific Socialism is based on observation, experimentation and implementation. Nkrumah argues that Scientific Socialism initiates its

process with the relationship that man has with the material world. According to McCain, “African Scientific Socialism, specific to the needs of Africans, is the only answer for our people. The pre-suppositions and purposes of Capitalism would be a betrayal of our personality and conscience.... Socialism provides the precise formula for Africa”.²

In other words, McCain sees that the appropriate remedy for the Africans is Scientific Socialism, since each African country will adopt it according to its own circumstances. However, he considers the purpose of Capitalism a betrayal for the Africans, because it ignores the Africans’ benefits.

African societies witnessed several difficulties after independence. This led many leaders; such as Kwame Nkrumah to adopt Socialism as a doctrine in order to face and solve the post-independence problems. African Socialism is known as Scientific Socialism, as it is applied in different contexts so as to reconstruct an independent African society. Scientific Socialism, therefore, is based mainly on observation, experimentation and implementation, which take into consideration the social, political, economic, cultural, natural and geographical conditions of each country, then implementing a governmental policy that fits these conditions. For Nkrumah, the solution to deal with inequalities is the public ownership of the means of production and the rejection of the private control of the products. Additionally, Nkrumah believes that African societies should restore their past values so as to build a contemporary society.

Mohamed Boudiaf is another African leader who adopt Scientific Socialism but in another context. He has given it a Nationalist aspect, focusing on his motherland ‘Algeria’, in order to reconstruct a new Algerian society, where the multiplicity of languages, cultures and religions are used in a positive rather than in a negative way.

Materials

Since our analysis is based on two historical documents, we find it essential to have a look at these documents and their authors' biography.

The Authors' Biographies

- **Kwame Nkrumah**

Kwame Nkrumah is a Ghanaian politician and revolutionary. He was born on September 21st, 1909 in Nkroful, Gold Coast, which is now known as Ghana. Nkrumah was the 1st Prime Minister and President of Ghana. During his governance, the country got its independence from Britain in 1957. At that time, the Ghanaian leader aimed at unifying the African continent so as to achieve self-reliance and enable African countries to be far from the Europe's exploitation. As a result, He advocated the Pan-African movement in order to facilitate his plan. Nkrumah was also a founding member of the Organization of African Unity in 1963. He received the International Lenin Peace Prize in 1962. Moreover, Nkrumah was known for his political writings. Among his books, we can cite *Dark days in Ghana* (1968), *Class struggle in Africa* (1970), and *Africa Must Unite* (1963). The latter is a historical document, where Nkrumah introduced the situation of the Ghanians as well as the African society. In *Africa Must Unite*, he gave an outline that African countries must follow in order to achieve total liberation, political unification and Sovereignty. Therefore, Nkrumah's goal was based on the adaptation of Scientific Socialism in the context of Pan-Africanism, a doctrine which suits the African countries, since they can adopt it according to their own circumstances. He died on April 27th, 1972 in Bucharest in Romania.

- **Mohamed Boudiaf**

Mohamed Boudiaf, also called Si Tayeb el Watani, was born on June 23rd, 1919 in M'Sila. He was an Algerian Political leader and one of the founders of the revolutionary National Liberation Front (FLN), which led the Algerian war of Independence (1954-1962). In addition, Boudiaf created a Revolutionary Socialist Party (PRS). He also joined the Algerian People's Party (PPA) and became an important member of the Special Organization (O.S). Later on, in 1963 he opposed Ben Bella's rule, which forced him into exile, first in Europe then in Morocco. During his stay in exile, he wrote his book entitled *Où Va L'Algerie?* as a path for reconstructing a new Algerian society and the centrality of pluralism in National construction. Boudiaf's book is a lucid testimony on the post-independence period. In it, he calls for the unification of the Algerian people through the use of diversity of languages, cultures and religions. In addition, he suggested Scientific Socialism in the context of Nationalism, as a means to solve current problems of his motherland 'Algeria'. Mohamed Boudiaf was assassinated on June 29th, 1992 in Annaba.

Summary of the two books

- ***Africa Must Unite* by Kwame Nkrumah**

Africa Must Unite is a historical document written by Kwame Nkrumah, it was published in London in 1963, addressed the Ghanian as well as the Africans. Nkrumah's book is divided into twenty one chapters. He starts his book with an incisive analysis of the colonial experience and its impact on the continent. Then, Nkrumah gives the outline that African must follow in order to achieve their sovereignty. The author's main objectives are: the total liberation of the African countries, the political unification and establishment of an All African Union Government, and then the achievement of sovereignty. In order to realize his

dream, Nkrumah uses his country Ghana as an example to his plan that Africans must follow, because for him, all African countries are in the same situation as Ghana. Nkrumah shows that the adoption of Scientific Socialism is the first path toward development.

▪ ***Où Va L'Algerie?* by Mohamed Boudiaf**

The political leader Mohamed Boudiaf wrote the book *Où Va l'Algerie?* in 1964 to give his point of view about Ben Bella's government and his system that settled in Algeria after independence. Through this historical document, Boudiaf wants to raise the consciousness of the Algerians, who remained silent to their bad situation. The book is divided into three parts, the first part was entirely written during the author's captivity. From the first pages of the book, he describes the miserable conditions of Algeria. He found himself free, five months later, and then he decided to finish his story of abduction with a second part. In this part, he describes the events that happened in Algeria just after its independence. The third part constitutes the fundamental part on the author's political options, where the writer interested on the development of the situation in his country, by suggesting Scientific Socialism in political and economic fields. Throughout this book, Boudiaf give us some clarification about the Algerian problems and the means that will help the evolution of his country, which is recently independent. Through his work, Boudiaf aims to awaken the Algerians by saying the truth of their government. He also suggests solutions to raise their development in order to realize the goals that were laid down during the liberation war.

Endnotes

¹Nkrumah Kwame, *Consciencism*, (London: Heinemann, 1964), 73.

²McCain James A., “Perceptions of Socialism in Post-Socialist Ghana: An Experimental Analysis” (Cambridge University Press: 1979), *African studies Review* Vol.22, N°3 pp.45-69.

III. Results and Discussion

This section of our research reports our findings reached after the analytic study of the two historical documents *Africa Must Unite* and *Où Va L'Algerie?* In relation to Scientific Socialism. As mentioned before, the study deals with Socialism in relation to Pan-Africanism in Nkrumah's document and to Nationalism in Boudiaf's one, during the 20th century.

In the introduction section, we have raised the issue with the view of showing that both leaders Boudiaf and Nkrumah suggest the same form of Socialism, which is Scientific Socialism as a remedy for the post-independence problems. Therefore, our work is based on McCain's theory of Scientific Socialism. For McCain, Scientific Socialism is a doctrine that must be adopted according to the circumstances of each country, especially in the economic field. For example, Algeria and Morocco are different at the economic level, because they do not have the same natural sources. McCain, in his theory, has given the example of Ghana; since he believes that only Scientific Socialism is able to provide solutions for the problems of this country. Scientific Socialists believe that under this ideology people can ensure the gains of investment applied for the general welfare and not for the private benefits.

Nkrumah and Boudiaf adopt Scientific Socialism as a mean to move from the chaotic situation left by Colonialism into Enlightenment, and they consider Socialism as an appropriate instrument for reconstructing their societies. Similarly, their Socialism is based on the same economic sectors, including industry, agriculture, as well as trade unions. In *Où Va L'Algerie?*, Boudiaf's Scientific Socialism is linked to the sectors mentioned above, because he sees it as the only right way to promote Algeria's economy, so as to build a unified country. In *Africa Must Unite*, Nkrumah utilizes Scientific Socialism in relation to the same sectors with the purpose of bringing a total change within the African countries. Therefore, the two leaders have the same conception of Scientific Socialism, but adopt it in different

contexts. In *Où Va l'Algerie?* Boudiaf uses it in terms of Nationalism, putting emphasis on his motherland Algeria and neglecting the other African countries. In *Africa Must Unite*, Nkrumah adopts it in terms of PanAfricanism, focusing on all the African countries in order to build a United State of Africa.

The first part of the discussion section is devoted to the study of Scientific Socialism under Pan-Africanism. In *Africa Must Unite*, Nkrumah advocates the political unity of African countries through building one union government for Africa. According to the author, this will enable the African continent to develop far away from the exploitation of the West, and to build a self-reliant continent. In the second part, we analyzed Scientific Socialism in the context of Nationalism in Boudiaf's book, where he asserts that Algeria comes first. Therefore, he wants to reconstruct his society under democracy, equality and diversity.

After having discussed Pan-Africanism and Nationalism, we come to deduce that Boudiaf adopts Scientific Socialism, since he finds it the appropriate doctrine that Algerians must adopt as it fits their own circumstances. Both Boudiaf and Nkrumah does not achieve their goals, because the former was killed, while the latter's dream for building United States of Africa is considered impossible to realize due to the difficulties of implementing a policy of regrouping independent states into a continental body.

Discussion

This section is divided into two main chapters: the first one is devoted to the study of Scientific Socialism in the context of Pan-Africanism in Kwame Nkrumah's *Africa Must Unite*. The second part deals with Scientific Socialism at the National level, in Mohamed Boudiaf's *Où Va L' Algérie?*. Therefore, we are going to analyze the two Historical documents by showing how the doctrine is applied in different contexts as well as various countries during the twentieth century.

Chapter One: Scientific Socialism in the Context of Pan-Africanism in Kwame Nkrumah's *Africa Must Unite*

Introduction

The historical document *Africa Must Unite* is written by the PanAfricanist leader Kwame Nkrumah in 1963. It is addressed to Ghanians in particular and to Africans in general. The book expresses the ideas of hope, non-violence, and unity. The author's purpose via *Africa Must Unite* is to bring together all the Africans in order to build developed countries under one union. The author considers the latter as a condition for the African countries to be economically and politically powerful. He strongly believes that if African countries unite, they will become strong states.

Kwame Nkrumah is a popular African governor, born in 1909 and died in 1972. He was the first Ghana's Prime Minister who served from 1957 to 1960. Later, he became the president of Ghana from 1960 to 1966. In 1949, he founded the Convention People's Party (CPP), which is the first to govern Ghana after independence. It aims to spread justice, equality and freedom in the context of Socialism. After that, another institution is created by Nkrumah in 1963 named the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The latter aims to achieve

a better life for the Africans; it expects to defend their human rights and to promote cooperation among them in all fields. Nkrumah saw himself first and foremost an African. He was born in Africa; lived African and died African. Simply, he dreamed at making Africa a developed continent.

The writer is influenced by the ideas of the German political philosopher Karl Marx, and the Russian revolutionary leader Vladimir Lenin. The three of them believe that equality, legality, unity, economic and political stability are the basis of a developed state. Moreover, Nkrumah is certain that Africa is capable to manage its affairs independently from other countries if they reach full independence. Self-Determination will give the Africans the opportunity to rule and control their own matters. As it is cited in the article “the Socialist Theories of Nkrumah and Nyerere” of the researcher Steven Metz, Marx and Lenin would have been the first to admit that the validity of any theory of Socialism depends on the historical conditions which form the context of its promulgation and application that would be called Scientific Socialism. Metz claims that “Socialism in Africa has been driven beyond parameters of Marxist-Leninist view”.¹ It means that the Marxist-Leninist view is the revolutionary transformation of a Capitalist state into a Socialist one. Nkrumah adopts Scientific Socialism on Ghana in terms of its history as he analyzes the country on the basis of colonialism and post-independence, considering that Ghana was a damaged state within the British Imperialism, and hoping to enlighten it in order to achieve full independence. Therefore, Nkrumah appeals the rest of the African leaders to associate Scientific Socialism with the historical situations of their countries

The Presentation of the Text

In *Africa Must Unite*, Nkrumah treats several subjects in many chapters. Our present dissertation is concerned with his view about the achievement of sovereignty, the total

liberation of the African countries from colonialism, the political unification and the establishment of African union by the Africans themselves on the basis of Scientific Socialism. In fact, the document gives the outline that African countries must follow to achieve sovereignty, arguing that their continent must attain the total liberation of its countries from the colonial power in order to reach political unification. When unification and total liberation are achieved, sovereignty will reign on African people. To fulfill this dream, he proposes a model that the African countries must follow individually and collectively. He uses his own country Ghana, as an example to his plan, because, for him, all African countries are in the same situation as Ghana. Nkrumah demonstrates through his illustration that each country must be totally independent, and that this can only happen through adopting Socialism as a doctrine, giving it its African meaning that fits the post-independence complicated situation of Africa. Mjiba Frehiwot, a researcher at the Institute of African Studies, argues that

To Nkrumah, socialism should be applied scientifically; nations should arrive at Socialism by different paths depending on their culture and history. Most importantly, everywhere socialism is practiced; there should be an attempt to create a society where all citizens are free of exploitation and offered equal opportunity.²

In other words, the African leader thinks that Socialism is adopted in order to observe and experiment things happening in a given society in terms of their own culture and history, since both are the basis of any country. It means that all African countries must adopt Scientific Socialism, since the countries' social, economic and political conditions are different from each other; each country must adopt it according to its condition.

In addition, a society where Socialism is adopted is the one in which its inhabitants have the same opportunities such as employment, health and education. For instance, Ghana, after colonialism, was in debts but after the application of Socialism by Nkrumah, he

increases the taxes on Cocoa's farmers in order to finance the debts so as to pave the way for total independence.

The Total Liberation of the African Continent

Nkrumah's first objective is the total liberation of the African countries, since in his view, Africa is not completely liberated from the colonial rule. The Socialist model suggested by Nkrumah aims to attain political, economic, and social independence from colonialism at the continental level. According to him, the decolonization of the continent is a matter that has to be undertaken in order to reach development at all levels. In his Independence Day speech, Nkrumah declared that "the independence of Ghana is meaningless unless it is linked to the total liberation of Africa".³In *Africa Must Unite*, he believes that Africans must adopt Scientific Socialism in political, economic and social sectors to achieve total liberation from the ex-colonizer, meaning that each country must adopt its Socialist program to its political, economic and social circumstances.

At the political level, the leader argues that African countries must issue their political and manage their affairs by themselves, because political independence means complete and absolute freedom from the control of any government. People in each country must assume their responsibilities of self-rule or self-government. Nkrumah states,

Self-government is not an end in itself. It is a means to an end, to the building of the good life to the benefit of all Africans...The self-government which we demand, therefore, it is the means by which we shall create the climate in which our people can develop their attributes and express their potentialities to the full.⁴

It means that, self-government is a significant step towards development. For Nkrumah, self-government will help African countries to make Scientific Socialism effective and use it as an appropriate instrument for building developed societies, since under Socialist system; the appropriate life condition will be assured to the African people. This will come when African

citizens will have the ability to manage and direct their affairs without the need of the foreigners' interference.

Economic independence goes hand in hand with the political one. Being economically independent means that the economy is in the hands of the state itself where distribution of goods, employment and human rights are available. To the scholar KW Grundy, political freedom is meaningless without the fulfillment of economic freedom. In his words, "It has been well pointed out that political independence is but an empty façade if economic freedom is not possible also. I must emphasize again, however, that economic freedom can only be purchased by capital development, it cannot be given from outside".⁵

So, there is no political freedom without the economic one; both are interrelated. If there is instability in the economic sector, this will reflect negatively on the political one. Nkrumah claims that "foremost of all would be economic independence, without which our political independence would be valueless".⁶In other words, the economic independence should come first as the economy cannot do without. Thus, without the economic independence the political one would be useless.

Economic freedom means the freedom of having some gainful employment and rights to produce and distribute goods in a free market. Nkrumah insists that Ghanaians must free themselves from the British economy and promote rising standards of living and they must serve as an example for the other African countries. For him, Africans must have an African common market, which will serve as an African economic community in which Africans can all pull their production and trade to a common advantage. For example, Africa produces more than 62% of cocoa in the world, 35% from Ivory Coast, 21% from Ghana and 5% from Nigeria. Exploiting these productions together in African Common Market would build a global cartel to determine cocoa prices in the world market.

Unfortunately, during the post-independence period, Africans were economically exploited, since the ex-colonizer was still managing the sources of the African states. Kwame Nkrumah finds the socialist system as the best doctrine to fight foreign domination. He notices that to get rid of exploitation they have to adopt Socialism. In doing so, African people will have the ability to make good use of land, involving the stock-taking of their own sources, since they have priorities to use their own sources. So, they will break down any kind of exploitation by the foreigners.

Finally, the social effects of colonialism are more dangerous than the political and the economic ones. According to Nkrumah, colonialism goes deep into people's minds and therefore it takes longer to be eliminated. Consequently, the Europeans accustom the Africans to believe that they are inferior in every aspect of their social life. Moreover, there are many traces of colonialism in the African societies related to health, education, housing and living conditions. As a result, these societies are not able to improve their living, because they still believe that they are incapable to do so. Nkrumah adopted Socialism to eradicate Social dependency, since he sees it as a main solution to reconstruct a society, where social freedom, equality and justice are valuable.

Nkrumah wants African states to be free from all sides (political, economic and social) in order to achieve their total independence. In this context, he gives his motherland Ghana as an example so that each African country must be totally independent from the colonial power. D.Z. Poe argues,

Nkrumah's political philosophy focused on helping the people of Africa gain economic, political, and social independence. Without independence in these three areas, Ghana and Africa would be operating with a false sense of achievement. Achieving political independence without economic independence left the door open for neo-colonialism to run amok.⁷

According to D.Z Poe, Nkrumah helps the African countries to gain independence in the three sectors political, economic and social, because he believes that independence in these three

areas can help the Africans to realize achievements. In the contrary, without independence in these sectors, there would be a false idea of liberation.

Political Unification and Establishment of African Union

According to Nkrumah, the political unification of the African continent manifests itself in 'Union Government of all Africa', which is the political framework within which the process of rejecting Neo-colonialism could proceed. That is to say, no single independent African country could develop without the complete political unification of the continent. For that reason, Nkrumah sees that an African continental union, which is politically autonomous from the foreigners' interference, must be achieved in order to face the returning of colonialism. In *Africa Must Unite*, political unification and the establishment of the African union is the second objective that Nkrumah wants to achieve. In doing so, Africa is going to be a force, which is able to defend its unity and cannot be divided any more. He argues that "The unity of the countries of Africa is an indispensable pre-condition for the speediest and fullest development, not only of the totality of the continent but of the individual countries linked together in the union".⁸

In other words, the unification of African countries will help them regain Africa as a continent and remain safe of all eventual colonialism. Having one political government will help them to be a strong force named the United States of Africa so as the gains of African independence could be secured and made beneficial to Africa in the context of global international relations. This means the unification of African states as a federation, with one central government. As a result, for achieving unification between Africans, Nkrumah suggests the Pan-Africanism movement as he believes that this political movement is the suitable one for realizing the union in the African countries.

In the context of Pan-Africanism, Nkrumah initiates the Casablanca group', which is a federation led by the Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah himself in 1961. A group which consists of all African countries, aside from Ghana, it comprises Algeria, Guinea, Morocco, Egypt, Mali and Libya. It aims at awakening the Africans on the necessity of political unification. Casablanca group stresses the importance of Africa's newly independent states; each country of Africa should be self-governed. Over Pan-Africanism, the belief is that the whole continent should seek ever closer union as well as integration in their politics, society, and economy and so on.

Nkrumah's view about the African union is sustained by another African leader, Julius Nyerere, a Tanzanian anti-colonial activist and political theorist. Nyerere is the president of Tanganyika from 1963 to 1964. Both the two leaders believe that the adoption of Socialism as a doctrine would be a fundamental step towards building the United States of Africa. Nyerere argues,

Africa must unite...Together we the people of Africa will be incomparably stronger internationally than we are now our multiplicity of unviable states. The needs of our separate countries can be and being ignored by the rich powerful. The result is that Africa is marginalized when international decisions affecting our vital interest are made. Unity will not make us rich, but it can make it difficult for Africa and African peoples to be disregarded. And it will be, therefore increase the effectiveness of the decisions we are making and try to implement for our development.⁹

For him, the African force lies behind the unification of all African countries, since after getting their independence they must be one hand that represents a strong force which puts an end to colonialism. This unity is considered as a necessity for achieving their development.

Achieving Sovereignty

Nkrumah argues that reaching total independence and the unification of African countries will lead them to reach sovereignty. The latter is defined by the scholar Laski as "an entity vested with original power, especially the power to make laws, and with no other power

above or superior to it”.¹⁰ In other words, a sovereign state is the state, which has the right to rule over its people. It is the authority of a state to govern itself without the interference of foreigners. Nkrumah wants African countries to be self-governed, with no intervention from other countries. For him, Ghana, for instance, is still under the rule of its ex-colonizer; even if it achieved independence, there are certain laws, which are imposed on it and limit the full employment of its political freedom. According to Nkrumah,

People who are independent and sovereign make their own constitution. Although Ghana achieved what is called ‘full independence’ on 6 March 1957, there were certain provisions in the constitution imposed on us which limited the full employment of our freedom, which were an effort to our sovereignty, a fetter upon our free development.¹¹

For him, even after their independence, they witnessed a problem of controlling the people and the resources and all the activities within their states. But, with total liberation at the economic and social levels, political sovereignty is going to be easily realized. As a result, sovereignty will lead to the development of the African countries since the power will remain in the African hands, which will be able to manage and rule their own affairs as well as to use their resources according to their own benefits.

The Analysis of Nkrumah’s Scientific Socialism

Nkrumah invites the African countries to adopt Socialism and to abandon Capitalism in order to achieve development. The reason which leads Nkrumah to adopt Scientific Socialism in order to realize his goal and gain their sovereignty, which can only be acquired through the total liberation as well as the political unification of the African states. In addition, Nkrumah desires to realize this total liberation in each country so as to form one continent. Then, he wants to form United State of Africa, which means that Africans will have one union that will represent and defend them all over the world. After reaching the total liberation of the African countries and getting their political unification, sovereignty will be realized as an appropriate proponent towards true development.

Nkrumah's plan to develop his country is based on Scientific Socialism. "It is a movement based upon the historic evaluation of the past and the economic conditions of the present".¹² It looks upon society's condition to be evaluated according to its past as well as its actual conditions in all sectors, because the actual conditions of any country are the result of its history. Scientific Socialism takes into consideration the different conditions of the African societies through observation, experimentation and implementation.

Nkrumah aims to reconstruct the African society through a socialist program, in which all people are equal without exception, even if their economic conditions differ from one country to another. Thus, Nkrumah's Scientific Socialism is based mainly on the economic sector, aiming at reforms in agriculture, industry. Moreover, he stresses the important role of trade unions in these reforms.

Agriculture

During the post-independence period, African countries witnessed several troubles at the economic level, like the lack of the means of production, the debts left by Colonialism, the lack of manufactories. Nkrumah believes that all these problems will be solved by promoting the Agricultural sector. Ghana is a great example of the African states that face famine, unemployment, poverty, as a result of economic insufficiency. Nkrumah believes that promoting the agricultural sector must be realized under Scientific Socialism that will work for the benefits of the citizens. He wants to collectivize agriculture against the wishes of Ghana's farmers, who had been the tax base for the nation. His plan is to encourage investments in any interesting field. For instance, Cocoa is the main agricultural export of Ghana, and it is considered as its principal cash crop, since Ghana is the second exporter of Cocoa in the world. For this reason, Nkrumah suggests to raise the taxes on Cocoa farmers in the South in order to finance the debts left by Colonialism.

Additionally, there are many other products that can help the increasing of Ghana's agriculture, among which, we can mention gold, manganese ores, oil palm, fish and sweet potato. The latter is a viable resource, because it can be used for many things. For instance, it can be used in the feeding of livestock. In addition, when the sweet potato is brought to market it is processed into main products, like bread and flour. Nkrumah claims that "Although cocoa still remains our main export, we have succeeded to some extent in diversifying our agriculture... We have begun to export bananas, coconuts, copra, palm kernels oil, kola and other nuts, plantains, rubber, coffee, spices and tobaccos".¹³

Even though Cocoa is the chief agricultural export of Ghana, Ghanians, under the socialist system are encouraged to be able to diversify their agriculture as they start to produce for instance bananas, coconuts, and copra. Therefore, the government should give some support for the agricultural sector by providing grants for the regions that possess water resources, improving soil conservation projects and financing public enterprises by providing license fees, and giving the farmers grants as well as subsidies. Thus, Nkrumah's Scientific Socialism takes into consideration all these conditions that are totally different from one region to another, aiming to develop the agricultural sector.

Industry

Ghana's industry is a small sector, mainly made up of domestic manufacturing business, such as textiles and garments. At that time, Nkrumah views industrialization as a key instrument for the country's development. The wide industrialization program stresses the reduction of the Ghanaian economy's dependence on colonial power and other foreigners' intervention in African economies. According to the scholar Killick, "The CPP government gave priority to import substitution, because it was believed that it would help dispense with the distorting effects of the colonial system, escape from dependence on primary exports, and break the vicious circle of poverty".¹⁴

The Convention People's Party helps to import products so as to get rid of any dependency traces and to reduce poverty. Therefore, the government of any country must invest greatly in infrastructure, which must involve in domestic production in order to satisfy the consumers' needs.

Nkrumah's industrial plan is linked to Scientific Socialism, since he wants to improve industry through the use of this doctrine. According to Steel, "it seems that Nkrumah's industrialization programme had been entwined with Socialism and macroeconomic policy within the broader development plan of Ghana".¹⁵ Nkrumah's industrial plan is linked to Socialism as well as economy. For him, the only way that leads Ghana to progress is through promoting the industrial sector. The leader favors industrialization under Scientific Socialism by improving import system, development of industrial areas and balance of taxes. Thus, Nkrumah's plans in Ghana should be applied in all African countries in order to achieve his goal, which consists of turning Africa into force that cannot be distracted by the foreigners.

To sum up, Nkrumah's industrial plan is mainly based on Scientific Socialism, in which each African country must adopt it according to its circumstances, because the conditions of any country differ from each other. For instance, the natural sources of Ghana are different from those of the other African countries. The leader takes Ghana as an example that the other African countries must follow in order to achieve their total development. His Scientific Socialism is based on economic development; he gives a plan in order to promote the agricultural and industrial sectors.

Trade Unions

Trade unions are considered as a common point between economic development and political one. After independence, many African unions have to re-define their roles, as most of them have recognized the need to become politically and organizationally independent

from the ex-colonize. The African trade unions within Capitalism represent a kind of struggle with the government, because they do not work for the benefit of their public. But, within the socialist system, the relation is that of contribution between these trades and their government.

Trade unions are often the most organized section of the African society that must rise to the challenge of organizing workers in economy, and enable them to secure rights and social benefits and achieve self-help. For instance, trade unions in Zambia and Zimbabwe played a key role in forming political opposition parties that overthrew former liberation movements in power. Yet, the fundamental African economic and political structures will not change without the active engagement of trade unions at the continental level.

After independence, Nkrumah's government and the leadership of the Ghana Trade Union Congress (GTUC) decided to strengthen the structure of Trade Union Movement. Both of them believe that the trade union movement would make some efforts to build a Socialist state and safeguard workers' interests. GTUC is the national trade union in Ghana, founded in 1945. It aims to defend the workers' interests.

Nkrumah aims to unify the Trade Union Movement in Africa. In *Africa Must Unite*, he states that "the development of a united African trade union movement will give our working classes a new African consciousness and the right to express themselves in the councils of world labour unfettered by any foreign view".¹⁶ So, Trade Unions give the opportunity to the working classes in order to express themselves without any bounds. As a result, trade unions will promote the freedom and the welfare of the African workers.

The role of trade unions in the capitalist states is not the same as in the Socialist one. In the capitalist countries, trade unions struggle with the government, while in the Socialist one, both of them go in the same direction to achieve the same goals. Moreover, in the Socialist state, the trade unions permit African people to participate directly in performing the

government's programme. However, in the Capitalist state, the trade union plays the role of a supervisor against the employers. Trade Unions also take part in several matters, like the liberation of the land, the promotion of internal institutions, the participation in social dialogues or administration of public benefits and the mobilization on policy issues of particular interest to workers.

Getting True Independence and Pan-Africanism

The effects of Colonialism are still clearly visible in the African countries, even after their independence. Ghana's case illustrates the main impacts of 'Neocolonialism', which means that the state is independent just in theory (a declaration of independence), but its economic system and political policy are directed by the ex-colonizer. According to Nkrumah,

The foreigners' interference has negative consequences on the African continent...the worst things that can happen to less developed and emerging countries is to receive foreign aid with political and economic string attached. These aids are very often wrapped up in financial terms that are not easily discernible.¹⁷

For him, the newly independent African countries have not the ability to manage their own affairs by themselves because of their dependency on their ex-colonizers. Yet, the intervention of the non-Africans countries in the political sector is always in a purpose of getting their own benefits in terms of exploitation. For this, he suggests Scientific Socialism as way that leads to the development of the political sector by keeping this sector under the country's control, which means Africans will manage their affairs by themselves and take any decision concerning their country.

In addition, he thinks that their problems can be solved only at a continental basis avoiding the division of Africa, because they can only gain complete independence as a united people with a common goal.

The leader believes that one way to challenge Neocolonialism is ‘Pan-Africanism’. The movement aims to establish the union of all African nations and promotes equality among all African people. As a result, they will achieve a true independence by building a United States of Africa. According to Nkrumah,

Just our strength lies in a unified policy and action and development, so the strength of imperialists lies in our destiny. We in Africa can only meet them effectively by presenting a unified front and a continental purpose. Our freedom stands open to danger just as long as the independent states of Africa remain apart.¹⁸

In fact, when Africans are together, it is difficult for the outsiders to colonize them again. For this reason, Nkrumah puts emphasis on unity.

Pan-Africanism is based on a plan for building a unified continent, which is mainly based on ‘political and economic integration’. Political integration is all about forming a unique central government, which governs people under one union. The central government is significant to promote a common political system, stability, peace, freedom. During the post-independence period, Nkrumah sees political integration as a necessary condition for the improvement of the continent. His continental union is based on overall continental government union. Thus, all the African countries must join together and have one central government that will rule them as one bloc. Nkrumah thinks that radical changes in the political sector in Africa are urgently needed, and this will be achieved if they are united politically. At that time, Nkrumah’s CPP calls for conferences and meetings which are joined by actions. He mentions other developed countries so that they must take them as an example. He asserts,

We are more fortunate, and are not isolated. We may have enemies, but we have friends, too. We have the example of the United State, of the Soviet Union, of China, of India. They are all operating their economies on a continental scale and offer us a choice of means and methods we can adapt to the African scene.¹⁹

According to Nkrumah, the African countries are surrounded by many states that they must take as an example, because they manage their economies on a continental level. For him,

African countries can adapt the methods of the other countries, like the Soviet Union, which manages its economy on a continental way. As a result, these countries bring to a change within the African political sector. Nkrumah argues,

We need the strength of our combined members and resources to protect ourselves from the very positive change of returning colonialism in disguised forms. We need it to combat the entrenched forces dividing our continent and still holding back millions of our brothers. We need it to secure total African liberation.²⁰

For him, being politically unified under one central government is the main step to face neo-colonialism. He believes that a united socialist Africa is a necessary condition for the realization of African personality, so they would put strength on their own resources and be as one body in order to secure their total liberation. This can be achieved through a continental union government.

Concerning the economic integration, Nkrumah makes a plan in order to realize it. He aims to determine and promote measures for the accelerated development and marketing of services, to promote measures for the development of natural sources on a suitable basis, and to establish measures in order to enhance production. As a result, each country will improve the availability of goods and services and increase consumer purchasing power, and employment opportunities tend to improve, since trade leads to market expansion.

Conclusion

Africa Must Unite is a book written by Kwame Nkrumah in 1963. In this historical document, Nkrumah cites his objective that consists of getting total liberation by reaching political, economic and social freedom. For him, achieving the political unification of African countries will help the Africans to regain Africa as a continent under their own control. When total liberation and political unification reached, sovereignty will be established.

Consequently, the colonizer will not find an opportunity to comeback to Africa. In his book, Nkrumah's plan is based on Scientific Socialism, which is a doctrine based on observation, experimentation and implementation.

On the one hand, Nkrumah's Scientific Socialism is based on economic development, which includes the agricultural, and the industrial sectors as well as trade union. On the other hand, his Socialism is based on the political development; consist of getting true independence and Pan-Africanism. The latter is considered as a necessary condition to achieve independence at the political level.

African countries, under Socialist system are countries of which systems aim at realizing the better condition for the majority of the members in the society. Nkrumah hopes to achieve this by the state's control of the means of production and distribution of goods and services. In the context of African development, Nkrumah wants African states to come together to form one strong state. He also wants African states to combine their resources, meaning that economic, political and social sources must be used as one force. As a result, Africa will be stronger enough to resist neo-colonialist forces. In terms of African unity and uniformity, Nkrumah does not mean that members of societies should be the same in color, height and size in a physical sense, but means that members of these societies should enjoy equal rights and belong to one united force even if their conditions differ from each other.

Endnotes

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Chapter Two: Scientific Socialism in the Context of Nationalism in Mohamed Boudiaf's *Où Va L'Algérie*.

Introduction

Où Va L'Algérie? in English "*Where is Algeria heading?*", is a historical document written by the political leader Mohamed Boudiaf in 1964. The book is addressed to the Algerian people, and it is a kind of analysis to their situation after their independence from the French colonizer. Boudiaf argues in the book that Algeria is still dependent economically and politically to France, and he calls for a complete independence, through a program he presents in the document.

Mohamed Boudiaf is an Algerian politician and one of the great historical figures of the war of liberation from the French colonizer. He was born on June 23, 1919 in Mesilla, Algeria and died on June 29, 1992, at Annaba. During the Algerian war, the politician leader of independence contributes to the formation of several organizations and political parties that played a positive role in making important decisions about the fate of the Algerian revolution. He was a member in the Algerian People's Party (APP) formed in 1945, a successor organization of the North African Star led by the Algerian Nationalist Messali Lhadj. (NAS) is formed on March, 1937 to fight against the French colonizer by using peaceful methods, such as manifestation. In 1947, he is one of the leaders of the Secret Organization (SO), which is a secret paramilitary organization founded by Mohamed Belouizdad for the preparation of armed struggle and army. He joined the metabolism in 1953, and became a member of (MTLD) Movement for Triumph of Democratic Freedom, an Algerian nationalist party founded in 1946 as a result of the dissolution of Algerian People's Party, which Boudiaf headed in France.

Mohamed Boudiaf became one of the main organizers of the (CRUA) Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Actions in 1954 and member of the group of 22, who unleashed the war of national liberation. He is a former founding member of FLN the National Liberation Front, created on October 1954, to fight against the French colonizer. In 1961, Mohamed Boudiaf is a vice president of (GPRA), a provisional government of the Algerian Republic, which is also considered as the political arm of FLN, through which France negotiated the Evian agreement with Algeria.

On September 1962, Mohamed Boudiaf created the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PRS), which is a revolutionary party against the first regimes set up at the independence of Algeria. He opposed President Ben Bella's autocratic rule. Mohamed Boudiaf has a socialist program, which was based on the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the collective ownership of the means of production and the revolution for the benefit of the peasant masses. In 1963, the politician Mohamed Boudiaf was kidnapped by the army, because, he posed a threat to the state security, then he was arrested in prison in the South of Algeria. After his liberation, he was exiled for nearly 28 years in Morocco, where he practiced agricultural activities with his family. Although he was far from his homeland, he was following its news. During his stay in exile, he wrote his book entitled *Où Va L'Algerie?* as a part of his political vision for building Algeria and the centrality of pluralism in national construction. Boudiaf was invited to return as the head of a military –backed council of state in 1992.

In 1992, Algeria was suffering from a political crisis, which turned into a Civil War between two parts: the military establishment and the Islamic Front for armed Islamic groups after the resignation of President Chadli Ben Djdid. On January 1992, he became the chairman of the high state Committee. He wanted to form a democratic Algeria, which subjected to modernity, and to put an end to the corruption which gangrenes the army.

Unfortunately, Mohammed Boudiaf could not achieve his objectives, because he was assassinated shortly after six months of his reign on June 29, 1992 in Annaba.

Mohamed Boudiaf's book *where is Algeria heading?* Is a lucid testimony on the post-independence period of 1962 and the seizure of power by the army. It summarizes his political proposals for breaking down the dictatorial regime that characterized Algeria at that time. The author, in the book dreams of a strong Algeria that relies on the great goals of the liberation war.

The Presentation of the Text

Boudiaf's book is divided into three parts, which are classified as follows: Kidnapping, After the Liberation and Perspectives. In the opening part, he recounts how he is kidnapped by the government just after independence, and he analyses the causes of the actual situation in Algeria, by indicating some aspects of his conception of Socialism. In the second part, he speaks about the conditions of his liberation and the development of Algerian politics in 1963. In the last part, he suggests Scientific Socialism as a means to solve the current problems of his country. Mohamed Boudiaf, in his book, emphasizes three important points, which are: the realization of Scientific Socialism in Algeria, the transmission of the truth to the Algerians concerning their corrupt government and the movement from under development to development.

The realization of Scientific Socialism in Algeria is the main objective of Mohamed Boudiaf, since he considers that the president Ben Bella misinterprets Socialism. He also believes, "Le pouvoir de Ben Bella et le bureau politique ont été installé par la force, et dans la confusion," ils sont "ni démocratique, ni populaire, et encore moins socialiste".¹ In English "The power of Ben Bella and the political bureau were installed by force, and in confusion, they are neither democratic nor popular, and even less socialist." (Our translation). He views that during Ben Bella's reign, he misunderstands the function of Socialism, since his

Socialism was just a theoretical concept. He did not use Socialism as a means to achieve the development of Algeria, and there is contradiction between what the term means and what has been done. For that, Boudiaf explains Socialism as theory and as a practice at the same time and expresses his preference of Scientific Socialism over its other forms. In *Où Va L'Algérie?*, he clarifies the true meaning of Scientific Socialism and draws the direct path to achieve it. He asserts “ Notre modèle est le socialisme scientifique, dont nous devons déterminer seulement les conditions d’application à l’Algérie”². In English “Our model is Scientific Socialism, of which we must determine only the conditions of application to Algeria”. (Our translation).According to him, Scientific Socialism must take into account each situation to discover the best paths towards rational applications, remaining goals and immutable objectives, which mean that Scientific Socialism could only rest on the analysis of objective reality, or on the analysis of the circumstances of his country.

Additionally, telling the truth to the Algerians about their government is an important path toward development. For Boudiaf, people ignore the reasons behind their bad situation at the political, economic and social levels. So, the truth will push people, who were living under dictatorship, to revolt against the government that had done nothing for the benefits of the citizens as well as for the development of the country after its independence from the French colonizer. Algerians were blinded by the promises of the government, which are in reality false promises. For that, Boudiaf describes the year of 1963 as a period of crisis, in which there were many contradictions. So, he believes that by knowing the truth, people will react against the oppression practiced by the leader, and this action can help them to raise their conscience.

Moving from under development to development is another objective of the leader Mohamed Boudiaf, because Algeria ranks in the category of underdeveloped countries, which

suffer from poverty, lack in factories, insufficient government services, setback in its economy and cultural backwardness. In this context, Boudiaf says that,

Mais le plus grave est encore l'immense chômage rural: des milliers de familles sans ressources, soumises aux maladies, à la faim ; des milliers de travailleurs contraints de gagner la ville où ils grossissent la masse de sans-travail; des familles entières vivant des sommes envoyées régulièrement par ceux de leurs membres partis travailler en France.³

In English

But the most serious is still the immense rural unemployment, thousands of families without resources, subjected to sickness, to hunger, thousands of workers forced to reach the city where they are growing the mass of work swell, whole families living on sums sent regularly by those of their members who have left to work in France (Our translation).

Algeria contains raw materials, which can be essential elements for its development, but its natural riches are in the hands of foreigners. For that, Boudiaf proposes a Socialist Plan to benefit from these resources. He mentions some solutions to move from under development to development by encouraging planification. He says, “ La planification doit être un moyen de lutte contre le sous-développement”⁴. In English, “Planning must be a means of combating under development”. (Our translation). Planification also focuses on economic outgrowth, especially in agriculture and industry. For example, technology is a means that will eradicate all the traces of under development in Algeria that remained from French colonizer and solve the problem of economic dependency in the purpose of getting true independence. Boudiaf's Scientific Socialism is based on planification, as means to promote the political and economic development in Algeria, within the context of Nationalism. He has given great attention to the problem of unemployment that faced the Algerian people just after their independence, by providing solutions to reduce it through his socialist program.

The Analysis of Boudiaf's Scientific Socialism:

This part deals with Boudiaf's socialist plan which aims to alter and to develop the Algerians' situation after their independence. Nationalism is a central objective in his plan,

which aims to unify all what is Algerian in order to establish an egalitarian society. Boudiaf's Scientific Socialism like that of Nkrumah is based on the economic development in agriculture and industry, as well as the government's faith in Trade unionism to get true independence.

Agriculture

Since independence, agriculture has been the neglected sector of Algeria's economy, suffering from the lack of means of production and poor organization. During the colonial period, Fellahs worked by colonial's support. For example, the French settlers had appropriated the best lands they exploited thanks to an Algerian workforce by using modern means and methods in agricultural production. When Algeria achieved independence, fellahs lost their jobs. As a result, cereal production, orchard, industrial crops and viticulture has undergone large annual fluctuation.

In 1950, wine production was mainstay of colonial agriculture and exports. After independence, because of Islam's ban on alcohol consumption, grapes growing have largely stagnated. In this context, Tayer Wtkins, an American teacher of Algerian economy at San Jose state University, Department of Economics, says: "production levels in agriculture were declining, particularly in the vital export industries of wine and cereals. There were also declines in the quality of production"⁵ For Wtkins, Algerian agriculture witnessed a difficult situation because of the underinvestment and poor organization, especially in agricultural lands at that period of time.

According to Mohamed Boudiaf, Algeria will expect a lot from peasants in the future of the agriculture's development, if the government provides for them the means of production in terms of materials and methods of work. As a solution for this problem, Boudiaf suggests many ideas which could help the evolution of agriculture, like the reconvention of

some rich and fertile lands with the aim to cover the nourishment of the population and realize self satisfaction, because at that period of time , Algeria suffers from economy's dependency , especially in agriculture .In this context, Mohamed Boudiaf says,

Le secteur de l'agriculture nécessite un réel redressement, car il est l'un des piliers de l'économie nationale. L'Algérie consacre une partie importante de ses recettes extérieures à l'importation des produits alimentaires .Est-ce une fatalité d'acheter la plus grande partie de nos besoins en céréales, légumes secs, semence, des différents régions du monde⁶.

In English

The agricultural sector requires a real recovery, because it is one of the largest of the national economy. Algeria devotes a significant part of its external receipts to the importation of food products. Is it inevitable to buy most of our needs in cereals, pulses, seeds from different regions of the world? (Our translation).

Agriculture suffers also from big problems, since after independence; the lands were occupied either by Frenchmen or by Algerian profiteers. During Ben Bella's reign, agriculture came under the control of the army. In this context, Wtkins asserts, "Some French farmers were given assurances by the army that could continue production "⁷, because they were the proprietors of lands. As a result of this, fellahs find themselves in unemployment, which lead agriculture production levels and equality to decline. In the same context, Mohamed Boudiaf asserts, "Ce n'est pas à l'Etat de s'occuper de la gestion de l'agriculture. Son rôle consiste plutôt à créer les conditions favorable au développement de l'agriculture l'administration doit donc être, à tous les niveaux, au service des agriculteurs "⁸.In English "It is not up to the state to deal with the management of agriculture .Its roleis rather to create the conditions favorable to the development of agriculture. The administration must be, at all levels, at the services of the farmers." (Our translation).

In addition to these problems, the ongoing chaos in the country's agricultural structures also led the domain of agriculture to fail in achieving self- sufficiency in food products. This caused many problems; such as hunger, poverty and disease. Besides, this sector faces a series of near-insoluble problems, relating to the marketing of products,

equipments in agricultural and equipments operating credits. As a result, the population was suffering from these problems. For instance, in 1963, More than 84 percent of active population was in unemployment. Guefri Azeddine and Chaib Aïssa Khaled write a book about Mohamed Boudiaf entitled *Boudiaf L'homme des Ruptures*, in which he said,

Pour faire travailler des millions de bras, il est évident, qu'il faut nourrir des millions des bouches, d'où la liaison organique entre l'économie de développement, et l'économie de subsistance, cela signifie que le pays doit produire le maximum de matières vivriers, et d'en assurer la distribution, la plus judicieuse, entre la part destinée à la consommation nationale, et la part à investir. Dans le cadre de cette optique Mohamed Boudiaf demandait, à conforter les bases l'économie de développement, sur le secteur de l'agriculture, puisque, dans le cas de l'Algérie, ils sont organiquement liés, et faire la part des choses entre ce qui doit être consommé, et ce que doit être investi, et d'éviter de s'enliser dans l'erreur suivant, depuis 1962, qui a engendrée le constat suivant, au lieu que le secteur de l'agriculture offrait à l'Algérie des moyens de vivre, et de se développer, n'avait fait qu'absorber des crédits⁹

In English

To make millions of arms work, it is obvious, that it is necessary to feed millions of mouths must be fed, hence the organic link between the development economy and the subsistence economy. It means that the country must produce the maximum of food materials and to ensure the distribution, the most judicious distribution between the part intended for national consumption and the part to invest. Within the framework of this perspective, Mohamed Boudiaf asked to consolidate the basics of the development economy, on the agriculture sector, since, in the case of Algeria, they are organically linked, and to make the sense between what must be invested, and to avoid getting bogged down in the error begun initiated since 1962, which has generated the following observation, instead of that the sector that the agriculture offered to Algeria the means to live and develop, had only absorbed credits.”(Our translation)

The political leader gives great significance to agriculture as a means to upgrade the economic growth in Algeria, thus, he says,

Prenons d'abord« le secteur socialiste agricole », où se trouvent des fermes de vastes dimensions; nul ne songe l'importance de cette branche qui, grâce à ses condition modern de production, pourrait jouer un rôle pilote dans le développement de l'Algérie la fois par l'apport direct qu'elle fournirait à la production et par le modèle économique et social qu'elle présenterait à tout le pays^{.10}

In English

let us take up the agricultural socialist sector, where there are large farms; no one thinks of the importance of this branch which, thanks to its modern conditions of production, could play a pilot role in the development of Algeria both by the direct contribution, which it would provide to production and by the economic and social model it would present to the whole country (Our translation).

Boudiaf insists on the use of modern technologies as a way to facilitate the process of agricultural growth, because Algeria at that period of time, suffered from the lack of developed materials. So, technology could play an instrumental role in the agricultural development. For example, thanks to science many of agricultural products can be produced in the Sahara. In this context, he says,

Moderniser les techniques, et tirer profit du développement technologique, et des progrès de la recherche scientifique, car, c'est un domaine (agriculture) qui connaît de jour en jour de grandes mutations technologiques. Nous ne pouvons nous permettre et c'est là notre engagement envers les générations futures, d'être en marge des révolutions scientifique et technologique.¹¹

In English

Modernize techniques and take advantage of technological development, and progress in scientific research. Because, it is an area (agriculture) that is experiencing great technological changes day by day. We cannot afford it, and this is our commitment to future generations to be on the sidelines of the scientific and technological revolutions". (Our translation)

Mohamed Boudiaf gives the field of agriculture an important place in the economic development due to the nature of the lands that characterize Algeria, and he sees agriculture as the first stage toward the development of his country. Modern techniques will provide the peasants with easy methods to produce large quantities in short periods, and they permit them to turn unfertile lands to fertile ones. Industry is no less important than the agricultural sector for achieving economic development given that Algeria has important natural resources.

Industry

Another sector which Boudiaf suggests for the development of the Algerian economy is industry, which knows many obstacles after independence. The majority of industrial production was falling dramatically in most sectors. Despite Algeria ranks among the top countries in the world in terms of total gas reserves, gas exports, material resources available and the nationalization of companies, they are under the control of foreign countries

especially France at that time. So, the ability of the production was still insufficient after independence, as industry is limited to certain cities (Oran and Annaba), that caused the problem of overpopulation in these areas, due to the absence of a national economic policy, which structures the population.

Algerian industrialization largely depends on French credits, Boudiaf says “Notre pays dépend de l’extérieur, et particulièrement des crédits français, ce que est l’inverse de l’indépendance”.¹² In English, “Our country depends on the outside, and particularly French credits, which is the reverse of independence” (Our translation). In fact, Algeria, after independence, faced the problem of credits, which can be an obstacle for its industrial development. So, Algeria should get rid of this major problem in order to realize its development process in the industrial sector and to have a total liberation from external dependency.

Boudiaf cites some resolutions to minimize industrial problems, like the establishment of factories in order to improve the process of industrial production, and the creation of textile industries to help the population to find work, thus avoiding imports. In addition to this solution, the country’s natural resources (primarily oil), which are semi-heavy industries, are useful for the creation of factories. It has the advantage of employing a large workforce and providing products to other industries. For example, petrochemicals and plastics play an important role in the industrial development.

Boudiaf encourages also the development of “Artisanal Cooperatives”, which can be defined as “a civil society of persons based on the free adhesion of its members having the quality of craftsmen”¹³. Artisanal Cooperatives, according to him, can help a small part of the population to find work. For instance, the reconstruction of destroyed buildings and traditional crafts; such as carpet, weaving, ceramic and embroidery can be identified by an

artistic and repetitive character of representation and ancestral techniques through the use of simple means. Boudiaf suggests a development of an investment policy, in which Algeria will have to determine what the needs in raw materials and equipment credit that it has to formulate in its demand outside.

Boudiaf notices also that the industrial problems created classes in the Algerian society, being the result of a gap between the workers of cities and the workers of the pastoral areas. In this context, he suggests Scientific Socialism as a remedy to this problem,

Qu'est que cet étalage alors qu'un' en réalité il n'y a et ne peut y avoir qu'un seul véritable Socialisme, le Scientifique fondé sue la lutte des classes. Il appartient aux exploités, a la classe laborieuse, de s'organiser, de s'unir pour mettre à bas la bourgeoisie sous toutes formes, éliminer les injustices et promouvoir une société nouvelle d'où seront bannières les différenciations de classes de revenus et de chances devant la vie¹⁴

In English

What is all this display when in reality there is and can be only one true Socialism, the Scientific Socialism founded on the class struggle. It is up to the exploited themselves, to unite to put down the bourgeoisie in all its forms, eliminate the injustices and promote a new society from which the differentiation of classes, incomes and life chances will be banished.(Our translation).

Moreover, after independence, the trade unions aimed to prepare the Algeria's conditions for socialism with national economic independence. In addition, Algeria had to promote the importance of Trade Unions that provides immediate solutions to the industrial problems. So, Trade unionism has an essential role in the industrial development providing jobs and organizing the employments in order to avoid a chaos in work between the leaders and the laborers. And also it helps to raise the conscious of the workers about how importance they had in the workplace and in economy in general.

Trade Unions

The General Union of the Algerian Workers (UGTA) is the dominant Algerian Trade Union, set up in February 24, 1956, with the objective of mobilizing Algerian labors against French colonial and capitalists' interests. The Algerian workers united under this national

trade union to support the country's independence. Mohamed Branine, a professor who conducts a research about the Algerian trade unionism, says: "The trade union movement was at the forefront of the Algerian campaign against colonial domination"¹⁵. After independent, Algeria, having the object of building a socialist country, made of the union the only trade union center, which was linked with the National Liberation Front. In January 1963, The Trade Union Movement of (U.G.T.A) was fallen out, because it refused to step aside of the corruption and the unemployment that became extreme in villages at that time. Throughout these problems, workers were disappointed by the government, because the latter followed the same path of the colonial system of development. In fact, Branine describes UGTA under the capitalist state control as "A key to social and material privileges, not a sign of workers unity and solidarity"¹⁶. However, the union decided to be more independent from the authorities in the purpose to defend the workers' rights. Therefore, Boudiaf ranks trade unionism at the forefront of mass organization, because it organizes the employment in local committees. So, the political leader gives the union a key role in the development of the Algerian's economy. Among its roles, it must bring together Algerian workers and defend the producers' rights.

In addition, the non existence of Trade Union organizations also left the field open to crooks and scroungers, who often benefit from high ranking accomplices in the state. The real corruption results in the impossibility of working, due to the exploitation practiced by the rulers. So, trade unionism plays an essential role in the struggle for an authentic revolutionary power. It also makes an end to the problem of corruption. According to Boudiaf, coordinative work between the leaders and the workers is important to improve the working conditions. Moreover, he sees that communication between the two sides helps them to achieve stability, and guarantees the economic development of the country. In this case, Boudiaf says: "Ils (Trade Union) pourront jouer un rôle collectif, discuter des contrats avec l'état, répartir équitablement les heures de travail entre eux, collaborer avec les salariés pour

determiner quels besoins économiques doivent être prioritairement satisfaits”.¹⁷ In English, “They will be able to play a collective role, discuss contracts with the state, divide working hours fairly between them, collaborate with employees to determine which economic needs must be met as priority.” (Our translation). From the above quotation, we deduce that Boudiaf’s Scientific Socialism gives Trade unionism an essential role in the Algerian economic development, because it facilitates the communication between the workers and the state. So, the working conditions will become better.

Getting True Independence

In 1962, Algeria became an independent country. Yet this independence was just political, while its economy relies completely on foreign countries, mainly the French colonizer. Therefore, Boudiaf cites in his book many difficulties that Algeria faced just after its independence in relation to the political and economical fields. True independence, for the author, means that if his country gets rid of poverty, unemployment and corruption. Boudiaf, in his book, suggests Socialism as a way for getting true independence. In this context, he says, “Tel était le pouvoir chargé de donner du travail et du pain à l’Algérie, de résister aux pressions neo- colonialiste de l’étranger, de mobiliser le peuple pour le socialisme”¹⁸. In English, “Such was the power responsible for giving work and bread to Algeria, to resist neo-colonialist pressures from abroad, to mobilize the people for Socialism” (Our translation). The author finds that Neo-colonialism represents a danger for the recent independent countries, because they are easy to be exploited by the ex- colonizer. He says in his book that Neo-colonialism plays on our weaknesses, instead of taking advantage of the rivalries between great powers to obtain what we are looking for. And he sees Socialism as means to fight against the oppression that was practiced by foreign countries (neo-colonialism).

Algeria was a member in the non-Aligned movement (NAM), which “came into existence during the first conference of Heads of the State or Government of non-aligned countries that took place in Belgrade in September 1961. Representing newly-independent developing countries, the movement and its policies can be directly linked to the decolonization process with the initial years of political engagement in world affairs characterized by anti-imperialist slogans and the denunciation of colonialism, apartheid, racism and racism”.¹⁹ The alienation of Algeria to this movement symbolizes its independence from Western and Eastern world in order to achieve its development, which is based on its national, popular and sovereign interests, and to promote its principles, because the non-Aligned movement provides a basis for mutual co-operation in economic and technological spheres for the aligned(members) countries, and it is an instrument to support their economic development.

Nationalism

The emergence of Algerian Nationalism started during the Algerian war against the French colonizer and continued until the post-independence period. Yet, the latter took a modern form, because of the appearance of problems related to an imbalance in economics, politics and cultures. For instance, the problem of "Le Coup de Tlemcen", which can be defined as a general Civil War between the militants of the FLN against each other, and the cultural problems like language and religion. During Ben Bella's reign, Arabic is the most dominant language in Algeria, which means that he identifies himself as an Arab more than being an Algerian. This created a problem of identity between Arabs and the native people who are named Amazigh. Boudiaf believes that the Algerians must unite and seeks to construct a modern and a democratic society, which is based on Nationalism. In this context, Frantz Fanon says: "Nationalism is not a political doctrine, nor a program. If you really wish your country to avoid regression, or at best halts and uncertainties, a rapid step must be taken

from national consciousness to political and social consciousness.”²⁰ In this quotation, Fanon argues that the establishment of any nation must be based on national consciousness, which means that the real development of any nation begins with people. So, Boudiaf aims to raise the consciousness of Algerians people to put aside all differences and construct one single nation. He wants to use these differences as a way to unite the people not to divide them.

After independence, Nationalism in Algeria, according to Boudiaf means the non intervention of foreign countries in domestic affairs. So, he is completely against the foreign intervention in the domestic affairs of Algeria, especially in politics and economics. For him, Algeria must build itself without relying on other countries. In this context, he highlights an essential point, which is the nationalization of petroleum, which can be a factor in the development of national economy and industrial resuscitation in Algeria as well as the elimination of all the problem of unemployment .Therefore, Boudiaf searches to unify all what is Algerian in order to realize Nationalism, which is based on egalitarian society, brotherhood between people and complete sovereignty, preserving the components of the state, like language and religion. Boudiaf is against the division of land between Arabs and Amazigh. In this context, the French historian Benjamin Stora claims, “Underlining the significant role of Islamic as unifying tool, Algeria was pluralistic and culturally and linguistic devise”²¹. In other words, the Algerians should use their cultural and linguistic richness as a tool to unify their country.

Conclusion

Boudiaf writes his book *Où Va L’Algerie?* in order to give us an overview about the Algerian situation after its independence from the French colonizer. He wants also to calm down the Algerian suffering by breaking out their difficulties though presenting a Socialist program, which touches all aspects of development: political, economic and social. Boudiaf

represents the future of Algeria by suggesting his socialist plan, which aims to bring a radical change to the Algerian situation and to fight against politico-finance and ideological fundamentalism.

We can say that the president Mohamed Boudiaf has done a lot for his country, as he fought for its liberation from weakness and led it towards freedom. After independence, he fought for the sake of establishing a democratic state of understanding and coexistence, to advance to the ranks of developed countries. He wrote a lot and had an opinion, which he cited in his book entitled *where is Algeria heading?* About how to build and run Algeria. But, what we should know is that his aim was to enhance Algeria and its love.

It is important to say that the president Mohamed Boudiaf had thought of an Algeria, where the Tamazight, Arab and Islam must not be exploited to divide the Algerians, but to strengthen the union in diversity. He was against any internal or external factor that might affect the safety and comfort of the country, and he believes in Nationalism as the means to realize true independence. The Algerians were disappointed by the assassination of Mohamed Boudiaf in 1992, because along his short reign, he attempted to take up the challenge against the politico-economic atrocious problems by sitting up a socialist development system as a solution, and taking out Algeria from its miserable state.

Endnotes

¹Guerfi Azeddine and Chaib Aïssa Khaled, *Boudiaf L'Homme Des Ruptures* (Batna Chihab press, 1992), 69.

²Boudiaf Mohamed, *Où va L'Algérie* (Paris : librairie de l'Étoile 73, rue Buffon, Paris, 1964), 154.

³Ibid, 178.

⁴Ibid, 182.

⁵Tayer Wtkins, "The Economy and Economic History of Algeria"(USA:San José University :departement of English <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/Watkins/Algeria.htm>

⁶ Boudiaf Mohamed, *Où va L'Algérie* (Paris : librairie de l'Étoile, 1964), 183.

⁷Tayer Wtkins, "The Economy and Economic History of Algeria"(USA:San José University. Departement of English. <http://www.sjsu.edu/faculty/Watkins/Algeria.htm>

⁸Guerfi Azeddine and Chaib Aïssa Khaled, *Boudiaf L'Homme Des Rupture* (Batna: A. Guerfi press, 1992), 394.

⁹Ibid., 253.

¹⁰ Boudiaf Mohamed, *Où va L'Algérie* (Paris : librairie de l'Étoile, 1964) , 167.

¹¹ Guerfi Azzdine and Chaiba Aïssa Khaled (:A. Guerfi Batna press, 1992), 395.

¹²Boudiaf Mohamed, *Où va l'Algérie* (Paris : librairie de l'Étoile, 1964) , 5

¹³Unknow author, *Guide Fiscal de l'Artisan Traditionnel* (Alger, 2015) , 1.

¹⁴ Boudiaf Mohamed, *Où va l'Algérie* (Paris : librairie de l'Étoile, 1964), 37.

¹⁵Branine Mohamed, “Algeria’s employments policies and practice: an overview”(International Journal of Employment Studies, 2002, Vol. 10 No 1, pp 133-152).

¹⁶Ibid, 412.

¹⁷ Boudiaf Mohamed, *Où va l’Algérie*, (Paris : librairie de l’Étoile, 1964) ,186.

¹⁸Ibid, 187.

¹⁹Hennie Strydom, *The Non-Aligned Movement and Reform of International Relations*(printed Netberlands, 2007), 1.

²⁰Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove press, 1963), 161.

²¹Benjamin Stora, *Algeria 1830-2000: A Short History*, Jane Marie Todd. Review by Rym Seferdjeli “The Journal of African History”, (Cambridge University Press Vol. 45, No. 3 (2004), pp. 521-523, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4100775>

IV. Conclusion

The analysis of the two books (historical documents), *Africa must Unit* (1963) and *Où Va L'Algerie?*(1964) leads to the conclusion that both the Algerian leader Mohamed Boudiaf and the Ghanaian president Kwame Nkrumah have adopted Scientific Socialism as the solution to treat the problems of their countries after their independence from the European colonizers. Our study has revealed that the two leaders in their books have revealed a socialist plan, based on economic development, which includes the agricultural and industrial sectors, and highlighted the important role of trade unionism in reaching this development. In addition, their Socialism is also based on the political development that consists of getting true independence. However, they viewed the political development from different perspectives. The Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah, through his Socialist plan wants to realize the unification of all the African countries under one political system, which is known as Pan-Africanism. The Algerian leader Mohamed Boudiaf, on the other hand, dreamed to unify and develop Algeria under Nationalism. Unfortunately, both leaders were unable to achieve their goals, given the circumstances of their country.

From our analysis of the two works, we have proved that they did not adapt African Socialism in the same way. As James McCain explained in his article entitled: *Perceptions of Socialism in Post-Socialist Ghana: an Experimental Analysis*, for him, the Africans are anti-colonial, and Socialism coincides with the Africans' environment and their traditional way of living. Then, Socialism was the solution to calm down the wounds left behind by the colonizer. So, Kwame Nkrumah and Mohamed Boudiaf are different in the adaptation of Socialism, they have the same goals, which are the achievement of development in their countries and the realization of complete sovereignty.

Kwame Nkrumah may be described as a purist, who subscribed to the principles of Socialism in their purist form. It has been said that Kwame Nkrumah was a product of the Pan-Africanist school of thought. He described Ghana's Socialism by using the Marxist view that: Scientific Socialism is based on implementation, observation and experimentation usually determined by the circumstances that characterize each country. In order to achieve his socialist goals, he launched a seven year economic plan, in which, he calls to collectivize agriculture. The essential features of his political thought, including true independence and an undivided Africa can be realized at a continental level. His plan has many objectives, among which we can cite: Overall continental planning, a unified land, sea, air, army and a common foreign policy.

Mohamed Boudiaf also believes in Scientific Socialism as the right system for the Algerian's development after independence, and he is associated with the Marxist principles as a means to fight against economic dependency and classes in the society. He is looking for unity, democracy, equality and peace at national level. Overall, through our analysis of the two books we have come to realize that Scientific Socialism is pictured in a positive perspective by the two African leaders especially in the post independence period.

We invite other students to undertake other pieces of research on both books among other interesting topics, we suggest discussing other issues. There are other works of the two respected authors which are very interesting.

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