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The Red Star State: State-Capitalism, Socialism, and Black Internationalism in Ghana, 1957-1966

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The Red Star State:

State-Capitalism, Socialism, and Black Internationalism in Ghana, 1957-1966

A dissertation submitted in partial

satisfaction of the requirements for the

degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

Kwadwo Osei-Opare

The Red Star State:

State-Capitalism, Socialism, and Black Internationalism in Ghana,

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Doctor of Philosophy in

History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Andrew Apter, Chair

The Red Star State charts a new history of global capitalism and socialism in relation to Ghana and Ghana's first postcolonial leader, Kwame Nkrumah. By tracing how Soviet connections shaped Ghana's post-colonial economic ideologies, its Pan-African program, and its modalities of citizenship, this dissertation contradicts literature that portrays African leaders as misguided political-economic theorists, ideologically inconsistent, or ignorant Marxist-Leninists. Rather, I argue that Nkrumah and Ghana's postcolonial government actively formed new political economic ideologies by drawing from Lenin's state-capitalist framework and the Soviet Economic Policy (NEP) to reconcile capitalist policies under a decolonial socialist umbrella. Moreover, I investigate how ordinary Africans—the working poor, party members, local and cabinet-level government officials, economic planners, and the informal sector—grappled with

and reshaped the state's role and duty to its citizens, conceptions of race, Ghana's place within the Cold War, state-capitalism, and the functions of state-corporations. Consequently, *The Red Star State* attends both to the intricacies of local politics while tracing how global ideas and conceptions of socialism, citizenship, governmentality, capitalism, and decolonization impacted the first independent sub-Saharan African state. The dissertation remaps and reimagines the global circuits of Africans, the African diaspora, and nationalism, and merges the intellectual and geographic circuits of Paul Gilroy's "black Atlantic" and Maxim Matusevich's "Africa and the Iron Curtain" and illustrates how they transformed each other. The dissertation draws on two to three years of English and Russian archival research in multiple sites and sources in Ghana, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

The dissertation of Kwadwo Osei-Opare is approved.

Robin D.G. Kelley

Stephan F. Miescher

William H. Worger

Andrew Apter, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019

To my family

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I dedicate my dissertation to all the people who came before me and suffered, toiled, and died to allow me to write this. It was the multitude of struggles of people in colonial Ghana, apartheid-South Africa, and America that has allowed me to sit here now on a train from Samara, Russia, to Kazan, Russia, to write this acknowledgment section and to ultimately write this dissertation.

When I wrote my undergraduate senior honor's thesis, which was where I started to make connections between Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana, Patrice Lumumba, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Vladimir Lenin, and the Soviet Union, I never got the opportunity to thank Robert Crews, Carol F. McKibben, and Sean Hanretta for their support in shaping the questions that I asked and the research that I did. They profoundly molded my intellectual interests and helped me get through college and into graduate school. I remember running into Crews' office as a senior and notifying him that Nkrumah's works and ideas sounded similarly to Lenin's New Economic Policy (NEP). After respectfully hearing me out, he proceeded to ask me a few questions, which had me convinced that he saw the connections as well! While Crews might not remember or know this, my first year at Stanford was very challenging. During the fall quarter of my second year, I had enrolled in his Russian Empire class and had turned in a writing assignment. Sometime afterward, he walked downstairs in the History department, bumped into and recognized me, and told me that we had "a writer on our hands." After undergoing writing struggles during my first year of college, those words provided me with an entirely renewed sense of confidence and belief that I did belong at Stanford. For the last 11 years, he has been a constant mentor, and I am genuinely grateful to him for the amount of time he has generously expended on me. Hanretta was also instrumental in helping me select which African history

graduate schools to apply to and how to navigate the graduate experience. I am thankful to him for taking me under his wing late in my undergraduate career.

I am deeply indebted to thank Laura Hubbard, John Pearson, Chad McClymonds, Nancy McClymonds, and Karen Fung for their constant support, friendship, and intellectual and sporting encouragement and companionship over the years. They supported me as an undergraduate student, in-between graduate school and college, and have continued to aid me in multiple ways during my tenure at UCLA. I hope that they know that their consistent support and friendship has helped me overcome and learn so much during the last decade. They have always made Stanford a home away from home. I am genuinely grateful for that.

The research and writing experience can be a very lonely affair. However, throughout my extended stays in Ghana, England, and Russia, I have met and was re-acquainted with some great people and scholars such as Robert Kabera, Alina Lapushkina, Ahmed Hammady, Kamila Kociałkowska, Mariam Goshadze, Alessandro Iandolo, Oscar Sanchez-Sibony, Gabby Cornish, Janice Levi, Sergey Mazov, Hilary Lynd, Rebecca Johnston, Elisa Prosperetti, Brandon Schechter, Tony Wood, Emily Elliot, Claire Thornton, Kat Hill Reischl, Osei Boakye, Merel van't Wout, Mike Loader, Joy Neumeyer, Andrei Tcacenco, Thom Loyd, and Nick Levy. They have all in their unique ways made the dissertation, research, and writing process a less lonely and far more enjoyable experience. Some of them introduced me to archival holdings, books, insights, and aided my access to differing archives, which in their totality have played a vital role in the writing of this dissertation, while others have also pushed me to visit sites and places that I would not have done by myself.

I want to thank Denis Kolesnikov, Alina Lapushkina, Ann Kolesnikova, and Victor Kurilov dearly for opening their homes and families to me during my stay in Russia. In unique

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I would also like to thank the Russian archivists at the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI), the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), and the Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE), who took the time out of their day and had the patience to sit with me and go through their bureaucratic structures and catalogs. I know that it is not part of your job, but, you did it, and I am eternally grateful to you all for that. I would also like to give a special thank you to Sergey Vasilyevich Pavlov and Natalia Vladimirovna at the Russian Foreign Ministry Archives (AVP RF). You were both consistently generous and helpful to me. You both made me smile and laugh at the archive and

even brought me newspaper clippings about things related to Africa in the Russian newspapers; this deeply touched me. I want to also thank the archivists at the British National Archives (KEW) and the British Library for their help and friendliness during my time there. Their efficiency and professionalism know no limits. I would also like to thank the archivists at the George Padmore library in Accra, Howard University's Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Hoover Institute, and Columbia University's special collections for their incredible help. All of you have made my research that much more vibrant and accessible.

I have also had some fantastic colleagues and friends—Sheila Breeding, Temesgen Gebreyesus, Sanyu Mulira, and Claire Pfitzinger—at UCLA's African Studies Center. You all have been instrumental in aiding this project and me intellectually and emotionally. From the numerous conversations and events planned, you have all always been so, so supportive and generous with your time and joy. You have allowed me to spend hours at the African Studies Center talking about a wide range of topics. I am truly grateful for having met and known you all. To the once history department staff and my friends—Hadley Porter, Eboni Shaw, Kamarin Takahara, Cristina Ferreira, and Deborah Dauda—you have all ensured that I never once had a bad bureaucratic experience. Thank you for being the pillars that have made the department work so smoothly over the years. All of you have also allowed me to come and sit in your offices and just talk about life. These conversations kept me sane and on-track. I am sad that none of you are there anymore.

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I am one of the few blessed and fortunate people to be able to write this dissertation with the knowledge that a tenure-track position at a wonderful institution and city awaits me. I am very thankful to Muriel McClendon and Katherine Marino particularly for their inciteful insights, interest in my personal, professional, and academic success, and their help along the way. They both examined my job application materials, provided me with timely and instructive job interview and on-campus job visit support and advice, and even spoke to me the day before my campus visits to give me encouragement and guidance to ease my butterflies.

I would also like to thank my Russian language instructors, particularly Petia Alexieva. You continued to believe in me even when I did not. My continued difficulties in the Russian language are entirely of my own inadequacies in-spite of your tireless efforts and instructions. I would also like to thank Ghislaine Lydon for nominating me for awards, reviewing my book review essays, letting me use her office when she was away, and for offering me strong words of encouragement and praise throughout my time. If I had as much faith in myself as Lydon has had in me, there could be no task or obstacle too much to overcome. I would also like to express my gratitude to Vinay Lal, Jemima Pierre, and J. Arch Getty for their intellectual support and examination help during my time at UCLA.

Each of my dissertation committee members—Andrew Apter (chair), Robin D.G. Kelley, Stephan Miescher, and William H. Worger—has provided me with tremendous help and support throughout my time at UCLA. My advisor Andrew Apter has been a constant source of support and has been an incredible source of intriguing and useful ideas. He has consistently pushed me

to think not just about telling new stories, but about how those new histories and sources develop upon or break current theoretical and methodological paradigms. He has heard every idea that I have had, whether crazy or sane, and never dismissed them. For instance, during my first or second year, I told him that I was contemplating writing two separate dissertations! He merely smiled at my outrageous idea and gently said that I should put all my eggs in one basket! At this juncture, I am even struggling to finish one dissertation!! Nonetheless, Apter has read all of my work and has consistently provided me with constructive feedback throughout my time at UCLA. William Worger has been in constant contact with me throughout my graduate career. Like Lydon, Worger also generously let me use his office on occasions to write parts of my dissertation. Worger has always asked me to think about how I could write different histories and use alternative sources. He has always constantly reminded me to read footnotes (first), to never neglect the sources and archives, and to think about how history can impact today's discourses on decolonization and the world we live in. He also introduced me to another intellectual world in South Africa. I hope you enjoy your retirement—you deserve it.

I would also like to give my gratitude to Robin D.G. Kelley. Kelley has inspired me to think about black and African history globally, to contemplate the intellectual and global circuits black people crisscrossed and simultaneously embodied and continue to represent. However, I am most inspired by Kelley's dedication to undergraduate and graduate students, to non-academic intellectual circles, and the intersection between mentorship, activism, teaching, and scholarship. He has always provided me with substantial post-course, chapter, and dissertation draft feedback. I have always wondered how or when he sleeps; I am convinced that he does not sleep! Stephan F. Miescher has shown me that one can be an excellent academic and person. He has always opened both his home and intellectual musings and insights with me. He has

continued to alert me to new opportunities and relevant materials. Perhaps one day I will muster the courage to call to them by their first names! If I can achieve half of the things my committee has done over their careers, then I would undoubtedly have done all right for myself in academia.

I can only glimpse from afar the immense struggles and sacrifices my mum has made throughout my life, and before I existed to allow me to complete this dissertation. From our time in Mampong, Ghana, to Transkei, Apartheid South Africa, to Mpumalanga, to Pretoria, South Africa, to North America, you have always prayed over us, watched over us, and suffered for us. I am eternally grateful to you for that. I will not get into any of the details here, but, if I can provide my children with the same opportunities and undergo the same hardships to give them something to cling on to in life, then I would have done you proud. Mummy, I hope that you are proud of what I have produced and done so far. I would also like to thank my father for pushing me to continuously use my critical thinking skills, to fight, and not to depend on anyone. I would love to thank my two brothers—Kofi and Junior Osei-Opare for their continued support and strength. We have all come along together, and your success is my success, and I hope you feel that my success is yours as well. I could not have done this without both your humor, sincere friendship, steadfast love, and encouragement. One could not wish for or have any better brothers in the world than I currently have.

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For those whom I have forgotten, I am deeply sorry. I know that it takes a village (in my case several cities, countries, and institutions) to raise a child, and I am very grateful for everyone's assistance throughout my career.

VITA

EDUCATION
C.Phil in History, UCLA, 2016

M.A. in History, Stanford University, 2011
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SELECTED GRANTS & ACADEMIC AWARDS

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2016	International Institute Dissertation Fieldwork Fellowship, UCLA
2015	Laura Kinsey Prize for Teaching Excellence, Department of History, UCLA
2015	Charles E. & Sue K. Young Award UCLA
2014 & 2015	Graduate Summer Research Mentorship, UCLA
2014	Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (Russian)
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2013	African Studies Leadership Award, Stanford University
2011	James Birdsall Weter Prize for Outstanding Undergraduate Thesis, Stanford
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2010	Undergraduate & Research Major Grant Recipient, Stanford University
2010	Best Black Voluntary Student Organization Award, Stanford University
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Accepted: "Uneasy Comrades: Postcolonial Statecraft, Race, and Citizenship, Ghana-Soviet Relations, 1957-1966," *Journal of West African History*.

"Terrorism and Racism, Twin Sisters?" *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, Volume 39, Issue 1, January 2016, 33-40.

"Communism and the Tutelage of African Agency: Revisiting Mandela's Communist Ties," *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, Volume 38, Issue 1, December 2014, 69-90.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Book Review, Steven Friedman, *Race, Class, and Power: Harold Wolpe and the Radical Critique of Apartheid* in *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 16, Issue 3-4. January 2017, 193-195.

Book Review, Barry Gilder, *Songs & Secrets: South Africa from Liberation to Governance, Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 38, Issue 1, December 2014, 289-291.

"Securing Ghanaian Economic and Energy Independence and Prosperity," *The African Collective*, June 19, 2014.

"Term-Limits for Winners and Losers: Constitutional Democracy & Republicanism," *The African Collective*, April 21, 2014.

Book Review, Carmela Garritano, *African Video Movies and Global Desires: A Ghanaian History*, *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 14, Issue 3, March 2014, 128-129.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor	University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA)
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Chair/Panelist, "A Diplomatic Rendezvous: Ghanaian and Soviet Relations, 1957-1966," African Studies Association 60th Annual Meeting, Chicago, U.S.A., November 15-19, 2017.

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Panelist, "Ghana-Soviet Paradigms, 1957-1966," Africa and the Soviet Union: Technology, Ideology, and Culture Workshop, New York University, October 13, 2017.

Presenter, "The Emergence of NEP Ideology in Ghana: A Case Study of the Ghana Cocoa Processing Company," Department of African Studies, University of Vienna, Vienna, Austria, November 6, 2014.

Presenter, "Reviewing Nkrumah's Ideological Attainment of Socialism: The Emergence of NEP Ideology in Ghana," Russian Academy of Sciences Institute for African Studies 13th International Conference, Moscow, Russia, May 29, 2014.

INTRODUCTION:
SUBJECTIVITY AND POSITIONALITY IN HISTORICAL WRITING

"To take part in the African revolution, it is not enough to write a revolutionary song; you must fashion the revolution with the people. And if you fashion it with the people, the songs will come by themselves and of themselves. In order to achieve real action you must yourself be a living part of Africa and of her thought; you must be an element of that popular new energy which is entirely called for the freeing, the progress and the happiness of Africa. There is no place outside that fight for the artist or for the intellectual who is not himself concerned with, and completely at one with the people in the great battle of Africa and of suffering humanity."[1]
Steve Biko

In a quiet garden compound in Accra, three statues—Karl Marx, Frederic Engels, and Vladimir Lenin—stood solemnly in front of the house of the late Kwame Sanaa-Poku Jantuah. In 2010, I encountered these statues while interviewing Jantuah, who was the youngest member of the first all-African cabinet under Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana's first head of state. At the time, my research questions were focused on the role of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in deposing Nkrumah, and the significance of these three statues in Jantuah's intellectual heritage and how they fit into the larger narrative of Ghana's history escaped me. Yet as the years passed, the memory of the statues of Marx, Engels, and Lenin standing quietly yet firmly in an Accra housing compound continued to haunt and revisit me.

These three statues prompted me to think about Ghana's intellectual, economic, and political genealogies and the impact those figures had on the Ghanaian state. It precipitated a shift in my thinking to consider how global time and space collapsed through and in historical figures. The three statutes both revealed and masked a series of interrelated relationships and

[1] Steve Biko, *I Write What I like, Selected Writings* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 32.

histories that connect continents, centuries, and political ideologies. The underlying motive of this dissertation has been to prove that one cannot understand Ghana during the Nkrumah years, 1957-1966, without looking at transnational intellectual and ideological connections to the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States, and across the African continent.

Political theorist Achille Mbembe has argued that African history is "rooted in a multiplicity of times, trajectories, and rationalities." For Mbembe, the "local . . . cannot be conceptualized outside a world that is, so to speak, globalized."[2] Similarly, historian Monique A. Bedasse has argued that scholars must write multi-sited histories of post-independence Africa in order to incorporate and transcend conventional archives and collapse national boundaries.[3] Subscribing both to the idea and methodological framework that African and world history are intertwined and that Ghanaian history is linked to global history, the dissertation has taken me to multiple continents and countries to knit together the transnational history of Africa's first independent sub-Saharan black state.

People from across the globe and across the political spectrums who lived during Ghana's first years from the 1950s to the 1970s shared similar views about both the interconnectedness of Ghana's story with global history, the history of global capitalism and socialism, and Ghana's symbolic significance to global black liberation. Shortly after the coup that removed Nkrumah on February 24, 1966, Soviet writer V. Kudriavtsev argued that "the fate of Ghana [wa]s closely linked with the fate of the entire African continent."[4] In 1972, the African

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[2] Achille Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Los Angeles, CA: The University of California Press, 2001), 9.

[3] Monique A. Bedasse, *Jah Kingdom: Rastafarians, Tanzania, and Pan-Africanism in the Age of Decolonization* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 3.

American Marxist James Boggs, on the other side of the globe, reminded the then exiled Nkrumah in Guinea-Conakry in a letter that it "was because of Ghana and what was attempted in Ghana that today we have any reference point for what Africans might have done, could have done, still can struggle to do. Ghana independence remains the point of origin for evaluating the rest of Africa, where they stand on the question of African unity, on continuing subservience to imperialism, on support for capitalism while they speak of socialism."[5] Ghana's very existence simultaneously breaks and consolidates the intellectual and methodological boundaries of the nation-state, nationalism, the Cold War, globalism, blackness, and the diaspora. Moreover, Ghana is not just a global story, but an intimately local one as well that must also simultaneously account for the local dynamics at play within Ghana's national borders. To investigate the complexities of the Ghanaian state domestically one has to simultaneously move past an Accra dominated narrative as Benjamin Talton, Jeffrey Ahlman, and Bianca Murillo have done and to examine Ghana's regional archives.[6] Furthermore, one cannot simply explore African archives to understand Ghana. One needs to investigate non-African archives as Jean Allman and Naaborko Sackeyfio-Lenoch have done to construct the Ghanaian, the African, and the global story that is

[4] Cited in Charles B. McLane, "Soviet Doctrine and the Military Coups in Africa," *International Journal*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Summer, 1966), 307.

[5] Howard University Moorland-Spingarn Research Center (MSRC), Box 154-2, January 31, 1972, James Boggs to Kwame Nkrumah.

[6] Benjamin Talton, *Politics of Social Change in Ghana: The Konkomba Struggle for Political Equality* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan Press, 2010); Jeffrey Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2017); Bianca Murillo, *Market Encounters: Consumer Cultures in Twentieth-century Ghana* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2017);

Nkrumah's Ghana.[7] In this sense, *The Red Star State* is at once both intimately local and internationally oriented.

The very process of creating the first independent postcolonial sub-Saharan African nation-state from the clutches of colonialism was a revolutionary endeavor. It was an act of nationally manufacturing a new society and internationally participating in the formation of a new world order against whiteness, white racial imperialism, and white financial monopoly. By necessity, these were dreams of absolute grandeur. Political theorists and social scientists have spent countless pages wondering whether or not these figures from the decolonization generation succeeded in this endeavor. The current state of the world—the vast differential in economic, social, military, and political relations of power between western and African nations—suggests that these figures who once graced the earth ultimately failed to achieve their goal. However, they took historic and significant steps towards breaking the old-world order. Nonetheless, I move past Nkrumah as the sole revolutionary. To think of Nkrumah as Ghana and Ghana as Nkrumah is to miss so much of the story of twentieth century black and African liberation, struggle, and redemption. Indeed, *The Red Star State* is littered with African revolutionaries—the workers, clerks, civil servants, party members, teachers, amongst others—in the West and East who navigated and shaped a new world order.

While *The Red Star State* is first and foremost a project on Ghanaian and African history, it questions these very two categories. The physical borders of Ghana and Africa are far too

[7] Jean Allman, "Phantoms of the Archive: Kwame Nkrumah, a Nazi Pilot Named Hanna, and the Contingencies of Postcolonial History-Writing," *The American Historical Review*, Volume 118, Issue 1 (February 2013), 104–129; Naaborko Sackeyfio-Lenoch, "The Ghana Trades Union Congress and the Politics of International Labor Alliances, 1957–1971," *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 62. Issue 2 (August 2017), 191-213.

narrow to contain the mobility of Ghana's first leaders, the people who would constitute the Ghanaian state, and the political and economic ideas that seeped through them. While falling into these categories, this study is not only an African, a black, or a Soviet history or story. Neither is it a critique of Soviet foreign policy failures or the Soviet state's ability to achieve a nonracist society that their founders hoped to achieve. Instead, *The Red Star State* is a broader story of how people tried to understand decolonization, postcolonialism, racism, capitalism, socialism, and internationalism; this history occurred at a particular juncture and place, and "could make sense in many places—perhaps too many."[8]

FIELDWORK & THE ARCHIVE

I conducted archival research in Ghana, the United States, Russia, and the United Kingdom between June 2016 and March 2019. During this period, each country went through a series of political and economic crises, some of which were inter-connected. On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union largely driven by the white population's concerns over the racial make-up of migrants entering its borders and a desire to regain control over their borders from Brussels.[9] Across the pond, supported by the Russian government,[10] the then American presidential candidate Donald J. Trump ran an election campaign whose unifying theme and logic were the demonization of nonwhite peoples residing in the United States. While

[8] Gregory Mann, *Native Sons: West African Veterans and France in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 4.

[9] Anushka Asthana, Ben Quinn and Rowena Mason, "UK votes to leave EU after dramatic night divides nation," *The Guardian*, June 24, 2016.

[10] "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections: - January 6, 2017," *Washington Post*, January 6, 2017.

Trump's presidency has been characterized as absurdly chaotic, his administration has furthered a coherent set of anti-black and anti-brown policies and statements, instigating a precipitous rise in white supremacy and white terrorism.[11] Indeed, the American president has often failed to condemn white terrorism within America's borders and referred to black majority countries as "'shithole countries.'"[12] Moreover, the United States' government enacted a ban of people from majority Muslim countries from entering the United States,[13] ceased federal oversight and accountability into systematic racism and violence against minorities in police departments across the United States,[14] and enacted a policy of separating nonwhite migrant children and babies from their parents.[15] Over the last century, America's visa and immigration laws reflect the state's desire to limit the numbers of black and brown people entering its borders.[16] Across the former colonies and white empires, the rapid rise of right-wing anti-nonwhite immigration

[11] Brian Levin, "Why White Supremacist Attacks Are on the Rise, Even in Surprising Places," *Time,* March 21, 2019.

[12] Ibram X. Kendi, "The Day 'Shithole' Entered the Presidential Lexicon," *The Atlantic*, January 13, 2019.

[13] Stuart Anderson, "Muslim Travel Ban: Less Immigration and Few Waivers," *Forbes,* March 11, 2019.

[14] Taylor Pendergrass, "As Jeff Sessions Guts Federal Oversight of Policing, It Opens the Door for Long-Needed Local Oversight," ACLU, September 28, 2017; Eric Lichtblau, "Sessions Indicates Justice Department Will Stop Monitoring Troubled Police Agencies," *New York Times*, February 28, 2017.

[15] Tessa Stuart, "Trump's Family Separation Policy Was Exponentially Worse Than Previously Known," *Rolling Stone*, January 17, 2019.

[16] Kelly Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771-1965* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017)**;** Kelly Lytle Hernández, *Migra! A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Los Angeles, CA: The University of California Press, 2010).

groups and ideas have been consistent over the last three years . While the American liberal establishment has pinned these acts on Trump, these incidents reflect a much deeper rot in American society that traces its roots to the very genesis of the country. Nonwhite peoples have pushed against these policies. The rise of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in response to state-sanctioned killings of black Americans has attempted to highlight the problems and concerns faced by America's black population. We have also seen activists, largely immigrants and the children of immigrants, in the United States calling for the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) to be abolished.[17] Thus far, these attempts have not structurally changed America's policing system.

Concurrently, the American and Russian governments have seemingly returned to the 'Cold' War era. Both empires have suspended consulates in the other's country,[18] the United States has withdrawn from the nuclear arms treaty with Russia,[19] and the American press, with MSNBC's news host Rachel Maddow—boasting high ratings—as its chief architect, has spurred almost daily anti-Russian news coverage. Moreover, the U.S. government has sanctioned Russia[20] and sections of the American media have conflated or dismissed the concerns of the

[17] Ron Nixon and Linda Qiu, "What Is ICE and Why Do Critics Want to Abolish It?," *The New York Times*, July 3, 2018.

[18] Anna Rice, "Dueling US-Russia Consulate Closures Leave Ordinary Citizens Feeling the Pain," *Voice of America*, April 2, 2018.

[19] Deirdre Shesgreen, "Trump Administration Withdraws from Nuclear Weapons Treaty, Accuses Russia of Violations," *USA Today*, February 1, 2019.

[20] United States Department of State, "Ukraine and Russia Sanctions;" Cyrus Newlin and Jeffrey Mankoff, "U.S. Sanctions against Russia: What You Need to Know," *Center for Strategic & International Studies*, October 31, 2018.

BLM movement to Russian attempts to foster 'divisions' within America.[21] Such enveloping of civil and human rights into American Cold War-esque foreign policy concerns, of course, has a much deeper, nastier, history in twentieth-century America.[22]

In Ghana, John Dramani Mahama's presidency resulted in both a sharply depreciating Ghanaian cedi and stagnating economy.[23] Ghana's energy woes deepened. Power outages, *dumsor-dumsor* (lights off-lights on), permeated daily life, collapsing numerous small businesses.[24] Indeed, during some days at the Ghanaian archives, there would be no power in the buildings. Rumors circulated in private and public about systematic corruption—an illicit shadow economy—bringing wealth to Mahama, his family, and his party comrades. Gold bars from Ghana were discovered on planes in Turkey[25] and the Ghanaian government transported millions of unaccounted U.S. dollars to the Ghanaian national soccer team in Brazil.[26] Young people with ties to the National Democratic Congress—Mahama's party—suddenly drove

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[21] Jason Parham, "Targeting Black Americans, Russia's IRA Exploited Racial Wounds," *Wired*, December 17, 2018.

[22] Lawrence J. Oliver, "Writing from the Right during the 'Red Decade': Thomas Dixon's Attack on W. E. B. Du Bois and James Weldon Johnson in The Flaming Sword," *American Literature* Vol. 70, No. 1 (1998), 131-52.

[23] Nana Osei-Opare, "'Mahama-OO!' President John Mahama's Woes," *The African Collective*, August 25, 2014; Javier Blas, "Ghana Seeks IMF Help After Currency Falls 40%," *Financial Times*, August 3, 2014.

[24] Nana Osei-Opare, "Securing Ghanaian Economic and Energy Independence and Prosperity," *The African Collective*, June 19, 2014

[25] Dexter Filkins, "A Mysterious Case Involving Turkey, Iran, and Rudy Giuliani," *The New Yorker*, April 14, 2017.

[26] Laura Lorenzetti, "Ghana Charters a Plane Full of Cash for its World Cup Players," *Fortune*, June 25, 2014.

around Accra's bustling streets in fancy, luxurious vehicles and new houses quickly percolated throughout the metropolis. While looting the nation's coffers, Mahama was bringing rapid economic-social mobility to his followers. Literally and figuratively, 'ghosts' within Ghana's civil service consumed GH₵433million (US $84,855,010.00) annually.[27] In telling the story of the 'corruption' and 'looting' run amok during Mahama's presidency, many Ghanaians have argued that things were not this bad in the old days, during the Nkrumah years. However, the archival records seriously contradict the nostalgia and amnesia surrounding corruption and looting during the Nkrumah era. State money was also chopped during that era—and one of the most stinging criticisms of Nkrumah and his associates at that time was that they misused and, in some cases, stole state funds. During the 2016 Ghanaian presidential election, the opposition party, the New Patriotic Party (NPP), promised a factory in every Ghanaian district in order to bring economic development and to win the national election. Whichever side one falls on regarding the effectiveness and feasibility of the policy, the 1-District 1-Factory initiative seems to be an echo of older state-capitalist ideas.

It is within this climate that I conducted my research on Ghana-Soviet relations. My racial characteristics became salient political hot potatoes, and I feared that the increased scrutiny of U.S.-Russia relations, particularly its negative character, would have a detrimental impact on my research—both in my travel and source procurement.[28] Thus, the recent explicit rise of white supremacy in the Global North has shaped how I thought about writing this history and of my

[27] Anonymous, "Ghost Names in Payroll Cost Ghana GHC433m Yearly," *News Ghana* May 2, 2017; Anonymous. "Removal of 26,589 ghost names has saved Ghana GHC443m – Akufo-Addo," *MyJoyOnline*, May 1, 2017.

[28] I kept wondering if I was a political liability and for whom?

existence in academia. Frantz Fanon argued that a black person's awareness of themselves is heightened in the triple in white spaces.[29] In meeting fellow black travelers to Russia, there was an acknowledgment of our skin color, our blackness in this white hegemonic land. Often, we bonded over racist experiences. One person lamented being spat upon by a stranger in public while working, another discussed people walking up to him to inquire whether he took showers or brushed his teeth, and others discussed people asking for selfies. I reflected upon the time a group of children walked by me as I was purchasing food and called me a "N----r." My encounter reminded me of the African American intellectual James Baldwin's experience in a small village in Switzerland. James Baldwin wrote: ". . . . I remain as much a stranger today as I was the first day I arrived, and the children shout *Neger*! *Neger*! as I walk along the streets . . .. The children who shout *Neger*! have no way of knowing the echoes this sound raises in me."[30] These experiences, spanning generations, connected us not only to each other but to other blacks who had come before. These personal incidents helped me connect archival dots that traced racial incidents across Ghanaian and other black lives in both the capitalist and socialist blocs.

Accounting historians Richard K. Fleischman and Thomas N. Tyson noted that a historian's personal subjectivity is key to "the selection of those events and developments to chronicle."[31] Historian Susan Crane defined historical subjectivity as an individual scholar's "connection to, and distance from, the past." Furthermore, for Crane, a historian's subjectivity is

[29] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 2008), 92.

[30] James Baldwin, "Stranger in the Village," *Harper's Magazine*, October 1953.

[31] Richard K. Fleischman and Thomas N. Tyson, "Archival Researchers: An Endangered Species?" *The Accounting Historians Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (December 1997), 97.

expressed through their own "historical consciousness,"[32] which is seen through their "choice of topic" and the "evidence" they select to articulate their point.[33] Consequently, "[s]ubjectivity and objectivity are related, not opposed."[34] James Baldwin concluded that "People are trapped in history and history is trapped in them." As I wrote this dissertation, the histories of particular peoples, at particular times, were and are trapped within me. In one sense, Fanon was right—black people are "slave(s) to the past."[35] In passing through the world as a black man, as someone whose first life memories were in apartheid South Africa, whose formative years were post-apartheid South Africa and the crumbling American city of Newark, New Jersey, and who became an adult in the eras of George W. Bush, Barack Obama, and Donald J. Trump, my relationship to the archive, to history, to the sources is quite different. As Andrew Apter writes, "I mention these autobiographical beginnings in order to frame a historical project within an attenuated ethnographic present."[36] Our relationship to our own histories shapes the types of paradigms and connections we historians make. Thus, in examining my sources, in living my daily life primarily in Russia during the process of writing this history, I was particularly drawn

[32] Susan Crane, "Historical Subjectivity: A Review Essay," *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 78, No. 2 (June 2006), 434-5.

[33] Ibid., 434.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Fanon, *Black Skin,*200.

[36] Andrew Apter, *The Pan-African Nation: Oil and the Spectacle of Culture in Nigeria* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 3; Thus, the mundane act of seeking to conduct historical research, to leave the apartment, to traverse and negotiate the journey to and from the archive was a psychological ordeal; it was to be vulnerable. I forewent some forms of public transportation to avoid situations of intense staring. In public, I braced myself for what interaction might arise—would someone walk up to me and call me a "n----r," again—thinking it was 'cool' or to insult me deliberately, or would they ask for a "selfie"?

to the racial dynamics at play in the USSR. Although we were decades apart, I instantly noted the similarities between what I faced with other blacks in the Soviet Union in the 1960s. I can only imagine that people in the 1960s also compared their experiences with those in the 1910s and 1920s. These stories and frameworks provided me with a tool to fundamentally question the hegemonic Cold War framework in relation to African states and officials, which I address in chapter 2. The totality of these moments has significantly impacted my relationship to this project, to the archive, and to history. It has influenced, in overt and subtle ways, what historical 'facts' I gathered, and the theoretical tools that I used to make sense of them. It is only by exposing a historians biases "whenever possible" can the reader "judge whether it is the past or the historian speaking at key junctures.[37]

For those wrapped in the nostalgia of the Soviet Union's anti-racist and anti-imperial memory and stance, racism's strong rebirth in the neoliberal, authoritarian Russian state raises a specter of loss—of what could have been, of what was attempted, and of what failed. Historians can become guilty of permitting nostalgia to cloud historical writing. In thinking about anti-racism in Russia through a nostalgic lens, we miss, perhaps deliberately, the numerous racist incidents that occurred throughout the Soviet period, especially in the 1960s to the black people living on its soil. The declassified Russian archives show that violent and nonviolent forms of racism and concerns over it were a striking feature of Ghana-Soviet relations during the 1960s with the Soviets seemingly unable or unwilling to deal with Ghanaian complaints about racism expeditiously. Thus, racism did not merely reappear in the new Russian state with the rise of neoliberalism; instead, the Russian archives expose painfully the continuous existence of racism

[37] Fleischman and Tyson, "Archival Researchers," 99.

from the Soviet period to the present, and its continual connections to anti-black racism internationally. Racism existed throughout the two different ideological periods; it was not merely a bourgeoisie or capitalist phenomena.

During other periods of my research, my blackness, in a different sense, nudged me to think about the importance of black and African history and its very construction and dissemination. My black skin at the Howard University archives and my Ghanaian-ness in the Ghanaian archives seemingly fueled a sense of pride among the archivists—a pride knowing that here was "one of their own," a young person to boot, eager to learn about "*his* story, their history," and to give "a non-white man's account." In taxi rides to UCLA, black drivers would inquire whether my "white" professors were teaching me "*the truth* about Africa, about *our* history, about *black* history?" The task was up to me, strangers told me, to write an African-centric history, a history from and for 'the people.' I had first encountered such interactions as a thirteen-year-old carrying schoolbooks to and from high-school. Homeless and laypeople on the street would often encourage me to study hard, to ensure that 'the man' was not brainwashing me, and to one day write 'our history' and 'our story' properly. As an African born scholar in the West thinking and writing about Nkrumah, I cannot help but wonder if I am the living embodiment of Nkrumah's neocolonial critique—a neocolonial product. Such encounters left me with mixed emotions. On the one hand, I felt a sense of pride knowing that strangers thought that I could and should engage in such a titanic project. On the other hand, I felt a heavy burden and a sense of dread that I would not meet their expectations.

These everyday intellectuals seemed to reject Fanon's viewpoint of the purpose of African history. Fanon was highly critical of black people's quest to discover "a black past."[38]

[38] Fanon, *Black Skin,*199.

Fanon wondered about the presentist importance of blacks discovering the existence of a fifteenth century "black civilization." Furthermore, Fanon argued that "the past" cannot be our "guide in the actual state of things."[39] These everyday intellectuals, however, seemed rather to embrace the South African Black Consciousness Movement leader's Steve Biko's ideas of the importance of African history and the need to write a positive black history. "A people without a positive history," Biko charged, "is like a vehicle without an engine." [40] For Biko, the first steps towards rewriting African history was to acknowledge that white scholars have "distorted, disfigured and destroyed" African and black histories. Second, Biko called for African historians to produce narratives that deliberately disrupted hegemonic European narratives. Like Biko, the intellectuals I encountered on the street were certain that 'rediscovering' a black past was of utmost importance not only to the present, but to the future. I attempt to occupy a space between Biko and Fanon. I seek to write an account of African history that both considers the importance of African historical perspectives but also acknowledges the symbolic importance of such accounts for the present.

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When I arrived in Accra in June 2016 to conduct research, I was given access to Nkrumah's library collection at the basement of the Ghanaian national archive. I helped sort out and wipe off the large pile of dust-off Nkrumah's library collection which had been dumped into a large box without any rhyme or reason. To the best of my knowledge, the collection had not been

[39] Ibid.,199-200.

[40] Biko, *I Write What I Like*, 29.

accessible in recent decades. Yet, here I was, touching and reading the texts as Nkrumah had done over half a century before. I saw the sentences Nkrumah underlined and the comments he wrote in the margins. Moreover, I saw books unlisted in the archival catalog. Similarly, at the other regional Ghanaian archives, the archivists permitted me to make as many document requests and have as many folders as I wanted out on my desk. I took advantage of this and poured through the old files; it was in these crumbling and aging pages that the ghosts of the Ghanaian revolution spoke to me. Things did not go as smoothly when I ventured to Russia to conduct archival research, however.[41]

I arrived in May 2017 and registered with six Russian archives in order to do research. These were the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVP RF), the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE), the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), and the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI). The process entailed showing my American passport for examination by the security guard and archivist, articulating my purpose for using their archives, and providing documents drenched in official UCLA bureaucratic regalia to verify my credentials. Besides the AVP RF archive, I was presented with an archival catalog and permitted to request documents from them. However, I soon learnt that this process did not guarantee me viewing access.

[41] I conducted work in 6 Russian archives. These were the Archive of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVP RF), the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI), Russian State Archive of the Economy (RGAE), the Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), the State Archive of the Russian Federation (GARF), and the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History (RGANI).

For example, at GARF in 2017, I had completed the registration process and the archivist Maria[42] assured me that the documents would arrive in a few days. However, when I returned, Maria told me that the files were not there and to return in a few days. On my following appearance, Maria called someone on the phone and with a blank expression informed me that my documents would not be forthcoming. I had been given a good run-around and felt dejected. I wondered if the deteriorating Russia-U.S. relations had possibly precipitated this situation. When I returned to GARF in July 2018, a different archivist Ekaterina[43] sat beside me and helped me to locate the documents that I had wished to see. Some of the files Ekaterina exhumed were flagged as being off-limits. Ekaterina seemed puzzled by those classifications and went to speak to Maria, the archivist who I mentioned earlier, about why they were prohibited. Maria shrugged her shoulders. In response, Ekaterina implored Maria to ensure that I received everything she had requested on my behalf. Ekaterina instructed me to return a few days later. I hoped that my fortunes would be different this year. When I returned, the materials I had been denied the previous year were suddenly available. At that moment, I wholeheartedly thanked Ekaterina, who was glad that she could be off assistance. Here, I saw hitherto unseen images of Nkrumah while he was in the Soviet Union in 1961.

I decided to try my luck at the AVP RF archive, where I had applied two to three months prior to gain archival access.[44] When I arrived at the Russian Foreign Ministry, the security

[42] Maria is a pseudonym.

[43] Ekaterina is a pseudonym.

[44] Russian and Soviet scholars often consider AVP RF as one of the most difficult archival spaces to gain permission to do work as one is required to apply 2-3 months to get permission to use their archives.

guard scrutinized my passport and then noted that my name was not on 'the list' of approved researchers. Perhaps sensing my despair, the security guard called the archivist Pavel[45] to come and talk to me. Pavel came, read my introductory letter, and regretfully told me that I needed to apply to use the archives and that it would take 2-3 months before an answer would be forthcoming. I explained to him that I had. Feeling apologetic, Pavel told me to wait while he returned to the archives. After a few minutes, he returned with someone. The individual introduced himself to me as Sergey Mazov; he was one of the leading Soviet-Africanist scholars. I had corresponded with Mazov over email but had never met him in person; I felt slightly optimistic that my fortunes might improve. Pavel explained to Mazov the situation. In response, I informed Mazov that I had in fact applied, and I quickly showed them my emails and numerous Skype calls to the archive as evidence. Soon, Mazov highly over-exaggerated my importance to Pavel, telling him that I was a very important scholar from America and that it was crucial that I gained access to the documents. Pavel relented. He told me to return in a few days, my documents, after all of this, would be ready for viewing. My experiences at both GARF and AVP RF made me appreciate the highly personalized nature of the Russian bureaucratic apparatus; it could simultaneously undermine or assist a foreign researcher.

For some of the Russian archivists, the location of my birth—Ghana—listed in my American passport, signified some sort of difference and distance between myself and the U.S.-Russian diplomatic spat. For instance, every day that I arrived at AVP RF, I had to give my American passport to the security guard Anton[46] to check and determine whether or not I had

[45] Pavel is a pseudonym.

[46] Anton is a pseudonym.

permission to enter the archival reading room. As Anton set about inspecting my passport and visa, one of the AVP RF archivists Katya[47] walked by. She greeted me warmly and immediately told Anton that I was from Ghana. Anton looked at my passport and back up at Katya visibly puzzled, unable to make the connection between her statement that I was Ghanaian and the document that he was holding. As Anton tried to (unsuccessfully) locate my name under a Ghana section, Katya kept repeating "*Гана* (Ghana)" to him. Katya eventually grew frustrated; she exhaled and then left the room, leaving Anton looking at me dumbfounded. I smiled, shrugged my shoulders sheepishly, and pointed towards my name under the "*США* (USA)" heading. He found my name, gave me a calling card, and beckoned me to have a good day. While I had an American passport and had applied to conduct research with my American passport, Katya did not consider me to be an 'American.' In some way, my Ghanaian place of birth made me different. Before I ventured to Russia, I oscillated between which passport I should use considering the strained relations between Russia and the United States. However, because of America's military and economic imperialism, my American passport was a "fetish of political power."[48] Consequently I was both better protected and insulated from Russian immigration enforcement and police passport checks and raids with an American passport than with a Ghanaian passport. I had witnessed numerous police passport checks on fellow African migrants and knew the precarity of their positions.[49] I mention these stories to illuminate on a daily,

[47] Katya is a pseudonym.

[48] Apter, *The Pan-African Nation,* 13; In learning that I was from America, individuals in Russia would request to look at and touch the American passport. They assumed that it held some magical powers.

[49] I even assisted one detained African get out of an immigration detention center.

intimate level the importance of citizenship and personal relations to a researcher's archival access.

CHAPTER & SOURCE BREAKDOWN

I developed four thematic chapters, divided into two parts, to answer "discrete groupings of interrelated questions."[50] Amongst other intellectual genealogies, Chapter 1 adds Lenin's ideas of state-capitalism and the Soviet New Economic Policy (NEP) to Nkrumah's intellectual and economic framework. I argue that the black Marxists' theoretical understandings and lived experience of both Lenin's works and the USSR in the 1920s and early 1930s were vital both to transporting and reconceptualizing the NEP and state-capitalism to Nkrumah and Ghana. Furthermore, the chapter shifts scholarly discourses surrounding the experiences of blacks and marginalized people vis-à-vis the Soviet Union away from de-colonial, anti-racism, and anti-imperial paradigms to one centered on the political and economic ideas black people took away from the newly formed Bolshevik state.

Chapter 1 is primarily engineered from internal British espionage notes, police reports, personal autobiographies, transcripts, and letters between a host of individuals who engaged in a wide array of activities. The British consistently monitored and intercepted the communications of and between anti-imperial, pro-Marxist, pro-communist, and African and black leaders. The British also had implants and spies in the meetings and rallies held by anti-colonial, Marxist, or Communist figures. The archival materials I examined contained relayed information from these episodes and intercepts. Another source of information I reviewed were documents gathered and

[50] Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945-1949* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 5.

then shared between the American and British intelligence agencies. It is clear that the spying agencies collected some of this data from figures like Nkrumah's dissertation committee members, university registrars, and the 'associates' of the observed party. The archives also relay to us that people like Nkrumah and George Padmore were aware that their communications were being opened and, in some cases, not reaching their intended recipients and found creative ways to circumvent Western intelligence agents. What is unclear is the extent to which these actors altered or coded, if at all, the contents of the communication with each other.

Thus, I read these documents in multiple registers to locate the influence of the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas on Nkrumah. First, I read them for their content and authorship—asking: who wrote these papers? What did they say? To whom were they addressed? Who were the critical figures in the British West African colonial office? What channels did the letters go through? Second, I read against the grain to attempt to discover what stories are hidden in plain sight. I ask: what was omitted? Why was it excluded? Third, and perhaps most important for Chapter 1, I read these espionage documents to link individuals within the black, African, anticolonial, and communist world together. While the British colonial apparatus inevitably framed the web of connections between individuals in the British archives, they do provide us with a window to the figures people like Nkrumah were in constant conversation with, their geographic circuits, their shifting and hardening ideologies and allegiances, and British attempts to sow discord within their ranks.

In some cases, to borrow Caroline Elkins' words, there was a "paucity of documentation."[51] For instance, due to Padmore's active role in anti-colonial and anti-British

[51] Caroline Elkins, "The Cold War and the End of the British Empire," *Decolonization and the Cold War: Negotiating Independence*. Edited by Leslie James and Elizabeth Leake (London, UK: Bloomsbury Press, 2015), 258.

imperialist worlds, and his pro-Marxist leanings, his near absence from the British archives (besides in Nkrumah's files) is very peculiar. It would be unsurprising to discover that his files were either destroyed or purposefully hidden in a basement somewhere in England. Nonetheless, when reading these documents in conjunction with the autobiographies of the black Marxists, other archival sources, and the secondary literature, I was better able to appreciate just how geographically far-reaching and yet small this circle of activists was during this period.

Chapter 2 re-historicizes and re-analyzes both the Ghana-Soviet relationship from 1957-1966 and the Cold War paradigm by considering both transnational and domestic racial discourses in Ghanaian claims to the Ghanaian state. In Ghana's efforts to build state-capitalism at home, it sent hundreds of black students to the United States and the Soviet Union to learn technological, agricultural, military, and scientific trades to expedite the process. In these sites, with a particular focus on the Soviet Union, Ghanaians faced virulent racism, ranging from verbal assaults to murder. In examining Ghana's relationship with the USSR, Chapter 2 first shows that racial and neocolonial frameworks are important to consider the development of Ghana-Soviet relations between 1957 and 1966 alongside the Cold War paradigm. Second, the chapter argues that transnational acts of racism against Ghanaians played a role in forging a global Ghanaian national consciousness that linked with and strengthened domestic conceptions of Ghanaian identity. Third, the chapter explores how Ghanaians used race and racism to make claims to economic and political rights vis-à-vis their new government's radical state-capitalist agenda both abroad and domestically. Consequently, the chapter argues that Ghanaians forced their government to grapple with race in their political-economic agenda and that in the

Ghanaian context, one could not so easily disentangle racial decolonization and political-economic socialist development.

The primary source materials for Chapter 2 shift from the Western to Russian and Ghanaian archives. These primarily consist of Ghanaian and Soviet Ambassadorial letters and memoranda, autopsy reports, student complaint letters and petitions, newspaper articles, personal letters between Nkrumah and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, inter-agency memoranda, department writings, economic statements, trade deals, and Ghanaian cabinet agenda meetings. While I found some of these documents in American and British archives, they were chiefly in the Ghanaian and Russian archives, particularly the Russian Foreign Ministry Archive (AVP RF). This raised two concurrent problems.

First, at AVP RF, I was at the mercy of the Russian archivists and the bureaucracy.[52] I was not permitted to see an archival catalog. The archivists simply handed me what they wanted to give to me. Thus, the very documents I reviewed were subjected to multiple layers of scrutiny—(1) the individuals who wrote the documents; (2) the individuals who decided which documents to record for posterity; (3) the individuals who decided which documents to declassify and send to the archives; and (4) the archivists who decided which documents I could view. Second, at AVP RF, Africa-Soviet relations are very much demarcated within national boundaries. Thus, in examining Ghana's relationship with the Soviet Union, reports about other African countries or colonies are conspicuously absent. While this ordering easily lends itself to bi-lateral paradigms of contemplating Soviet foreign policy in relation to African countries, it

[52] This particular issue was not entirely duplicated at the other Russian archives that I visited. At those archives, I had a table of contents and was able to view and select which documents I wanted to examine.

also reveals that the Soviets were cognizant of the different historical and internal dynamics at play within differing African states. In the Soviet economic and political imagination, Africa was not one singular entity, but made of various contrasting and competing external and internal forces.

One geopolitical issue of contention within Chapter 2 is the apparent sluggishness of Soviet replies to Ghanaian concerns about racism. The archival documents I examined strongly suggest that the Soviets often replied very slowly, if at all, to Ghanaian complaints about racism. However, it is possible that more expediated responses or investigations into Ghanaian allegations were discarded, housed in different archives, or remain off-limits to researchers. While I did not have access to materials in the KGB, Russian Ministry of Defense, or Kremlin archives, the totality of the files I drew upon permitted the painting of a more complex and broader picture of Ghana-Soviet relations both within a bilateral and global context.

Thus, Part 1, "Red & Black Connections," which encompasses Chapters 1 and 2, remaps and reimagines the global circuits of Africans, the African diaspora, and nationalism. They merge the intellectual and geographic circuits of Paul Gilroy's "black Atlantic" and Maxim Matusevich's "Africa and the Iron Curtain" and illustrates how they transformed each other. Part 1 calls for different understandings of black subjectivity and positionality. In Chapter 1, I ask the reader to think about black people as being capable of grappling with issues other than race, such as political-economic philosophies. Yet, in Chapter 2, I outline a series of racist incidents to show how on the one hand Ghanaians understood their blackness and how their blackness impacted their international outlook and foreign policy. I also highlight how non-black actors responded to the Ghanaians' blackness. In looking at the Cold War and Ghana's geopolitics, the

question of race as an international and geopolitical analytic opens up new lines of investigation, questions, and answers for historians to consider in thinking about the period.

Part II, "Black State Capitalism." comprising Chapters 3 and 4, shifts in geographic focus almost entirely to Ghana. Chapter 3 explores socialist state-capitalist development in Ghana and argues that Ghanaian socialism was a distinct historical phenomenon and intellectual project attuned to Ghana's material and historical conditions. While Ghana's postcolonial socialism is often seen to emanate from Nkrumah, this chapter examines the role of party and regional commissioners like J.E. Hagan and community organizations in forming the Ghanaian socialist project. In so doing, I highlight the multiplicity of intellectual contributions to Ghana's socialist state-capitalist political-economic project. Unlike other accounts of state-capitalism that are entirely state-driven or top-down efforts, the chapter illuminates how local communities and villages played a crucial role in mediating and shaping Ghana's socialist state-capitalist project. Furthermore, by focusing on the relationship between local Ghanaian fishermen and the Ghana Fishing Corporation, the chapter moves away from examining state-corporations solely in relation to international financial markets and global systems but unpacks how they affected local communities and how interested groups viewed these corporations. Chapters 3 is formulated chiefly from Ghanaian and American archives. The sources are primarily letters between individuals and government officials, speeches, grievance letters, American congressional hearings, state corporation data, Ghanaian socialist seminar reports, Convention People's Party's (CPP) magazines, newspaper articles, and inter-government memoranda.

Chapter 4, "We Too Know How to Drink Whiskey and Educate Our Children," demonstrates how Nkrumah's regime's rhetorical currency of industrialization, state-capitalism, and the African personality became simultaneously valuable to poor Ghanaian workers and

dangerous to the Ghanaian state, state-corporations, and private enterprises. As the state increasingly sought to stamp out public displays of dissent, unproductive labor, and restrain wage increases, workers in Ghana subverted the state's growing bureaucratic channels, resorted to theft, a dereliction of duty, and strikes to challenge decisions, carve out dissent, and confront the forms of discipline that the government sought to attract foreign capital.

Chapter 4 is composed mainly from Ghana's regional archives. The chapter utilizes two types of workers' petitions. The first type of letter is written by workers—individually or collectively—to their trade union representative, their supervisors, or the labor, district, or regional officers and commissioners. Professional scribes penned the second type of letter. I do not distinguish between the two petition forms, and neither did the recipients. In the first format, the workers used their signatures and names to ascertain the petition's validity. In the second, the workers put their names and fingerprints, often in dark blue ink, on the document to verify its contents. When a scribe wrote a complainant's note, the document is marked by both a seal with the scribe's logo, name, identification number, and a stamp of listed witness(es). Both letter formats employ similar typographic structures. As a political genre, the letters exalt the officer(s) addressed while humbling the complainant(s). In looking at nineteenth-century American women's abolitionists' letters to the United States Congress, Susan Zaeske described this particular style as the "rhetoric of humility," with the tone sometimes shifting from humility to "insistence."[53] In the Ghanaian context, after the rhetoric of humility, the letters then delve into the complainant's hardships. At times, the letters list the officials and offices they previously

[53] Susan Zaeske, *Signatures of Citizenship: Petitioning, Antislavery, and Women's Political Identity* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 2.

contacted for assistance and its subsequent failure. Next, the writer requests its recipient to remedy the situation, often appealing to the officer's power or 'moral reasoning.'[54]

In these letters, workers made legible their claims to citizenship, restitution, and humanity. They also made themselves visible to the government and the archive. These letters humanized the workers; they were no longer mere production parts or economic statistics, but individuals with concerns and expectations. I read these letters alongside internal governmental departmental reports and memoranda, trade union documents, party magazines, newspapers, the presidential cabinet agenda meetings, statistical data, and secondary literature to make sense of this historical moment. Unlike materials from the political and labor elite, which presume to speak on behalf of the workers, these letters contain what the workers themselves deemed important. Thus, they remain a useful, but underutilized site and source of historical inquiry. While I do not suggest a rejection of other methods and sources to render the invisible visible, these letters open different ways for historians to think about workers and how to write a subaltern, worker-centered history of labor in postcolonial Africa.

Many Africanist scholars have often argued that one has to read against the grain to try and locate the voices of non-elite Africans in the archive. Others have turned to conducting oral history, symbolic analysis of spirit possession and other social rituals, and decoding material sites such as shrines.[55] I do not rule out or dismiss these instrumental approaches that reveal the

[54] Chima J. Korieh, "'May It Please Your Honor:'" Letters of Petition as Historical Evidence in an African Colonial Context," *History in Africa,* Vol. 37 (2010), 83–106.

[55] Rebecca Shumway, "The Fante Shrine of Nananom Mpow and the Atlantic Slave Trade in Southern Ghana," *International Journal of African Historical Studies,* Vol 44, No. 1 (2011), 27-44; Andrew Apter, "History in the Dungeon: Atlantic Slavery and the Spirit of Capitalism in Cape Coast Castle, Ghana," *American Historical Review,* Vol. 122, Issue 1 (2017), 23-54; Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (New York, NY.: Routledge Press,

views of non-elite Africans and African intellectuals. However, by traveling past the central archive in Ghana's capital, my research stumbled upon thousands of local and regional state and party bureaucratic documents that held the views of ordinary Africans. It was in these documents, hidden almost in plain sight, that my work then also rethinks the idea of the missing African archive or the idea that the voices of the non-elite are absent within the African archive. Last, I conducted oral interviews with former Ghanaian cabinet officials, former ambassadors, and members of the ruling political party of the time. These discussions allowed me to rethink some of the government's policies and the ugliness of the realpolitik of building a new state. Ultimately, the numerous archives that I visited and the multitude of sources that I used in this dissertation provide a unique perspective to the characters, events, and societies in this dissertation.

What is this dissertation about? Politically, it is an attempt, in the words of the South African anti-apartheid activist and former Deputy Head of the South African Secret Service Barry Gilder "to simply tell you just how damned difficult it has been to try to turn . . . around" a postcolonial African state.[56] In an interview in north London, England, in 1976, C.L.R. James argued that people interested in studying the "Emancipation of colonialism" had to "absolutely . . . study" Ghana and Nkrumah.[57] I hope to do a modicum of justice to the complex lives and decisions of those who lived and suffered in a particular era and place and to show how they

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2017); Joseph Miller, *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Hamden, CT: Dawson Publishers, 1980).

[56] Barry Gilder, *Songs & Secrets: South Africa from Liberation to Governance* (Auckland, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2012), 469.

[57] CLR James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II.3., "CLR James talking about George Padmore in 1976 in North London Side 2 of Tape."

sought to emancipate themselves. While Fanon emphatically noted that we are not prisoners "of history" and that we should not "look for the meaning of" our "destiny" in the past, I argue that we must continually return to history to reimagine what those before us tried to do and how they tried to do it.[58] Thus, I hope that present-day African states and people find a modicum of inspiration from a deeper engagement of the economic and political dynamics of the first sub-Saharan African state's attempts to forge genuine political and economic sovereignty in a world dominated by white racial superiority and capital.

Theoretically, *The Red Star State* tells a new history of global capitalism and socialism in relation to Ghana. It seeks to understand the post-colonial African state's political economy by exploring the Soviet connection in shaping Ghana's post-colonial economic agenda, its Pan-African program, and its modalities of citizenship. My research contradicts the literature that suggests that African leaders were misguided political-economic theorists, feigned socialism, or ignroant Marxist-Leninists. I draw out previously ignored connections between Lenin's state-capitalist ideas and the NEP as theoretical models to understand how Nkrumah and Ghana sought to reconcile capitalist policies under a socialist umbrella. I intervene in the existing literature by attempting to create a more cohesive analytical framework to understand Ghana's political economy, Ghana's role in 'Cold War' and international politics, and Nkrumah's ideas from 1957-66. Moreover, I investigate how the trajectory of the post-revolutionary Ghanaian state from 1957-66 was shaped not only by Nkrumah's authority but by negotiations between Nkrumah and multiple factions within and outside of Ghana. These actors grappled with and negotiated socialist and capitalist policy and moral debates, the state's role and duty to its

[58] Fanon, *Black Skin,* 204.

citizens, and Ghana's place amongst independent countries. In these discourses, Nkrumah, the Ghanaian government, state-corporations, and the Ghanaian people operated as competing, overlapping, and co-concurring actors and systems. Their interests were not uniform. Nkrumah never had blanket control over Ghana. Various personalities, such as party members, economic planners, workers, and Ghanaian students abroad, pushed, articulated, and shaped the postcolonial Ghanaian project. It is a reality we must never forget or undermine.

Part I: Red & Black Connections

Chapter 1
Towards A Global African Intellectual History

"When Nkrumah's own followers describe him as 'the Lenin of Africa,' it is no frivolous combination of words. No other modern Communist leader has patterned his apparatus so slavishly after the model established by Lenin."[59]
U.S. Senator Thomas J. Dodd

"Kwame is to Africa today what Lenin was to the Soviet Union in 1917."[60]
Ghanaian Defense Minister, Kofi Baako

"The mature Nkrumah was far more Leninist than he was Garveyite."[61]
Ali Mazrui

In the evening of March 12, 1948, the British apprehended Kwame Nkrumah in colonial Ghana for potential communist, revolutionary, and subversive activities.[62] After Nkrumah's arrest, the British found many documents that linked Nkrumah to a broader socialist and communist network. One such document was entitled, "The Circle." "The Circle" showed that Nkrumah and other colonial Ghana persons had sought to create a secret society that would form a Union of African Socialist Republics.[63] The Union of African Socialist Republics was supposed to be "'the Revolutionary Soviet vanguard of the struggle for West African unity and national

[59] Karl August Wittfogel Papers, Box 203, Folder 203.4, Cited in Senator Thomas J. Dodd's introduction in "Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws," "Ghana Students in United States Oppose U.S. Aid to Nkrumah," August 19, 1963 & January 11, 1964., v.

[60] Ibid., viii.

[61] Ali A. Mazrui, "A Reply to Critics," *Transition*, No. 32 (August-September 1967), 50.

[62] KV2/1847/2, April 28, 1948, the Gold Coast Commissioner to Sir Percy Sillitoe.

[63] KV2/1848/2.

independence.'"[64] The document revealed that members were supposed to pledge an oath of obedience, secrecy, and acceptance of Nkrumah's leadership. In addition, the British located in Nkrumah's possession notebooks containing the names of numerous the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) members such as Margot Parish and Maud Rogerson, a pamphlet entitled, "The Communist Party in the Factories," a collector's card, and a CPGB membership card. The British anti-Communist apparatus doubted whether Nkrumah had been a CPGB member and concluded that Nkrumah's "interest in communism" was only "his desire to enlist any aid in the furtherance of his own aims in West Africa."[65]

Nearly twenty years later, on February 24, 1966, the Western-backed National Liberation Council's (N.L.C.) led by Lieutenant Generals Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka and Akwasi Amankwaa overthrew Nkrumah—then Ghana's head of state—while he flew to China. A few months later, Ali A. Mazrui, a prominent Marxist Pan-African scholar, attacked Nkrumah in an essay entitled, "Nkrumah: the Leninist Czar." Drawing strong parallels between Nkrumah and the early Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin, Mazrui claimed that "Nkrumah strove to be Africa's Lenin." Mazrui maintained that "the analogy between Nkrumah and Lenin partly arises out of a similarity of roles and partly out of conscious ideological emulation."[66] This sparked a ferocious debate amongst African Marxist scholars about the relationship between neocolonialism, Marxism, African scholarship, and Eurocentrism.

[64] KV/2/1847/2, March 26, 1948, Gold Coast Governor to S. of S. for the Colonies

[65] KV2/1848/2.

[66] Ali A. Mazrui, "Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar," *Transition*, No. 26 (1966), 9.

Numerous African scholars criticized Mazrui. Two African graduate students O.F. Onoge and K. A. Gaching'a characterized Mazrui's "thesis on Nkrumah [a]s an excellent illustration of the misdirected brilliance of much of African scholarship," which was "Eurocentric, rather than Afrocentric." According to Onoge and Gaching'a, "the Nkrumah who emerged from Mazrui's mentation is a man (puppet?) who consciously aspired to be the status of an 'African Lenin,' without the self-awareness that his 'limited' talents destined him to be no more than an inferior carbon."[67] The stinging criticism prompted a rejoinder from Mazrui.

Mazrui chided the respondents for "assuming that" linking Nkrumah to Lenin was intended "to denigrate" Nkrumah. Mazrui countered that he regarded "Lenin as one of the great figures of the twentieth century, if not of all time."[68] The Kenyan scholar dismissed the belief that comparisons between African and European thinkers or situating an African intellectual's ideas within European traditions was indicative of Eurocentric or neocolonialist scholarship. Mazuri noted that a foreign thinker's relevance "for Africa may be *direct*, *derivative*, or by *analogy* (emphasis added)." For Mazrui, the comparison was not indicative of Eurocentric or neocolonialist scholarship, but an homage to the realities of history and the global movement of ideas and historical figures. Mazrui explained that "When Lenin's relevance for Africa is direct, it is the impact of his own ideas that we might examine." Indeed, Mazrui continued that "Where his relevance is derivative, we might be referring to the impact of the Soviet Union as a revolutionary model. And where Lenin's relevance is by analogy, we are simply asserting the right to see similarities in situations of human endeavour even when there has been no interplay

[67] O.F. Onoge and K. A. Gaching'a, "Mazrui's Nkrumah: A Case of Neo-Colonial Scholarship," *Transition*, No. 30 (April/May 1967), 25.

[68] Mazrui, "A Reply to Critics," 48.

of ideological or intellectual influence between those situations."[69] In his rejoinder, Mazrui offered a three-tiered methodological approach to rethink both Nkrumah's relationship to Lenin and about how to fruitfully engage with the breadth and depth of African intellectualism. Moreover, Mazrui dismissed the insinuation that situating African scholars within a global intellectual genealogy removed any 'Africanity,' specifically where Africans themselves sign-posted this homage.

Ghanaian literary scholar Ato Quayson has argued it was both ahistorical and impossible to explore twentieth-century African or Western modes of knowledge distinctly because neither were "completely pure."[70] For Quayson, African societies "appropriate, borrow, challenge, steal, and rehash (among other things) external factors in the struggle to achieve a coherent understanding of their place in the world." One could not locate "an African gnosis" or understand the "peculiar African postcolonial condition" outside of this "flux and intertextuality."[71] African American and Asian American Marxists James and Grace Lee Boggs jointly mocked those urging black revolutionaries and movements to forgo studying white intellectuals. To "evade" studying Lenin because he "was white and European," James and Grace Lee Boggs concluded, "would be just as ridiculous as for an African freedom fighter to refuse to fly an airplane because the Wright brothers were white Americans." The Boggs maintained that "Whatever has been achieved in human history, whether technological or

[69] Ibid., 49.

[70] Ato Quayson, "Protocols of Representation and the Problems of Constituting an African 'Gnosis': Achebe and Okri," *The Yearbook of English Studies*, Vol. 27, The Politics of Postcolonial Criticism (1997), 140.

[71] Ibid., 149.

political, blacks have a right to inherit."[72] These discussions underscore the importance of intertextuality, interaction, and the dialectical modes of conceiving of African political ideologies as not simply predicated on a romanticized Afrocentric origin but emerges out of the global political struggles and ideologies of the time.

Those exchanges strike at the heart of this chapter. Mazrui reasoned that anyone "with some tolerable knowledge of Nkrumah's works" would notice Lenin's influence.[73] Mazrui was not Nkrumah's only contemporary to make this link. C.L.R. James, the Caribbean Marxist and Nkrumah's friend and intellectual interlocutor, likened Nkrumah to the sixteenth and seventeenth century British political and military leader Oliver Cromwell and to the Soviet leader Lenin.[74] In a visit to the Soviet Union in July 1961, Nkrumah informed his audience that he was making every effort to "Leninize" Africa.[75] Mazrui inquired: "What are Nkrumah's ultimate links with Lenin?"[76] One cannot answer Mazrui's question without an in-depth familiarity with *both* Lenin's and Nkrumah's works. In the ways that scholars have linked Nkrumah to Lenin, none have tied Nkrumah directly or derivatively to both the Soviet New Economic Policy (NEP), 1921-1928, and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas.[77] This chapter addresses this connection by

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[72] James and Grace Lee Boggs, "The Awesome Responsibilities of Revolutionary Leadership," republished from the April 1970 article, "The Role of the Vanguard Party," *Monthly Review*, 3.

[73] Mazrui, "A Reply to Critics," 49.

[74] C.L.R. James, Nkrumah & the Ghanaian Revolution, "Dedication Line" to Francis."

[75] Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii/Russian Foreign Ministry Archive (AVP RF): d. 142, op. 5, por. 16, pa. 7, July 16, 1961.

[76] Mazrui, "Nkrumah," 9

[77] P. Kiven Tunteng, "Kwame Nkrumah and the African Revolution," *Civilisations*, Vol. 23/24, No. 3/4 (1973/1974), 233-247; Thomas Hodgkin, "Nkrumah's Radicalism," *Présence Africaine*, Nouvelle série, No. 85, Homage to Kwame Nkrumah (1er Trimestre 1973), 65, 70; Steve Metz,

exploring how the Soviet economic philosophy of the 1920s came to influence Nkrumah's political ideologies surrounding decolonial economic development and state capitalism.

The chapter is divided into four parts. The first details the methodological techniques I implored to write the chapter. The second provides a history and theory of the NEP and state capitalism in the Soviet Union from 1917-1928, and C.L.R. James' analysis of Lenin's state-capitalism to show that Nkrumah was surrounded by theorists who understood the inner logics of state-capitalism and Marxist-Leninism. The third constructs the intellectual and personal biographies of Nkrumah and his companions—the black Marxists—to illuminate their connected histories with each other, the USSR, and Marxist-Leninist thought. The fourth section briefly explores references to Leninist thoughts and the NEP in Nkrumah's works and personal library. In so doing, the chapter contends that Nkrumah was aware of the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas. Chapter 3 will show in more detail how these ideas shaped Nkrumah's political-economic philosophy and the Ghanaian political-economic project.

METHODOLOGY

I began this process determined to find the proverbial needle in a haystack to satisfy the positivist branch of historiography. I traveled to several continents to find the term "the NEP" in Nkrumah's works. Curiously, the word "the NEP" was absent from Nkrumah's writings. Did this absence signify both an ignorance of and the insignificance of the NEP in Nkrumah's thinking? Sarah Abrevaya Stein noted that the Jews of southern colonial Algeria had their documents "retroactively fabricated, left behind, hoarded and sought, guarded, concealed, buried in the

"In Lieu of Orthodoxy: The Socialist Theories of Nkrumah and Nyerere," *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* Vol. 20, No. 3 (September 1982), 377-392.

sand." While attentive to historians' need for proof and documentation, Stein found herself equally motivated by the missing, lost, or unseen documents.[78]

Was the very omission of the NEP a consequence of the destruction of Nkrumah's papers, books, and notes during the aftermath of the February 1966 coup or its irrelevance to Nkrumah's thinking? Furthermore, what documents or ideas did Nkrumah and his colleagues fail to put on paper due to fears of British surveillance and document tampering before 1957? Nkrumah's arrest "on the night of 12/13th March" 1948, before colonial Ghana's independence on March 6, 1957, for "potential communist" activities indicated that this was more than a theoretical concern.[79] I sought to bridge this epistemological gap by employing multiple methods to trace the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas from the Soviet Union to Nkrumah.

First, to show how the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas influenced Nkrumah's political and economic ideas, I trace individuals, documents, letters, and speeches from the Soviet Union to Nkrumah. Nkrumah's circle—George Padmore, W.E.B Du Bois, C.L.R. James, Paul Robeson, Kojo Botsio, Bankole Awoonor-Renner, and members of the British and American Communist Parties—had close ties to the Bolshevik Party and were involved in many interlocked networks and relationships.[80] As Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Holger Weiss, and others

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[78] Sarah Abrevaya Stein, "Black Holes, Dark Matter, and Buried Troves: Decolonization and the Multi-Sited Archives of Algerian Jewish History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 120, Issue 3 (June 2015), 904.

[79] KV2/1847/2, April 28, 1948, the Gold Coast Commissioner to Sir Percy Sillitoe.

[80] Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double-Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin D.G. Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," *African Studies Review*. Vol. 43, No. 1, Special Issue on the Diaspora (April 2000), 11-45; Holger Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic: African American Agency, West African Intellectuals and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill Publishers, 2013); Hakim Adi, *Pan-Africanism and Communism: The Communist International,*

have shown, these connected histories can be traced within the archive.[81] Thus, a return to the very place of omission, the archive, might unearth its own suppressed answers to Lenin's state-capitalist theories and the NEP's place in Nkrumah's thinking. Another technique this chapter employs is Pierre Franklin Tavarès' and Susan Buck-Morss' plausible preponderance method to discuss an idea that was omnipresent during our subjects' zeitgeist, yet oddly absent within both their writings and the archive.[82]

Tavarès and Buck-Morss argue that historians, Hegelian scholars, and Hegel, himself, omit or misunderstand the historical origins of Hegel's master-slave dialectic. They maintain that Hegel's master-slave dialectic directly pertains to the Haitian revolution and not to an obscure Ancient Roman or Greek paradigm. They show that although Hegel does not mention Haiti explicitly in his master-slave dialectic that the newspapers he read covered the Haitian revolution

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Africa and the Diaspora, 1919-1939 (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, Inc. 2013); Marika Sherwood, "The Comintern, the CPGB, Colonies and Black Britons, 1920–1938," *Science & Society*. Vol. 60, No. 2 (Summer 1996), 137-163; Susan Campbell, "'Black Bolsheviks' and Recognition of African-America's Right to Self-Determination by the Communist Party USA," *Science & Society*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (Winter 1994/1995), 440-470; Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire* (London, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Fredrik Petersson, "Historiographical Trends and the Comintern – The Communist International (Comintern) and How it has been Interpreted," *CoWoPa–Comintern Working Paper* (August 2007), 1-19.

[81] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (July 1997), 735-762; Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*; James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*; Petersson, "Historiographical Trends and the Comintern – The Communist International (Comintern) and How it has been Interpreted."

[82] Pierre Franklin Tavarès, "Hegel, critique de l'Afrique: introduction aux études critiques sur l'Afrique" (Ph.D. dissertation, Paris 1 Panthéon Sorbonne, 1989); Susan Buck-Morss, *Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009); Susan Buck-Morss, "Hegel and Haiti," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (Summer 2000), 821-865.

extensively and consequently that his master-slave dialectic was predicated upon it.[83] Similarly, although the term "the NEP" is absent within Nkrumah's writings and speeches, I contend that Nkrumah was aware of it through his engagement with Lenin's writings, Bolshevik party and Soviet economic and political literature, and global Marxist intellectual groups.

Last, this chapter uses the internalist and contextualist method to highlight the relationship between Lenin's state-capitalist ideas and the NEP to Nkrumah. British intellectual historian Quentin Skinner called for scholars to contextualize figures within their zeitgeist, to provide a background of the "general social and intellectual matrix out of which their works arose,"[84] to understand that society's "inherited" political assumptions, and to be aware of the "nature and limits of the normative vocabulary available at any given time." Skinner argued that it is only by constructing such a framework that "the writings of the more prominent theorists can then be situated."[85] Consequently, I start this project in 1917 and investigate the historical worlds that gave rise to Ghana's state capitalist project. According to Skinner, "When we attempt . . . to locate a text within its appropriate context, we are not merely providing historical 'background' for our interpretation; we are already engaged in the act of interpretation itself."[86] In recreating the historical background and biographies of those near Nkrumah and Nkrumah himself, I show how ideas of state-capitalism and the NEP were prevalent within Nkrumah's circles and zeitgeist.

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[83] Ibid.

[84] Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Vol. 1: The Renaissance* (Cambridge, UK: The University of Cambridge Press, 1978), x.

[85] Ibid., xi, xiii.

[86] Ibid., xiv.

THE NEP & LENIN'S STATE CAPITALISM

The Russian Revolution in October 1917 was a defining moment for the supporters and adversaries of empire, capitalism, and global equality in the twentieth century. The Bolsheviks spearheaded this revolution. They called for the abolition of the Tsarist regime, capitalist society, bourgeoise exploitation, and the old-world order. The Bolsheviks anticipated that their actions would ignite a worldwide socialist revolution. However, the Bolsheviks were mistaken and were forced to protect their gains from those within and outside of Russia.

From 1917-1921, the Whites lead a war against the Bolsheviks.[87] The Whites were made up the formerly disbanded members of the Tsarist regime, the Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs)—comprised of peasant socialists, who created the People's Army—and the supporters of the overthrown Provisional Government's leader, Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky.[88] The Americans and British amongst other imperial powers, supported the Whites' efforts. The Bolshevik leadership implemented an economic and political program known as War Communism as they fought the civil war.

War Communism was the near-universal nationalization of the economic sector and the forced acquisition of peasant goods.[89] As a result of the Civil War and War Communism,

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[87] Edited by V.P. Butt, Brian Murphy, N.A. Myshov, and G.R. Swain, *The Russian Civil War: Documents from the Soviet Archives* (New York, NY: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1966), vii; Brian Murphy, *Rostov in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920: The Key to Victory* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 2.

[88] A fascinating portrait of General Kornilov can be found in Abraham Ascher, "Kornilov Affair," *The Russian Review*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (October 1953), 235-252.

[89] Alexander Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate, 1924-1928* (Harvard University Press, 1960), 5; Lenin, "Tax in Kind."

destruction and poverty became intensified across the Soviet Union, making War Communism increasingly difficult for the Bolsheviks to support.[90] The Kronstadt and Tambov revolts in 1921, which the Bolsheviks violently suppressed, crystallized War Communism's failures.[91] A new path had to be forged.

As the Bolshevik and key socialist intellectual leader, Lenin faced the immense challenge of constructing a national economic plan that would grapple with Marxist-Socialist approaches to capitalism and economic development. Consequently, Lenin outlined an alternative way to achieve a socialist state and argued that War Communism was a temporary retreat due to the Civil War.[92] Lenin reinstated the private sector in some capacity, sought "private investment from the West,"[93] suspended forced grain requisition, and reestablished small-scale industry.[94] These policies became known as the New Economic Plan (NEP). Nikolai Bukharin, one of the Bolshevik Party's foremost theorists and leaders,[95] encouraged the peasants to "enrich"

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[90] Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate,* 5; Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888-1938* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1973); Peter Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*. Second Edition (London, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 40; Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917-1991* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1994); Bernard Pares, *A History of Russia* (New York, NY: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1962), 548.

[91] Sheila Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, second edition (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994), 94-95; Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*, 45-47.

[92] Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate*, 5; Alan Ball, "Lenin and the Question of Private Trade in Soviet Russia," *Slavic Review*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 1984), 399-412; Lenin, "Tax in Kind," 1921.

[93] Fitzpatrick, *The Russian Revolution*, 95.

[94] Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate,* 5.

[95] Bukharin was a leading figure within the party. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, "The Testament of Lenin"; Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, Preface; Erlich, *The Soviet*

themselves, accumulate capital, and develop their farms.[96] Bukharin argued that the state should remove its monopolistic restrictions on foreign capital and allow it to operate within the economy. [97] These ideas were not universally supported.[98] But, while figures like Bukharin and Lenin were navigating the tensions between War Communism and the NEP, Lenin was concurrently thinking and writing about state-capitalism.

Lenin thought steadfastly about state-capitalism and its relationship to socialism before and during War Communism. The month before the October 1917 Revolution, Lenin published "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It." Here, Lenin argued that "state-monopoly capitalism inevitably and unavoidably implies a step . . . towards socialism" because socialism was "merely the next step forward from state-capitalist monopoly." Later in the document, Lenin was more emphatic: "state-monopoly capitalism is a complete material preparation for socialism, the threshold of socialism, a rung on the ladder of history between which and the rung called

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Industrialization Debate, 9; Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*, 42.

[96] "On the New Economic Policy and Our Tasks," author quoting Nikolai Bukharin, *Izbrannye proizvedeniya*, Moscow, *Izdatel'stvo politicheskoy literatury*, 1988, 195-7; Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, 160-212; for a more detailed discussion on 'the Nepmen,' read Alan Ball, *Russia's Last Capitalists: The Nepmen, 1921-1929* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990).

[97] Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate*, 3-23; Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, 160-212.

[98] For a thorough take on the NEP debates and state-capitalism, see: Erlich, *The Soviet Industrialization Debate,* 24; Moshe Lewin, *Political Undercurrents in Soviet Economic Debates: From Bukharin to the Modern Reformers* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 33-72; Edward Hallett Carr, *Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926-1929, Vol.* 3 (London, UK: Palgrave, 1976) and Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926, Vol. 1* (London, UK: Macmillan Company, 1958); Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926, Vol. 2* (London, UK: Macmillan Company, 1959).

socialism there are no intermediate rungs."[99] According to Lenin, there were no degrees of socialism; state-capitalism was *the way* to socialism.

In 1918, Lenin reiterated his thoughts on state capitalism in another pamphlet entitled, "The Present-Day Economy of Russia." In the 1918 pamphlet, Lenin reminded his readers that he had discussed "'high appreciation' of state capitalism" in "The Threatening Catastrophe and How to Fight It" before the Bolshevik Revolution. In making this reference, Lenin reminded his audience that state-capitalism was an integral part of socialism. The Bolshevik leader maintained that establishing state-capitalism in the USSR within six months would ensure that socialism would "have gained a permanently firm hold and will have become invincible in this country." The Bolshevik leader dismissed those who suggested that state-capitalism undermined the socialist revolution or its gains. Lenin stated that the hoarding "petty bourgeois" were an "enemy of state capitalism" and that state-capitalism was the "surest road" to "socialism." Moreover, Lenin noted that the government's control of large-scale production along state-capitalist lines would be the surest means to consolidate socialism. Lenin concluded that state-capitalism was not antithetical to their revolutionary agenda.[100] In a few decades, Nkrumah's friend and close intellectual interlocutor, CLR James, would return to Lenin's notions of state-capitalism and socialism.

LINKING THE NEP & STATE-CAPITALISM TO NKRUMAH

Nkrumah's experience in America and Britain from 1935-1947 profoundly shaped his outlook on global black racial solidarity and introduced him to the leading black Marxist theorists of the

[99] Vladimir Lenin, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," September 1917.

[100] Vladimir Lenin, "The Present-Day Economy of Russia," 1918.

twentieth century. During this period, Nkrumah began to discuss and think about the intricacies of Marxist-Leninism and its applicability for African decolonization and the postcolonial development economic project.

Nkrumah was born on September 12, 1912, as a British colonial subject in Nkroful, colonial Ghana. Some sources suggest that Nkrumah's father, Kwamina Adadie, was a chief, while others suggest that he was a goldsmith. His mother, Madam Elizabeth Nyaniba, was a market woman. Nkrumah attended St. Augustine's College in Cape Coast and Achimota College, an elite colonial Ghanaian secondary school institution in Accra.[101] In 1935, Nkrumah applied for a non-quota immigration visa to enter the United States to attend university. The American government granted him the visa and he departed from Sekondi to America on August 6, 1935, arriving on October 31, 1935.[102]

Nkrumah soon enrolled at Lincoln University, a historically black educational institution, receiving his Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology and Economics from there in 1939.[103] At Lincoln, he also studied at the Theological Seminary. On May 12, 1942, Lincoln awarded Nkrumah the Robert H. Nassau Price for best exemplifying "the ideal of the Theological Seminary of Lincoln University in scholarship and personality."[104] After Lincoln, Nkrumah

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[101] FCO141/4933, December 12, 1947, "Extract from Enclosure B to Gold Coast Secret Despatch;" "'Philadelphia Kingfish in West Africa,'" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 30, 1949.

[102] FCO141/4933, April 1, 1949, R. Thistlethwaite to the Director-General of the Security Service.

[103] Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York, NY: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957), 33.

[104] PRAAD ACCRA, SC21/4/6, *The Lincoln University Bulletin*, Prizes Awarded at Commencement, May 12, 1942.

studied at the University of Pennsylvania, where he went on to receive a Master of Science degree in Education from the School of Education in 1942 and a Master of Arts degree in Philosophy in 1943.[105]

In October 1944, after nine years in America, Nkrumah was homesick.[106] In his dissertation, "Mind and Thought in Primitive Society: A Study in Ethno-Philosophy," Nkrumah wrote that he was looking forward with joy to returning to Africa.[107] Attacking the underbelly of racism in anthropological, colonial, and imperial discourses, Nkrumah sarcastically noted that it was "assumed that I came with a 'primitive mind' and will leave with a 'civilized mind.'"[108] Nkrumah's condition would not have been aided by the fact that his dissertation committee rejected his dissertation "on three separate occasions because it was nothing more or less than a vicious indictment of Imperialism and could not qualify as a philosophical thesis,"[109] countering Marika Sherwood's suggestion that Nkrumah's dissertation was rejected because it was "too pro-Communist."[110] When Nkrumah returned to the University of Pennsylvania as Ghana's head of state in 1958, the University praised Nkrumah's acquirement of "advanced degrees in education and philosophy," dubbed him as "one of its most illustrious sons," and saluted his "personal

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[105] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 33, 34.

[106] Ibid., October 6, 1944, Robert M. Laboll (name unintelligible) to Nkrumah.

[107] SC21/4/8.

[108] SC21/4/8; Nkrumah would also attack the idea that Western religion and philosophy were transcendent. See Curtis C. Smith, "Nkrumaism as Utopianism," *Utopian Studies*, No. 3 (1991), 32.

[109] FCO141/4933, April 18, 1949, E. H. Roach to the Honorable Colonial Secretary.

[110] Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad 1935-1947* (Accra, Ghana: Freedom Publicans, 1996), 64.

accomplishments in the community of nations." "It is with a deep sense of pride," the university administrators continued, "that we acknowledge your distinguished position on the world scene and express abiding satisfaction in the dynamic role which you fulfill as a son of Pennsylvania."[111] The University of Pennsylvania ignored its role in denying Nkrumah his doctorate when he was just a black African student seeking black and African liberation. No record suggests that the University of Pennsylvania ever issued Nkrumah an apology.

Despite Nkrumah's setbacks in anthropology, he did not reject the discipline and joined the Philadelphia Anthropological Society between 1942-1944.[112] During this period, he actively engaged with ongoing debates around African and African American cultural linkages and was profoundly influenced by Melville J. Herskovits' arguments concerning African Americans' distinct preservations of African cultural practices.[113] In October 1945, Nkrumah enrolled as an anthropology doctoral student at the London School of Economics but withdrew after one semester. In the following year, Nkrumah registered as a student at the University College London, to work under Professor Sir Alfred Jules "Freddie" Ayer,[114] with the hope of submitting a dissertation on "Knowledge and Logical Positivism,"[115] but he also abandoned that adventure,

[111] PRAAD-Accra, SC21/4/22, July 26, 1958, the University of Pennsylvania to Kwame Nkrumah.

[112] PRAAD-Accra, October 1, 1943, "To the Philadelphia Anthropological Society."

[113] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 44-45; see Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1990).

[114] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 52.

[115] Sherwood, "Kwame Nkrumah: The London Years, 1945-47," *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 12, Issue 3 (1993), 82.

exhausted by his dual life as an anti-colonial leader and the hurdles he continued to face around issues of race, empire, and knowledge production.

Outside of the classroom, Nkrumah conceived of America as a space for Africans to build the African liberation struggle. Writing to Phillip Brown on July 17, 1942, Nkrumah chided those "Africans in New York" who were "'monkeying around'" and not "planning for the future of our country." He assured Brown that they would make those Africans "realize their error." Nkrumah called for Africans to be "united . . . in America," to "assume leadership" positions in matters concerning their future, and to open a central office in New York City to prepare "to strike after the war." As the President of the African Students Association of the United States and Canada, Nkrumah called for Africans in America to forget their ethnic differences and to "combat the insidious 'divide-and-rule' policy of colonial governments."[116] Nkrumah notified his American readers that there was a "new African everywhere in the five continents and on the seven seas." Africans were "awake" and would not remain shackled. This period significantly shaped Nkrumah's concept of the "new African," which would incorporate both those within and outside the African continent.[117] Through Nkrumah's educational experience at an African American higher educational institution, his interactions with African Americans, his regular sermons at black churches, his life as an economically impoverished black man in Jim and Jane Crow America, and both his studies and teaching of the linkages between African and African American history, he had gained a shared sense of a broader racial consciousness and solidarity.

[116] SC1/40/96, July 17, 1942, Nkrumah to Phillip Brown.

[117] Nkrumah, "Education and Nationalism in Africa," November 1943.

While in America, Nkrumah became engrossed in the history and predicament of African Americans. On numerous Sundays, Nkrumah gave sermons in black churches.[118] During the 1944-1945 academic year at Lincoln, Nkrumah taught the course "Negro Civilization and History,"[119] which he described as an exhilarating experience.[120] In an essay "The History of the Negro Church," Nkrumah chronicled the history of colonizing empires and religious institutions in proselytizing and neglecting enslaved Africans across the Americas. Nkrumah praised those who steadfastly preached for black emancipation and spiritual redemption, reserving special adulation for African American pastors George Liele Lisle, Andrew Bryan, Gowan Pamphlet, John Stewart, and Lemuel Haynes.[121] Following W.E.B. Du Bois's study on the life of African Americans in Philadelphia, Nkrumah studied the plight of African Americans in the Philadelphia area.[122] All of these experiences enabled Nkrumah to link African and African American experiences, to consider a varied but singular black global experience, and experience an awakening to the racial and socioeconomic contradictions of the American liberal experience. These were the same inconsistencies inherent in the British colonizing project.

Nkrumah used his knowledge about African American affairs and his position as a visible African student leader to bridge the intellectual, political, and cultural divide between Africans

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[118] Barbara S. Monfils, "A Multifaceted Image: Kwame Nkrumah's Extrinsic Rhetorical Strategies," *Journal of Black Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (March 1977), 321; Sherwood, "Kwame Nkrumah," 187.

[119] Ibid., August 22, 1944, W. L. Wright to Nkrumah.

[120] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 34.

[121] PRAAD-Accra, SC21/1/97-112 (SC21/1/107), Kwame Nkrumah, "The History of the Negro Church," (written between 1940-1945?).

[122] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 43.

and African Americans. On November 13, 1943, Nkrumah published "Education and Nationalism in Africa." Through it, he sought to "promote an intelligent understanding" amongst Americans about African politics, educational systems, economic realities, its people's aspirations, and Africa's importance "in th[e] gigantic and critical struggle of world forces."[123] On other occasions, Nkrumah provided "a general review of . . . African culture which would show the cultural background of the Negroes prior to their introduction into slavery in the United States," and he actively dispelled myths that African societies had remained static for over approximately five hundred years.[124] At "the Achievement Week" celebrations at the University of Pennsylvania on December 6, 1942, Nkrumah attacked the British, French, and Spanish empires in Africa and "pleaded for unity between Africans and the American Negros 'whose problems are basically the same.'" Importantly, African American figures such as William Hastie, the civilian aide to the Secretary of War, William Thompkins, Recorder of Deeds, and Adam Clayton Powell Jr., the charismatic Communist African American leader and pastor from New York City, also participated in the conference.[125]

On March 22, 1944, Paul Robeson, who at the time was the Chairman and co-founder of the Council on African Affairs in New York, invited Nkrumah to discuss "Africa's stakes in victory and post-war security, democracy, and peace" in a conference entitled, "Africa—New

[123] PRAAD-Accra, SC21/4/6, Francis Nwia-Kofi Nkrumah, "Education and Nationalism in Africa," November 1943, *Educational Outlook*, School of Education, University of Pennsylvania.

[124] SC1/40/96, March 7, 1944, F. Lee Perry to Nkrumah.

[125] KV2/1847/3, December 31, 1942, Security Division of British Security Co-Ordination to the Security Executive, London.

Perspectives," on April 14, 1944.[126] In a March 31, 1944 message to Nkrumah, Robeson noted the importance of figures like Nkrumah in America "to meet together and attempt to reach a common agreement on the basic principles and measures which they (Africans) conceive essential for the future welfare of the African people."[127] The young Nkrumah produced knowledge about Africa for North American intellectual circuits and was part of these debates. In the autumn of 1944, Nkrumah sought an academic appointment at the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University for Negroes,[128] but was informed that his services were not required.[129]

Nonetheless, during his time in America, Nkrumah had become intimately aware of the plight of African Americans and linked the struggles of black people globally. At the Youth House in Britain in August 1946, Nkrumah spoke about the discrimination African Americans faced in America.[130] It was through concerns and mobilizations around black racial alliance and economic uplift that Nkrumah came into contact with black Marxists and began his training in Marxist-Leninism.

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[126] SC1/40/96, March 22, 1944, Paul Robeson to Nkrumah.

[127] Ibid., March 31, 1944, Paul Robeson to Nkrumah, Ibango Udo Akpabio, Mary McLeod Bethune, Prof. Joseph R. Chamberlain, Dr. Rayford Logan, M. J. Obermeier, Cecilia Cabaniss Saunders, David H. Simms, and Dr. Henry E. Sigerist.

[128] Now known as the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University.

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[129] SC1/40/96, October 7, 1944, H. Gray, Jr. to Nkrumah.

[130] FCO141/4933, November 3, 1947, G. E. Sinclair.

Figure 1: A photograph of Kwame Nkrumah in the West African Students Union in London after he left Lincoln University with an honorary doctorate, June 15, 1951.[131]

Figure 2 Nkrumah at the University of Pennsylvania in 1958.[132]

[131]PRAAD-Accra SC21/4/16. I unfortunately cannot identify the other people in that photograph.

[132] PRAAD-Accra SC21/4/18.

Figure 3 Left to Right: Ghana's Ambassador to America, Nkrumah, UPenn Vice-Provost Roy Nichols, Governor George M. Leader, and Frederick R. M. photo was taken in 1958 at the University of Pennsylvania.[133]

Nkrumah's engagements with ideologies of antiracism, decolonization, liberation, and imperialism acquainted him with some of the most influential Marxist scholars of the twentieth century. These interactions underpinned his knowledge of Marxism and Marxist-Leninism. For example, in 1943, Nkrumah corresponded with the influential black Marxist Claudia Jones, whose work inspired Nkrumah to "remove the threat of oppressor and oppressed." Nkrumah looked forward to meeting her again and to ensuring that their global movement was "so powerful that nothing this side of the supernatural" could "stop it."[134] For two individuals engaged in Marxist-Leninist thought at the time it would be surprising if they did not discuss the relevancy of both the Soviet experiment and Lenin and Marx's ideas for their struggles. Nkrumah also met one of his life-long intellectual interlocutors in the United States, the black

[133] PRAAD-Accra SC21/4/19.

[134] SC1/40/96, October 27, 1943, Nkrumah to Claudia Jones.

Marxist C.L.R. James. James spent years reading Trotsky's *History of the Revolutio*n, Lenin's works, and two volumes on Stalin.[135] James's 1950 book, *State Capitalism and World Revolution*, conveys his understanding of state-capitalism and the NEP. In this seminal work, James dedicated three chapters to state-capitalism, arguing that Karl Marx advocated for state-capitalism in *Capital Volume 1* and dissecting Lenin's ideas of state-capitalism in relation to Marxism.[136] James argued that Lenin developed and tackled his ideas of state-monopoly capitalism in two books, *Imperialism* (1915) and *State and Revolution* (1917),[137] and in two pamphlets, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It" (1917) and "The Present-Day Economy of Russia" (1918), respectively.[138] While James chided Stalinists and orthodox Trotskyism for failing to address Marx's and Engel's take on state-capitalism, he praised Lenin's analysis of state-capitalism within Marxism, treating it as the Marxian model.[139] James argued that state-capitalism was a central tenet in Lenin's writings and claimed that one could not "escape the theoretical possibility that Russia might be a form of state-capitalism."[140] James concluded that "Lenin's method of economic analysis is ours to use" and that the "problems of *production* which Lenin had to tackle in Russia in 1920 are *universal* (italicize in original)."[141]

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[135] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 5. Folder 2. Series II., 6.

[136] C.L.R. James, *State Capitalism and World Revolution*, first edition (London, England: Facing Reality Publishing Committee, 1950), 25.

[137] Ibid., 26.

[138] Ibid., 27.

[139] Ibid., 25.

[140] Ibid., 28.

[141] Ibid., 93.

James's statement foregrounded Mazrui's, Quayson's, and the Boggs' later ideas of black revolutionaries repurposing and reformulating white European ideas for their own purposes. While Chapter 3 addresses how Nkrumah utilized Lenin's economic framework to suit the Ghanaian condition, this chapter suggests that these thoughts were important because it highlights the types of discourses black Marxists were engaged in during the period. They were not simply having conversations about the race question or decolonization, but also grappling with questions about political-economic development and alternative economic models. In other works, James translated Boris Souvarine's *Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism* into English. This text also contained passages dedicated to the NEP, particularly chapter seven.[142] In *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, James spent a chapter dedicated to the relevance of Lenin's ideas on Africa and "underdeveloped economies." It was this James, very knowledgeable about Lenin, who met Nkrumah in America in 1943.

Between 1943-1945, James and Nkrumah became close friends.[143] The two would remain amicable until Nkrumah dismissed Sir Isaac Korsah from the Ghanaian judiciary in 1963.[144] Yet, while they were in America, James and his friends traveled to Pennsylvania to visit Nkrumah, while Nkrumah and his associates ventured to New York City to exchange ideas with James and

[142] Boris Souvarine, *Stalin: A Critical Survey of Bolshevism* (London, England: Secker and Warburg, 1939).

[143] C.L.R. James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3., 14.

[144] C.L.R. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* (London, UK: Allison & Busby, 1977), 180-181; Nkrumah dismissed Sir Isaac Korsah because he acquitted the alleged plotters on Nkrumah's life.

his comrades.[145] Nkrumah also attended James's Trotskyist group meetings,[146] with James remembering that Nkrumah often talked about Leninism, imperialism, and the export of capital.[147] Although the proceedings of such informal gatherings are largely absent from the archives, it was in these Marxist spaces where discussions about Lenin's state-capitalist ideas, the success and failures of the NEP, Stalinism, Trotskyism, and black liberation would have been hotly debated.

During those impressionable years, Nkrumah wrote "The Philosophy of Property," which provides a window into Nkrumah's thinking on Marx's ideas of private property, nationalization, and its applicability and relevance for contemporary society. Nkrumah found Marx's notions that all property belonged to labor and for the abolishment of private property to be "utopian" and counter both to economic realities and human nature.[148] For Nkrumah, land did not belong to the laborer in the Marxian sense and the nullification of private property was impractical. The young Nkrumah rejected the premise that a government could nationalize all lands or private property even if deemed it necessary. Indeed, as Ghana's head of state, Nkrumah stuck to this principle—never nationalizing any of Ghana's economic sectors. Nonetheless, during the last years of

[145] C.L.R. James Papers Box 9. Folder 9. Series II.2.,1966-1967, 1072, C.L.R. James, "Kwame Nkrumah: Founder of African Emancipation," *Black World*, July 1972.

[146] C.L.R. James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3. C.L.R. James giving a talk entitled, "George Padmore: Black Marxist Revolutionary: A Memoir by C.L.R. James," in North London in 1976.

[147] Howard University, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center (MSRC), Dabu Gizenga Collection on Kwame Nkrumah, 128-19, from Du Bois to Fanon: C.L.R. James.

[148] SC21/1/97-112 (SC21/1/79), Kwame Nkrumah, "The Philosophy of Property."

World War II, Nkrumah was keen on furthering his Marxist, Communist, and Russian education and knowledge.

On August 21, 1943, Nkrumah wrote to Carl Ross, the Secretary of the Communist Party of Minnesota, to discuss his desire to go to New York City to spend some months training at the Communist Party training school. Nkrumah had also mentioned that he intended to spend a few months in Russia before returning to Africa.[149] In the summer of 1944, Nkrumah applied to and was accepted to undertake an intensive study of contemporary Russian civilization at Cornell University.[150] Due to financial constraints, Nkrumah did not attend. The contents of Nkrumah's application are unfortunately unknown. As Nkrumah moved to Britain in 1945 to study law and anthropology at the London School of Economics,[151] and to engage in political activity, James introduced him to his childhood friend, George Padmore—one of the most renowned black Communists of the era. James asked Padmore to train Nkrumah in revolutionary matters.[152]

Scholars have famously jumped on James's introductory letter of Nkrumah to Padmore that Nkrumah was "not very bright."[153] In explaining how his comments had been misconstrued, James noted that "Nkrumah was a very sophisticated and fluent man—I didn't mean he was a fool." James continued, "I knew he was politically sound. He was determined to throw the Europeans out of Africa and I asked [Padmore] to do what he could for him. George understood

[149] FCO141/4933, April 1, 1949, R. Thistlethwaite to Director-General of the Security Service.

[150] SC1/40/96, June 23, 1944, Ernest J. Simmons to Nkrumah.

[151] FCO141/4933, December 9, 1947, "Francis Nwia-Kofie Nkrumah alias F.N. Kwame Nkrumah,' written by R. W. H. Ballantine, Commissioner of the Gold Coast Police.

[152] C.L.R. James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3., 14.

[153] (MSRC), Kwame Nkrumah, 128-19, from Du Bois to Fanon: C.L.R. James.

at once: This man is a born revolutionary, devoted completely."[154] While in the United States, Nkrumah had been politically active in his opposition to colonialism, racism, and imperialism, but he had not learned how to operate, organize, and maneuver a broad liberation political party against the world's most powerful empire—Britain. While perhaps self-serving, James noted that Nkrumah's exploits in Ghana were only possible through Padmore's political education and guidance. Marika Sherwood remarked that Nkrumah "received an 'injection of Marxism'" from Padmore.[155]

Padmore was born as Malcolm Nurse on June 28, 1903, in Trinidad.[156] His father, Hubert Alphonso Nurse, taught agriculture at the elementary school level[157] and converted to Islam from Christianity after reading Edward Blyden's *Christianity, Islam, and the Negro Rac*e.[158] Thus, from a young age, George Padmore was inundated in an intellectually engaged, black liberationist middle-class household. Padmore attended St. Mary's College in Trinidad and then became a reporter for the *Mirror* and eventually the *Trinidad Guardian* around 1921 and 1922.[159] He moved to America in 1923 to further his education. In 1925, Padmore enrolled at Fisk University, then studied law at New York University in 1926 before moving to Howard University to pursue the same degree in 1927.[160] While at Howard, Padmore joined the

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[154] Ibid.

[155] Sherwood, "Kwame Nkrumah," 187.

[156] James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, 17.

[157] C.L.R. James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3, 2.

[158] Ibid., 3.

[159] Ibid., 5.

[160] Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*, 38.

Communist Party of the United States. Padmore made his presence and political views felt on campus. When the British Ambassador arrived at Howard to speak, Padmore printed numerous leaflets denouncing imperialism and "threw them in his face."[161] Deeply embarrassed by Padmore's actions, Howard subsequently expelled him.[162] Padmore soon left America for England.

In 1932, Padmore moved to the Soviet Union and became the most celebrated black Communist in the world. Rather than being subjected to Jane and Jim Crow in America and the color bars in Trinidad, in the Soviet Union, Padmore was elected as a Moscow City Soviet and lived in the Kremlin. Such was his standing that during the Soviet May Day celebrations Padmore sat on the platform with Stalin, Vyacheslav Molotov, and other prominent Soviet officials in the early 1930s.[163] From his lofty status in Moscow, Padmore played a crucial role in The Red International of Labor Unions' (RILU) and the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers (ITUCNW) in the early 1930s.[164] The ITUCNW was created to "serve as a global or transnational platform to activate and coordinate agitation and propaganda among 'Negro workers' through the world."[165] However, things quickly turned sour for Padmore when Italy invaded Ethiopia. Padmore refused to tow the Soviet line that distinguished between

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[161] C.L.R. James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3, "C.L.R. James's talking about George Padmore in 1976 interview in North London, Side 2 of tape."

[162] Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*, 39.

[163] Ibid., 8.

[164] James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, 3; Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*, 5-6.

[165] Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*, 2.

democratic and fascist imperialists. He quit the Bolshevik Party and its affiliate organizations and left the USSR in 1934. Without one of its main engines, the ITCUNW was disbanded in 1937.[166]

Padmore returned to England and knocked on his old childhood friend's door. C.L.R. James opened it and found a "disheveled" man, noting that Padmore's "eyes were not what they ought to be."[167] Padmore soon joined James' and Amy Garvey's (Marcus Garvey's wife's) group, the International African Friends of (Abyssinia) Ethiopia.[168] The group included figures like the Communist T. Ras Makonnen, and the pioneering Gold Coast intellectual J.B. Danquah.[169] Padmore maintained that any act of racism or incident against colonized people should be immediately recorded and reported to the Colonial Office. Padmore noted that the colonizers should know that the anti-colonialists were vigilant and cared about matters big and small.[170]

In meeting George Padmore, Nkrumah also came into contact with Dorothy Padmore, George Padmore's wife. James noted that Dorothy Padmore understood Marxism as well as anyone in the Communist Party. James wrote that Dorothy Padmore helped George write his

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[166] Ibid., 14.

[167] C.L.R. James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3., 7.

[168] Erik S. McDuffie has written an excellent profile on Amy Garvey. See Erik S. McDuffie, "'A New Day Has Dawned for the UNIA': Garveyism, the Diasporic Midwest, and West Africa, 1920–80," *Journal of West African History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Spring 2016), 73-114; James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below*, 30.

[169] C.L.R. James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3., 10.

[170] Ibid., 12.

books, advised him on what books to acquire, and aided him in reading his books.[171] James thus raised a series of questions of the recognized intellectual labor of black women. Nonetheless, George and Dorothy Padmore's experiences in the USSR and their knowledge about the Soviet economic system, the NEP, Leninism, Stalinism, and Marxism would have likely been discussed with and relayed to Nkrumah. Nkrumah indicates that they spent "much time sitting in Padmore's 'small kitchen, the wooden table completely covered by papers,' discussing" politics.[172] I suggest that these political discussions inevitably informed and shaped Nkrumah's ideas on Soviet economic developmental approaches, decolonization, and the viability of the Soviet and Marxist economic system for an independent Socialist African Republic. Another critical black Marxist that Nkrumah became acquainted with during this period was William Edward Burghardt Du Bois.

W.E.B. Du Bois was born on February 23, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. He was named after his parents: Mary Burghardt and Alfred Du Bois. Du Bois was one of the most significant intellectual figures of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. George Padmore called Du Bois the "father of Pan-Africanism" and the "doyen" of African Americans.[173] In a letter to Du Bois on December 3, 1954, Padmore told Du Bois that "hardly a day goes by unless your name comes up in some conversation with our young African friends who are frequent visitors to our apartment (sic)."[174] Padmore's note to Du Bois highlighted the interconnectivity between these global figures and circles.

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[171] Ibid., 18.

[172] Sherwood, "Kwame Nkrumah," 183.

[173] George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism* (London, UK: Anchor Book, 1971), 67.

[174] Du Bois, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois. Vol. 3*, 373.

Du Bois attended Fisk University from 1855 to 1888. He also spent two years at the University of Berlin and acquired a second Bachelor of Arts degree from Harvard University. In 1895, Du Bois received a Ph.D. in history from Harvard,[175] becoming the first African American to acquire a doctorate from Harvard.[176] His books—*The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), *The Talented Tenth* (1903), *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), *The Negro* (1915), *Black Reconstruction* (1935), and *Black Folk—Then and Now* (1939) —transformed popular and academic understandings of African Americans. Du Bois's determination to make black people central to historical processes inspired figures like C.L.R. James.[177] James concluded that Du Bois's works lifted him "from (being) primarily a black writer, to a historian, due to the very fact that he was dealing with a profoundly revolutionary section of the world's population, made discoveries which lifted his work far beyond the racial and national, and projected it into new fields of historical writing."[178] In 1910, Du Bois became a leading figure in the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP).[179] In capturing Du Bois's importance to the struggle of black liberation globally, James conceded that Du Bois was one of the few scholars of his generation to think about black liberation outside the confines of one country.[180] Until the

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[175] James Campbell, "Du Bois and James," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Summer 1992), 569.

[176] Hakim Adi and Marika Sherwood, *Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787* (London, UK: Routledge Press, 2003), 48.

[177] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 9. Folder 4. Series II. 2. Du Bois, W.E.B, 2.

[178] Ibid., 7.

[179] Adi and Sherwood, *Pan-African* History, 49.

[180] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 10. Folder 15. Series II. 3, "From Du Bois to Fanon."

Pan-African Congresses went to Africa, Du Bois led the Pan-African movement and conferences for decades. It was in this capacity that Du Bois became acquainted with other liberationists like Padmore, Nkrumah, Kenyatta, and James.

In the first few decades of the twentieth century, Du Bois's influence had stretched to West Africa. J.E. Kwegyir Aggrey—a Gold Coast British subject, a graduate of Livingstone College in North Carolina, a former student at Columbia University, and someone Nkrumah would cite as having an enormous influence on him—wrote to Du Bois on July 1, 1913. Aggrey requested to study under Du Bois, to join the NAACP, to start a NAACP branch at Livingstone College, and for the two men to become better acquainted.[181] Aggrey informed Du Bois that his works profoundly impacted him and that he taught the *Souls of Black Folk* in his literature class in Accra.[182]

Nkrumah met Aggrey while he was a student-teacher at the prestigious Achimota College in colonial Ghana,[183] which was founded by Aggrey himself, along with Rev. Alexander Garden Fraser and Sir Gordon Guggisberg in 1924. It is likely that Nkrumah read Du Bois's *Souls of Black Folk* in Aggrey's class before departing to study at Lincoln University. Aggrey served on the Phelps Stokes Foundation's Educational Commission of East and West Africa during his Columbia University student days.[184] The Foundation financially sponsored numerous African

[181] Du Bois, W. E. B.; Aptheker, Herbert, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois. Vol. 1, Selections, 1877-1934* (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press 1973), 182.

[182] Ibid.

[183] "'Philadelphia Kingfish in West Africa,'" *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, May 30, 1949.

[184] Du Bois, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois – Vol. 1*, 182.

students to study in America, including Nkrumah.[185] In his autobiography, Nkrumah lauded Aggrey as one of the most influential figures in his life alongside Marx, Lenin, and Garvey.[186] If it was not for Aggrey, Nkrumah would never have traveled to America.

In the summer of 1926, Du Bois toured the Soviet Union. 1926 was not just any year; it was at the height of the NEP.[187] Du Bois traveled to the USSR a few more times before his death—in 1936, in 1949 to attend the All-Soviet Peace Congress in Moscow, and in May 1959 to receive the Lenin Peace Prize.[188] When Du Bois toured the Soviet Union in 1926, it was during a moment of prosperity that the Eastern Power had not experienced since 1913.[189] After Du Bois's experiences in the Soviet Union, he wrote "Russia, 1926." In the essay, Du Bois expressed "astonishment and wonder at the revelation of Russia."[190]

While scholars like David Levering Lewis and Maxim Matusevich have rightly understood Du Bois to be referring to racial and gender relations and equity within the Soviet Union, they neglect the fact that Du Bois could also have been referring to the USSR's political economy. Du Bois's famous words that the biggest problem of the twentieth century would be the color line has aided in this obscuration. Robin D.G. Kelley has pushed scholars to move past limiting the

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[185] FCO141/4933, December 8, 1947, R. Thistlethwaite to Director-General of the Security Service.

[186] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 16.

[187] David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois: The Fight For Equality and the American Century* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2000), 200; Maxim Matusevich, "Journeys of Hope: African Diaspora and the Soviet Society," *African Diaspora*, Vol. 1, Issue 1-2 (2008), 59.

[188] Adi and Sherwood, *Pan-African History*, 51.

[189] Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois*, 202.

[190] Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois*, 203; Matusevich, "Journeys of Hope," 59.

study of the black diaspora to their *black* bodies and racial "political identities." Kelley notes that these figures were also "integrally tied to other kinds of international movements," such as socialism and communism.[191] Academic focus on these figures' anti-colonial and anti-racial pronouncements hides another important aspect of themselves—their economic ideologies.

What political and economic ideas did Du Bois acquire from the Soviet Union? I suggest that Du Bois was also surprised at the success of the state-capitalist project and the NEP. In a July 27, 1927, letter to Louis A. Carter, a Chaplain in the United States' 25th infantry, Du Bois admitted his approval of the Soviet developmental method. He noted: "I am not sure as to what you mean by the word 'Bolshevic.' If you mean everything that is contemptible, cruel and wrong, I do not think that I deserve the name; but if you apply the word to those people who are striving with partial success to organize industry for public service rather than for private profit, then I also am a Bolshevic and proud of it (sic)."[192] Du Bois would comment on the Soviet economic system several more times in his life. On October 1, 1961, Du Bois wrote to Gus Hall, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA), seeking admission to the CPUSA. In the message, Du Bois admitted that he had hailed the Bolshevik Revolution and that during his visits to the USSR he was "convinced that socialism was an excellent way of life, but I thought it might be reached by various methods." Du Bois continued, "For Russia I was convinced she had chosen the only way open to her at the time."[193] What way was this? It was Lenin's state-capitalist project and the NEP.

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[191] Robin D. G. Kelley, "How the West Was One: On the Uses and Limitations of Diaspora," *The Black Scholar* 30, No. 3-4 (2001), 32.

[192] Du Bois, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois – Vol. 1.*, 357.

[193] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Worker*, November 26, 1961.

Besides the issue of black liberation, Du Bois would have had conversations with figures like Nkrumah, the next generation of African leaders tasked with economically developing and leading their new countries, at events such as the Pan-African Congresses and through personal correspondences about economic development methods and about the successes and failures of the NEP and the state-capitalist project in the USSR. In "Socialism Today," Du Bois, name-dropping Nkrumah's name, wrote that the 1945 Fifth Pan-African Congress delegates "adopted Marxist Socialism as its philosophy."[194] Towards the last years of his life, Du Bois seemed to have become a Stalin apologist, especially after Nikita Khrushchev's Secret Speech at the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress on February 25, 1956, where he denounced Stalin's atrocities and the cult of personality.[195] In a July 8, 1956, letter to Anna Melissa Graves, a participant in the anti-imperialist and anti-racist movements, Du Bois admitted that he regarded "Stalin as one of the great men of the twentieth century." While Du Bois admitted that Stalin "was not perfect" and "probably too cruel," he argued that Stalin was key to establishing "the first socialist state in the modern world" and that "he broke the power of the kulaks."[196]

The fate and role of the Kulaks, wealthy farmers, were one of the key controversies and questions in the NEP era.[197] It was Bukharin's infamous call for the peasants to "enrich yourselves" that would inevitably lead to his execution. One could certainly envision the intense

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[194] Karl August Wittfogel Papers Box 203 Folder 203.4, W.E.B. Du Bois, "Socialism Today," speech delivered in California and Chicago in 1958.

[195] Nikita Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU February 24-25, 1956.

[196] Du Bois, W. E. B. and Aptheker, Herbert, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois. Vol. 3, Selections, 1944-1963* (Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1978), 402.

[197] Ball, *Russia's Last Capitalists*.

debates that would have ensued between Du Bois and other black Marxists, especially James and Padmore, about his attitude towards Lenin, Stalin, Trotskyism, Stalinism, socialism, and economic development. Writing to Padmore on December 10, 1954, Du Bois questioned Nkrumah's and Padmore's economic policy of courting British and American capital.[198] "Du Bois advised Africa to borrow from the Soviet Union" and not the West.[199]

The limits of the archive and its erasures prevent us from knowing the full extent of these discourses and debates. Even during our protagonists' lives, they were aware that their documents were being tinkered with and destroyed. In a note to Padmore on October 27, 1951, Du Bois acknowledged that their mail was being "tampered with" and that their letters were failing to "reach their destination."[200] Du Bois left the United States for the final time on October 5, 1961, to undertake his *Encyclopedia Africana* project in Ghana at Nkrumah's behest. Du Bois renounced his American citizenship, although it was all but gone at that juncture, and became a Ghanaian citizen before his death in Ghana on August 27, 1963.[201] Paul Robeson was another person Nkrumah met in the United States, who had also had ties to the Soviet state.

Robeson was born April 9, 1898, in Princeton, New Jersey. C.L.R. James called Robeson "the most marvelous human being,"[202] an individual with "a combination of immense power and

[198]Du Bois, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois. Vol. 3.*, 375.

[199] Cited in Curtis Smith, "Nkrumaism as Utopianism," *Utopian Studies*, No. 3 (1991), 34.

[200] Du Bois, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois. Vol. 3.*, 329.

[201] Adi and Sherwood, *Pan-African History*, 51.

[202] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 9. Folder 10. Series II.2, 1.

great gentleness,"[203] and "one of the most remarkable men of the 20th century."[204] James argued that one could not understand the twentieth-century without "taking into consideration Paul Robeson."[205] Robeson's father, Reverend William Drew Robeson, was an African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) Zion minister. In 1860, at the age of fifteen, Reverend Robeson escaped slavery in North Carolina through the Underground Railroad. Paul Robeson's mother, Maria Louisa Bustill, was a schoolteacher.[206] Robeson came from a family that believed in freedom and social and political advancement. Paul Robeson graduated from Rutgers University with honors in 1919 and from Columbia law school in 1923.[207] Four years after graduating from the Ivy League institution and participating in a host of plays and movies such as *Voodoo King in Taboo (1922), All God's Chillun Got Wings (1924), Emperor Jones (1925),* and *Body and Soul (1925),* Robeson moved to England.[208]

While residing in England from 1927-1939, Robeson often visited the Soviet Union and lived there briefly.[209] At this juncture, Robeson had joined the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) and believed that the Communist International, a Moscow-led

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[203] Ibid., 2.

[204] Ibid., 4, 5.

[205] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 11. Folder 3. Series II.3, 6.

[206] Gloster B. Current, "Paul Robeson (1898-1976)," *The Black Perspective in Music,* Vol. 4, No. 3 (Autumn, 1976), 302.

[207] Ibid., 304; Tony Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex: Race, Madness, Activism* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 8.

[208] Current, "Paul Robeson (1898-1976)," 304, 305.

[209] Ibid.

communist international organization, would lead the world revolution.[210] According to James, Robeson became completely "committed . . . to the Communist doctrine that only a world revolution could save society from the evils of imperialism and capitalism."[211] In the 1930s, James and Robeson often met in London; James noted that "They were not too many of us (black Marxists) in London in those days."[212] Tony Perucci has suggested that conversations with Nkrumah and Jomo Kenyatta inspired Robeson to study African languages and culture at the School of Oriental Languages at London University.[213] This interaction underscores the small, but interconnecting cadre of blacks during this period while revealing how these figures influenced each other. Kenyatta had also studied at the KUTV school in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and is alleged to have seen the black South African Marxist Albert Nzula taken away by Soviet authorities before he died.[214] Thus, in this intimate community, some individuals had traveled or lived in the Soviet Union during the NEP era or immediately right after it, and others who had had studied the Soviet experiment from afar. Whether positively or negatively, these figures would have hotly debated those experiences and their theoretical and practical relevance for Africa.

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[210] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 11. Folder 3. Series II.3, 17.

[211] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 9. Folder 10. Series II.2, 12.

[212] C.L.R. James Papers. Box 11. Folder 3. Series II.3, 21.

[213] Perucci, *Paul Robeson and the Cold War Performance Complex*, 9; it is unclear which languages these were.

[214] Albert Nzula, Ivan Izosimovich Potekhin and A.Z. Zusmanovich, *Forced Labour in Colonial Africa*, edited and introduced by Robin Cohen (London, England: Zed Press, 1979), 15.

From 1937 onwards, Robeson explicitly called for the liquidation of colonialism.[215] In a moment of prescience foreshadowing the Congo debacle, culminating in Patrice Lumumba's murder, Robeson noted that Africa would be the "main testing-ground of the determination and ability of the United Nations to abolish imperialism and its evil consequences from the world."[216] In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, some of the most influential Marxist thinkers of the era crisscrossed Robeson's path. Robeson became an adult during the height of the NEP and went to the USSR as Stalin began his first five-year development plan. It is difficult to imagine that someone like Robeson would have been ignorant of Lenin's state-capitalist ideas and unaware of the political and economic system present in the USSR before his trip East in the 1930s.

As with other black figures in Robeson's orbit, the events in the USSR were essential points of reference to think about capitalism, socialism, communism, society, and black and African liberation. At the "Africa—New Perspectives" conference in April 1944, Robeson's opening address referred to "the Soviet Government as an example of how systematic planning could transform a backward country."[217] Seven years later, director of the FBI J. Edgar Hoover ordered Robeson's American passport to be revoked,[218] a fate that had also befallen Du Bois. While Robeson was increasingly marginalized in America, the Soviets awarded him the Stalin

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[215] Barbara J. Beeching, "Paul Robeson and the Black Press: The 1950 Passport Controversy," *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 87 (Summer 2002), 341.

[216] SC1/40/96, March 31, 1944, Paul Robeson to Nkrumah, Ibango Udo Akpabio, Mary McLeod Bethune, Prof. Joseph R. Chamberlain, Dr. Rayford Logan, M. J. Obermeier, Cecilia Cabaniss Saunders, David H. Simms, and Dr. Henry E. Sigerist.

[217] KV2/1847/2, R. Thistlethwaite to Director-General of the Security Service, April 1, 1948

[218] Beeching, "Paul Robeson and the Black Press," 339-340.

Peace Prize in 1952.[219] Du Bois and Nkrumah would also receive a Soviet Peace Prize during their lifetimes. At a New Year's dinner in 1959, Robeson, Shirley and W.E.B. Du Bois, and Nikita Khrushchev ate together at the Kremlin, with Robeson entertaining the others with his singing.[220] Du Bois and Robeson were not the only figures woven into Nkrumah's world to venture to the USSR— Bankole Awooner-Renner was another figure.

Unlike the other figures who were born outside of the African continent, Bankole Awooner-Renner was born in Elmina, colonial Ghana, as a British colonial subject on June 6, 1898. His father, P. A. Renner, was a member of the legislative council and the Gold Coast Bar. His mother, Awuma Afra, was a Fanti woman from Elmina. Awooner-Renner attended the Government's Boys' School in Accra and King's College in Freetown, Sierra Leone. In 1921, he went to America to study journalism at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pennsylvania and Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.[221] Like Nkrumah, he studied at a historically black college and lived in Jim and Jane Crow America. Unlike Nkrumah, however, Awooner-Renner lived in America during the earlier era of the Great Migration. During this period, millions of Africans Americans moved from the formerly Confederate states to the North in search of a better life after becoming completely disillusioned with the destruction of the Reconstruction Period, poor economic opportunities, lynchings, and attacks on returning African American World War I soldiers.[222] Two years after the Red Summer, the racial scares of anti-

[219] Gloster B. Current, "Paul Robeson (1898-1976)," 304, 305.

[220] Du Bois, *The Correspondence of W. E. B. Du Bois. Vol. 3*., 434

[221] KV2/1840, "Personality Note."

[222] Glenda Gilmore, *Defying Dixie: The Radical Roots of Civil Rights, 1919-1950* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 30.

black racial riots in America still ran deep across black America. The 1921 Tulsa race riot in Oklahoma happened the same year Awooner-Renner arrived in America, removing any blinders—if they were any, to begin with—about the racial divisions and tensions in America.

During this period, Awooner-Renner wrote for the NAACP's *Crisis* while Du Bois was still its editor and for the Urban League's Opportunity's *New Masses*. Awooner-Renner also attended the American Negro Labor Congress's first meeting and soon lead the African National Students Union in North America.[223] Like Nkrumah would in later decades, Awooner-Renner acquired first-hand knowledge of the differences and similarities between racism and the plight of black people in colonial Ghana and America. In writing for the *Crisis* and the *New Masses*, Awooner-Renner considered the African struggle for independence and African American efforts for equality as intertwined. In 1924, Awooner-Renner's life fundamentally changed when he met the African American Communist Lovett Fort-Whiteman[224] and registered with the CPUSA the following year. Awooner-Renner now believed that communism and the Communist Party were more amenable to black liberation than the NAACP and liberalism. Indeed, contemporaneous events in the USSR foretold of a different present and future. With Fort-Whiteman's aid, Awooner left the capitalist empire for the communist one.

In 1925, Awooner-Renner left the U.S. for Montreal, was granted a visa to venture to Germany, and then arrived in the USSR[225] around August or September[226] to undergo communist

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[223] Sean Hanretta, "'Kaffir' Renner's Conversion: Being Muslim in Public in Colonial Ghana," *Past and Present,* Vol. 210, Issue 1 (February 2011), 188, 189.

[224] Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*, 69. This will also be discussed in Chapter 2. Lovett Fort-Whiteman perished in Stalin's great purges.

[225] KV2_1840, "Personality Note."

[226] Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*, 69.

training at the Moscow's University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) until 1928.[227] Awooner-Renner was the first African to study in Moscow in the 1920s.[228] Some of the courses Awooner-Renner would have taken would have been on the "political economy" and "Leninism."[229] Awooner-Renner lived and studied in the USSR at the height of the NEP and Soviet state-capitalist development and debates. Thus, from Awooner-Renner's personal and lived experiences, and through his studies, he would have been inundated in the political-economic philosophy of the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalism ideas. Awooner-Renner's and Du Bois's stints in the USSR overlapped briefly. It is unknown whether they met then. In 1928, Awooner-Renner left the USSR for Latvia and Lithuania, "posing as a journalist and representative of an American publication called 'Asia.'"[230] It was the same year that Stalin had wrestled sole control over the Bolshevik party from Bukharin and Zinoviev.[231]

Despite leaving the USSR for West Africa "destitute" between 1928 and 1929,[232] Awooner-Renner continued to think about the Soviet Union and even Stalin favorably. He sent a cable to "'Comrade Stalin'" in 1936. In 1940 he wrote to the Soviet Ambassador in London, Ivan Maisky, congratulating him on the Soviet Union's foreign policy in the Baltic States and

[227] KV2_1840, January 1, 1949, R.A.A. Badham.

[228] Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic*, 72, 73.

[229] Ibid., 69.

[230] KV2_1840, "Personality Note."

[231] Weiss, *Framing a Radical African Atlantic,* 111.

[232] Sean Hanretta has Awooner-Renner leaving for London, while the British archive has him going to West Africa; KV2_1840, "Personality Note."

suggesting that the Soviets should open a consulate in Accra.[233] During the middle of the 1930s, Padmore and Awooner-Renner were in frequent contact while the former lived in Paris.[234] In 1943, Awooner-Renner moved to England to consult eye and heart specialists and to study law at Lincoln's Inn.[235] The British had concerns that Awooner-Renner's relationship with the USSR and communists and his strong anticolonial pronouncements might "cause trouble to the police."[236] According to British intelligence reports, Awooner-Renner remained in close contact with "known Communists" in Britain and the British Communist Party's headquarters in London,[237] and he also frequented the Czechoslovakia Embassy to meet communist plotters.[238]

Nkrumah and Awooner-Renner were both in England between 1945-1948. They were engaged with black Communist and Pan-African circles and participated in the 1945 Pan-African Manchester Conference.[239] The Africanist scholar Basil Davidson, a contemporary of both men,

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[233] KV2_1840, November 2, 1942, from the Gold Coast Governor to The Secretary of State for the Colonies, London.

[234] Ibid., "Personality Note."

[235] Ibid., December 5, 1942, Colonial Office to L.W. Clayton.

[236] Ibid., December 8, 1942, British Home Office to P. Kennedy, Colonial Office.

[237] Ibid., January 1, 1949, R.A.A. Badham.

[238] Ibid., July 24, 1948, P. F. Hancock – Kratky, the Commercial Secretary at the Czechoslovakia Embassy, informed the British Board of Trade that he believed Awooner-Renner was a "secret agent," and was conducting business with his communist subordinates - according to the file KV2_1840, September 28, 1948, T.A.K. Elliot to Mr. Joy, they were Miss Ruppertova and her brother, Dr. Ruppert. In another report in KV2_1840, October 22, 1948, Sir Percy Sillitoe to W. L. B. Monson, Chief Secretary of the West African Council, he also contacted Goldstuecker, a Communist Counsellor – and is described as the "'chief Communist propagandist on the staff at the Embassy.'"

[239] For more information on the black anticolonial circles in Britain from the 1920s to 1940s, see: Hakim Adi, "Pan-Africanism and West African Nationalism in Britain," *African Studies Review*, Vol. 43, No. 1, Special Issue on the Diaspora (April 2000), 69-82; Ibid., "African Political

noted that Nkrumah "further developed his ideas about socialism, talking with colleagues such as Bankole Awooner-Renner, though still in a very theoretical way."[240] Furthermore, Awooner-Renner helped create the West African National Secretariat with Nkrumah. When Awooner-Renner and Nkrumah returned to West Africa, British intelligence reports indicated that Awooner-Renner convinced Nkrumah to "repudiate" the United Gold Coast Convention Party (UGCC) and to start the Convention People's Party (CPP).[241] It was a decision that would have profound repercussions for the African liberation movement.[242] Rather than the gradual approach to independence that the UGCC was advocating, the CPP demanded independence now—forcing the British to allow elections in their colony and causing the fallout between Nkrumah and his mentor J.B. Danquah. When Nkrumah was Ghana's head of state, Danquah was imprisoned for

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Thinkers, Pan-Africanism and the Politics of Exile, c.1850—1970," *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 30, Issue 2-3 (2012), 263-291; Ibid., *West Africans in Britain, 1900-1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism and Communism* (London, England: Lawrence & Wishart, 1998); Marc Matera, "Colonial Subjects: Black Intellectuals and the Development of Colonial Studies in Britain," *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 2 (April 2010), 388-418; Paul Rich, "The Black Diaspora in Britain: Afro-Caribbean Students and the Struggle for a Political Identity, 1900-1950," *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (July 1987), 151-173; Gabriel Olusanya, *The West African Students' Union and the Politics of Decolonisation, 1925-1958* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Daystar Press, 1982); David Killingray, *Africans in Britain*, edited volume (London, England: Frank and Cass Co Ltd, 1994).

[240] Basil Davidson, *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah, Black Star* (New York, NY: Praeger, 1973), 48.

[241] KV2_1840, "Extract from 'Comments on the Secretary of State's Despatch No.7' of the March 31, 1948, mentioning Crabbe and Renner, communists.

[242] For more information on Paul Robeson, see Joseph Dorinson, "Paul Robeson and Jackie Robinson: Athletes and Activists at Armageddon," *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 66, No. 1 (Winter 1999), 16-25; *Paul Robeson: Essays on his Life and Legacy*, edited by Joseph Dorinson and William Pencak (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc, 2002).; Harold D. Weaver Jr., "Paul Robeson and The Pan-African World," *Présence Africaine*, No. 107 (3e TRIMESTRE 1978), 217-222; Vijay Prashad, "Comrade Robeson: A Centennial Tribute to an American Communist," *Social Scientist*, Vol. 25, No. 7/8 (July-August 1997), 39-50.

allegedly trying to subvert the government. Danquah would perish in prison during Nkrumah's rule.

Another trained Marxist and British colonial subject within Nkrumah's orbit was Kojo Botsio. Botsio, with the alias of Robert Baden Powell, was born on February 21, 1916, in Winneba, colonial Ghana. He attended Adisadel College, an all-boy Anglican boarding school, in Cape Coast, a city west of Winneba. He left Adisadel College in 1934 and became a teacher at St. Augustine's College in Cape Coast. In 1941, Botsio resigned from his position. Unlike Nkrumah and Bankole-Awooner, Botsio went to Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone to pursue his education. The Church Missionary Society (CMS) founded Fourah Bay College on February 16, 1827. It was the first western-style college in West Africa. Some of its most distinguished alumni include Samuel Ajayi Crowther, the first African Bishop of the Anglican Church, and J. E. Casely Hayford, a leading colonial Ghanaian intellectual. Botsio's educational upbringing situated him within a broader Pan-African and diasporan intellectual heritage. It would soon expand to include the African diaspora in Britain.

Through Fourah Bay College's connection with Durham University in England, Botsio moved to the United Kingdom to study at Durham University in 1944, as WWII was winding down. Botsio also studied at Brasenose, Oxford. During Botsio's time in Britain, he became the Treasurer of the West African National Secretariat, an anti-colonial group. It was here that the paths of Awooner-Renner, Botsio, and Nkrumah crossed. Like Nkrumah, Botsio returned to colonial Ghana in 1947. [243] Upon his return, Botsio became the Vice-Principal of Kibi State College. When the British detained William Ofori Atta, a founding member of the United Gold

[243] KV2/1915, "Kojo Botsio alias Robert Baden Powell Botsio."

Coast Convention (UGCC), under the Emergency Regulations Act, Botsio became the College's Principal.[244] In 1949, Botsio, along with Awooner-Renner and Nkrumah, broke away from the UGCC and became the newly founded CPP's Secretary.[245] Thus, the three early leaders of the CPP where deeply cosmopolitan figures steeped in broader intellectual traditions and political debates from colonial Ghana to America to Britain to the Soviet Union. These intellectual traditions, especially their connections to the Soviet Union and Marxism, would deeply trouble the British colonial government.

The British monitored Nkrumah as part of a more extensive communist network.[246] The British anti-communist reports suggested that Nkrumah associated "mostly with communist and other extremist groups"[247] and often remarked upon Nkrumah's communist views[248] and links with the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).[249] The British also monitored Nkrumah's calls to and from the CPGB.[250] For British officials, these observations unearthed the stark reality that Nkrumah was simultaneously a part of black and white Marxist circles. Nkrumah was friendly with William Rust, the editor of the British Communist Paper, *The Daily Worker*, and

[244] Ibid., Personality Note, December 1948.

[245] Ibid., "Kojo Botsio alias Robert Baden Powell Botsio.

[246] KV 2/1847/2, April 7, 1948, R. Thistlethwaite to: Director General of the Security Service.

[247] FCO141/4933, December 12, 1947, "Extract from Enclosure B to Gold Coast Secret Dispatch dated 12th December 1947."

[248] KV2/1848/1, October 14, 1949, "Comments of the Secretary of State's Dispatch No.7."

[249] KV2/1850/3, August 3, 1951, H.L. Brown to Director General.

[250] KV2/1847/3, "Temple Bar 2151 – Communist Party Headquarters," Nkrumah on the phone with Maud Rogerson.

Michael Carritt, the head of the Colonial Section of the British Communist Party.[251] Through British Communist Maud Rogerson, Nkrumah sought the CPGB's "support . . . for the West African National Congress (sic)."[252] Nkrumah enrolled in a Communist Party school in August or September of 1947. [253] The archive is silent on both the communist school Nkrumah was referring to or who taught there. However, Nkrumah's involvement with the predominately white-majority CPGB indicates that his knowledge of Marxism and Marxist-Leninism was not merely confined to his black interlocutors. Indeed, A few years after reintroducing himself to Du Bois and meeting Padmore, Botsio, and Awooner-Renner. [254]

After arresting Nkrumah and others for potential Communist ties and revolutionary activity in 1948, the British colonial government banned communist literature from entering and circulating with colonial Ghana in 1954.[255] Botsio, the then Minister of State for Nkrumah's transitional government, still received communist literature despite ceremoniously approving the ban.[256] The Secretary of State of the United Kingdom invited Nkrumah and Botsio to visit London from June 10-14, 1951, after their trip to America "partly to forestall a similar invitation proposed to be given to Nkrumah by Union of Democratic Control which contains sub-

[251] FCO141/4993, December 21, 1947, K. Bradley to Y. E.

[252] Ibid., December 12, 1947, "Extract from Enclosure B. to Gold Coast Secret Dispatch dated 12th December 1947."

[253] FCO141/4933, December 12, 1947, "Extract from Enclosure B. to Gold Coast Secret Dispatch dated 12th December 1947."

[254] Lewis, *W.E.B. Du Bois*, 500.

[255] KV2/1916, August 30, 1954, M. J. E. Bagot to Barton.

[256] Ibid., August 28, 1954, W. M. T. Megan to M. J. E. Bagot.

committee of Communist elements. (This [is] from very delicate source) (sic)."[257] British angst against overt Marxist-Communist individuals and actions precipitated a re-orientation of foreign and domestic policy considerations for both the transitional government and the British.

Writing to Padmore on May 19, 1953, Nkrumah expressed his frustration that the British Colonial Office had barred him, as head of the provisional government, from hiring Kankam Boadu because he was an "active communist."[258] To safeguard against British interference, Nkrumah publicly barred communists "from taking posts in the army, police, labor, education, and civil service."[259] Despite these measures, Anthony Woode, a CPP member, informed Williams that Nkrumah had assured him that "he and his colleagues were still true 'socialists at heart,' and it was only force of circumstances which made them keep their opinions to themselves."[260] In his autobiography, Nkrumah described himself as a "nondenominational Christian and a Marxist socialist" and that he did not find "any contradiction between the two."[261]

Nkrumah was actively engaged in overlapping Marxist-Leninist and socialist discussions with a wide range of people, including members of the London Socialist Union and the Fabian Society. The Fabian society was a British socialist group that advocated democratic socialism.

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[257] KV2/1849/2, May 16, 1951, "Visit of Nkrumah to U.S.A. and U.K."

[258] KV2/1851, May 19, 1953, Nkrumah to Padmore.

[259] Ama Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah* (London, UK: Palgrave, 2011), 55.

[260] KV2/1850/1, "Extract from letter from S. L. O. West Africa regarding G.T.U.C. leaders, mentioning: Nkrumah," Receipt Date: September 22, 1952, Original in file No.: SF.75/Gold Coast/2.

[261] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 13.

South African Rita Hinden, a London Socialist Union and Fabian Society member, wrote to Nkrumah on July 6, 1956, reminiscing about their long debates about socialism during their London years. She enclosed a copy of a "controversial" book, *20th Century Socialism*, which, she alleged, challenged the "old [socialist] dogmas and slogans" they were "brought up" on. Hinden concluded: "Who would have thought it possible (the imminence of self-government) when we were fighting out these (socialist ideas)—so bitterly and controversially among ourselves ten-years ago!"[262] On August 15, 1956, Nkrumah responded to her: "Thank you very much indeed for the copy of '20th Century Socialism' which you sent me. I have not yet had time to read the book but as a Socialist the title appeals to me and I have no doubt it will make interesting reading."[263] What were these bitter and controversial debates Nkrumah had with other Socialists and Marxists in the United Kingdom in the 1940s? It is very likely that these discussions centered on the correctness of the NEP, state-capitalism, Trotskyism, Stalinism, and socialist economic development models. Indeed, the letter underscored both Nkrumah's wide-ranging discussions and contacts with key figures of the Marxist movements in the 1920s-1950s. More than a receptor of Marxist and socialist debates, Nkrumah contributed to these discourses.

Nkrumah was in touch with other Communists as well. During his time in Britain, he came into working contact with Caribbean Marxist T. Ras Makonnen. Makonnen's *Journal of African Life and Thought* listed Nkrumah as one of its associates and contributing editors. It was distributed from Manchester around 1946 and 1947. Although the journal did not have a wide circulation, it highlighted Nkrumah's involvement in broader Pan-African activities with other

[262] PRAAD-Accra: RG17/1/5D, July 9, 1956, Rita Hinden to Nkrumah.

[263] Ibid., August 15, 1956, Nkrumah to Rita Hinden.

Marxist figures of the time.[264] Indeed, between August and September 1946, Nkrumah and Makonnen spent time together in London at the Conference of West Africans in Great Britain and Ireland.[265] Nkrumah was also in contact with a figure named Burt, a CPGB member from 1942 to 1947, and James Desmond Buckle,[266] a Gold Coast CPGB member. The British Secret Service (M.I.5.) described Burt as Nkrumah's friend and the British anti-communist network monitored Buckle and Nkrumah's interactions. These figures had allegedly met during Nkrumah's London years. Moreover, Burt possessed "certain communist literature" and had traveled to colonial Ghana.[267]

Another communist-leaning figure Nkrumah associated with during the early 1950s was Kwame Baptiste, an individual from present-day Dormaa Ahenkro, Brong Ahafo Region, Ghana. Baptiste had studied law in Paris towards the end of World War II and was interested in studying economics and sociology in the United Kingdom. While in Paris, Baptiste was the Secretary of the West African Students Union—an organization that Botsio and Nkrumah were involved in. The British described Baptiste to have "pronounced Communist leanings."[268] Moreover, in late 1948, Nkrumah traveled to Dakar to attend the African Section of the French Communist Party's conference. Nkrumah reportedly met with "Monsieur Barbe, a member of the Central Committee

[264] KV2/1847/3, "Pan Africa," March 21, 1947.

[265] KV2/1847/3, D. Bates, September 30, 1946.

[266] Hakim Adi has written one of the few historical accounts of James Desmond Buckle and his role in the CPGB. See Hakim Adi, "Forgotten Comrade? Desmond Buckle: An African Communist in Britain," *Science & Society*, Vol. 70, No. 1 (January 2006), 22-45.

[267] KV2/1847/2, March 26, 1948, Gold Coast Governor to S. of S. for the Colonies.

[268] KV2/1850/3, "mentioning contact between Nkrumah and Baptiste."

of the Communist Party of France,"[269] Félix Houphouët-Boigny, the President of the Ivory Coast Branch of the Assemblement Democratique African, and Léopold Senghor, a member of the French National Assembly for Senegal.[270]

By weaving together the connected lives and intellectual histories of Nkrumah and primarily black and Anglophone Marxists, this section has demonstrated how the seemingly disparate life stories of figures born in colonial Ghana and the Americas intersected in the Global North. These figures shared similar biographies. They were formed in the womb of and born into the arms of white empires, treated as second-class citizens and colonial subjects, and thought about politics and education as emancipatory ventures. As they migrated to different white metropoles for various reasons, they came to appreciate the variety but also the convergences in the global black experience. At numerous points from the 1920s-1950s, these figures discovered an intellectual or physical home in the Soviet Union and with each other. The complexities of the Soviet experience and Lenin's ideas came to dominate the intellectual circles that these black figures traversed. In their quest for global equality, the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin's ideas about state-capitalism and Marxism, the New Economic Policy, and Stalinism offered fascinating possibilities and unmasked troubling realities for these global black intellectual elites. It is in this climate and these spaces that I contend that Nkrumah came to know and refine his ideas about the NEP, Leninism, Lenin's state-capitalist ideas, and the Soviet experiment.

THE NEP AND STATE-CAPITALISM IN NKRUMAH'S WORKS AND LIBRARY

[269] FCO141/4933, October 19, 1948, Officer S. Hooton to the Honorable Colonial Secretary in Accra.

[270] FCO141/4933, October 19, 1948, "Report of a Visit by Kwame Nkrumah to French West Africa" to the Governor.

In the 1940s and 1950s, Nkrumah openly acknowledged a shared intellectual affinity with Marxism and Leninism. referring to himself as a "Marxist Socialist."[271] Furthermore, when asked his position on Communists by Mile Claude Gerard in May 1952, Nkrumah allegedly responded that he "greatly admire[d] Marx and Lenin, but [held] Stalin in aversion because he regard[ed] him as an Imperialist."[272] Nkrumah's response to Gerard leaves to the imagination the types of debates the anti-Stalinist Nkrumah had with the seemingly pro-Stalinist Du Bois. Further pointing at Nkrumah's intellectual homage to Marxism, a British Security Liaison Officer in the West Africa department on September 15, 1953, noted that Marxists teachings were "ingrained" within Nkrumah's mind and underpinned his anti-colonial and anti-imperial utterances.[273] No one with a tolerable knowledge of Nkrumah during this period could deny Nkrumah's affinity and intellectual debt to Marxist-Leninism. Nkrumah's links to Lenin would go beyond verbal articulations.

Nkrumah's writings and speeches are littered with references to Lenin's writings and the ghost of the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalism ideas. Most visibly, the title of Nkrumah's book, *Neo-Colonialism: The Highest Stage of Imperialism*, mirrored Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and in Nkrumah's *Neo-Colonialism*'s table of contents, Nkrumah included a passage from Lenin's *Imperialism*.[274] Furthermore, Nkrumah wrote in his autobiography that

[271]KV2/1915, "Francis Nwia Kwame N'krumah."

[272] FCO141/4934, May 7/8, 1952, "Mile Claude Gerard's visit to Nkrumah."

[273] KV2/1851, September 15, 1953, unknown to S.L.O. West Africa.

[274] Nkrumah quoted this passage: "The enormous dimensions of finance-capital concentrated in a few hands and creating an extremely extensive network of close ties and relationships which involves not only the small and medium capitalists, but also even the very small; this, on the one

Lenin made a strong impression on him.[275] Nkrumah's library collection also teases out the intellectual links he had with the Soviet experiment. By carefully analyzing the contents of Nkrumah's library collection to consider the range of texts that could have shaped him, I take the materiality of the archive and the remnants of Nkrumah's library as a historical artifact worthy of analysis seriously. Although we cannot prove with complete certainty that Nkrumah read every book in his library, these collections are essential for us to think about the kinds of works Nkrumah was exposed to during his lifetime or gifted to him by associates.

The remains of Nkrumah's library collection, located at Ghana's National Archive in Accra, possessed Joseph Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* and *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, a well-marked copy of Lenin's *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, and the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute's *Vladimir I. Lenin: A Political Biography*.[276] Nkrumah's speeches also mirror Bolshevik ones, and one, in particular, seemed to come out of his library collection. In a statement to members of the Assembly on February 18, 1951, Nkrumah stated: "If we are with the people, the people will always be with us…In this sense, we must maintain [a] connection with the message of the people who gave birth to our Party, suckled it and reared it. As long as the Party maintains [a] connection with the people, it has every chance of becoming invincible." An anti-CPP newspaper, *Talking Drums*, commented that Nkrumah's

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hand, and on the other the bitter struggle against other national State groups of financiers for the partition of the world and the right to rule over other countries-these two factors taken together cause the complete conversion of all the possessing classes to the side of imperialism. The signs of the times are a 'general' enthusiasm regarding its prospects, a passionate defence of imperialism, and every possible camouflage of its real nature."

[275] Nkrumah, *Ghana*, 45.

[276] PRAAD-Accra.

speech eerily mimicked a passage from Stalin's *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, which was located in Nkrumah's library: "They, (the Bolsheviks), are strong because they maintain connection with their mother, the masses, who gave birth to them, suckled them and reared them. And as long as they maintain [a] connection with their mother, with the people they have every chance of remaining invincible. That is the clue to the invincibility of Bolshevik leadership." The similarity between the passages was not coincidental, indicating that Nkrumah and anti-Nkrumah forces in colonial Ghana were engaging with the ideas emanating from the Soviet Union.[277] Throughout the CPP's magazine's pages, the party referred to itself as the Vanguard Party and pushed democratic centralism.

Books in Nkrumah's library such as the *History of Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Vladimir I. Lenin,* and *Problems of Leninism* discussed the NEP in some measure. Chapters nine and ten of the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* were dedicated to the NEP. Stalin praised Lenin's wisdom in shifting from War Communism to the NEP. Stalin wrote: "The Tenth Congress . . . adopted the New Economic Policy (NEP). The turn from War Communism to NEP is a striking instance of the wisdom and farsightedness of Lenin's policy." Stalin acknowledged that the NEP entailed the "freedom of trade" and the "revival of capitalism in the country." In unpacking Lenin's ideas, even Stalin admitted that Lenin had thought it "necessary to permit private trade and to allow private manufacturers to open small businesses. . . . to a rapid improvement of agriculture." It was through this basis that "the state-owned industries would be restored," which Stalin declared would be "the economic foundation of Socialism."[278] I suggest

[277] KV2/1849_2, May 1, 1951, for W. H. A. Rich.

[278] Joseph Stalin, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1939), 256-257.

that Nkrumah's pursuit of state-capitalism, socialism, and the permittance of private capital within Ghana was not contradictory, but rooted in Soviet-Leninist economic, philosophical ideas and practices.

The preponderance of evidence—verbal and written—over this period reveal Nkrumah to be a self-proclaimed socialist who keenly engaged with Russian and Soviet affairs. Nkrumah identified Lenin as a great role model and influence in his life. Some of his connections to Lenin's thought and the broader Soviet project are less explicit yet nonetheless traceable or tangible. Indeed, Lenin's writings actively discussed the NEP and state-capitalism. Nkrumah was also heavily involved in black Marxist and socialist circles that experienced the USSR during the NEP era. They intensely debated Lenin's state-capitalist ideas, the NEP's strengths and limitations, and the revolutionary shift towards Stalinism. Thus, it is improbable that Nkrumah was ignorant of the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas in relation to socialism. What is interesting to think about is how Nkrumah's key ideas and economic policies "make sense" in relation to the Soviet debates spearheaded by black communists and radicals.

While this chapter has been focused on Lenin's political-economic impact on Nkrumah, Lenin's influence on Nkrumah can also be seen in other ways. For instance, Nkrumah's party journal, *The Spark* directly references Lenin's newspaper, *Искра* (*Iskra),* created in 1900, meaning 'the Spark.' Nkrumah adopted Lenin's theory of imperialism in *Towards Colonial Freedom* (1962) and the *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare Revolutionary* (1968). As Mazrui noted, the Nkrumahist magazine, *Africa and the World*, was "parading precepts like 'democratic centralism' as among the basic principles of Nkrumahism."[279] It is apparent that Nkrumah would

[279] Marui, "A Reply to Critics," 50.

adopt and adapt Lenin's fundamental economic philosophy of state-capitalism and the NEP to Ghanaian conditions.

CONCLUSION

The chapter examined how Nkrumah's interlocutors in the 1920s-1940s spanned international black Marxist circuits, which intersected with Soviet ideology through migration, conversations, and educational and intellectual circles. Furthermore, while Pan-Africanism, anti-racism, decolonization, and global black liberation movements and ideas were important components of black people's relationships to the Soviet Union and Leninist thought, they were not the only significant dimensions. Importantly, this chapter argues that black visitors to the USSR in the 1920s and 1930s absorbed the economic and intellectual happenings of the Soviet Union, which was the battle over the New Economic Policy (NEP) and state-capitalism's role in creating a socialist state. Whether they considered this experiment as a betrayal or necessary to the Bolshevik Revolution, they lived at a time of fantastical political-economic experimentation. These black sojourners transported these experiences and ideas with them to their compatriots. It was from these conversations, studies, and linkages that Nkrumah would have, besides through his readings of Lenin and Soviet political-economic literature, become acquainted with the NEP and state-capitalism. In reconstructing the biographical accounts of black Marxists and Nkrumah's associates in the first half of the twentieth century, this chapter has illustrated that despite their clear anti-imperial, anti-colonial, and anti-racist utterings, that they were also profoundly steeped in Marxist discussions, Lenin's ideas, and the Soviet experiment. Nkrumah admitted: "Karl Marx and Lenin particularly impressed me as I felt sure that their philosophy

was capable of solving these problems."[280] In creating multiple connected histories, I have shown that the intellectual circles and social worlds that were formational to Nkrumah's political subjectivity in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Ghana actively debated and engaged with the NEP and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas.

This chapter highlighted the political and economic ideas that black radicals took away from the Bolshevik state, and applied to anticolonial struggles in both theory and practice. As these intellectuals met across the globe, they debated the principles and merits of Lenin's state-capitalist policies, Trotskyism, the NEP's successes and failures, and Stalin's political, international, and economic policies vigorously. While scavenging through numerous global archives allows us to piece together this story, many gaps still exist. The archives do not reveal many of the precise conversations these individuals had with each other. We can only glean them through snippets of information—like Rita Hinden's and Nkrumah's exchange about the long debates they had about socialism during the middle of the 1940s, and much 'circumstantial' evidence of Nkrumah's interest in Lenin's NEP and state capitalist ideas.

As Chapter 3 will illustrate, the building of socialism in Ghana was inevitably linked to state-capitalist and mixed economic ideals. Basil Davidson has suggested that Nkrumah "threw his socialism overboard" when he returned to colonial Ghana.[281] As Chapter 3 will show, Davidson is mistaken on that front. Nkrumah did not throw socialism overboard, but rather, as Ghana's new postcolonial head of state, Nkrumah pushed for a socialist state-capitalist project. Nonetheless, as will be shown in Chapter 2, despite their intellectual filiality with early Soviet

[280] Ibid., 49, citing Nkrumah's autobiography.

[281] Davidson, *Black Star*, 51.

leaders, Ghana's leaders' involvement in anti-racial and anti-imperial spaces in Africa, the Caribbean, the United States, Britain, and the USSR made them acutely cognizant of global white racial supremacy and imperialism, their blackness, and the USSR's racial problems. As Nkrumah sought to implement state-capitalist development in Ghana, he had to engage with a white supremacist international world order intent on creating neocolonial non-white satellite states. Through the lens of Ghana's relationship with the USSR from 1957-1966, the next chapter highlights that despite the affinity for ideas that emanated from the USSR that Ghana's first leaders were also skeptical of a white imperial Soviet state. In so doing, the next chapter pushes scholars to rethink the 'Cold War' as an all-encompassing framework to understand Ghana's foreign relations with white superpowers. It also shows how the virulent racism Ghanaians experienced in these white spaces helped shape a Ghanaian national identity from colonialism's ashes.

Chapter 2
Rethinking the Cold War Typology & Postcolonial Ghanaian Citizenship, 1957-1966

Figure 4 Left: Nikita Khrushchev, Middle: Kwame Nkrumah, Right: Leonid Brezhnev at the Kremlin, USSR, August 1961.

As Ghanaians danced into political independence on March 6, 1957, the Soviet Union became increasingly anxious about its place in the new nation's foreign policy. Yakov Alexandrovich Malik and Ivan Benediktov—the former the Soviet Ambassador and the latter the Minister of Soviet State Farms and Agriculture—participated in Ghana's Independence Day celebrations at Kwame Nkrumah's behest.[282] Although the Soviet Ambassador enjoyed the highlife music and

[282] Sergey Mazov, *A Distant Front in the Cold War: The USSR in West Africa and the Congo, 1956-1964* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 46; Nkrumah and Benediktov met before Ghana's Independence Day festivities and agreed to establish "diplomatic relations between the USSR and Ghana." They wanted to create relationship that was "advantageous to both countries" and which would "contribute to the development of international cooperation." They also "agreed in principle to the exchange of diplomatic missions between the USSR and Ghana." PRAAD-Accra *Cabinet Agenda Meeting Feb-March 1957*, February 27, 1957, "Joint Communique: On the Talks Held Between the Government Delegation of the USSR and the Government of Ghana on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations Between the USSR and Ghana."

festivities, he complained bitterly to the British that he was excluded from "the 'high table'" at the Savoy.[283] The British debated whether to apologize to Malik for the incident [284] but ultimately declined to offer an official apology, insisting that the event was an entirely Ghanaian affair and to provide one would give the unwanted impression that the newly independent state was still under its tutelage.[285] It appears that Malik failed to address the incident with the Ghanaians, perhaps reflecting Soviet anxieties of the persistence of Britain's stronghold over Ghana despite Nkrumah's proclamations that Ghana was "free forever." Was Malik's seating at the margins of Ghana's inner circle a metaphorical reflection of the USSR's future role in Ghana's foreign policy? The diplomatic dance between Ghana and the USSR engrossed and shaped the flow of global politics in the 1950s and 1960s, and this chapter seeks to re-historicize this story.

Drawing from a range of inter-and-intra ambassadorial letters and memoranda, autopsy, activist, and economic reports, British espionage dispatches, student and politician letters, and newspapers in English and Russian from multiple American, English, Ghanaian, and Russian archives, this chapter reassesses a familiar narrative that sits at the crux of African independence, race, neocolonialism, and the Cold War. In so doing, it offers three overarching arguments. First, that Ghana carefully calibrated the economic, technical, and diplomatic interactions it had with the Soviets in large part due to its fear of being recolonized by another white superpower—the USSR. Second, the chapter calls into question the "Cold War" as a useful analytic to understand

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[283] FO371/129152, March 7, 1957, J. O. Moreton to Cole.

[284] Ibid., March 14, 1957, Graham to J. M. D. Ward.

[285] Ibid., March 19, 1957, J. M. D. Ward to J. O. Moreton.

the post-colonial African state's relationship with white global powers. Instead, in re-examining Ghana-Soviet relations, this chapter contends that race, primarily white global supremacy and Nkrumah's neocolonial framework are more productive paradigms to theorize post-colonial African states' foreign policies with white global superpowers. Third, the chapter maintains that the virulent racism Ghanaians encountered in the U.S. and USSR, ranging from assaults to murder, helped forge a global Ghanaian national consciousness, and redefined the relationship between Ghanaian citizens and their government. This chapter does not purport to be a definitive account of Ghana-Soviet relations but hopes to provide scholars with alternative interpretations and stories of an episode in African history that is highly discussed in academic and popular culture[286] but little researched due to language, financial, and sometimes ideological barriers. By focusing exclusively on Ghana-Soviet relations rather than a broader, comparative analysis of Africa-Soviet relations, this chapter carefully attends to the distinct political contours and negotiations initiated and maneuvered by Ghanaian actors.

The chapter is divided into six parts. The first section provides a brief historiography of Africa-Soviet and Ghana-Soviet relations. The second traces the effects of the Bolshevik Revolution on blacks globally and constructs the global geopolitical environment that underlay Nkrumah's and colonial Ghana's relationship to the Soviet Union. The third part looks at Ghana's cautious approach to establishing rapid ties with a new white superpower due to fears of swapping one set of white masters for another. The fourth investigates the explosion of diplomatic and friendly relations between Ghana and the Soviets from 1960 to 1966. The fifth explores how global racism forged a universal Ghanaian national consciousness. The sixth

[286] *The Crown (2017)*, "Dear Mrs. Kennedy."

examines the lives of Soviet personnel in Ghana and the quality of Soviet products in Ghana. Taken together, these sections with the benefit of unused archival materials shed new light on Ghana's postcolonial history—at international and domestic levels and spaces—in relation to the Soviet Union. It pushes its readers to pay extremely close attention to and include racial dimensions in international relations to make sense of this tantalizing historical period.

RE-INSERTING 'AFRICA' IN AFRICAN-SOVIET HISTORIOGRAPHY

Examinations of African-Soviet relations have primarily been from a Soviet or Western imperial perspective, often relegating African interests to the tangential concerns of Soviet or Western foreign policy.[287] Since Sam C. Nolutshungu's call to rethink Africa-Soviet relations from the internal dynamics of African states,[288] there has been a slow rise in works dedicated to analyzing the Africa-Soviet relationship from an African vantage-point or emphasizing African agency. For instance, Natalia Telepneva posited that the Mozambican Liberation Front was not subservient to Moscow's diktats, but rather they initiated contact with middle-level Soviet international development officials to procure aid for their liberation goals.[289] In moving from liberation movements to national leaders, Andy DeRoche maintained that Kenneth Kaunda's move to

[287] See Oye Ogunbadejo, "Soviet Policies in Africa," *African Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 316 (1980), 297-325; Elizabeth Kridl Valkenier, "Great Power Economic Competition in Africa: Soviet Progress and Problems," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (1980/81), 259-268; Marie Mendras, "Soviet Policy toward the Third World," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (1987), 164-175.

[288] Sam C. Nolutshungu, "African Interests and Soviet Power: The Local Context of Soviet Policy," *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (1982), 397-417.

[289] Natalia Telepneva, "Mediators of Liberation: Eastern-Bloc Officials, Mozambican Diplomacy and the Origins of Soviet Support for Frelimo, 1958–1965," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2017), 68, 69.

purchase weapons from the USSR despite facing Washington's wrath was evidence of him asserting African agency after his failed attempts to secure military weapons from NATO countries.[290] From national leaders to inter-state interactions, in writing a history of Nigeria-Soviet relations, Maxim Matusevich argued that pragmatism and Nigerian agency, rather than ideology and Soviet dominance, were the driven forces of those interactions.[291] Despite Nolutshungu's intervention and the aforementioned texts, works examining Ghana-Soviet relations have both been scant and primarily Soviet-centric.

Robert Dowse's study of Ghana and the USSR compared the two political and economic systems without investigating their interactions.[292] O. S. Kulkova's and H. A. Sanusi's chapter on Ghana's relationship with the USSR and Russia highlights the technical exchanges and economic deals between the two but does not substantially tackle their fraternalism during the Nkrumah era.[293] In examining the Soviet-Ghana relationship during the Nkrumah years, Robert Legvold characterized Ghana "as a cynosure of Soviet policy" in sub-Saharan Africa.[294] From the Soviet perspective, Legvold defined the relationship as a complex mixture of "frustrations,"

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[290] Andy DeRoche, "Asserting African Agency: Kenneth Kaunda and the USA, 1964-1980," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 40, No 5 (November 2016), 975–1001.

[291] Maxim Matusevich, *No Easy Row for a Russian Hoe: Ideology and Pragmatism in Nigerian-Soviet Relations, 1960-1991* (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2003), 7.

[292] Robert E. Dowse, *Modernization in Ghana and the U.S.S.R.: A Comparative Study* (London, UK: Routledge and Kegan Paul Humanities Press, 1969), 49-66.

[293] O. S. Kulkova and H. A. Sanusi, "Russia-Ghana relations in the Past and the Present: A Time-Proven Partnership," *Vestnik RUDN*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2016), 296-310.

[294] Robert Legvold, *Soviet Policy in West Africa* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), 239.

"obstacles," and "hope."[295] Similarly, Alessandro Iandolo maintained that the Soviets blamed the "incompetent" and "unreliable" African leaders for its failure to export a socialist economic developmental model to Ghana.[296] As Ghana's economy entered a period of steep decline, Legvold posited that the Soviet ambassador held "direct access to and power over Nkrumah."[297] Other works attempt to move past frameworks of Ghanaian incompetence and deference.

Sergey Mazov's forays into Ghana-Soviet relations also explore both Western fears of Soviet penetration into Ghana and West Africa and Soviet complaints that American and British pressure undermined Ghana-Soviet affairs. It is within Mazov's works that a Ghanaian perspective that is not equivocally enamored with or beholden to Soviet aid emerges.[298] While contributing significantly to our understanding of Ghana-Soviet relations, Mazov's works significantly neglect Ghanaian agency. Oscar Sanchez-Sibony's brief analysis of Ghana-Soviet relations adopts a Ghana-centric model and challenges scholars to move past the narrative that Global South leaders needed the intellectual guidance of dynamic white men.[299] These texts stand in contrast to the works of Caribbean Marxist C. L. R. James and the African intellectual Ali A. Mazrui who theorized Nkrumah's legacy in juxtaposition to Vladimir Lenin, Bolshevism,

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[295] Ibid.

[296] Alessandro Iandolo, "The Rise and Fall of the 'Soviet Model of Development' in West Africa, 1957–64," *Cold War History*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (2012), 684.

[297] Legvold, *Soviet Policy in West Africa*, 241, 246.

[298] Sergey Mazov, "Soviet Policy in West Africa: An Episode of the Cold War, 1956-1964," in *Africa in Russia, Russia in Africa*: *Three Centuries of Encounters,* ed. by Maxim Matusevich (Trenton, New Jersey: Africa World Press, 2007), 293-314.

[299] Oscar Sanchez-Sibony, *Red Globalization*: *The Political Economy of the Soviet Cold War from Stalin to Khrushchev* (New York, NY: Cambridge University, 2014).

and Soviet authoritarianism.[300] At their core, James's and Mazrui's pieces are intellectual biographies and histories of Nkrumah rather than accounts of Ghana-Soviet interactions. Thus, a more in-depth study of Ghana-Soviet relations, and its implications for the independent black state, during the Nkrumah years is warranted, and this chapter attempts to fill that gap. The rise of Ghana-Soviet relations from 1957 to 1966 is unintelligible without beginning with the 1917 Russian Revolution.[301]

IS THE 'RED' A FRIEND OR FOE? (1917-1957)

In the 1920s, the Soviet government was the only significant white power calling for the elimination of colonialism, racism, and sexism, and the only one to advocate for the right of blacks to self-determination. This contrasted vividly with the terrorist acts systematically meted out towards blacks in the U.S., the Caribbean, and Africa, which included lynchings, race riots, racism, forced labor,[302] property destruction, exclusion from capital,[303] and the denial of civil liberties. The anti-imperial, anti-colonial, anti-capitalist, and occasionally anti-sexist slogans

[300] James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, 187-211; Ali A. Mazrui, "Nkrumah: Leninist Czar," *Transition*, No. 75/76 (1966), 106-126.

[301] Kenez, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*, 42.

[302] Roger Casement and Emily Banks, "Evidence of colonial atrocities in the Belgian Congo (1903-5)," *Africa and the West,* Vol. 2 (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010), 13-21; Charles Van Onselen, *Chibaro: African Mine Labour in Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1933* (London, UK: Pluto Press, 1973).

[303] Peter Hudson, *Bankers and Empire: How Wall Street Colonized the Caribbean* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

emanating from the USSR resonated with blacks, colonized, and marginalized peoples across the world.[304]

However, two critical incidents in the 1930s forced many blacks to re-consider the Soviet Union's claims of mutual solidarity against colonialism, imperialism, and oppression. In 1935, the USSR was slow to support Ethiopia, one of the only non-colonized African societies, against Benito Mussolini's invading Italian army and even sold fuel to the Italians.[305] Furthermore, on February 23, 1934, the Soviet Communist Party released a statement noting that George Padmore, a leading black figure within the Communist Party, had been expelled for prolonged contacts with "bourgeoisie elements." The Soviets questioned Padmore's attitude towards the national question, his preference for racial unity over class unity, and a failure to hand over committee affairs upon his departure.[306] Padmore escaped Stalin's purges. Albert Nzula, the first black person to hold the position of General Secretary of the Communist Party of South Africa in 1928, and Lovett Fort-Whiteman, an African American Communist in the Soviet Union, were less fortunate. Nzula died in mysterious circumstances on January 7, 1934,[307] and Fort-Whiteman died at Sevvostlag Prison Labor Camp in Magadan, Siberia, on January 13, 1939.[308]

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[304] Robert Edgar, *The Making of an African Communist: Edwin Thabo Mofutsanyana and the Communist Party of South Africa 1927-1929* (Pretoria, South Africa: Unisa, 2005); Erik McDuffie, *Sojourning for Freedom: Black Women, American Communism, and the Making of the Black Left Feminism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2011).

[305] Allison Blakely, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (Washington D.C: Howard University Press, 1986), 127.

[306] Russian State Archive of Socio-Political History (RGASPI), Comintern, f. 495, op. 261, d. 4718, March 3, 1934.

[307] Nzula, *Forced Labour in Colonial Africa*, 15.

[308] Gilmore, *Defying Dixie*, 31-154.

Padmore's scathing critique of Soviet paternalism and nationalism in *Pan-Africanism or Communism* underscored his bitter rift with the USSR and had a profound impact on early Ghana-Soviet relations. These two incidents—the USSR's failure to support Ethiopia and the persecution of dissident black intellectuals—were important moments of reflection in considering the limitations of Soviet anti-racist discourse. Despite the cracking of the USSR's non-racist facade after Lenin's death, both the USSR's idealism and industrial successes and Lenin's theories continued to shape a generation of blacks across the globe.

Events in the British colonies of Kenya and Guiana in the 1950s and Britain's acute anti-communist attitude[309] informed Nkrumah and his CPP government that their impending independence on March 6, 1957, could not be taken for granted and had to be carefully managed. Starting in 1952, the British waged a savage war against the Mau Mau in Kenya.[310] Padmore wrote to Nkrumah: "Brother, since the storm in Kenya I have been working night and day. [Mbiyu] Koinage the official representative of the Kenyan African Union is here and I am trying to send possible aid. His old man, brothers and Jomo [Kenyatta] are all arrested. Brother, it is hell let loose. Only the gods of Africa know how it will end."[311] In 1953, the British offered British Guiana a constitutional referendum to pave the way for independence. When Cheddi Jagan, the People's Progressive Party's (PPP's) leader in British Guiana (whom the American and British governments worried was a communist) stormed to victory, the British and

[309] Jennifer Luff, "Covert and Overt Operations: Interwar Political Policing in the United States and the United Kingdom," *American Historical Review*, Vol.122, No. 3 (2017), 727–757.

[310] Carol Elkins, *The Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2005).

[311] KV/2/1850_1, October 24, 1952, Padmore to Nkrumah

Americans overthrew him. They suspended the constitution, and deployed British troops to stop any communist revolt.[312] Padmore chastised Jagan for "revolutionary romanticism" and playing "into the hands of the local reactionaries and foreign imperialists."[313] It was another warning to Nkrumah that communist or pro-Soviet leanings had to be suppressed publicly.

These constraints meant that secret communications with Soviet officials or communist sympathizers were necessary. While abroad for the Liberian President Harry Tubman's inauguration between December 31, 1955, and January 15, 1956, Nkrumah and members of the Gold Coast delegation secretly met with a Soviet party.[314] The records are silent about the nature or extent of their communications, but the Gold Coast delegation must have expressed an eagerness to establish ties with the Soviets after independence. Three months before independence, Nkrumah invited Soviet officials to Ghana's weeklong Independence Day festivities.[315] Nikolai Bulganin, the Soviet Union's Premier, happily accepted Nkrumah's invitation and promised that the Soviet government would send two representatives and a secretary-interpreter to the festivities.[316]

TOWARDS A NEOCOLONIAL PARADIGM

[312] Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah,* 54.

[313] Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, 323.

[314] FCO141/4932, July 1956, "Comments on Mr. Vile's Secret and Personal Letter . . . to Sir Gordon Hadow Concerning a Conversation with the Gold Coast Commissioner in London."

[315] Arkhiv Vneshnei Politiki Rossiiskoi Federatsii/Russian Foreign Ministry Archive (AVP RF): d. 1-42. op. 1, por. 3, pa. 1, January 15, 1957, Nkrumah to Soviet Central Committee Presidium.

[316] Ibid., January 23, 1957, Nikolai Bulganin to Nkrumah.

Fundamentally, the Cold War paradigm assumes a "bipolar" political and economic "structure" to the post-World War II world to explain international relations.[317] Scholars still debate the Cold War's temporal beginnings and end,[318] and its lexicon usage amongst the players involved. [319] Many scholars question the Cold War's contours,[320] highlight its uneven impact across the globe,[321] and revisit ideas of USSR and U.S. hegemony in global and local political decisions.[322] Some have even explored how 'peripheral' nations and actors influenced the Cold War, [323] and others sully the very premise that it was a "cold," nonviolent, war.[324] These critiques have prompted some to push against the Cold War as a domineering paradigm or to question the framework altogether.[325] Despite this push, figures like Odd Arne Westad have resisted the idea of curtailing the use of the Cold War paradigm.

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[317] Alastair Murray, "Reconstructing the Cold War: The Evolution of a Consuming Paradigm," in *Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Cold War,* ed. Alan P. Dobson (London, UK: Ashgate, 1999), 25.

[318] Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War* (New York, NY: Columbia University, 2010).

[319] Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of our Times* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2.

[320] Lorena De Vita, "Overlapping rivalries: the two Germanys, Israel and the Cold War," *Cold War History,* Vol. 17, No. 4 (2017), 351-366.

[321] *Decolonization and the Cold War: Negotiating Independence*, ed. Leslie James and Elisabeth Leake (London, UK: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015).

[322] Kwon, *The Other Cold War*.

[323] Tony Smith, "New Bottles for New Wine: A Pericentric Framework for the Study of the Cold War," *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 24, No. 4 (2000), 567-591.

[324] Vladimir Shubin, *The Hot 'Cold War:' The USSR in Southern Africa* (Scottsville, South Africa: Pluto Press, 2008).

[325] Alan P. Dobson, "Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Cold War," in *Deconstructing and Reconstructing the Cold War,* ed. Alan P. Dobson (London, UK: Ashgate, 1999), 70.

In examining the Cold War's relevance to the Global South, Westad dismissed the notion that "the Cold War conceptually and analytically does not belong in the south" because Soviet and American interventions largely "shaped both the international and the domestic framework" of Third World countries. For Westad, the Third World would be quite different today without the Cold War.[326] Westad maintains that the U.S. and USSR intervened in the Third World "over the very concept of European modernity—to which both states regarded themselves as [its] successors."[327] Nevertheless, Westad concedes that future historians might view the Cold War as an extension of European colonial interventions and attempts to control Third World peoples. Despite this admission, Westad notes that it is "less meaningful to talk about patterns of US or Soviet domination as 'empires' than to describe them in a specific temporal sense." For Westad, American and Soviet objectives "were not exploitation or subjection, but control and improvement."[328] Nonetheless, critics and supporters of the Cold War framework have primarily ignored race, particularly global white supremacy, as central to the European colonial project and thus to international systems.

Anthropologist Jemima Pierre concluded that scholars often omit racial dimensions, especially "global White supremacy," in international systems.[329] Moreover, anthropologists Deborah A. Thomas and M. Kamari Clarke have argued that the analytical category of race is hidden in neoliberal globalization discourses and needs to be foregrounded to consider "the

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[326] Westad, *The Global Cold War,* 3.

[327] Ibid., 4.

[328] Ibid., 5.

[329] Jemima Pierre, *The Predicament of Blackness: Postcolonial Ghana and the Politics of Race* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago, 2013), 2.

vexed relationships between race and global formations today."[330] However, Westad's analysis ignores the U.S. and the USSR as white empires that both engaged in brutal campaigns of murder and genocide and that culturally sought to swallow non-white groups into their cultural and political stomach.[331] America's colonization of not just mainland North America, but of Central America and the Caribbean, were part and parcel of white supremacist logic.[332] Merely because the Americans and Soviets genuinely criticized "early twentieth-century European imperialist practices" does not substantively distinguish them from other white imperial empires as Westad suggests.[333] British criticism of Belgian colonial rule in the Congo—however genuine—did not mitigate the reality that Britain forcibly conscripted African labor, massacred Africans, created concentration camps, and stole African lands.[334] Indeed, despite American and Soviet criticisms of other European empires, both continued to maintain, or in some cases, expand, their empires. In November 1960, three African students in the Soviet Union—

[330] Deborah A. Thomas and M. Kamari Clarke, "Globalization and Race: Structures of Inequality, New Sovereignties, and Citizenship in a Neoliberal Era," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 42 (2013), 307.

[331] Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide: The United States and the California Indian Catastrophe, 1846-1873* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016); George Padmore, *How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire* (London, UK: Dennis Dobson, 1946), 2-3; for a complicated discussion about the Russian empire, see Robert Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006).

[332] Hudson, *Bankers and Empire*.

[333] Westad, *The Global Cold War*, 5.

[334] Aidan Forth, *Barbed-Wire Imperialism: Britain's Empire of Camps, 1876-1903* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2017); Winston Churchill, "The River War, 1902," *Africa and the West*; Opolot Okia, *Communal Labor in Colonial Kenya: The Legitimization of Coercion, 1912–1930* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Theophilus Okonokwo from Nigeria, Andrew Amar from Uganda, and Michel Ayik from Togo—castigated Soviet hypocrisy for posing "before the world as 'champions' of 'oppressed Africa' while they oppress[ed] millions in their own country and their Satellites."[335] Indeed, colonial subjugation occurred despite the ideological differences between the white colonial powers, suggesting a coherency between them through their adherence to racialized global hierarchies of white supremacy and colonial subjugation.

During World War II, Nkrumah highlighted the false distinction between Nazi Germany and the British Empire for colonized Africans. From his Philadelphia abode, Nkrumah wrote to the New York-based Gold Coaster, Jones-Quartey, on July 1, 1942, defining himself as "simply an anti-imperialist." Nkrumah questioned Jones-Quartey's attempt to create a distinction between the British and Germans. For Nkrumah, "the true renascent African" had "no choice . . . between ruthless Nazi barbarism and the cold, selfish, heartless exploitation and domination to which the British have subjected our people for so many years . . . !" Nkrumah declared that it was the Africans mandate to ensure that those seeking "to exploit and maintain empire, whether they be British, German, or anything else, will find a living hell in Africa."[336] As covered in Chapter 1, in May 1952, when Mile Claude Gerard asked Nkrumah about his position on Communists, Nkrumah allegedly responded that he "greatly admire[d] Marx and Lenin, but [held] Stalin in aversion because he regard[ed] him as an Imperialist."[337] Not future historians, as

[335] Elizabeth Churchill Brown Papers Box 15, Folder 15.28, Theophilus Okonokwo, Andrew Amar, and Michel Ayik, "An Open Letter to All African Governments," in Documents of the Council Against Communist Aggression, Item #82, November 1960.

[336] SC/1/40/96, July 1, 1942, Nkrumah to Jones-Quartey.

[337] KEW: FCO 141/4934, "Mile Claude Gerard's visit to Nkrumah," May 7/8, 1952.

Westad hoped, but colonized subjects living in the belly of white supremacy and empire understood that the problem for blacks and colonized people was not different European ideologies fighting for global power, but rather their subjugation by all such racist ideas.[338] Pierre concluded that failure to think of the postcolonial African state without paying attention to the "established and continually updated . . . racial legacies of European hegemony and white supremacy" is to fundamentally misunderstand the postcolonial African state.[339]

Following Pierre's theoretical corrective, this chapter questions the totalizing analytical purchase of using the Cold War paradigm to understand the relationship between black African nations and white empires during the twentieth century. Instead, I argue that a framework highly attentive to racial dimensions in international relations must also be employed to make sense of this period. Scholars of Ghana-Soviet relations must contend with ideologies of white supremacy, fostered and driven through slavery and colonialism—and seeking an afterlife in neocolonialism—in understanding Ghana's relationship with white superpowers during the Nkrumah years. Nkrumah's early letters reflected this realization and foreshadowed his thoughts about neocolonialism, imperialism, and Ghana's relationship with the USSR, Britain, and America. In those pages, Nkrumah offered his contemporaries and future scholars a new framework to understand the postcolonial African state within its positionality to white superpowers and history.[340] For "a true renascent African," as Nkrumah once wrote, there was no

[338] See also Aimé Césaire, *Discourses on Colonialism* (New York, NY: Monthly Review Press, 1950).

[339] Pierre, *The Predicament of Blackness*, xv.

[340] Kwame Nkrumah, *Neocolonialism: The Highest Stage of Imperialism* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1965).

choice but independence and the avoidance of neocolonialism's trappings. Thus, as Ghana gained its political independence from Britain on March 6, 1957, Nkrumah's government's first objective was to revamp its colonial economy to limit neocolonial sabotage and to ensure that American, British, or Soviet capital or diplomatic pressure would not recolonize Ghana.

Cold War scholars Sergey Mazov and Alessandro Iandolo, and British and Russian officials paint a picture of American and British pressure stalling open diplomatic relations between the Ghanaians and Soviets from 1957 to 1959.[341] Such accounts are vital but also overlook Ghanaian agency, rooted in its fears of being neocolonized within a global white imperial order, and thus capture only half of the picture of Ghana's hesitation to establish quick diplomatic relations with the Soviets. These arguments ignore or side-track Ghana's refusal to be rushed into diplomatic deals or its desire to revamp its economy away from its neocolonial trappings. Furthermore, they overlook Ghana's lack of finances and diplomatic personnel, and Padmore's strong hesitation towards swapping one set of white imperial rulers for another in creating a Ghanaian foreign policy simultaneously cautionary and sympathetic towards the USSR from 1957 to 1959.

For Nkrumah, restructuring Ghana's economy was more important than hastily diving into diplomatic relations with the Soviets. Nkrumah wrote that "We have emancipated ourselves politically, and we have now to shake off the economic monopoly that was the objective of foreign political control." The Ghanaian leader continued, "This is the crux of our economic policy, and the essential heart of our endeavours. For unless we attain economic freedom, our

[341] FO371/143448, January 28, 1959, from Chancery to the British Northern Department Foreign Office; Mazov, "Soviet Policy in West Africa," 297; Iandolo, "The Rise and Fall," 683-704; FO371/146801, August 18, 1960, A. W. Snelling to Secretary of State for C.R.

struggle for independence will have been in vain, and our plans for social and cultural advancement frustrated."[342] Within a few months of independence, Nkrumah rejected the Minister of Soviet State Farms and Agriculture's invitation to send Ghana's Agricultural Minister, Boahene Yeboa Afari, and his two top aides to the USSR. While Nkrumah expressed his sincere gratitude for the invitation, he noted that the Ghanaian government was reviewing its entire "economic policy and programme" of which the agricultural sector was an integral component and thus it would be imprudent for the individuals above to leave Ghana. Nkrumah had hoped that the Soviets would empathize with Ghana's "difficulty . . . in establishing" a robust post-colonial economy and wished for a future invitation.[343] The Soviets ignored Nkrumah's pleas for patience and empathy.

In January 1958, Malik expressed a desire to expedite Ghana-Soviet relations. First, he urged the Ghanaian Trade and Goodwill Mission to visit the Soviet Union between March and April 1958, earlier than the previously agreed date of July 1958. Second, he offered Nkrumah an invitation to visit the USSR during the summer of 1958.[344] The Ghanaians rebuffed the first

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[342] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 102.

[343] During the speech, Nkrumah noted that American investment would provide the greatest assistance to Ghana's development. The Ghanaian president noted that Ghana should maintain friendly relations with the U.K. because of its historic ties. With France, Nkrumah noted that since they were Ghana's neighbors, that Ghana needed to maintain friendly relations with them. Regarding China and the U.S.S.R., the Ghanaian president remarked that Ghana needed to establish and create normal relations with both those countries. He pointed out that Ghana was not aligned with any power bloc, or country and that it would engage in a policy of neutralization and to engage in any policy that would ensure the security of Ghana's independence. AVP RF: d. 110, op. 1, por. 2, pa. 1, September 3, 1957, Nkrumah to Jacob Alexandrovich Malik; AVP RF: d. 1-42, op. 1, por. 3, pa. 1, June 4, 1957, Nkrumah to Benediktov.

[344] AVP RF: d. 142, op. 2, por. 4, pa. 1., January 13, 1958, E.O. Asafu-Adjaye to Monsieur Yakov Malik.

proposal and evaded the second one. Sir E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, the Ghanaian High Commissioner to London, reminded Malik that Ghana's one-year Independence Day celebrations would commence between March and April of 1958 and that it be would highly inappropriate for the Ghanaian Ministers to miss the festivities and conferences planned. The Ghanaian High Commissioner implored the Soviets to keep to the originally scheduled July 1958 date because of the notoriously cold Soviet winter and as not to tamper with the carefully planned Goodwill Mission program. Regarding Nkrumah's visit, Asafu-Adjaye informed Malik that Nkrumah would visit the USSR when he was free.[345] Other pressure incidents would ensue.

On May 30, 1958, the Soviets nominated Mikhail D. Sytenko as their ambassador to Ghana.[346] Sytenko, a career civil servant, was an attaché at the Soviet embassy to the Allied Governments in London in 1943. He served in Prague from 1955 to 1957, and as its Ambassador in 1955. Sytenko was married and spoke "quite good English."[347] Malik attempted to push the Ghanaian government to accept Sytenko's appointment quickly. But, Asafu-Adjaye snubbed Malik's pressure, informing Malik that a decision regarding Sytenko's appointment would be made after Nkrumah's independent African states tour. Also, Asafu-Adjaye reminded Malik of his conversation in Accra on November 25, 1957, with members of the Soviet Mission to Ghana, Safonov and Smirnov, that Ghana would prefer to establish formal ties with the USSR *after* a Ghanaian Goodwill Mission went to the Soviet Union in July 1958. Until then, Asafu-Adjaye sought Malik's patience.[348] Nkrumah's 1958 All-African People's Conference and tour of

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[345] Ibid.

[346] AVP RF: d. 111-1, op. 2, por. 2, pa. 1, June 1958, E. O. Asafu-Adjaye to Malik.

[347] KEW: FO 371/143448, March 3, 1959, Northern Dept. to Chancery, Moscow.

[348] AVP RF: d. 111-1, op. 2, por. 2, pa. 1, June 1958, E. O. Asafu-Adjaye to Malik.

independent African states was a signal to the world that black and African sovereignty was central to Ghana's foreign policy in a world dominated by white racial international systems.[349]

In Nkrumah's speech at the All-African People's Conference on December 8, 1958, he announced his joy at finally having a "gathering of Africans speaking for Africa and Africans" and the presence "of so large a number of African comrades-in-arms who, imbued with the fervent desire to see Africa free, unfettered and united." Nkrumah called for a swift end to imperialism, colonialism, and racism on the continent. Echoing both his March 1957 Independence Day speech and July 1942 letter, Nkrumah declared that Africans would not "budge one jot from" ensuring that imperialism and colonialism were "wiped off this African Continent." Nkrumah reminded the faithful that it was "Only with the internment of Imperialism will Africa be free from menace and live and breathe in liberty, where men of colour shall walk with head held high in human dignity." With prophetic verve, Nkrumah declared gallantly that "All Africa shall be free in this, our lifetime. For this mid-twentieth century is Africa's. This decade is the decade of African independence. Forward then to independence. To Independence Now."[350] The gauntlet was set and the problem framed—people of color and their governments had to remove white racial systems of domination to walk with their heads aloft and breathe in liberty.

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[349] Elisa Prosperetti has argued that Nkrumah ensured that his first trip as Ghana's head of state was to neighboring African countries and not non-African countries for personal and political reasons. See Elisa Prosperetti, "The Hidden History of the West African Wager: Or, How Comparison with Ghana Made Côte d'Ivoire," *History in Africa,* Vol. 45 (May 2018), 29–57.

[350] George Loft Papers 7.1, Nkrumah's speech at the All-African People's Conference in Accra on December 8, 1958, printed by the Ghanaian government, Accra, Ghana.

Gradually, the Soviets considered Ghana's foreign policy as antagonistic towards them. After Nkrumah's first national assembly address in August 1957, Malik characterized Ghana's foreign policy towards the USSR as hostile.[351] Similarly, on April 22, 1959, O. Orestov, the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* correspondent who toured Ghana and interviewed many Ghanaians in 1958, accused Ghanaian newspapers of attacking socialist-oriented countries.[352] It is unclear whether Nkrumah orchestrated these attacks since he did not have "full control" over Ghanaian newspapers until 1962.[353] However, a January 14, 1958 Ghanaian cabinet meeting lent credence to Soviet concerns. Nkrumah's cabinet accepted a bill proposed by Krobo Edusei, the Ghanaian Minister of Interior, that any government body "receiving any request for information emanating from a Communist country should be required to pass it to the Ministry of Defense . . . for scrutiny and consideration."[354] In returning to the neocolonial lens, the Ghanaian cabinet was eager to ensure that a new European empire would not compromise its independence through destabilization. However, the Soviets could not comprehend Ghanaian foreign policy without situating it within from American and British interests.

The Soviets feared that Ghana's animus towards them was a symptom of Ghana's dependence on American and British capital rather than a result of Ghana's leaders' white supremacy fears. On June 11, 1958, N. A. Makarov, a Soviet official, wrote an internal

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[351] AVP RF: d. 110, op. 1, por. 2, pa. 1, September 3, 1957, Nkrumah to Malik

[352] AVP RF: d. 720, op. 3, pa. 2., O. Orestov, "Correspondent of Pravda in Ghana," *Pravda*, April 22, 1959.

[353] Clement E. Asante, *The Press in Ghana: Problems and Prospects* (New York, NY: University of America Press, 1996), 14-15.

[354] PRAAD-ACCRA ADM13/1/27, January 14, 1958, "Item 33. Cultural Relations with Communist Countries."

memorandum that American and British capital held dominant positions within Ghana's economy, causing Ghana to fear that establishing relations with the USSR would curtail further British and American financial assistance.[355] Orestov agreed with Makarov. Focusing on the Volta River Project, Orestov surmised that Nkrumah's obsession with constructing the dam to industrialize Ghana, to increase Ghana's global prestige, and to end Ghana's economic dependency put Nkrumah under the thumbs of the Americans, British, and Canadians.[356] In addition to Soviet concerns about American and British capital thwarting their attempts to form diplomatic relations with Ghana, the Soviets worried that Padmore's antagonism towards them and his close relationship with Nkrumah was damaging the bond between the two countries.

Both Padmore's bitter departure from the Communist Party and his disillusionment with Stalinism profoundly influenced his political outlook. In November 1957, Ivan I. Potekhin—deputy director of Moscow's African department of the Institute of Ethnography,[357] a former prominent Communist University of the Toilers of the East (KUTV) instructor,[358] and the first Soviet scholar to research in Africa[359]—arrived in Ghana.[360] The Soviet Africanist scholar Ivan

[355] AVP RF: d. 720, op. 2, por. 6, pa. 1, env. 2, June 11, 1958, Makarov to the European Department of the Soviet Union.

[356] O. Orestov, "Ghana – Notes on the Political and Economic Situation," *Pravda*. June 16, 1958.

[357] DGCKN, Kwame Nkrumah – Foreign Relations – the USSR, *New Commonwealth*, November 11, 1957.

[358] George Skorov, "Ivan Potekhin-Man, Scientist, and Friend of Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1964), 444-447.

[359] DGCKN, *New Commonwealth*. November 11, 1957.

[360] George Loft Papers 7.1., December 23, 1958, George Loft reported that at the All-African Conference in Accra in December 1958 that Potekhin "warmly welcomed by Ghanaians."

Izosimovich Potekhin reported to the Soviet government that Padmore continued to pressure and steer Nkrumah away from the Soviets due to his expulsion from the Communist Party.[361] On June 16, 1958, Orestov concluded that Padmore denounced the USSR as much as he did American and British imperialism.[362] Indeed, Padmore believed that the Soviets saw blacks as pawns to further their interests.[363] Padmore's ideas substantially impacted Nkrumah.

Nkrumah and Padmore had a very close relationship. After Nkrumah left Britain for colonial Ghana in 1947, and their relationship blossomed.[364] Padmore and Nkrumah discussed what forms Ghana's constitution should take.[365] Moreover, Padmore conscripted individuals to spy on anti-Nkrumah factions, enforced CPP party discipline,[366] and alerted Nkrumah to assassination plots against him.[367] While disagreements arose, a strong bond between them prevailed. Nkrumah placed Padmore's office right next to his at the Flagstaff House.[368] James wrote, "I who knew them both cannot think of Padmore without Nkrumah or Nkrumah without Padmore."[369] Scholar W. Scott Thompson argued that "only Nkrumah had a greater hand than

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[361] AVP RF: d. 853, January 31, 1958, from I.I. Potekhin.

[362] O. Orestov, "Ghana – Notes on the Political and Economic Situation," *Pravda*, June 16, 1958.

[363] Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism*, 268-269.

[364] KV/2/1850_1, "SF. 291/West Africa", Extracted January 1, 1953.

[365] Ibid., October 2, 1952, Padmore to Nkrumah.

[366] KV/2/1850_3, September 14, 1951, W. H. A. Rich to Director General.

[367] KV/2/1850_1, September 30, 1952, Padmore to Nkrumah.

[368] W. Scott Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966*: *Diplomacy Ideology, and the New State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 29.

[369] Columbia University: C.L.R. James Papers Box 9, Folder 9. Series II.2. Nkrumah, Kwame – Various 1966-1967, "Homage to Nkrumah."

Padmore in shaping Ghana's foreign policy during the first two years."[370] Padmore's political views on the USSR is essential to understanding Ghana's foreign policy towards the USSR from 1957-1959 for they reflect Ghana's early leaders' worry about the dangers of white empires—a reality often lost in Cold War analytics.

Padmore bemoaned Nkrumah's warmth towards Ghana's former colonizers during Ghana's Independence Day celebrations. Padmore lamented to James that at Ghana's Independence Day dinner that "the police, the head of the department of education, the magistrates and a lot of white people," who were responsible for putting "all the black people into gaols," were enjoying the festivities "inside dancing" but that the blacks were "outside."[371] Padmore did not believe that these white people had Ghana's best interests at heart and feared that Nkrumah was being manipulated. Despite both Ghana's seeming dependence on American and British capital and Padmore's insistence on ensuring that Ghana remained outside the USSR's orbit, the Ghanaian government also had other more pragmatic explanations for their inability to expeditiously forge closer ties with the Soviets.

The Ghanaians cited financial and personnel limitations, and the gigantic task of building a nation-state as preventing them from establishing closer ties with the Soviets. On September 3, 1957, Nkrumah informed Malik that Ghana's lack of finances prevented the establishment of an embassy in the Soviet Union.[372] Kofi Baako, the Ghanaian Minister of Information, Broadcasting, and Housing, also informed Orestov that Ghana could not build an embassy in

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[370] Thompson, *Ghana Foreign Policy*, 22.

[371] CLR James Papers Box 10. Folder 25. Series II. 3.,17.

[372] AVP RF: d. 110, op. 1, por. 2, pa. 1, September 3, 1957, Nkrumah to Malik.

Moscow presently because they lacked staff members.[373] Despite Soviet incredulity over Ghana's claims,[374] the American Consul General in Accra, Donald Lamm, commented in December 1956 that colonial Ghana's financial and personnel constraints would make the new state unable to send representatives to the "U.S.S.R. or Communist China . . . 'for a considerable time after independence, even if they were inclined to do so.'"[375]

Rather than British and American political, economic, and military pressure, a re-reading of the archives through neocolonial and racial paradigms highlights that Ghana was preoccupied with dismantling its colonial economy and avoiding a neocolonial relationship in an attempt to achieve full sovereignty. Indeed, Nkrumah warned at the All-African Conference in Accra in December 1958, "Do not let us also forget that Colonialism and Imperialism may come to us yet in a different guise—not necessarily from Europe. We must alert ourselves to be able to recognize this when it rears its head and prepare ourselves to fight against it."[376] With the lingering fear and uncertainty amongst Ghana's leadership that the USSR's foreign ambitions were predicated merely on using blacks as pawns, Ghana cautiously approached the Soviet Union with a fear of swapping one set of white masters for another.[377] The Ghanaian government heavily dictated the spaces and speed of its relationship with the Soviets in an attempt to

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[373] O. Orestov, "Ghana – Notes on the Political and Economic Situation," *Pravda,* June 16, 1958.

[374] AVP RF: d. 720 (I-58), op. 3, pa. 2, O. Orestov, "Correspondent of Pravda in Ghana," *Pravda,* April 22, 1959.

[375] Mazov, *A Distant Front in the Cold War*, 44.

[376] George Loft Papers 7.1, Nkrumah's speech cited in George Loft's December 23, 1958, "Report on All-African People's Conference Held at Accra, Ghana, December 8-13, 1958, 5.

[377] Douglas G. Anglin, "Ghana, the West, and the Soviet Union," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* Vol. 24, No. 2 (May 1958), 152.

successfully engineer its ideological, economic, and political independence and to ensure they would not become cannon fodder.

RELATIONS AT OUR OWN PACE AND CONVENIENCE

Despite the perception of minimal diplomatic ties between Ghana and the USSR from 1957 to 1959, there were significant early efforts to create connections between the two countries. On August 7, 1957, Graham, the Ghanaian film organization director, wrote to Kislev, his Soviet counterpart, to establish ties and inquire about future collaborative possibilities between the two industries. Graham lauded both the technical and political aspects of Kislev's film about Ghana's Independence Day celebrations.[378] In a separate letter, Nkrumah thanked Malik for the movie and vowed to disperse the film "widely" to the Ghanaian public.[379] It is unclear whether this happened. Reciprocating Kislev's actions, Graham sent Kislev a Ghanaian film production entitled, "Freedom for Ghana." Furthermore, Graham requested several hundred feet of Soviet color film for experimental purposes and measures to purchase the film to produce it for Western markets.[380]

Malik recognized cinema as a potential avenue towards the opening and establishing cultural ties between the two nations.[381] In 1958, the Festival Committee of the Film Festival of

[378] AVP RF: d. 850, op. 1, por. 5, pa. 1, August 17, 1957, Malik to Vladimir Ivanovich Erofeev; AVP RF: d. 850, op. 1, por. 5, pa. 1, August 7, 1957, Graham to Kislev.

[379] AVP RF: d. 110, op. 1, por. 2, pa. 1, September 3, 1957, Nkrumah to Malik.

[380] AVP RF: d. 850, op. 1, por. 5, pa. 1, August 7, 1957, Graham to Kislev.

[381] Ibid., August 17, 1957, Malik to Erofeev.

Asian and African Countries in Tashkent invited Ghana to submit two films to the festival.[382] However, on August 7, 1958, the Ghanaian High Commissioner in London regrettably declined the offer. He lamented that the two Ghanaian films, "Freedom of Ghana" and "Jaguar," contravened the festival's governing codes because they had already been exhibited at other International Festivals.[383] However, diplomatic overtures went further than films and books.

Nkrumah urged the Soviets to accept a Ghanaian trade mission to the Soviet Union in 1958, which would include high-ranking members from the state trading corporation, the cocoa marketing board, the industrial development corporation, and the agricultural corporation.[384] On October 28, 1957, Kwame Jantuah, the youngest member of Nkrumah's first all-African cabinet, informed Malik that Ghana would send a delegation to the USSR for two weeks in July 1958. The mission was intended to bring goodwill to the Soviet Union, promote reciprocal trade between the two countries, attract Soviet foreign investment, and instruct Ghanaians on how to establish small-scale or cottage industries in rural areas.[385] Moreover, Nkrumah hoped that the Soviets would generously send a Soviet official to Ghana to discuss "technical details" and grant permission for Ghanaian "trade union officials to visit the U.S.S.R. from China."[386] In December

[382] For more information about the Tashkent film festival and other Soviet film festivals, read Elena Razlogova's "The Politics of Translation at Soviet Film Festivals during the Cold War," *SubStance*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (2015), 66–87.

[383] AVP RF: d. 850, op. 2, por. 8, pa. 2, August 7, 1958, the Ghana High Commission in London to The Festival Committee of the 1958 Film Festival of Asian and African Countries in Tashkent.

[384] AVP RF: d. 110, op. 1, por. 2, pa. 1, September 3, 1957, Nkrumah to Malik.

[385] AVP RF: d. 210, op. 1, por 4, pa. 1, October 28, 1957, J. E. Jantuah to Malik.

[386] AVP RF: d. 110, op. 1, por. 2, pa. 1, September 3, 1957, Nkrumah to Malik.

1958, the Ghanaian government was delighted to welcome Soviet scientists and diamond experts to Ghana to explore how best to streamline and tap into the nation's natural resources.[387] On August 4, 1959, the Ghanaian government requested Soviet aid to construct a semi-large metallurgic plant and hoped that the Soviets could help locate and excavate large iron ore deposits off the Ghanaian coast.[388]

A series of events in the ensuing months would modify Soviet-Ghana relations. On September 25, 1959, Padmore died from "'cirrhosis of the liver'" in London. His death shook Nkrumah, who cried bitterly in his house.[389] During the spreading of Padmore's ashes at Christiansborg Castle in Accra, Nkrumah delivered a somber eulogy. He praised Padmore as a staunch anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and as someone who only sought the freedom of blacks everywhere.[390] On October 30, 1959, A. K. Barden, the Secretary of the Ghanaian Bureau of African Affairs, wrote to George Loft, the American Friends Service Committee's representative in sub-Saharan Africa in Salisbury,[391] Southern Rhodesia, about Padmore's legacy. Barden noted that while Padmore was dead that his devotion to "African Freedom" and his attempts to eliminate "imperialism, racialism, and oppression" from the African continent continued to inspire the living. Barden informed Loft that Nkrumah would "continue the battle (for African

[387] AVP RF: d. 281, op. 2, por 5, pa. 1, December 1958, the Ghanaian High Commission in London to the Soviet Embassy.

[388] AVP RF: d. I-6, op. 3, por 4, pa. 2, env. Ghana, August 4, 1959.

[389] Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, 138.

[390] AVP RF: f. 140 (1-22), op. 3, por. 3, pa. 2, October 4, 1959, Nkrumah's Speech at Padmore's Funeral.

[391] The American Friends Service Committee was an international Quaker Service Agency. See George Loft Papers Box 4/39, November 15, 1958, Loft to Padmore.

self-determination) from where Comrade Padmore left it."[392] Padmore's death was more than a personal loss for Nkrumah; it also signaled the beginning of a shift in Ghana's foreign policy towards the USSR. As Padmore's ashes lay at Christiansborg Castle, a Ghanaian trade delegation visited the Soviet Union,[393] and Baako, a pro-Soviet minister, stepped into his office.[394]

Two events—one in the Congo and another within Nkrumah's cabinet—reminded Nkrumah that African independence was under attack from its former colonizers and their associates. The Congo signified an important test of black Africa's independence and the Global North's stance on a genuinely independent Africa.[395] In Nkrumah's eyes, the case of the Congo reaffirmed the desire of white empires to either exploit, undermine, or dismantle African governments or murder African leaders who sought to dismantle former colonial relationships.[396] "It baffles many of us," Nkrumah noted in a November 13, 1964, letter to the African American UN and Foreign Correspondent journalist Charles Howard from the Howard News Syndicate, "that in this mid-20th century, the imperialists should still want to re-stage a scramble for Africa, as they are actively doing in the Congo and other areas of our continent." Nkrumah was adamant that "African problems can best be solved by Africans.[397]

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[392] George Loft Papers Box 4/39, October 30, 1959, A. K. Barden to George Loft.

[393] FO371/138167, October 2, 1959, H. W. King to Tom.

[394] Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah,* 138.

[395] Ludo de Witte, *The Assassination of Patrice Lumumba* (London, England: Verso Press, 2001).

[396] Nkrumah, *Neocolonialism*.

[397] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/420, November 13, 1964, Nkrumah to Charles Howard.

In Ghana's attempts to bolster Congo's first democratically elected Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba's government, Ghanaian and Soviet ministers met on four separate occasions in 1960.[398] Alongside these meetings, Nkrumah and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev exchanged numerous letters about the best measures to avert the balkanization of the Congo, Western attempts both to undermine Lumumba's leadership and control Congo's resources, and the UN's failure to support Lumumba's government.[399] Whether or not by design, Khrushchev's language in his letters to Nkrumah about the Congo often mimicked Nkrumah's on anti-imperialism, neocolonialism, and anti-racialism, and often pushed for Africans to determine their internal affairs. Indeed, after Khrushchev's 1960 United Nations General Assembly speech, the British internally blasted the Soviet leader's "two-hour speech" as a "deplorable," "crude and repetitive attack on colonialism."[400] The British colonial apparatus could not admit colonialism's deplorable realities. The events in the Congo underlined the precariousness of independent black Africa. The other incident was internal.

Marshall Malinovsky, the Soviet Defense Minister, questioned J. S. Elliott, the Ghanaian Ambassador to the Soviet Union, about the wisdom of British officers leading and training Ghanaian troops and their loyalty to Nkrumah's goals. General Alexander, the British officer in charge of Ghana's Armed Services, had secretly been informing the British and Canadian governments about Nkrumah's plans to send 400 cadets to the USSR and how to sabotage it.[401]

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[398] AVP RF: f. 011, op.4, por. 1, pa. 4.

[399] Ibid., September 12, 1960, Khrushchev to Nkrumah; PRAAD-Accra RG/17/221, November 8, 1960, Nkrumah to Khrushchev.

[400] FO371/153633, September 24, 1960, "U.K. Mission New York telegram No. 878 to Foreign Office."

[401] DO195/15, August 24, 1961, Keeble to the C.R.O.

The British presupposed that they could "restore" Nkrumah's "perspective and send him home in a more sober frame of mind."[402] Nkrumah was not cowed, however. Understanding this moment as a neo-colonial attempt to stifle Ghana's sovereignty, Nkrumah dismissed 200 British officers from the Ghanaian army, [403] including Alexander,[404] and sent approximately 70 Ghanaian cadets to the Soviet Union.[405] In response to these actions, Nkrumah declared: "We make no apology for the steps . . . taken to strengthen our trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union" and to secure Ghana's sovereignty.[406] There would be no mea culpa to the Western white world for seeking true independence.

Due to Ghana's shift towards socialism and Khrushchev's support for Lumumba, Ghanaian officials began to differentiate the Soviets from other white empires. In August 1960, R. O. Amoako-Atta, Ghana's Minister of Labor and Co-operatives, arrived in the USSR and declared that the Soviets were Ghana's "real friends." Amoako-Atta told Sovetskaya Torgovlya, a Soviet trade correspondent, that meetings with their Soviet counterparts had aided Ghana's attempts to collectivize its farming industry. Highlighting the importance of African liberation to Ghana's foreign policy, Atta was "also thankful to the Soviet Union for rendering assistance to our brothers the Congolese people." The Soviet Union's respect of national sovereignty, Atta

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[402] Ibid., August 28, 1961, Keeble to Mr. East and Mr. Wakely.

[403] R. H. C. Steed, "Moscow Flight by Ghanaian Cadets Surprises Britain," *Daily Telegraph*, October 13, 1961; "71 Off to Russia," *The Daily Graphic*, October 12, 1961.

[404] "General Alexander Denies Rudeness," *West Africa*, October 7, 1961.

[405] Steed, "Moscow Flight by Ghanaian Cadets Surprises Britain," *Daily Telegraph*, October 13, 1961.

[406] John D. Leonard, "Nkrumah Seeks to Industrialize Ghana, Diversify Country's Economy," *Foreign Commerce Weekly*, December 25, 1961.

continued, was "a sure way" of developing ties and friendship with Ghana.[407] During Nkrumah's time in the Soviet Union in 1961, he poignantly noted that "nowhere have I felt to myself and to Africans such friendly and sincere and unbiased attitude as in the USSR." Nkrumah continued, "In the USA and England, I always felt slightly palpable, but noticeable of neglect and arrogance to Africans. Here, in the USSR, my companions and I feel as in our own family, among sincere friends."[408] On October 2, 1962, while dining with the Moscow City Soviet members in Moscow, the leader of the Accra City Delegation, C. F. Hughes, enthusiastically thanked his hosts for a wonderful trip and the "warm heartedness and genuine friendliness" exhibited towards them.[409]

In Britain's 1965 Annual Information Review about its propaganda efforts in Accra, P. R. Spendlove, the Director of Britain's Information Services in Ghana, bemoaned that the "Russians have it all their own way in Ghana" in disseminating information. Spendlove complained that the *Ghanaian Times* and *Evening News* simply copied and pasted "news items and features" from the Soviet embassy's daily bulletins. Spendlove concluded that Soviet officials frequented and yielded tremendous influence over Ghana's "press, radio and information apparatus." Furthermore, he alleged that Russians distributed "reading material in English on a prodigious scale, gratis and for sale." While Spendlove was delighted that the Ghana-Soviet Friendship

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[407] "Ghana Minister calls Russians 'our real friends,'" *The Guardian* and *Reuters,* August 25, 1960.

[408] AVP RF d. 142. op. 5, por. 16, July 7, 1961.

[409] AVP RF, f. 800, op. 26, por 26. pa.11.; Ibid., November 28, 1962, O.N. Oku to Elliott. It is unclear why, but the Soviet delegation handed the Ghanaian Speaker of the Ghanaian National Assembly a vase, which he then placed on the center table to allow everyone in parliament to witness. See DO166/12, October 29, 1963, "The Parliamentary Debates Official Report."

Societies, which brought Soviet speakers, and showcased and discussed Soviet films and literature, had been shut down, he noted that the two states had "a generous two-way visitors' programme, a vigorous scholarship scheme, readily accepted training facilities for journalists and radio people and regular book presentations."[410] Ironically, both Western and Eastern powers thought that the other white power was controlling the newly independent African state.

Nkrumah's and Khrushchev's relationship blossomed from 1960 onwards. The Ghanaian leader followed moments of Soviet scientific prowess by congratulating Khrushchev on Soviet achievements.[411] The two leaders exchanged New Year pleasantries[412] and happy birthday wishes.[413] Nkrumah's wife, Madam Fathia Nkrumah, their two children, and entourage vacationed in the Soviet Union in 1961.[414] As a token of goodwill, the Soviets bequeathed Nkrumah's son, Gamel Kwame Nkrumah, a pair of "special shoes" and two more upon request, as the child loved the shoes.[415] Furthermore, Khrushchev expressed deep concern for Nkrumah's health and life when a bomb attempt at Kulungugu, northern Ghana, against Nkrumah failed in

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[410] DO192/33, December 20, 1965, P. R. Spendlove - "Re Annual Information Review: Accra, 1965." Playing to the idea that the Nkrumah government and Ghanaians were communist stooges, Spendlove alleged that Ghana "unhesitating(ly) accept(ed) Government, Party, Press and radio of communist postures on almost every conceivable question and their automatic rejection of the British case."

[411] AVP RF, f. 140. op. 5. por 15. pa.7, August 8, 1961, Nkrumah to Khrushchev.

[412] Ibid., January 3, 1961, Nkrumah to Khrushchev; December 30, 1961, Khrushchev and Brezhnev to Nkrumah.

[413] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/211, April 14, 1964, Nkrumah to Khrushchev.

[414] AVP RF, f. 012, op. 5, por. 2, pa. 7, August 3, 1961, Ghanaian embassy to Soviet Foreign Ministry

[415] AVP RF, f. 012, op. 5, por. 2, pa. 7, October 16, 1961, Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry; AVP RF, f. 012, op. 5, por. 2, pa. 7, November 29, 1961, letter from the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

1962.[416] To aid Nkrumah's security arrangements, Khrushchev sent "Svertchov," a personal security guard, to Ghana.[417] Soon, Soviet security personnel occupied essential positions in Nkrumah's presidential guard.[418] A bombing postponed Nkrumah's 1962 plans to go on vacation in the Soviet Union, however.[419] Despite these moments of friendliness and hospitality, Ghana's economic independence remained its central concern.

While Guinea, led by Nkrumah's closest ally, Sekou Touré, expelled the Soviet Ambassador in December 1961 after becoming increasingly frustrated by Soviet aid and poor equipment quality, Ghanaian officials viewed the Soviets as crucial to their economic growth and dictated the spaces where it wanted Soviet assistance. On March 19, 1960, Nkrumah thanked Khrushchev for the Soviet Specialist Team's report for the construction of an iron and steel plant in Ghana and wondered whether the Soviet Union would consider assisting Ghana in implementing those recommendations.[420] A few months later, Nkrumah informed Khrushchev of his desire to mechanize Ghana's agriculture and to industrialize and electrify the country quickly.[421] On October 11, 1960, the Ghanaians inquired whether the Soviets would "assist

[416] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/211, September 21, 1962, Khrushchev to Nkrumah.

[417] Ibid., September 6, 1962, Nkrumah to Khrushchev.

[418] Ogunbadejo, "Soviet Policies in Africa," 319.

[419] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/211, September 21, 1962, Khrushchev to Nkrumah; Ibid., September 6, 1962, Nkrumah to Khrushchev.

[420] AVP RF: f. 250, op. 4, por. 24, pa. 5, March 19, 1960, Nkrumah to Khrushchev.

[421] AVP RF: f. 200, por. 2, pa.5, June 6, 1960, Nkrumah to Khrushchev.

Ghana in establishing an Experimental Nuclear Reactor Station and a Monitoring Unit." Because it was an urgent matter, the Ghanaians hoped for a quick response.[422]

Supporting Nkrumah's vision, the Soviets agreed to export industrial items to Ghana[423] and provide £G15 million pounds in credit at a rate of 2.5 interest per year. The Ghanaians negotiated all payments be done in Ghanaian pounds to maintain its foreign cash reserves.[424] On December 15, 1960, Regina Asamany, a member of the Ghanaian parliament, wrote a letter to Khrushchev asking whether five Ghanaian police officers, four Ghanaian poultry farmers, three sculptors, and three co-operative society leaders from Ghana could visit the USSR for two to three months in the spring of 1961. Asamany hoped that the aforementioned Ghanaians would be able to study how the Soviets organized their police force, how to use scientific methods to rear birds on poultry farms, become acquainted with Soviet sculptors, and to explore how to organize co-operative and state farms. In closing her letter to Khrushchev, the Ghanaian parliamentarian admitted that she was in awe of the Soviet state and was "convinced that Africa and the Soviet Union" needed to "co-operate more and more with each other."[425] In a December 12, 1960 speech in Sunyani, northern Ghana, Nkrumah prophesized that a Soviet-powered Bui-Hydro-electric dam would electrify and supply "water to every town, village and cottage for miles and

[422] AVP RF: d. 250, op. 4, por. 24, pa. 5. October 11, 1960, K.K. Apeadu to Mikhail D. Sytenko.

[423] RG/17/221, August 4, 1960, "Schedule A: Appendix to the Trade Agreement between the Republic of Ghana and the U.S.S.R."

[424] Ibid., August 4, 1960, "Trade Agreement between the Republic of Ghana and the U.S.S.R."

[425] AVP RF: d. 250, op. 4, por. 24, pa. 5, December 15, 1960, Miss Regina Asamany to Khrushchev.

miles" in Ghana.[426] Nkrumah was determined to make Ghana both an energy independent and supplying country.

On January 21, 1961, the Ghanaians informed their Soviet counterparts that a delegation would arrive in the USSR on February 1, 1961, to discuss building a nuclear and power reactor in Ghana.[427] Edusei wrote to Mumuni Bawumia, Ghana's Northern Region's Regional Commissioner, about the USSR's "importance" to Ghana's economy" and that Tamale, Northern Ghana, would be the headquarters for "over 200 Soviet personnel, families, and laboratories."[428] In May 1964, another fishing deal was signed between Ghana and the Soviets. The contract stipulated that the Soviets would "construct fish canning factories with an output of 20,000 cans per day, fish smoking plant with daily output of 6 tons of smoked fish, fish cookery ship to produce 1 ton of various products per day, fish meal and greet plan with output of up to 30 tons of raw products a day."[429] In June 1964, Ghana agreed to buy 500,000 tons of crude oil from the USSR.[430] In Chapter 3, I explore in greater detail the role of fish and the Ghana State Fishing Corporation in Ghana's state-capitalist project. Nevertheless, these modernizing projects and Soviet expertise were expected to restructure Ghana's economy away from its colonial and neocolonial trappings. However, there was a dark underbelly to Ghana-Soviet interactions.

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[426] DO165/23, December 14, 1960, G. W. Marshall to Davies.

[427] AVP RF: d. 012, op. 5, por. 2. pa.7, January 21, 1961, the Ghanaian embassy in Moscow to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

[428] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/13, February 1, 1962, Krobo Edusei to Mumuni Bawumia.

[429] Garland R. Farmer Papers. Box 24, "Ghana," *IC*, May 4, 1964.

[430] "Ghana Orders Oil From Soviet Union," *New York Times*, June 14, 1964.

Figure 5 Kwame Nkrumah and Anastas Ivanovich Mikoyan visit the wine factory in the Crimea, September 1961.[431]

Figure 6 Madam Fathia Nkrumah, Kwame Nkrumah, A.I. Mikoyan, and others at the Crimea, September 1961.[432]

[431] GARF

[432] Ibid.

Figure 7 Nkrumah and Mikoyan at a Crimean Beach in September 1961.[433]

Figure 8 Nkrumah, Mikoyan, and others visit Vorontsov Palace in Crimea, Sept. 1961.[434]

RACISM HELPS FORGE A NEW NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

[433] Ibid.

[434] Ibid.

Benedict Anderson has argued that the advent of print capitalism was crucial to creating nationalist cohesion and identities. Furthermore, Anderson suggested that a nation is an "imagined political community" that is "both inherently limited and sovereign." Anderson used "imagined" to define members of a community that "most . . . fellow-members" will never "meet . . . or even hear . . .," but still live in "communion" in each other's minds."[435] Along this same vein, Harcourt Fuller has shown how the Ghanaian government exploited iconography, symbols, stamps, monuments, party flags, and currency images to build a Ghanaian national identity.[436] While ideas of culture and ethnicity have been explored as processes of forging a national identity, this section argues that accounts of nationalism, particularly in the postcolonial context, must also consider anti-racism as a unifying political discourse.[437] In particular, this section shows how acts of racism against Ghanaians in the U.S. and USSR played a role in forging a global Ghanaian consciousness.

Throughout 1962, Ghanaian officials in the USSR began taking a keen interest in the welfare of its citizens in the USSR. In April and October 1962, Ghanaian officials visited many cities where Ghanaians lived and studied[438] to ensure their wellbeing.[439] Soon, the location of

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[435] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, England: Verso Books, 1991), 5.

[436] Harcourt Fuller, *Building the Ghanaian Nation-State: Kwame Nkrumah's Symbolic Nationalism* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 2-3.

[437] Emmanuel K. Akyeampong, "Race, Identity, and Citizenship in Black Africa: The Case of the Lebanese in Ghana," *Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 76, No. 3 (2006), 297-323.

[438] AVP RF: d. 012, op. 6, por. 2, pa. 9, October 1, 1962, the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

[439] Ibid., March 29 and April 2, 1962, the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Ghanaians in the USSR dictated which local Soviet industries, cultural institutions, and officials Ghanaian embassy officials visited. The Ghanaian students considered their embassy and ambassador, which only a few years prior had not been present, the only avenue for them to tell their side of events, seek redress, and acquire protection from hardships, racism, and discrimination.[440] In many cases, the Ghanaian embassy interceded on their behalf.[441]

For example, on April 25, 1963, the Ghanaian embassy in Moscow wrote a scathing letter to the Soviet Foreign Ministry about the racism Ghanaian students faced in the USSR. The Ghanaian embassy noted that it had received numerous complaints from its nationals about "unprovoked assaults . . . by Soviet citizens," with the Soviet police and citizens ignoring Ghanaian students' pleas for help.[442] The death of a twenty-nine-year-old Ghanaian medical student, Edmond Asare-Addo, in December 1963, in Moscow, both crystallized these concerns and ignited outrage.[443] While the Soviets claimed that Asare-Addo drunk himself to death, the

[440] Ibid., October 1, 1962, the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

[441] AVP RF: d. 012, op. 6, por. 2, pa. 9, Dec 17, 1962, the Ghanaian embassy (from the Zanzibar students) to the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Other African nationals in the USSR also saw the Ghanaian embassy as a space where they could seek help. For instance, in October 1962, Zanzibar students appealed to the Ghanaian embassy to intercede on behalf of their colleague, Ahmed Mgenzi Hafidh. Ahmed Mgenzi Hafidh was a student at the Leningrad Medical Institute and was facing expulsion and deportation from the USSR. His colleagues acknowledged that Mgenzi had made a mistake but noted that he was a good student. Ahmed Mgenzi Hafidh taught Soviet students Swahili at the Institute of Ethnography in the Academy of Science, Leningrad, was "writing a pocket Russian-Swahili dictionary," and was someone who had made regular speeches against "the cruel rule of colonialism and imperialism." The Zanzibar students hoped that the Ghanaian embassy would use its clout to offer him a reprieve from expulsion and deportation.

[442] AVP RF: d. 2, op. 7, por. 2, pa. 12., April 25, 1963, the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

[443] U.S. Senator Thomas J. Dodd suggested that the Ghanaian ambassador called on the Soviet police to prevent the students from getting access to the embassy. Karl August Wittfogel Papers, Box 203, Folder 203.4, Cited in Dodd's introduction in "Subcommittee to Investigate the

Ghanaian students maintained that Asare-Addo's death was racially inspired due to his impending marriage to a white Russian woman. The students carried numerous placards while demonstrating in the Red Square. One read: "'Moscow, a second Alabama.'"[444] The Alabama reference was intentional. A few months earlier, near Tuscaloosa, Alabama, five white men steered their car deliberately into a vehicle containing three Ghanaian college students, drove them to an isolated spot, and physically assaulted them with a pistol, clubs, leather belts, and automobile tools.[445] Despite not personally knowing the three assaulted Ghanaians in Alabama, the words on the placard referenced their shared national identity. Similarly, despite not knowing Asare-Addo or his fellow Ghanaians in the USSR, Ghanaian students in North America recognized their shared communion, experience.

On December 19, 1963, the Executive Committee of the Ghana Students' Association of the Americas wrote to the Soviet Ambassador to the US and the Soviet Foreign Ministry in the USSR supporting their fellow citizens. The Executive Committee informed the Soviet Ambassador that they held an emergency meeting to "strongly protest the suspicious circumstances that surrounded the death of Mr. Addo, a Ghana medical student, near Moscow on December 13, 1963."[446] The letter originated from the organization's stated objective to promote

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Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws," "Ghana Students In United States Oppose U.S. Aid to Nkrumah," August 19, 1963, and January 11, 1964, v.

[444] Blakely, *The U.S.S.R. and Black Africa*, 134; Julie Hessler, "Death of an African Student in Moscow: Race, Politics, and the Cold War," *Cahiers du Monde russe*, Vol. 47, No. ½ (2006), 33-63.

[445] Hendrick Smith, "U.S. Apologizes to Ghana Envoy in Beating of 3 Students in South," *The New York Times*, September 11, 1963.

[446] AVP RF: d. 23, op. 7, por. 23, pa. 13, December 19, 1963, the Ghana Students' Association of the Americas to the Soviet Ambassador.

the welfare of Ghanaian students in the Americas, "to study Ghana's problems and exchange information relating to them," to build a close fraternity with other globally dispersed Ghanaian student organizations, and "to promote goodwill and understanding among Ghanaians, Americans, and other Africans."[447]

The Ghanaian government was forced to address these incidents. In early 1964, a journalist in America asked Johnson D. K. Appiah, the Ghanaian First Secretary of the Mission to the UN, about the Ghanaian student demonstrations in Moscow and whether Ghana would cease to send its students there. Appiah responded, "It is a very serious matter when a student dies mysteriously or is killed." Appiah continued, "You know, the three Ghanaian students were beaten up in this country this year, and we wouldn't consider not having students take every opportunity to get an education here."[448] While the First Secretary highlighted the journalist's underlying blindness to America's racial problems, Appiah accepted the premise that the new nation-state had to protect its citizens. Furthermore, Appiah's response indicated the Ghanaian government's increasing awareness of the sufferings its nationals were experiencing in the two white empires. Within the next few months, the scope of its protective duties became even more evident.

On July 26, 1964, a Ghanaian student in Kherson (now Ukraine) was smoking a cigarette. A Soviet citizen moved towards him and requested a cigarette. When the Ghanaian replied that he had none, the individual attempted to grab the cigarette, the Ghanaian was smoking, resulting in an altercation. Nearby Soviet citizens joined the fracas. When other Ghanaians noticed other

[447] "The Ghana Students' Association of the Americas," *The Ghana Student*, November 1963.

[448] "Ghana to Continue Sending Students to Soviet Russia," *ANP*, February 19, 1964.

Soviets "gang[ing]-up" against their fellow citizen, they joined the melee. After the fight, the Soviets suffered a few "casualties" and others sustained severe physical injuries. The Soviet government blamed the Ghanaians for the incident, prompting a response from the Ghanaian embassy. While categorically condemning "any acts of lawlessness perpetrated by any Ghanaian citizen in the USSR," the Ghanaian embassy noted it was their duty to "ensure that Ghanaian citizens" were "not indiscriminately blamed for any breaches of the peace."[449] The embassy lambasted the Soviet's decision to seek legal and financial restitution against Ghanaian nationals for the injuries Soviet citizens sustained while neglecting the injured Ghanaians. The Ghanaian embassy warned the Soviets that if they "further pursued" damages that the Ghanaian students would "feel entitled" to them as well. After meeting with its nationals, the Ghanaian embassy noted that the attack was part of ongoing skirmishes between Ghanaian trainees at the Kherson Marine Institute and Soviet citizens.

Some Kherson residents had ventured to the Ghanaians' school to warn their principal "that they would molest" the Ghanaians. The embassy was very disturbed that Soviet authorities ignored those "warnings." While the embassy regretted the brawl, it "hoped that the appropriate authorities would take . . . measures to ensure that Ghanaian trainees are not subjected to any provocation or wanton molestation."[450] In looking at both the Soviet government's decision to seek legal and financial damages from the Ghanaian students and to blame the Ghanaians for the incident, the Ghanaian embassy steadfastly stood behind its citizens. In other cases, Ghanaian students felt isolated and abandoned by their government.

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[449] AVP RF: d. 1, op. 8, por. 1, pa. 13A, August 17, 1964, "Aid Memoire."

[450] Ibid.

On January 21, 1963, the Ghanaian technicians of the Air Force Training in Alma-Ata, in present-day Kazakhstan, wrote to Kofi Baako, the Ghanaian Minister of Defense, about the "complete mess" they had been "thrown into" regarding their studies in the Soviet Union. The technicians noted that their three letters to the Ghanaian Ambassador about their poor treatment "to [their] bitter sorrow and utter disappointment" had been ignored. The Ghanaian Technicians were angered that on December 25, 1962, a Soviet flight commander informed them that none of them would fly any jet crafts since Ghana did not possess one and was too small to acquire the plane in the future.[451] The technicians noted that they were living in challenging conditions in the Soviet Union and that a forced change to their studies, from pilots to engineers and then to electrical equipment, was "depressing and killing ones active interest dead (sic)."[452] "We are sorry, Sir, to say," they continued to Baako, that they are "treated here (in the Soviet Union) as if nobody cares for us at all, and doesn't care what we are up to or what we come out with, hence the turning of the deaf ears to our cries." The students noted that sudden change in their program, without their approval, put an undue hardship on them.[453]

Indicating the state of their living conditions in the Soviet Union, the Ghanaian military students did not even have civilian clothing. In early 1962, the Ghanaian military students in the USSR requested civilian clothing. Mikhail Sytenko, the Soviet Ambassador to Ghana, informed Baako that the Soviets would happily provide each Ghanaian student with an overcoat, a cotton raincoat, a woolen suit, a hat, two poplin shirts, a pair of shoes, and twelve handkerchiefs

[451] DO195/15, January 21, 1963, Group of Ghana Students to Kofi Baako and J.S. Elliott.

[452] "Strike by Ghanaians in Russia," *West Africa*, October 6, 1962.

[453] DO195/15, January 21, 1963, Group of Ghana Students to Kofi Baako and J.S. Elliott.

provided the Ghanaian government paid £27 per student.[454] These efforts were not enough to placate the students. In September and October 1962, 60 Ghanaian airline trainees went on strike at four Soviet flying and ground maintenance schools over inadequate maintenance money. Returning to the students' course problems, a Ghanaian student known as Cadet Bleko took matters into his own hands. Rather than switch from his engineering course to electrical equipment, he refused to attend lectures. The Soviet authorities summarily punished him by taking away his privileges, confining him, and then eventually deporting him to Ghana in September 1962.[455]

While Ghanaian government representatives to the Soviet Union encountered well-crafted moments of appreciation and color-blindness, in other moments, diplomatic badges afforded no protection. After suffering a medical condition rendering him unable to continue his studies in the Soviet Union, a Ghanaian student, S. O. Nyarko, was scheduled to depart from Moscow to Ghana on November 27, 1962. Three Ghanaian diplomats were sent to accompany him on the journey. After the Ghanaians ate dinner at Sheremetyevo International Airport and were about to embark on the flight, a Soviet airport official "deliberately barred the doors against the diplomats and locked up all [the] exits." Angered by the events, the Ghanaian diplomats wondered why they had been prevented from entering the plane. The Soviets insisted that Nyarko was too intoxicated to board the aircraft. The Ghanaian diplomats were incredulous and remarked that Nyarko was sober and that the treatment meted out towards Ghanaian government officials was

[454] AVP RF: d. 012, op. 6, por. 2, pa. 9, February 2, 1962, Sytenko to Baako.

[455] DO195/15, January 24, 1963, Colonel J.H.F. Mermagen to Major General C. R. Price.

disrespectful.[456] In another incident, the Ghanaians were incensed that the Ghanaian Deputy Minister of Agriculture, K. Amoa-Awuah, and his entourage on November 28, 1962, were prevented from inspecting the fishing trawlers that the Ghanaians were negotiating to purchase from the Soviets.[457]

On August 7, 1963, a Ghanaian embassy official, Dr. F. A. Kufuor, left his apartment in Leninsky Prospect 36 for Moscow State University. On his way, an unknown Soviet citizen "accosted" him and requested that Kufuor "follow him" to the police station. Kufuor, suspicious, hesitated. However, another unknown individual instructed Kufuor to accompany the stranger. "Believing that this person might be a Soviet Government Official, Dr. Kufuor agreed to accompany him." Along with the first stranger, Kufuor went to the "police station . . . in Leninsky Prospect 40," and when they arrived, the stranger and a police officer spoke in Russian, leaving Kufuor oblivious to the conversation. Soon, the police officer asked Kufuor for his particulars. Kufuor provided his documents, including "his diplomatic identity card no. 36." The stranger and the officer then went to the "inner room for about 20 minutes." As Kufuor attempted to walk around the police station, two police officers held him down. Eventually, Kufuor was summoned to "another room and there given back his diplomatic identity card and asked to go away." The entire incident lasted one hour, and Kufuor was not given an explanation or apology. The affair left the Ghanaian embassy furious. They maintained that that incident

[456] AVP RF, f. 012, op. 6, por 2, pa. 9, November 28, 1962, the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

[457] Ibid., December 12, 1962, the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry. The issue of fish and fishing products and its relationship to the Soviets is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

amounted to “an obvious arrest” and demanded “an explanation of this incident.[458]A far more dangerous incident involving Ghanaian officials occurred the following year.

On January 25, 1964, five Ghanaian embassy employees—Mr. Brown, the embassy’s First Secretary, and Mr. Boateng, Ocran, Baah, and Kufuor—were instructed to return to the embassy in the early morning. Brown rode alone while his colleagues drove together via a different route in a separate Ghanaian diplomatic vehicle. While Brown was driving, an unidentified car, containing four men, chased him and “dangerously rammed into” his vehicle, completely damaging his driver’s door. As Brown tried to escape, the interceptors put their car in front of his and forced him to exit the vehicle. The four Soviet individuals proceeded to interrogate Brown. Within “three minutes,” a Soviet police motorcycle arrived. While ignoring Brown’s assailants, they questioned Brown. Boateng, Ocran, Baah, and Kufuor were not spared.[459]

Other assailants chased the other car containing the four Ghanaian officials. Their vehicle was “rammed in twice from behind and then a third time on the right rear side and intercepted.” The Ghanaians’ car, which had “a diplomatic badge,” was severely damaged. Soon, numerous vehicles and a “contingent” of ununiformed Soviet officers arrived. The Ghanaians were “forced out of their car,” accused of being drunk, “pushed about,” insulted, and “then forcibly lifted off their feet and thrown . . . into the police wagons and driven into a nearby police station.” All of this transpired despite the Ghanaian officials presenting “their diplomatic identity cards.” The

[458] AVP RF: d. 2, op. 7, por. 2, pa. 12, August 13, 1963, the Ghanaian embassy to the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

[459] Ibid., February 3, 1964, the Ghanaian embassy to the African Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

police detained the embassy officials for almost an hour, prevented them from communicating with the Ghanaian embassy, and tried to force them to sign a police statement in Russian. The Ghanaian officials refused to sign the document. Consequently, they were booted from the station, and "compelled to walk a mile through snow to the point where they were originally taken from their car."[460] The Ghanaian embassy demanded an explanation as to what transpired to its citizens and why it had happened.

These acts of racism and endangerment in USSR against Ghanaians played a role in forging a global Ghanaian consciousness, and Ghanaians also interpreted such incidents in relation to the experiences of other Ghanaians and blacks in other far-flung places. Racial incidents transpired against Ghanaians irrespective of their socio-economic and political status. For Ghanaian nationals abroad and domestically, reading the newspaper, listening to radio reports, or hearing from their peers and family members that 'African' or 'black' students were being attacked, the victim's name was a marker of their Ghanaian origins and their connectivity. Outside of ambassadorial exchanges, Ghanaians referenced their connectivity to each other's sufferings through demonstrations and letters. Acts against Ghanaians in the USSR redefined the relationship between the Ghanaian embassy, the state, and its citizens. The embassy's initial charge to establish positive diplomatic and economic relations with the Communist power had morphed. It now had a duty to protect its citizens' rights in a foreign white country—even relocating economic and cultural sites of interest to where Ghanaians resided— to ensure that Ghanaians were not wantonly attacked or blamed for transgressions in a foreign land.

SOVIET CITIZENS AND GOODS IN GHANA

[460] Ibid.

Despite Ghana's eagerness to employ Soviet expertise, capital, and goods to construct a place of sovereignty in the international world, they were also quick to criticize poor Soviet equipment. M. A. Donkoh, the Principal Personnel Officer of the Soviet Geological Survey Team, complained to the Ghanaian government's Chief Transport Officer about the sub-standard quality of Soviet vehicles being imported into Ghana. Donkoh noted that Soviet vehicles constantly broke down and consumed too much fuel and worried that it would ultimately cause their "field operations" to "come to a standstill."[461] Donkoh immediately urged the Ghanaian government to examine the "condition of the Soviet vehicles sold to" Ghana "as soon as possible."[462] Apeadu, the Principal Secretary of Ghana's Ministry of Industries, complained that industrial projects from the Eastern Bloc in Ghana "have been falling down." He suspected that "secondhand machinery" were "painted to look new" and bemoaned the fact that "vital parts [were] missing" and that machinery had "very poor servicing and maintenance."[463]

In August 1963, the Ghanaian government returned eight Soviet Ilyushin-18 planes they had ordered in 1960 to the Soviets, deeming them surplus to requirements.[464] In another incident, Ghana's Chief Administrator, R. K. Johnson, rejected a Soviet doctor's application to join the Ghanaian Medical and Dental Board because she completed only two years of medical school

[461] NRG8/30/13, June 23, 1962, the Director of the Geological Survey Team to the Chief Transport Officer.

[462] Ibid., June 25, 1962, Chief Transport Officer to the Secretary of the Regional Commissioner's Office.

[463] DO 165/23, May 9, 1963, S.J. Gross to Davies.

[464] "Ghana Returns Soviet Planes," *New York Times/AP*, August 25, 1963.

whereas other Soviet doctors had completed six.[465] Despite Ghanaian letters requiring all medical practitioners sent to Ghana to meet British medical standards, the Soviets sent an unqualified doctor.[466]

Reports of Soviet misbehavior and inability to understand Ghanaian society also emanated from Ghana. In 1961, Nkrumah's government opened top secret guerilla warfare camps to overthrow colonialist and neocolonialist regimes in Africa. Under the direction of the Bureau of African Affairs, government rest-houses in Mankrong, Worobon, Kwahu Adawso, and Mpraeso were turned into training camps. Mankrong was the site of the first course on December 3, 1961. Two Soviet instructors arrived in Ghana to run the program and designed each course to run for approximately 18 weeks. The course entailed learning how to handle "Russian rifles, pistols, sub-machine guns, light machine guns, heavy machine guns, rocket launchers and mortar[s]."[467] The Bureau of African Affairs received reports that the Soviet instructors behaved "so meanly," of wantonly wasting food and alcohol, of harassing the cook, and seeking to "seduce the wife of the cook after getting him (the cook) intoxicated."[468] Moreover, it was suggested that the Soviets forced Ghanaians in northern Ghana to ride in the back of their trucks. In early January 1964, in the Volta Region, a few Soviets were asked whether they believed in God, and one of the Soviets

[465] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/13, July 26, 1962, R. K. Johnson to the Principal Secretary of Industries; Ibid., August 1, 1962, Secretary to the Regional Commissioner to The Principal Personnel Officer, Soviet Geological Survey Team.

[466] AVP RF, d. 012, op. 5, por. 2, pa. 7, January 30, 1961, the Ghanaian embassy to the State Committee of the Council of Ministers of USSR for Economic relations.

[467] Jay Lovestone Papers Box 73. 16, *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa: Documentary Evidence of Nkrumah's interference in the affairs of the other African States*, 6, 7.

[468] Ibid., "MKG. Project", June 26, 1962, unknown to The Director of the Bureau of African Affairs.

responded: "'We believe in science, youth and the future.'" The Ghanaian listeners subsequently "booed" the speakers "out of the place."[469] On April 24, 1964, Eddie Smith, an African American Peace Corp Volunteer in Berekum, northern Ghana, concluded that about "95% of the Russians at Sunyani do not speak English or the local language." While Russian teaching volunteers to the Berekum area at first kept to themselves while attending parties,[470] they started to join in the festivities with the locals, drinking beer and dancing.[471] Also, Smith noted that Ghanaians complained about the treatment that the Soviet chauffer and servants at the Soviet embassy meted out towards them.[472]

Life in Ghana for Soviet experts and their families was often complicated. Despite the Soviet Geological Director's threat to withdraw the Soviet team from Takoradi, southern Ghana, to Tamale, northern Ghana, if their fuel expenses were unmet,[473] the Ghanaian government informed both the Soviet families at the Tamale and Takoradi sites that they were "not responsible" for paying their fuel supplies. The Ghanaians alleged that they were only responsible "to organize the delivery of foodstuffs and the materials for cooking."[474] The following year, more trouble befell upon the Soviet families. On September 17, 1963, "during a great storm two electrical plants giving supply to the workshop and Laboratory . . . and to the

[469] Eddie Smith Diary Extracts, Box 1, Folder VIII, January 8, 1964, 288.

[470] Eddie Smith Diary Extracts, Box 1, Folder VI, October 13, 1964, 80.

[471] Ibid., 82, 83.

[472] Ibid., Box 2, Folder VIII, April 25, 1964, 129.

[473] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/13, July 3, 1962, the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner and the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Industries.

[474] Ibid., June 25, 1962, Donkor to the Director of Soviet Personnel.

bungalows occupied by the Soviet and Ghanaian personnel of the team, were damaged by the lightning discharge." Consequently, N. F. Soloviev, the Soviet Director, noted that their work had come to a "standstill" and "electricity supply of the bungalows [wa]s abnormal." Soloviev urged his Ghanaian counterparts to rectify this most "difficult situation."[475]

Within four days of the complaint, the Senior Electrical Superintendent, J. E. A. Embil, informed Soloviev that he had inspected the electrical installations and that everything was "in accord with our Ghana Code of Practice for the Electrical Equipment of Buildings." Furthermore, Embil certified "that the work completed prior to [his] inspection is almost 100 percent taking into consideration the materials on the site for final touches, and therefore deserves payment."[476] Despite Embil's assurances and demands for monetary compensation, Soloviev remarked that their bungalows still faced power shortages. Consequently, Soloviev asked O. S. Abaka-Wook, the Chief Electrical Engineer, to connect their bungalows' electricity to Tamale's central distribution system. Abaka-Wook rejected the proposal, writing that connecting the S.G.S.T. bungalows to the primary Tamale power grid would "jeopardize supplies to the whole of Tamale."[477] These stories highlight the limits of Soviet power over their Ghanaian counterparts, the power—both symbolically and materially—local Ghanaian officials had over Soviet personnel in Ghana and the moments of dissatisfaction and misunderstanding between the two countries.

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[475] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/12, September 19, 1963, N. F. Soloviev to the Electrical Engineer, cc: The Principal Secretary, Ministry of Industries.

[476] Ibid., September 23, 1963, J. E. A. Embil to the Chief Electrical Engineer, Electricity Division.

[477] Ibid., September 26, 1963, O. S. Abaka-Wook to the Soviet Director; PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/12, September 24, 1963, O. S. Abaka-Wook to the Soviet Director.

CONCLUSION

As Ghana's economy suffered from 1960 to 1966, Lieutenant Generals Joseph Arthur Ankrah and Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, supported by Western powers, instigated a coup d'état which overthrew Nkrumah on February 24, 1966. The coup shattered Ghana's relationship with the USSR. The new Ghanaian military leadership, the National Liberation Council (NLC), reneged on paying Ghana's debts to the USSR. As April 1967 arrived, Ghana owed the Eastern power 20 million pounds[478] and projects between the two had ceased.[479]

The new regime expelled 483 Soviet citizens from Ghana and refused to unreservedly accept any educational degrees Ghanaians had obtained in the USSR, prompting protests from the affected students.[480] Even during the Nkrumah years, British officers denied Soviet-trained Ghanaian naval cadets posts within the Ghanaian navy.[481] Some senior Ghanaian officers even called the Russian-trained cadets "'contaminated.'"[482] Situating Ghana's salvation with the West, the NLC demonized the Soviets and feared that they were plotting Nkrumah's return. These fears were not entirely unwarranted. A functioning wing of the CPP, consisting of roughly seventy people, remained active in the USSR, plotting ways to reinstate Nkrumah, the Pan-African

[478] DGCKN—Kwame Nkrumah 128-10, *West Africa*, April 1, 1967.

[479] "Russians in Ghana," *West Africa*, May 10, 1968.

[480] Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Kwame Nkrumah Papers, Box 154-1, Bernard Arthur, Conakry Correspondences, March 18-April 24, 1968, Bernard Arthur.

[481] DO195/15, January 24, 1963, letter from 'ineligible' to Major General C.R. Price (Commonwealth Relations Office).

[482] DO195/15, February 1, 1963, V.C. Martin to Mr. Chadwick.

giant.[483] It appears that Nkrumah never engaged with the plotters. Nkrumah died in exile in Romania, never to see Ghana again. Despite this bitter ending, the first nine years of Ghana's relationship with the USSR were by-and-large constructive for Ghana. In 1959, Ghana imported roughly 10 million dollars of goods from China and the USSR. That figure had tripled to 34 million by 1963. Whereas Ghana exported only 6 million worth of goods to the USSR and China in 1959, this figure exponentially increased to 34 million by 1963.[484]

Through the prisms of race and neocolonialism, this chapter has hoped to re-historicize Ghana's relationship with the USSR. Ghana had sought to significantly control the spaces, the pace, and the contours of its relationship with the Eastern white empire in the fears of being recolonized. Once viewed as a bastion of anti-racial and anticolonial support, the Soviet alliance with Nazi Germany, its refusal to support Ethiopia, and its treatment of black dissidents in the USSR underscored to blacks that they had to tread very carefully when they dealt and negotiated with white empires. Ghana's early leaders were concerned with swapping one set of white masters for another. As American political scientist David E. Apter stated: "Nkrumah never had any intention of jeopardizing [Ghana's] autonomy by allowing Ghana to fall into the Soviet Union's crocodile jaws."[485] The Ghanaian government's priority was to restructure its economy away from its colonial and neocolonial trappings.

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[483] Moorland Spingarn Research Center, Kwame Nkrumah Papers, Box 154-1, April 12, 1968, Bernard Arthur.

[484] United States Foreign Agricultural Economic Report No. 3, Ghana: Supply and Demand Projections for Farm Products to 1975 with Implications for U.S. Exports." Table 3 – 'Ghana: Direction of trade, imports and exports, 1953-1963, 4.

[485] David E. Apter, "Ghana's Independence: Triumph and Paradox," *Transition*, No. 98 (2008), 8.

As Ghana increasingly saw the Soviets as necessary and amenable to achieving this goal, it expedited its relations with the Eastern empire. As Ghanaians flocked to the USSR and the U.S. to acquire the skills to hasten Ghana's drive to economic independence, they encountered severe bouts of racism. Those moments helped forge a Ghanaian national consciousness and simultaneously changed the relationship between the Ghanaian government and its citizens. Ultimately, this chapter has sought to tell the story of a newly independent state's attempts and the subsequent consequences of its efforts to procure *true* liberation against the backdrop of a white supremacist economic and political international order. The next chapter examines Ghana's attempts to build state-capitalism at home.

Part II: Black State Capitalism

Chapter 3:
"A Different Brand of Socialism Peculiar to Ghana:"
The State-Capitalist Project

In the 1960s and 1970s, academics criticized and downplayed the intellectual complexity and rigor of self-professed Marxist-leaning African leaders. For example, in 1962, historian Walter Z. Laqueur argued in the widely read American journal, *Foreign Affairs*, that the leaders of the newly independent African countries' "familiarity with the theory of Marxism-Leninism" was "often superficial, restricted in most cases to some knowledge of its more practical aspects such as political organization and planning, and of course a nodding acquaintance with the Leninist theory of imperialism."[486] While Laqueur failed to provide specific names, he was implicitly critiquing the only two African leaders—Guinea's Sekou Touré and Ghana's Nkrumah—striving to implement Marxist-Leninist states. Others were more explicit. In a mostly positive biography of Nkrumah, historian Basil Davidson charged Nkrumah of being ignorant of basic economics.[487]

However, two contrasting Marxist positions emerged during the 1970s about whether the combination of capitalism and socialism was an intellectually coherent Marxist policy. On one side stood the Guyanese Marxist historian Walter Rodney, and on the other was the Trinidadian Marxist historian C.L.R. James. In a 1975 lecture at Queens College in New York City, Rodney blasted Nkrumah's political-economic project, insisting that it failed because it was a "mish-mash" of socialism and capitalism and not a viable ideological-economic project. For Rodney,

[486] Walter Z. Laqueur, "Communism and Nationalism in Tropical Africa," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 39, No. 4 (July 1961), 612.

[487] Davidson, *Black* Star, 105.

Nkrumah's socialist policies were "whimsical" and failed to address the contradiction between "socialist premises" and the capitalist system, which could not co-exist within a singular economic model.[488] As discussed in Chapter 1, James had simultaneously traced and teased out Soviet history and Lenin's state-capitalist ideas and argued that a combination of capitalist and socialist modes of production was very much at the root of the Soviet Union's NEP phase and questioned how anyone could understand the USSR as anything other than a state-capitalist state. James reminded his readers that Lenin had discussed state-capitalism even before the 1917 Bolshevik revolution, even arguing with his colleagues about why socialist state-capitalism was not German bourgeoise state-capitalism but the way towards obtaining a socialist state.[489] James' *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution* is often overlooked by those who study Ghana and James, respectively. His chapter "Lenin and the Problem," which came years after his book, *State Capitalism and World Revolution* (1950), deserves greater scrutiny as James articulates very clearly that Lenin argued unequivocally that state-capitalism was both a viable and necessary option.[490] Ultimately, James insisted that capitalism and socialism could live together.

Through an archival-centered and historically grounded analysis of the Nkrumah era, this chapter intervenes in the James-Rodney debate by arguing that Nkrumah's push for socialism and capitalism was not a paradoxical economic policy but was deeply rooted in Marxist-Leninism, particularly Lenin's state-capitalist ideas and the Soviet Union's NEP. In showing this, the chapter also argues against both Davidson's position that Nkrumah was ignorant of

[488] Walter Rodney's speech, "Marxism and African Liberation," at Queen's College, New York City in 1975.

[489] See Chapter 1.

[490] James, *Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution*, 192.

basic economics, and Laqueur's claim that African leaders' familiarity with Marxist-Leninism was only superficial. While legal scholar Francis Botchway has contended that Nkrumah's regime engaged in a state-led development socialist project and "welcomed private foreign capital including foreign investment in the energy sector,"[491] he did not link this process to state-capitalism.[492] While definitions of state-capitalism are varied and slippery, [493] I use four broad pillars to define it. First, state-capitalist governments create state corporations to compete with private firms and companies domestically. Second, state-capitalist states actively pursue foreign capital and investment. Third, they eventually seek to control certain public enterprises in particular economic sectors. Fourth, they regulate foreign capital.

I contend that scholars must read this episode in Ghanaian history through the state-capitalist framework. The socialist state-capitalist paradigm provides a more cohesive analytical approach to understand Ghana's ideological project in its first decade. First, Nkrumah's government created state enterprises to compete with foreign firms and capital. Second, the

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[491] Francis N. Botchway, "The State, Governance and the Energy Industry in Ghana," *Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America,* Vol. 33, No. 2 (2000), 180.

[492] Scholars like Tony Killick have argued that "Nationalism, rather than a more outward-looking ideology, was the unifying force." See Tony Killick, *Development Economics in Action: A Study of Economic Policies in Ghana*. Second Edition (New York, NY: Routledge, 2010), 2.

[493] Economist Karen Pfeifer explores the debates as to whether state-capitalism is (1) a "mere cover for" former colonial powers to engage in "the perpetuation of neocolonial stagnation," (2) whether it is a transitional endeavor towards socialism, or (3), whether state-capitalism "is as yet incomplete capitalism in these former colonial countries." See Karen Pfeifer, "Three Worlds or Three Worldviews?: State Capitalism and Development," *MERIP Reports,* No. 78 (June 1979), 3-11+26; Scholars like H.K. Paranjape, and Alex Dupuy and Barry Truchil have questioned whether state-capitalism can even be called socialism. See H. K. Paranjape, 'Socialism' or 'State Capitalism?'" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 8, No. 4/6, Annual Number (February 1973), 319-324 and Alex Dupuy and Barry Truchil, "Problems in the Theory of State Capitalism," *Theory and Society,* Vol. 8, No. 1 (July 1979), 1-38. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 1, others like Vladimir Lenin and C.L.R. James noted that state-capitalism can be socialist.

regime incessantly sought foreign capital and investment to spearhead its socialist dreams. Third, the Ghanaian government created state-corporations to control specific economic sectors. Fourth, the government issued several laws to regulate the movement and repatriation of foreign capital. Thus, the Ghanaian state embodied the hallmarks of a state-capitalist state. Unlike other definitions of state-capitalism that entail the nationalization of sectors and entities and contrary to popular belief, Nkrumah's government never nationalized economic sectors or corporations.

The chapter is divided into three main sections to outline the Ghanaian socialist state-capitalist project. The first explores Ghana's active global efforts to procure foreign capital and investment while highlighting the multiplicity of intellectual contributions from a host of Ghanaians—particularly regional commissioners like J.E. Hagan, community organizations, and party ideological stalwarts—to recast Ghanaian socialism as a distinct historical phenomenon and intellectual project. Unlike other varieties of state-capitalism that are entirely state-driven or top-down efforts, the third segment illuminates how local communities and villages played a crucial role in mediating and shaping Ghana's socialist state-capitalist project. The last section focuses on the relationship between local Ghanaian fishermen and a Ghanaian state corporation, the Ghana Fishing Corporation. It moves away from examining state-corporations solely in relation to international financial markets and global systems but unpacks how they impacted local communities and how interested groups viewed these corporations.

In its totality, this chapter crafts a more complex and dynamic understanding of the relationship between African state-corporations and local economies, the rhetoric of socialist development in postcolonial African states, and how local communities were key brokers in shaping nationalist developmental projects. The Ghanaian example offers an interesting variable to the formation of socialist state-capitalism. While the historiography on state-capitalism often

ignores Africa,[494] and those that examine Africa overlook Nkrumah's Ghana,[495] Ghana's socialist intellectuals articulated and called for a distinct mode of Ghanaian socialism. Unlike historian David Rooney and political scientist Steve Metz who have argued that Nkrumah was against capitalism, Ghana's socialist state-capitalist program was distinctively not against capitalism or foreign capital,[496] but against the complex ways foreign capital and capitalism—operating primarily through older colonial and new imperial, transnational economic forms—could exploit the new nation's inhabitants.

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[494] Chua Beng Huat, *Liberalism Disavowed: Communitarianism and State Capitalism in Singapore* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2017), 98-122; Ian Bremmer argued that state capitalism began to take shape during 1973 when the members of the Organization of the Petroleum Countries (OPEC) agreed to cut oil production in response other countries' support of Israel in the Yom Kippur War. See Ian Bremmer, "State Capitalism Comes of Age: The End of the Free Market?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (May/June 2009), 45. Jonathan Brookfield took umbrage with Bremmer's assertion that state-capitalism only began to form in 1973. Brookfield noted that Mexico's nationalization of its oil industry in 1938 and Iran's nationalization of its oil industry in 1951 are "antecedents." However, Brookfield's brief rebuttal omits African states. See Jonathan Brookfield, "Proto-State Capitalism," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 5 (September/October 2009), 172; Ian Bremmer, "State Capitalism Comes of Age: The End of the Free Market?" *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 88, No. 3 (May/June 2009), 40-55; Raul A. Fernandez and Jose F. Ocampo, "The Andean Pact and State Capitalism in Colombia," *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Autumn 1975), 19-35; Philip C.C. Huang, "'State Capitalism' or 'Socialist Market Economy?'" *Modern China*, Vol. 38, No. 6 (November 2012), 587-590; Alex Dupuy and Barry Truchil, "Problems in the Theory of State Capitalism," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (July 1979), 1-38.

[495] Karen Farsoun, "State Capitalism in Algeria," *MERIP Reports*, No. 35 (February 1975), 3-30; Ben Turok, "State Capitalism: The Role of Parastatals in Zambia," *Africa Development/Afrique et Développement*, Vol. 4, No. 2/3 (April -September 1979), 44-67; Miles D. Wolpin, "Legitimising State Capitalism: Malian Militarism in Third-World Perspective," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (June 1980), 281-295; Nancy Clark, *Manufacturing Apartheid: State Corporations in South Africa* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

[496] See David Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy* (Accra, Ghana: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2007), 236; Steve Metz, "In Lieu of Orthodoxy: The Socialist Theories of Nkrumah and Nyerere*," The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (September 1982), 386.

FOREIGN CAPITAL, INVESTMENT & ARTICULATIONS OF THE GHANAIAN SOCIALIST STATE-CAPITALIST PROJECT

Ghana emerged from colonialism with a domestic population incapable of funding its large industrial and infrastructural projects. Acquiring these funds were necessary to transform Ghana "purely trading and raw-material producing" economy "into productive units capable of bearing a superstructure of modern agriculture and industry."[497] British parliamentarian Hector Hughes remarked that one of Ghana's most significant problems was a "lack of finance for urgent development."[498] Another British official had a similar assessment. On October 10, 1963, S.J. Gross, a British official from the United Kingdom's High Commissioner's office in Accra, informed his colleague that Ghana lacked the necessary "level of capital" to undertake its development schemes.[499] The legal scholar Botchway also opined that the new country had a "dearth of indigenous private capital" upon independence.[500] With a local economic base unable to provide large sums of surplus capital, Nkrumah noted that his government was thus "obliged to seek investment from abroad" in order to industrialize the nation. Nkrumah argued that "foreign capital" was beneficial to an "emerging developing country where large-scale sources of capital accumulation" was difficult to mobilize domestically.[501] While Ghana did not possess a

[497] Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (New York, NY: Frederick A. Praeger, 1963), 97.

[498] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5D, December 30, 1957, Hector Hughes to Nkrumah.

[499] DO166/12, October 10, 1963, S. J. Gross to V.E. Davies.

[500] Francis N. Botchway, "The State, Governance and the Energy Industry in Ghana," *Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America,* Vol. 33, No. 2 (2000), 177.

[501] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 101.

large local base to acquire foreign currency,[502] its cocoa farmers—whom anthropologist Polly Hill described as early colonial capitalists—were amassing wealth and producing surplus capital through the production and sale of cocoa.[503]

By heavily taxing the cocoa farmers, the state tapped into their wealth to procure foreign currency for its developmental projects.[504] This process was divisive, however. On October 28, 1963, A. W. Osei, a Parliamentarian representing the Ahafo district and a member of the opposing United Party, criticized the monetary deductions from the farmers' salaries. Osei remarked that cocoa-farmers approached him and asked: "'What are you doing? You [sic] taking all our money.'"[505] Similarly, on October 29, B.F. Kusi, a Parliamentarian representing the Atwima-Nwabiagya district and also a United Party member, characterized the government's tax policy as "exploiting the cocoa farmers of their money." Kusi beseeched the Minister of Agriculture to resolve the issue as the farmers were greatly suffering. Kusi lamented to his colleagues that the cocoa farmers were subjected to pay both high export duty taxes and the compulsory savings scheme. In essence, the cocoa farmers paid additional taxes to contribute to national development. Kusi described the situation "as a treacherous piece of exploitation of the

[502] While Ghana was not blessed with a huge surplus, it had £200 million locked up in England's security exchanges. From 1957-1958, Komla Agbeli Gbedemah, Ghana's Minister of Finance, and Sir W. Arthur Lewis, Ghana's Chief Economic Advisor, went to England to retrieve Ghana's £200 million foreign reserves, which British Crown Agents had mismanaged, from Britain's security exchanges. Tignor, *W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics*, 154-159; PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/98, December 18, 1957, Sir W. Arthur Lewis to Nkrumah.

[503] Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

[504] This process was very similar to the Soviet Union's taxation of its Kulak class. See Moshe Lewin, "Who Was the Soviet Kulak?" *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (October 1966), 195.

[505] October 28, 1963, A.W. Osei, *Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates.*

farmers." The Parliamentarian continued, "If the Minister of Agriculture gives recognition to this, then he is giving legal sanction to stealing and exploitation."[506] The complaints of the cocoa farmers and people like Osei and Kusi were largely brushed aside in the state's spirited efforts to acquire capital. Despite vigorously tapping into the cocoa-farmers' funds, this single source of revenue was insufficient to build the socialist state-capitalist society Ghana's leaders envisioned and new sources of revenue had to be vigorously explored and courted.

Within the very first months of Nkrumah's presidency, the new government also actively pursued foreign capital and investment. Ghana's 1958-1959 budget provided tax incentives to actively attract foreign investment. In explaining the budget, the Ghanaian Minister of Finance, Komla Gbedemah, stressed the importance of "private capital," and "reducing the company tax" to support "pioneer industries," and industrialization.[507] Nkrumah admitted that Ghana was turning to foreign actors and "looking into the means of encouraging investment in new businesses and industrial undertakings."[508] "Investment capital," Nkrumah admitted, "is our great need."[509] To this end, the American Vice-President Richard Nixon and Nkrumah "discussed American economic and technical assistance" during Ghana's Independence Day celebrations.[510] Moreover, in March 1957, the Ghanaian government encouraged Shell Oil

[506] DO166/12, October 29, 1963, B.F. Kusi, *Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates*.

[507] Tignor, *W. Arthur Lewis and the Birth of Development Economics*, 159.

[508] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 100.

[509] Ibid., 101.

[510] Douglas G. Anglin, "Ghana, the West, and the Soviet Union," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (May 1958), 157.

Company to invest in Ghana.[511] Nkrumah and Bob Fleming, a Mobile Oil executive, also discussed how Fleming could convince "international banking firms in New York" to "give favorable consideration to" investment in Ghana. More famously, Nkrumah also conversed with American presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Fitzgerald Kennedy Jr. and members of the Henry J. Kaiser Company to secure funds for Ghana's Volta River Project.[512] In September 1957, Gbedemah met with Curtis Candy executives to inquire about the possibility of the Chicago based American company establishing an export-import business in Ghana.[513] Gbedemah also met "with the World Bank, the American consortium in New York," and the Aluminum Limited Company in Canada to secure foreign investment.[514]

Non-state organizations like the American Rockefeller Brothers Fund also concurrently arranged meetings and workshops to help Ghana entice "international financial organizations" to expend capital in Ghana.[515] Ghanaian officials also encouraged the African American community to provide financial capital and expertise to Ghana, which was often framed in terms of racial solidarity and uplift.[516] The popular and widely circulated African American magazine

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[511] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5B, March 13, 1957, A. E. Fellowes to Nkrumah.

[512] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 115; Thomas J. Noer, "The New Frontier and African Neutralism: Kennedy, Nkrumah, and the Volta River Project," *Diplomatic History,* Vol. 8, No. 1 (Winter 1984), 61-79; T.E. Hilton, "Akosombo Dam and the Volta River Project," *Geography*, Vol. 51, No. 3 (July 1966), 251; Stephan Miescher, "'Nkrumah's Baby': The Akosombo Dam and the Dream of Development in Ghana," *Water History*, Vol 6, No. 4 (2014), 341-66.

[513] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5B, January 25, 1958, Portia D. Spencer to Nkrumah.

[514] Anglin, "Ghana, the West, and the Soviet Union," 158.

[515] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5B, 1957/1958 (date unclear), Bob Fleming to Nkrumah.

[516] Edmund G. Hutchinson, the Assistant Administrator for Africa Bureau Aid, noted in a Wednesday April 29, 1964, American Congressional Hearing for the Foreign Operations

Ebony published a March 1958 edition which prodded its readers to invest in the newly independent black state. *Ebony's* message appeared to have found fertile soil. For instance, after reading the issue, John M. Scott contacted Nkrumah on March 2 about the "possibilities of [establishing] a garment industry" in Ghana.[517] The Ghanaian government had specifically earmarked the African diaspora as a critical source to acquire foreign capital and expertise.

When it came to financing its state-capitalist project, money had no ideological currency. Nkrumah also asked the Soviets and British to fund projects. The Ghanaian government hunted for capital from black and white Americans, from different companies, and ideologically opposed governments. Thus, the leading figures in the Ghanaian cabinet purposefully traveled across the globe, employing different rhetorical strategies, in order to boost the nation's economy by attempting to establish economic partnerships with wealthy foreign investors and sought to convince them to expend their capital in Ghana. Indeed, rather than being against foreign investment, these stories indicate the lengths to which the new state went to secure investment. The new government maneuvered in the geopolitical corridors of the center of world capitalism seeking to funnel investment into their new nation. They were in constant communication with company executives and their partners—both domestically and internationally—and foreign

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Appropriations For 1965 that African Americans showed a "very significant interest in employment in Africa." See PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/420.

[517] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5B, March 2, 1958, John M. Scott to Nkrumah; Sir W. Arthur Lewis wrote to Nkrumah that while he was pleased to have Scott's factory in Ghana, that he could not "offer any special privileges to Mr. Scott." See Ibid., March 17, 1958, Sir W. Arthur Lewis to Nkrumah.

governments[518] to secure financial support, and to even deliberate on Ghana's (pending) economic policies.

Contemporaries—friends and foes—recognized Nkrumah's economic agenda in relation to foreign capital and investment. The American ambassador to Ghana, Wilson Flake, repudiated overzealous Western press reports and 'red-baiting' within the American government that Nkrumah was anti-capitalist. The American State Department admitted that Ghana pursued "a mixed economy in which private capital is active and foreign investment welcomed."[519] British officials and the British conservative press made similar assessments. On October 16, 1963, the *Daily Telegraph* conceded that Ghana "continued to welcome" private investors as long as they were "'fair to'" Ghana.'"[520] The paper acknowledged that Ghana's "lifting of . . . re-investment regulations" would enable British corporations like the Ashanti Goldfield Company and the Consolidated African Selection Trust, a diamond group, to continue "to make large investments in Ghana."[521] The Ghanaian government also created tax-friendly policies for foreign companies to channel money into Ghana. In April 1960, the Ghanaian government removed exchange controls "of money coming from outside the sterling area by companies with authorized capital of £15,000 or less," and guaranteed companies "permission to remit profits and repatriate capital

[518] DO166/12, December 14, 1963, S.J. Gross to W.G. Lamarque; DO166/12, December 6, 1963, S.J. Gross to V.E. Davies.

[519] Karl August Wittfogel Papers, Box 203, Folder 203.4, cited in Senator Thomas J. Dodd's introduction in "Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws," "Ghana Students In United States Oppose U.S. Aid to Nkrumah," August 19, 1963, and January 11, 1964, 3.

[520] "Ghana Invites Investment," *Daily Telegraph,* October 16, 1963.

[521] "Flexibility for Companies," *Daily Telegraph,* October 16, 1963.

from Ghana."[522] Furthermore, in 1963, the Ghanaian government passed the Capital Investments Act, which removed the requirement for companies to re-invest 60% of their profits after tax to Ghana.[523]

Nkrumah believed the measure was successful in "encouraging . . . many private investors . . . to flock in with proposals to establish business[es] in Ghana."[524] These measures prompted the British *Financial Times* to highlight the numerous concessions Ghana was making to "foreign investors and would-be investors."[525] In an interview with the *BBC Network of Africa* in 1979, Imoru Egala—the former Minister of Industries in Nkrumah's cabinet—reminded his questioner that Ghana had a "mixed economy" under Nkrumah, where the state did not own most of the means of production.[526] The historical record and contemporaneous characterizations of Ghana's attitude and relationship to foreign capital and investment contradict the works of scholars like historian David Rooney, who branded the Nkrumah regime as anti-foreign capital and investment.

While crisscrossing the globe to secure capital and foreign investment, Ghana was wary of the ability of capital to destabilize its sovereignty. In attracting "capital," Nkrumah was very adamant that Ghana would be "continually . . . alert to ensure that" it did not "subordinate [itself]

[522] LAB13/1409, April 19, 1960, Inward Telegram to Commonwealth Relations Office.

[523] DO166/12, October 16-18, 1963, Acting High Commissioner in Accra to Ghana Fortnight Summary Distribution.

[524] "Ghana's President Reviews Progress in Ghana," *The African Chronicler: A Diary of Weekly Events in Africa*, Vol. 1, No. 21 (October 3-9, 1963), 278.

[525] "Ghana Concession to Foreign Investors," *Financial Times*, October 16, 1963.

[526] "We are all socialists," *West Africa*, April 30, 1979.

to a new form of imperialism."[527] Thus, under Nkrumah, the crux of Ghana's economic and political problem was: "how to obtain capital-investment and still keep it under sufficient control to prevent undue exploitation; and how to preserve integrity and sovereignty without crippling economic or political ties to *any* country, bloc or system."[528] It was a problem laid bare in Chapter 2. While the Ghanaian government made foreign investment "as attractive as possible,"[529] the government was key to point out that it was pursuing a socialist developmentalist path. Consequently, from the early stages of the regime's existence, the duality of the capitalist and socialist project—state capitalism—was underway.

Nkrumah's socialist project was not uniformly popular across Ghana and its diaspora. On September 19, 1962, the United Party led Dr. K. A. Busia, an exiled political opponent of Nkrumah, released a memorandum calling for the Ghanaian government to eschew "communist dogmas and practices."[530] The following month, the Ghana Students' Association of the Americas expressed anxiety that Ghana's "policies and actions" were "drifting the country more and more into the Communist fold." Furthermore, the students expressed grave concern that "Nkrumah regime's socialist planning . . . endangered Ghana's economic progress through misconceived and misdirected economy plans."[531] On January 8, 1964, the liberal American

[527] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 101.

[528] Ibid., 102.

[529] Ibid., 120.

[530] Jay Lovestone Papers. Box 73.18, "Aims of Dr. K.A. Busia's United Party," September 19, 1962.

[531] Ibid., October 1, 1962, Ghana Students' Association of the Americas, "Democracy at the Crossroad: The Ghana Scene."

newspaper the *New York Times* published an article entitled, "'Ghana is Viewed as Going Marxist.'" The article alleged that "Diplomats in Accra . . . almost unanimously" concluded that Ghana "is rapidly becoming an undisguised Marxist state."[532] The Ghanaian student activists abroad linked Nkrumah's socialist project to his black Atlantic, black radical, and black Marxist connections, especially to Nkrumah's ties to George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois. They argued that one could trace Nkrumah's desire to build a socialist state-capitalist society in Ghana to his years in America and Britain in the 1930s and 40s.

In June 1963, the students contended that rather than Nkrumah that Du Bois and Padmore "originated the idea of The Circle" in the hopes of building a socialist African state. In this characterization, Nkrumah was merely Padmore's and Du Bois' puppet. At its core, the students suggested that Nkrumah was the vehicle through which these two black non-African Marxists could fulfill their socialist visions for Africa.[533] According to these students, Padmore's and Du Bois's arrival in Ghana was both evidence of their intent to construct the socialist vision and of successfully coopting Nkrumah. For the anti-socialists, there were no qualms that Ghana was a socialist state despite its push for foreign capital and investment. However, for them, capitalism was only going to play a subservient role within the state's broader socialist framework. Indeed, this train of thought cut across both the proponents and antagonists of socialism.

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[532] "Ghana is Viewed as Going Marxist; Regime Proclaiming 'Total War' on Capitalism," *New York Times*, January 8, 1964.

[533] Jay Lovestone Papers. Box 73.18., June 1963, "President Kwame Nkrumah & Communism," by the Ghana Students Association of the Americas.

For socialism's backers, Ghana's pursuit of capitalism was not jarring or contradictory; it was merely a part of the state-capitalist agenda. As Director of Ghana's Television department, Shirley Graham Du Bois—who had moved to Ghana with her husband, W.E.B. Du Bois—argued that Ghana's 7-year development plan was designed "to build a socialist state."[534] Shirley Du Bois admitted that the Ghanaian government "was undertaking socialist planning and trying to introduce socialist practices in a land just escaping colonialism, a people still burdened with the practices and mentality of colonialism (emphasis in original)."[535] The CPP political activist J. Ofosu Appiah noted that Ghana was changing from a "corrupted system of society like colonialism to a progressive system—socialism."[536] For Ghanaians and the African diaspora, Ghanaian socialism would eradicate the self-corroding, morally bankrupt, and regressive colonial mentality and economic system. For these thinkers, colonialism had fundamentally distorted pre-colonial African society, and thus, there could be no viable or legible return to it. Precolonial society had been dumped into history's dustbin. Underlining these words was the idea that the maintenance of the colonial economy in the postcolonial society would keep the rot colonialism instigated. A new path had to be forged. This project had to consider the social, economic, and cultural dialectics and dynamics of Ghana's situation.

Ghanaian socialism would adapt to its historical conditions and material realities. While J. Ofosu Appiah referenced the Soviet Union as the "first to embark upon scientific socialism based upon Marxism-Leninism," he maintained that Ghana was recalibrating Marxist-Leninism

[534] Shirley Graham Du Bois, "A Careful Look at Ghana," 3.

[535] Ibid., 5.

[536] J. Ofosu Appiah, "From Colonialism to Socialism," *The Nkrumaist*, January/February 1965, 26.

to suit Ghanaian conditions.[537] While the Soviet example loomed in the background, it was a blueprint, a signifier of what *could* be done and not what *had* to be done. Appiah called on Ghana to "debunk the colonialist superstructure of society and establish a new and progressive form of scientific socialism based on African conditions."[538] Ghana's socialist circles echoed Appiah's ideas. At a two-day socialist Nkrumaist seminar on September 23, 1962, in Cape Coast, some of the participants echoed Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere's argument that Africans did not need to read Marx or Engels to know about or understand socialism.[539] The participants suggested that "before the advent of the whiteman" that their "forefathers" practiced and "enjoyed" socialism.[540] These ideas countered western scholars' pretentions that socialism was "completely alien" to Africans.[541]

In (re-)creating socialism from colonialism's ashes, these Africans urged their country to build a brand of socialism that fit within Ghana's "culture and tradition."[542] J.E. Hagan, the Regional Commissioner of the Central Region and a key player in articulating Ghanaian socialism during the Nkrumah era, affirmed the uniqueness of the Ghanaian socialist state-capitalist project. Hagan reiterated that Ghanaian socialism was neither British, Chinese, nor

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[537] Ibid.

[538] Appiah, "From Colonialism to Socialism," 26.

[539] Julius Nyerere, *Ujamaa: Essays on Socialism* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1968), 4-5.

[540] Group Reports, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism'" (Cape Coast, Ghana: Mfantsiman Press, 1962), 16.

[541] See Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah-Vision and Tragedy*, 240.

[542] Group Reports, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'"16.

Soviet. While Ghanaian socialism might be similar to and draw from other forms of socialism, Hagan argued that it was "a different brand of socialism peculiar to Ghana."[543] Nkrumah maintained that Ghana's socialism was "entirely Ghanaian in content and African in outlook, though imbued with Marxist socialist philosophy."[544] Moreover, in a letter to Robert B. Seidman—the American legal scholar and former faculty member of the University of Ghana—on October 27, 1964, Nkrumah informed Seidman that "law in our country must, with its executive arms, be inspired at every level by the ideals of the modern socialist society which we are engaged in creating."[545] While figures like Nkrumah, Hagan, and Appiah acknowledged that the Ghanaian economic project had a basis in Marxist-Socialism, they were at great pains to recognize that it was no mere copy-cat, no mimicry, but borne from Ghana's unique material and historical conditions.

For the Ghanaian socialists, there was no intellectual contradiction in pursuing socialism and capitalism—Lenin and his comrades had already broken that intellectual barrier. From 1957 to 1966, Ghanaian intellectuals were engaged in a three-prong intellectual project. First, they sought to highlight that Africans had already climbed to the last stage of modernity without European influence. Second, they argued that the material conditions underpinning African

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[543] J.E. Hagan, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism'" (Cape Coast, Ghana: Mfantsiman Press, 1962), 9.

[544] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 129.

[545] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5C, October 27, 1964, Nkrumah to Robert B. Seidman. Seidman left the University of Ghana to the University of Lagos over disputes with Dr. Daniels about developing a socialist system of legal education in Ghana. Seidman argued that Ghana should create a legal system that is "responsive" to Ghana's needs and not be a copy-cat of the English common law. See PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5C, September 30, 1964, Robert B. Seidman to Nkrumah.

conceptions of socialism were just as valid as those in the Global North and East. Third, they contended that socialism in Africa would be spearheaded by Africans attuned to Africa's contradictions, ruptures, and historical continuities. Indeed, the construction of Ghanaian socialism would be its own intellectual project; and religious fervor and incantations would play a role in this scheme.

Ghanaian domestic articulations of socialism and the new society were often imbued with evangelical Christian rhetoric, calls for a complete re-education of the mind, and a subtle theoretical assertion that there was no contradiction between religious belief and Marxist-socialism. Hagan echoed Jesus' call for his disciples to be born again to embrace and see the new kingdom fully.[546] "We must be born anew," Hagan asserted, "and become socialist individuals possessed of an entirely new outlook of a new moral and political type."[547] The CPP activist M.K. Akomeah employed biblical imagery to advocate his point further, insisting that Ghanaian socialism would lay the fertilizer to produce a "gigantic tree" from which its fruit would "drop like manna" to "feed generations yet unborn."[548] Whether the architects of Ghana's socialist project only employed biblical language to convey to a population now steeped in Christian missionary education due to colonialism the steps and sacrifices they had to undertake to achieve socialism and dismissed religion themselves is beside the point. The use of religious proverbs and imagery was a recognition of the social and cultural conditions in Ghana. Others like Appiah linked Marxist-Leninism to a Victorian-era Christian moral aesthetic. Appiah called for the

[546] *Holy Bible* English Standard Version (ESV), John 3:1-21.

[547] Hagan, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'" 11.

[548] M. K. Akomeah, "The Referendum and its Aftermath," *The Nkrumaist,* (Jan/February 1965), 28.

removal of "all pornographic literature and films" and the banning of "uninspiring and unideological songs and dances."[549] Unlike Marx, the Bolsheviks, and the Maoists who denounced or distanced themselves from religion or considered it a form of bourgeois alienation, Ghanaians afforded a theoretical corrective. Religion was not reflective of bourgeoisie alienation, but central, intimately tied to their very existence. The ideas of the Ghanaian Marxists seemed to foreground John Mbiti's claims that no African could be an atheist as their religion permeates all "departments of [their] life."[550] Ghanaian socialists could not envision atheist Marxist-Socialists. It is also why Nkrumah could declare himself a non-denominational Marxist and see no contradiction between the two.[551]

For figures like M.K. Akomeah, it was clear that Ghana was "marching on to socialism—to build a society of work and happiness!" Akomeah observed that "Socialism [wa]s on the horizon." Others wholeheartedly agreed with Akomeah's assessment. In a letter to the editor of the *Nkrumaist,* George Kwaku Duah, an individual from Benin-Mampong Ashanti, praised the country's socialist state-capitalist agenda in part by the "great strides in industrial development, education, health, communication, and living standards."[552] He emphatically declared that only the "anti-socialists never understand why the people support the revolution" and severely criticized their efforts to "put obstacles in" its implementation.[553] Akomeah argued that the

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[549] Appiah, "From Colonialism to Socialism," 26.

[550] John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy*. Second Revised Version (Johannesburg, South Africa: Heinemann, 1969), 2.

[551] Nkrumah, *Ghana,* 13.

[552] George Kwaku Duah, "Letter to the Editor," *The Nkrumaist,* Jan/February 1965, 42.

[553] Ibid., 42, 43.

"Yes" vote on the Ghanaian national referendum was a yes to socialism and a "No" for "the colonialist path." He distinguished the travails of colonialism with the marvels of socialism. "Under colonialism we lived over a century, in hardship," but in socialism, he argued, people would establish "a happy life," and "generations yet unborn" would "enjoy" it.[554] Whether such a happy, easy distinction was accurate, is another matter. However, two things were clear: socialism was seen as a vehicle to lead towards postcolonial nirvana and it had to penetrate every sphere of public and private life. The country would have to create a new citizenry and erase almost a century of colonial 'corruption' and decadence to achieve Ghanaian socialism. Socialist-inspired schools would hasten this multifaceted process.

A socialist education would create socialist subjects and eradicate the colonial mentality. Individuals in the pro-socialist faction like Hagan demanded a "re-education," a cleansing of "the filth of the old" colonial society. "We cannot build socialism," Hagan continued, "without socialists and we must take positive steps to ensure that the Party and the country produce men and women who can handle a Socialist Programme."[555] Nkrumah was more emphatic: "Socialism needs socialists to build it." Accordingly, Nkrumah maintained that the Ghanaian state needed to take "positive steps to ensure that the party and the country produce the men and women who can handle our socialist programme."[556] Schools and television programming would aid in this transformative process. Nkrumah demanded that Ghanaian television shows "assist in the Socialist transformation of Ghana."[557] For figures like J. Ofosu Appiah, schools would

[554] Akomeah, "The Referendum and its Aftermath," 28.

[555] Hagan, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'"11.

[556] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 130.

[557] Shirley Graham Du Bois, "A Careful Look at Ghana," 3-4., citing Nkrumah's speech.

"promulgate the ideals of socialism to the people."[558] Schools would not just teach students the alphabet, geography, and mathematics but indoctrinate them with socialist principles—which would simultaneously eradicate colonialism's corruptive influence. Towards this end, the Minister of Education and Citizenship, Kofi Asante Ofori-Atta, introduced new socialist syllabi to the curriculum of primary and middle schools during the last years of Nkrumah's government.[559] Soon, an ideological institute—a post-secondary school establishment—was constructed to create socialists.

On March 16, 1962, the Ghanaian Presidential Cabinet decided to construct the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba to spread the socialist state-capitalist gospel.[560] Ultimately, Nkrumah envisioned that everyone in Ghana would eventually "meet at Winneba . . . to broaden their political knowledge and ideological understanding."[561] It would also help those without a secondary education further their education provided that they showed a "latent intellectual ability" to read "Political Science subjects up to a very advanced level" and had performed well in their careers. "The Institute should," the government believed, permit those without a formal education "to bring themselves up to the intellectual level expected of graduates whilst at the same time providing them with academic training in the ideology of the Party and in

[558] Appiah, "From Colonialism to Socialism," 26

[559] *The Nkrumaist*, (January/February 1965), 47.

[560] PRAAD-Accra RG3/5/1532, "Development of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute, Winneba, As the institute for Political Science." The National Liberation Council formally terminated the Institute within months of the February 24, 1966, coup d'état and converted it to center for Advanced Teacher Training. See PRAAD-Accra RG3/5/1637, June 16, 1966, J.S. Pessey to the Principal Secretary of Ministry of Education.

[561] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 130-131.

other subjects related to the government, economic and social life of the country."[562] Indeed, literature such as *Marxism Today* lined the Institute's shelves,[563] and its instructors taught courses such as Nkrumaism, Marxism, and Leninism.[564] For those without a formal education and perhaps not fluent in English, a crash-course on opaque terms such as dialectical and historical materialism, relative form of value, mass and relative surplus value, and commodity fetishism awaited them! The Institute attempted to hire socialist resident tutors from "the United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia" to explain these concepts to the students.[565] Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban tutors were conspicuously absent from this list.

The student population at the Institute was purposefully geographically and demographically diverse.[566] Out of the 113 people admitted on October 14, 1964, 5 were from the Greater Accra Region, 19 from the Eastern Region, 39 from the Central Region, 7 from the Western Region, 13 from the Volta Region, 12 from the Ashanti Region, 6 from the Brong Ahafo Region, 4 from the Northern Region, and 8 from the Upper Region; however, only 10 were women.[567] The publicly available internal and circulated Institute discussions and memoranda suggest that the importance of gender diversity lagged considerably behind that of

[562] PRAAD-Accra RG3/5/1532, "Development of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute, Winneba, As the institute for Political Science."

[563] PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/5E, July 31, 1965, Kodwo Addison to James Klugman

[564] Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: Vision and Tragedy*, 240.

[565] PRAAD-Accra RG3/5/1532, "Development of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute, Winneba, As the institute for Political Science."

[566] Ibid., May 12, 1964, J.S. Kaleem to Kodwo Addison.

[567] Ibid., "List of successful Candidates Being Admitted on 14th October 1964," 87-8.

geographic and demographic diversity. While the Institute and Nkrumah had grand plans to duplicate and extend the Institute's teachings to all corners of Africa, it purposefully targeted pro-CPP and Nkrumahist groups initially. Thus, the Institute planned to recruit heavily from the "T.U.C., Ghana Farmers' Council, National Co-operative Council, [and] National Council of women."[568] While the Institute was purposefully unaffiliated with the University of Ghana and placed under CPP control, the government financed its operations.[569] From the available documents, it is difficult to ascertain how this complex ownership situation and financing operation impacted political and social power relations within the Institute. Nonetheless, it is clear that the government implored department agencies and employers "to release" and pay the salaries of any civil servant or teacher accepted into the Institute.[570] Unfortunately for the civil servants and teachers studying at the Institute, department agency heads and employers often ignored the central government's directive—again calling into question the central government's hegemonic power over its departments.

Numerous reports within the archives indicate that employers refused to pay employees studying at the Institute, prompting Institute officials to reprimand them. For instance, on February 11, 1963, the General Manager of the R.C. Educational Unit wrote to the Principal Secretary of the Minister of Education acknowledging his failure to pay the monthly salary of an

[568] Ibid., "Development of the Kwame Nkrumah Institute, Winneba, As the institute for Political Science."

[569] Ibid., June 18, 1962, Ayirebi Acquah to the Manager; After the February 24, 1966, coup d'état, the National Liberation ordered the Institute to pay its debt of ₵1,585.57 to the University College. See PRAAD-Accra RG3/5/1637, June 22, 1966, C.W. Ankrah to the Secretary of the National Liberation Council.

[570] Ibid., November 29, 1962, Principal Secretary to All Principal Secretaries, Heads of Departments, and to All Secretaries to Regional Commissioners.

employee of his studying at the Institute.[571] In July 1964, Kwaku Duah, a student from Kumasi, wrote to his Supervisor frustrated that he had not "received any monthly salary since my (his) admission here (Ideological Institute)."[572] The Institute's power brokers tried to resolve these issues quickly. On January 23, 1963, Kodwo Addison, the Director of the Institute, criticized a General Manager for failing to pay his employees' salaries, lamenting that it "handicapped the students affected." Copying Nkrumah's office in the letter, Addison warned the General Manager that continued failure to pay the impacted students their salary while they studied at the Institute contravened against a government directive.[573] The General Manager appeared to ignore Addison's threat, casting doubt on the government's power to compel employers to follow directives related to socialist education. These exchanges illuminate the structural power imbalances and relationships between the Institute's officers and government employers, and how socialist ideology and rhetoric also enabled critiques of material circumstances and practice.[574]

Such was the pervasiveness of employers ignoring the government's mandate that by March 1964, 31 uncompensated teachers and officers wrote to the government for either it or the Institute to provide them with payment advances.[575] The letter implied that the 31 unpaid

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[571] Ibid., February 11, 1963, the General Manager of the R.C. Educational Unit to the Principal Secretary of the Minister of Education.

[572] Ibid., July 1964, Kwaku Duah to the Supervisor of Schools, Presbyterian Church.

[573] Ibid., January 23, 1963, Kodwo Addison to the General Manager.

[574] Ibid., March 19, 1963, C.K. Adzabe to the Saidu Ali; Ibid., November 5, 1964, S.W. Gyekye, J.R. Owusu-Kumi, G. Asare-Frempong, J. Atopi Thompson to Kodwo Addison.

[575] Ibid., March 10, 1964, "Application for Advance for Teachers Undertaking Courses at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba."

students had lost faith in the government's ability to force their employers to pay them their salaries while they studied at the Institute. Instead, the note reveals an intellectual shift (perhaps pragmatic) from the students about which entity should bear the responsibility of their salary. The Institute's students urged the central government or Institute to assume the financial burden of paying them first and then for the Institute or government to deal with recalcitrant employers and government agencies second. Ironically, these incidents revealed the limits of both the Institute's power and Nkrumah's office to compel employers to pay the salaries of the aggrieved students at the Institute.

For those unable to gain admission into the Institute's gates or unwilling to risk weeks or months without an income, they could find solace in knowing that the Institute's instructors traveled throughout the nation spreading its socialist gospel and providing lectures on socialism, socialism's relationship to the party, and its role in Ghana's development. People like Dr. J. Kwasi Nsarkoh traveled to places like Sekondi and Takoradi to give lectures to city council members and party chairpersons.[576] While others like Comrade R. Annoh-Apremsem went to Apowa to speak at the Teachers' Training College,[577] others like Nana Nketia, the Director of the Institute of Art and Culture, went to Tamale to present "on the Dynamics and Values of African society or the Cultural Foundation of Socialism in Africa."[578] These addresses were frequent and

[576] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG24/2/459, June 18, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam to Dr. J. K. Nsarkoh.

[577] Ibid., May 30, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam to Comrade R. Annoh-Apremsem.

[578] PRAAD-Tamale NRG2/9/10, June 8, 1964, S. S. Sakarah to all Heads of Departments, Secretary Conveners, District Commissioners, Educational Institutions, Trade Unions and Ghana Young Pioneers.

sprinkled throughout the country. Thus, socialist theology and baptism were still available to those outside its monastic confines. The conversion did not need to occur within the church.

However, the socialist speeches were plagued by organizational issues, with seminars often canceled or rescheduled. While the party was eager to spread its blanket over the country, its administrative lapses—and at times incompetence—poked holes in its mission. Despite these problems, officials required certain people's attendance at ideological training lectures. For instance, the Regional Educational Secretaries wrote to relevant parties to request their attendance.[579] Furthermore, K. Egyir Asaam, the Regional Education Secretary of the Central Region, informed Comrade J. Benibengor Blay, the Deputy Minister of Education in Accra, that his attendance at a June 27, 1964, "seminar . . . at Agona Junction" was "expected."[580] At a forthcoming lecture to educate the people on the nation's new 7-year development plan, the Regional Secretary of the Northern Region informed everyone that their attendance at the public lecture on March 23, 1964, was "expected."[581]

Not only were certain peoples' presence at these functions mandated, but institutional leaders, like school principals, had to provide meeting spaces. On June 26, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam instructed the Principal of the Government Secondary Technical School in Takoradi to make his assembly hall "available together with [a] loud-speaker" for the Nigerian Samuel G.

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[579] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG24/2/459, June 18, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam to Dr. J. K. Nsarkoh; PRAAD-Sekondi WRG24/2/459, June 1, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam to Comrade District Chairman/District Secretary; PRAAD-Sekondi WRG24/2/459, June 18, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam to the Town Clerk.

[580] Ibid., June 1, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam to J. Benibengor Blay.

[581] PRAAD-Tamale NRG2/9/10, March 19, 1964, Regional Secretary to the Ghana Young Pioneers, The Ghana Trades Union Congress, All Heads of Departments, All Branch Chairmen, and All Secretary Conveners.

Ikoku on June 30 at 5:00 pm.[582] Ikoku was a prominent CPP activist, an intellectual, an editor of the CPP's *Spark*, and a member of the African Bureau of Affairs, amongst his many roles for the Nkrumah government.[583] While local actors often complied with these directives, it was not always done enthusiastically. The nation's new socialist ideologues complained that certain local authorities did not always bestow upon them the proper respect or fanfare they thought that they deserved. Kodwo Addison, the Director of the Ideological Institute, reprimanded the Western Region's Regional Commissioner for the widespread reports from his lecturers that their treatment within the region was subpar compared to that of other areas. Addison informed the Commissioner "to make sure that in [the] future [that] all arrangements are straightened up before invitations [we]re extended."[584] It appears that this directive also fell on barren soil. Some hosts continued to welcome the lecturers with feelings of apathy and indifference still. Local and national leaders could not escape the socialist tsunami that was crashing down on them. *Ready or not*, Nkrumah's apostles were coming.

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[582] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG24/2/459, June 26, 1964, K. Egyir Asaam to the Headmaster of the Government Secondary Technical School in Takoradi. After several discussions and edits, Addison, A.K. Gaituah, and Nkrumah defined Nkrumaism as the "ideology for the new Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded upon the conception of one and united Africa, drawing its strength from modern science and technology and from the traditional African belief that the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all." See PRAAD-Accra RG17/1/380.

[583] According to Shirley Graham Du Bois' account, after the February 24, 1966, coup, the National Liberation Council seized, beat, tortured, and imprisoned Ikoku. It was alleged that they also sewed him "into a sack, with hands and feet chained, dragged [him] across the Airport tarmac and tossed into the baggage section of the plane" in order to be returned to the Nigerian government. Shirley Graham Du Bois, "A Careful Look at Ghana," 9.

[584] PRAAD-Sekondi, WRG24/2/459, June 30, 1964, Kodwo Addison to the Western Region Regional Commissioner.

The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba served as a political space for the socialist re-education of Ghana's population and as a model to other independent African states about how to erode the colonial mentality.[585] The government envisioned the Institute becoming the ideological center for a continental-wide push towards socialism. Consequently, more than an educational center, the Institute also became a symbol of the country's socialist state-capitalist agenda and its attempts to cease the corruptive and corroding influences of colonialism. While not everyone could gain admission into the Institute, the Institute's instructors—while not always well received—toured the country educating the population about socialism and Ghana's ideological project. There was a belief and expectation, perhaps more of a hope, that Ghanaian citizens would all soon be conversant in Marxist-Leninist-Nkrumahist terminology—that teachers, teenagers, and market-women would throw around terms such as dialectical and historical materialism, relative form of value, mass and relative surplus value, neocolonialism, and commodity fetishism in casual discussions in farms, market spaces, *tro-tros*,[586] and verandas.

Backed by a supportive government, Ghana's socialist intellectual circles strove to ensure that while the nation's inhabitants knew Global Northern and Eastern articulations of socialism that their countrymen would also appreciate the specifics of their material and historical conditions and locate an African, Ghanaian brand of socialism. Reversing the colonial and neocolonial economic and intellectual vectors of exchange between Africa and the Global North

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[585] More work needs to be done to properly draw out the connections between the Institute and the Leninist Vanguard. However, it is my strong assumption that they were connections between the two, but I will need to dig further into the archives to discover highlight this. Perhaps the forthcoming article by Gerardo Serra and Frank Gerits might illuminate this link: See Gerardo Serra and Frank Gerits, "The Politics of Socialist Education in Ghana: The Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, 1961-1966," *Journal of African History*, Vol 60, No. 1 (forthcoming).

[586] A *Tro-Tro* is a very popular Ghanaian taxi.

whereupon Africa transmitted raw materials to the Global North for refinement, these intellectuals in Ghana were importing the raw materials of Global Northern and Eastern socialism and transforming it. Not only was there an intellectual and economic project to 'catch-up with the rest,' but these figures also sought to offer alternative ways of grappling with socialism.

VOLUNTEER HELP OR FORCED LABOR? FROM THE COMMUNITY AND VILLAGE COUNCIL

Unlike other state-capitalist projects that are primarily top-down affairs, the Ghanaian state-capitalist project was vertically dialectic. Local communities and leaders were conduits in sculpting and forging its agenda. Ghana's socialist state-capitalist program was fundamentally linked and attentive to the input of local and regional governments and populations. When it appeared that collaborative efforts between the central and local governments were declining, nonelite party members urged the ruling party to re-focus their efforts to strengthen the relationship and coordination between the central and local governments. On September 23, 1962, nonelite party members from the Central Region called for a more significant "connection" and role between local and village committees and the central government in creating a socialist society.[587] They also requested more central government investment into local councils and village committees. Crucially, these low-level party members contended that Ghana's socialist drive could only be effective and felt nationally through the village and town committees.[588]

[587] "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'"12.

[588] Group Reports, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'" 20.

The central government agreed with the local non-elite party intellectuals and created the position of the Regional Development Officer to further enhance the collaboration and communication between itself and local development committees. Regional Development Officers were required to "attend all local development committee meetings," "advise" local committees on how to construct proposal submissions and to assist in overseeing fund disbursement. Also, Development Officers had to (1) submit factual progress reports on "every" regional "development project;" (2) to "clear bottle-necks or report them;" and (3) to navigate "inter-departmental procedures such as tender boards, site boards, etc."[589]

Men overwhelmingly occupied Development Officer positions and meetings about local development projects were also male-dominated. At an October 30, 1959, Northern Regional Development Committee meeting, not a single woman represented any of the thirteen towns represented. Out of the seventeen attendees, Miss. J. Gordon, a "P.C.D.O." from the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, was the only woman present. Due to representational problems, it is probable to infer that developmental issues and strategies that concerned women were shunted or subsumed under men's interests. Despite the gendered and perhaps socioeconomic slant to these meetings, these committees outline a higher degree of cooperation between local officials and the central government than previously understood during this era.

The archival documents indicate that key cabinet officials recognized that local governments, rather than the central government, in numerous instances, were better equipped and positioned to determine the needs of their constituents. On August 24, 1964, G.A.K. Bonsu,

[589] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/442, October 26, 1959, from the Office of the Minister for Economic Affairs, "Co-ordination of Rural Development Funds."

the Secretary of the Minister of Finance, requested from the Secretaries of the Regional Commissioners to inform the local councils to submit 7-year development proposals that addressed parochial matters. Bonsu urged local authorities to devise plans hastily and to submit them to the Minister of Finance to determine the distribution of rural development grants and their fiscal feasibility. Highlighting the importance of local and national coordination in building Ghana, Bonsu reminded the Secretaries that development plans were only fruitful if there was active collaboration between the councils and central government.[590] While Nkrumah's government provided a nationalist development economic framework and objective, it sought to achieve its objectives through active and mediated cooperation with local authorities. In an unpublished draft outlining the role of local authorities in the execution of the 7-year development plan, M. Addai noted that out of the £540 million devoted to non-central government investment, the central government expected that £100 million be put "through the direct labor investment of the people" in local communities.[591] Ironically, while the central government allegedly siphoned off £100 million into labor salaries, it did not seem to find its way into the hands of those engaged in labor.

Framed as a moral and national duty and necessity, unpaid and volunteer labor underpinned the socialist utopia Nkrumah and his associated advocated. Nkrumah maintained that "the building of a new state requires" required "voluntary service."[592] Hagan declared that

[590] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/7/59, August 24, 1964, G.A.K. Bonsu to the Secretaries of the Regional Commissioners.

[591] Ibid., August 25, 1964, M. Addai to all Secretaries to Regional Commissioners, Town Clerks, and All local and Urban Councils.

[592] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 103.

self-help projects would "awaken a new sense of personal responsibility in the worker which involves the obligation to work and enjoy the fruits of one's own work rather than getting others to work for one." Self-help projects were local initiatives that required 'voluntary service' for their implantation. Furthermore, Hagan declared: "If you could prove to be a useful citizen and a true socialist in your small local council, in your village committee and in your branch of the Party, you would no doubt be capable of serving Socialist Ghana as a whole."[593] It was important for people not merely to talk about "the benefits" of socialism, but to sacrifice their bodies and blood for it. Nonelite CPP members discussed the necessity not only to discuss the "benefits" of socialism but the "hardships and sacrifices" needed to achieve socialism.[594] At all levels of power, from the Ghanaian president to the ordinary party operative, there was a unified front to stir communities to develop and to deploy self-help schemes and seek 'volunteer' labor to complete it.

Soon, 'volunteer' and 'self-help' became euphemisms for forced labor. Government officers instructed people immediately to commence free, self-help projects. On April 21, 1960, the Principal Community Development Officer instructed individuals in Northern Ghana to "start work . . . immediately" on building dams, roads, wells, market sheds, and centers.[595] Those who refused to participate fell afoul of the law. Area District Commissioners instructed Development Officers to report "any cases" where individuals or groups failed to work voluntarily.[596] Those

[593] Hagan, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'" 10.

[594] Group Reports, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'"13.

[595] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/442, April 21, 1960, the Principal Community Development Officer to all Mass Educ. Officers, Works Foremen, and Snr. Asst. Mass Education.

[596] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG8/1/185, June 28, 1965, T.Y. Enin to C.A.R. Ebbin.

reported for failing to do work were not merely insulted or listed in the government's 'bad books,' they were "fined" and arrested.[597] The records I explored are silent as to whether fined or imprisoned individuals had viable legal recourses against these punishments. These actions seemed to support the conservative American writer Anthony Harrigan's characterization of Nkrumah's socialist state-capitalist project as stripping away "the last vestiges of democratic rule" in Ghana.[598] Unfortunately, the legacy of forced and communal labor from both British colonialism and Stalinism had taken root in the postcolonial era.[599] Despite this, officials continued to extol and eulogize communal labor's impact and its importance in fomenting and inspiring socialist ethos and personal responsibility.

Bolstered by self-help funds and forced labor, local projects varied in nature.[600] In the Nzima district in the Western Region,[601] members sought to construct a broadcasting station, a district treasury, a courthouse, a durbar park, a Half Assini-Eddusuazo feeder road, a rest-house, a cement industry, to extend the police station, and to install electricity.[602] In Savelugu, a small town in the Northern Region, locals notified the central government on October 17, 1964, that

[597]Ibid., April 26, 1965, F. K. Arthur-Ayensu to the District Commissioner and the Ward Chairman.

[598] Anthony Harrigan, "The Zambesi Line," *U.S.A. Magazine*, Vol. XI, Nos. 4 & 5 (February 24-March 6, 1964), 1, 3.

[599] See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion on this topic.

[600] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/442, October 26, 1959, "Co-ordination of Rural Development Funds," from D.M. Allen, Office of the Minister of Economic Affairs, to the Secretaries to Regional Commissioners.

[601] Nkrumah was from the Nzima district.

[602] PRAAD-Takoradi WRG24/2/444, February 13, 1964, District Commissioner to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner.

they needed dams at Diari and Gbugli, a cattle dip to improve cattle rearing, culverts on the Pong-Yapilisi road, seats for the town park, and dredging at the Zoggow dam.[603] In combination with those requests, local communities also frequently requested money to purchase tools such as pickaxes, shovels, head pans, and felling axes to construct feeder roads and culvert pipes to aid in these schemes.[604] The Office of the Planning Commission was also frequently in communication with regional development committees,[605] chiefs, regional commissioners, and parliamentarians about how and where to construct feeder roads and their financial viability.[606] The Regional Commissioner often approved these funds.[607] The engineers did not happily receive all of the local and village committee proposals, however. In January 1963, the Engineer-in-Charge wrote to the local councils complaining that their survey, plan, and bill estimates were insufficient and inadequate. The Engineer-in-Charge urged the local councils and village committees to state "why these road constructions are necessary, what services they will give to the people and the regional economy, and how they will benefit district and regional development." The Engineer noted that "each road listed" needed to address the above

[603] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/7/59, October 17, 1964, District Commissioner to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner.

[604] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/442, February 24, 1960, Principal Community Development Officer to the Secretary to Regional Commissioner.

[605] Regional development committees were comprised of all local and urban councils in the region. Each committee had to have one typist, one secretary, one messenger, and one clerical assistant. See PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/442, April 25, 1959, Biala Addy to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner.

[606] PRAAD-Cape Coast RG1/12/41, February 24, 1965, "Notes on Feeder Roads Programme."

[607] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/442, March 2, 1960, Secretary to the Regional Commissioner to the Principal Community Development Officer.

conditions to gain approval.[608] These requests and projects were at the heart of how the socialist state-capitalist project intersected at various levels.[609]

While projects like feeder roads, cattle dips, lanterns, and durbar parks[610] were less flamboyant and bombastic components of the modernizing socialist state-capitalist agenda, they were indicators and reminders to the national population that Ghana's socialist project was reformulating and situating itself within the fabric of Ghanaian society and addressing its concerns. Even though Nkrumah regularly touted African continental unity to anyone within earshot, his developmental schemes were closely attentive to its citizens' needs. These local projects were being constructed simultaneously alongside Ghana's big state industrial ones, such as the Volta River Project,[611] which has overwhelmingly captured historical and international attention and scrutiny. However, one could not overlook the socialist state-capitalist project's dark underbelly, forced labor masquerading as volunteer labor.

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[608] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG8/1/185, January 1963, Engineer-in-Charge to all the Clerks in the Shama, Ahanta, Dompim, Sefwi, Juabeso, Tarkwa, and Jomoro local councils.

[609] Nkrumah argued that the "effects of self-help schemes, valuable in themselves and the incentive they give to initiative, are, however, local in compass and limited in purpose. Rapid development on a national scale and the attainment of economic independence demand . . . a vast acceleration of productivity as a prerequisite to accumulation of savings for re-investment in industrial expansion." See Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 103.

[610] Numerous CPP rallies were held at Dunbar parks during the Nkrumah era.

[611] See Stephan Miescher, *A Dam for Africa: The Volta River Project and Modernization in Ghana* (forthcoming); also see other articles by the same author: Miescher, "The Akosombo Dam and the Quest for Rural Electrification in Ghana," in *Electric Worlds/Mondes électriques: Creations, Circulations, Tensions, Transitions* (19th-21st C.), ed. Alain Beltran et al. (Brussels, Belgium: Peter Lang, 2016), 317-42; Miescher, "Building the City of the Future: Visions and Experiences of Modernity in Ghana's Akosombo Township," *Journal of African History* Vol 53, No. 3 (2012), 367-90; Miescher and Dzodzi Tsikata, "Hydro-Power and the Promise of Modernity and Development in Ghana: Comparing the Akosombo and Bui Dam Projects," *Ghana Studies*, Vol. 12/13 (2009/2010), 55-75.

"I'LL MAKE YOU FISHERS OF MEN:"[612]
THE GHANA FISHING CORPORATION

The creation of big, self-sufficient, capital producing state industries was a central feature of the socialist state-capitalist project. Political Scientist Tony Killick noted that the Ghanaian government created numerous "publicly owned commercial enterprises" in the 1950s.[613] State-industries were constructed rapidly to ensure that Ghana "emancipated" itself from "economic monopoly" and, in particular, "European monopoly domination."[614] These fears were rooted in colonialism's legacies. In 1956, the year before Ghana's independence, Britain accounted for almost half of colonial Ghana's imports. Also, more than a third of colonial Ghana's exports went to the metropole.[615] Two years after independence, foreigners still dominated Ghana's economy. According to a 1959 *Report of the United Kingdom Trade and Industrial Mission to Ghana* report, European firms controlled 85 percent of Ghana's import trade, Asians—Indians, Syrians, and Lebanese—the other 10 percent, with 'Ghanaians' only controlling 5 percent.[616] The purpose of Ghana's state corporations was to upend the colonial and neocolonial economic relationship. To unshackle Ghana "from foreign economic domination," Nkrumah declared that Ghana needed to create "agencies" to break "through this alien monopoly and stimulate capital accumulation for re-employment in wider development."[617] Through these agencies, which were

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[612] *The Holy Bible,* Matthew 4:20.

[613] Killick, *Development Economics in* Action, 41.

[614] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 102.

[615] Anglin, "Ghana, the West, and the Soviet Union," 155.

[616] Cited in Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 108.

[617] Ibid.,102.

corporations, the state desired to acquire and play a more significant role in the nation's economy.

True to this vision, by 1961, over sixty new factories were opened, reflecting both the scale and speed of Ghana's industrial growth, as well as the importance of state-industries to Ghana's state-capitalist agenda.[618] It is from this vantage point that we must situate the purpose and role of Ghana's state-industries. In a September 23, 1962 lecture, Hagan quoted Nkrumah: "'In Africa we are trying to create a society in which private capital and certain state-controlled agencies both operate.'" For Hagan, complete economic freedom entailed establishing as many self-sustaining and local industries as possible.[619] Nkrumah further maintained that Ghana's economic program was designed to ensure that the government would play an increasingly important role in the "nation's economic activities." All these state-enterprises were "expected to [know] this policy and to operate within" its framework.[620] Indeed, state industries were supposed to produce enough capital to absorb surplus labor within Ghana, to compete against foreign companies and capital, and to build the socialist state-capitalist project. In these three goals, Nkrumah was adamant that it was the state's responsibility to push development within a socialist framework.[621]

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[618] Ibid., 111; this counters Paul Nugent's suggestion that state-level planning only took off after Nkrumah visited the Soviet Union in 1961. See Paul Nugent, "Nkrumah and Rawlings: Political Lives in Parallel?" *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series, No. 12 (2009-2010), 45.

[619] Hagan, "Seminar Report on 'Nkrumaism,'" 9.

[620] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 120.

[621] Ibid., 78.

The supply, consumption, mechanization, distribution, sale, and profit of the fishing industry became both a symbolic and a literal manifestation of Ghana's socialist state-capitalist project. "Fish," K. Amoa-Awuah, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, praised, "forms an important part of our diets. It is imperative for . . . us" to "maintain our health and keep our bodies in tune . . . to play our part in the reconstructional programme of Ghana." Ghana's socialist project needed to be "geared towards the building of healthy men and women."[622] Conversely, only healthy people could raise the socialist society. Ableist rhetoric laced Ghana's drive towards socialism. In this capacity, the government established the Ghana Fishing Corporation to embody the new postcolonial socialist modernity.

The Fishing Corporation was government-financed, but it was not a government department like the Fisheries Department. Thus, the Fishing Corporation was not permitted to meddle in the "affairs of the Fishing Co-operatives," which were comprised of the local fishermen, unless through "proper" government channels.[623] The government would provide the Fishing Corporation with "a fleet of modern fishing vessels to provide sufficient fish and fish products to feed the nation and to displace all imported fish and fish products thereby maintaining our foreign currency." Moreover, to ensure that the Fishing Corporation could distribute fresh fish from the southern coast to the rest of the country, the government provided them with numerous "cold storage facilities as well as fish processing plants." Lastly, in coordination with the government, the Fishing Corporation was permitted to "establish a network of fish markets throughout the length and breadth of the country to ensure that a regular supply

[622] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG8/1/267, April 9, 1963, speech by K. Amoa-Awuah.

[623] Ibid., August 17, 1963, J.E. Morrison to All District Commissioners.

of fish and smoked fish are always available at reasonable prices to farmers and workers in towns and villages."[624] Nkrumah's government envisioned that the Fishing Corporation would accomplish what the local fishermen hitherto seemed incapable of doing—feeding the nation, displacing Ghana's need to import fish and fish products, and permitting the government to maintain its foreign reserves.

The government tried to assuage the local fishermen's concerns that the Fishing Corporation was not designed to replace them and led rallies to drum up public support for the Fishing Corporation. At an April 9, 1963 fishermen's rally at Takoradi, K. Amoa-Awuah, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, tried to reassure the fishermen that the Fishing Corporation was not established to compete with them or undermine their livelihood but to "assist" them in bridging "the gap between" Ghana's "nutritional requirements" and what they produced.[625] Amoa-Awuah's claims were somewhat hollow, considering that the government did not provide the fishermen with the 'modern tools' necessary to dominate the national fishing industry. When those tools did become available, the government quickly side-stepped the fishermen as their potential users. Despite this reality, the government still called on the fishermen to back the Fishing Corporation. The Deputy Minister of Agriculture informed the fishermen that it was their duty to "co-operate with" the Corporation's officials to revolutionize Ghana's fishing industry and to "raise our standard of living and to enable us to live as free, health and prosperous men and women in this progressive land of Ghana." "Comrades," Amoa-Awuah continued, "Ghana expects to rid her fishing industry of all hardship and foreign exploitation. We must thus put an

[624] Ibid., April 9, 1963, speech by K. Amoa-Awuah.

[625] Ibid.

immediate stop to the importation of fish and fish products and conserve our valuable foreign exchange. Our rural population must be sufficiently fed with fish to eliminate the dread of malnutrition that now plagues the people living in those areas."[626] While figures like Amoa-Awuah argued that the Fishing Corporation would eliminate malnutrition and foreign exploitation, he was silent on the question of whether the Fishing Corporation would instigate domestic exploitation.

Despite the Government's rhetoric and attempts to convince the fishermen that the Fishing Corporation was intended to protect and aid their interests, the "indigenous fishermen" were skeptical. As time progressed, the fishermen's suspicions that the Fishing Corporation was ultimately designed to marginalize them—to destroy their livelihoods and to take food away from their bellies—were becoming acute realities. The fishermen complained bitterly that the Ghanaian government was spending and diverting "millions of pounds" from them "to support the 'Ashanti-packed' Fishing Corporation," which they believed was "maneuvering to usurp" their "rights and chances."[627] Not only had the predominately Fante-dominated fishermen framed their opposition to the Fishing Corporation in terms of financial interests, but they had also linked it to ethnic favoritism. As discussed in Chapter 4, Northern Ghanaians made similar accusations against the Ashantis in the government's Soviet Geological Survey Team. The situation seemed to generate what anthropologist Akhil Gupta has called the structural violence and corruption paradox whereby "programs set up in the name of the poor, and whose funding and extension were justified by their potential on poverty, deny the poor those very goods and

[626] Ibid.

[627] Ibid., May 1, 1963, J.E. Morrison to J.K. Mensah.

services."[628] It is not to suggest that the Fishing Corporation was fundamentally 'corrupt,' but to acknowledge that its creation instituted forms of "structural violence," a blunting of the local fishermen's economic and social capacities.[629] The fishermen did not take these constraints passively.

On April 30, 1963, the local fishermen in the Western and Central Regions held an emergency meeting at Cape Coast.[630] They discussed their "anxieties, sufferings, inconveniences, disadvantages, bordering upon hunger," and their "very urgent needs for means of livelihood for thousands of the poor men and women forming the Fishing Communities of Ghana, of whom we are part and parcel." The local fishermen complained that they had "been struggling for daily maintenance and existence against modern foreign fishing boat trawlers and high-powered vessels," which Ghana had acquired from the Soviet Union. The fishermen noted that both they and their "women" worked diligently in silence, but were "at the brink of starvation." Rather than helping the local fishermen as the Deputy Minister of Agriculture had claimed, the Fishing Corporation was suffocating them. The fishermen implored the Minister to travel through the fishing towns and villages to witness their suffering. "And in tears," the fishermen concluded, "we implore you to act. . . . We pray and pray you fervently to act now to save us…. Help! Please Help!, for we are being starved."[631] The fishermen's stories highlight the

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[628] Gupta, *Red Tape*, 76.

[629] Ibid.

[630] They met under the banner of the Ghana National Co-operative Fishing and Marketing.

[631] Ibid., April 30, 1963, Central and Western Branches of the Ghana National Co-operative Fishing and Marketing to the Nkrumah, N.A. Welbeck, Ayeh-Kumi, Nana Kobina Nketsia, Minister of Finance (F.K.D. Goka), Genereal Scretary of the Ghana Agriculture Co-Operatives (Martin Appiah-Danquah), and to all members of parliament, all district members, all paramount chiefs, and all other important government figures.

complex problems state industries brought and the intersectional webs of exploitation. While these industries were intended to curtail foreign exploitation and foreign domination of Ghanaian markets, some domestic economic actors found these institutions as harbingers of oppression. The fishermen's call for the Ghanaian leadership to visit their villages and observe their sufferings underscored the disconnect between figures like Amoa-Awuah and the fishing community. Some fisheries officers also held an arrogant attitude towards the local fishermen and were appalled by the fishermen's failure to bow to the Fishing Corporation's power and march towards modernity. For these figures, if the Fishing Corporation was displacing the fishermen's livelihoods, it was a necessary historical movement.[632]

Not all government officials overlooked the fishermen's concerns, however. On June 21, 1963, J. B. Morrison, the Regional Secretary of the Western Region, expressed grave concerns about the fishermen's alarming state of affairs and attempted to find ways to alleviate them. Despite the "urgency of this question," Morrison was startled that the District Commissioners had done nothing significant to address the fishermen's dire straits despite knowing about it for months. Morrison called for an immediate meeting between all of the affected parties to resolve the matter.[633] The District Commissioners ignored Morrison's message, prompting Morrison to write to them on July 11 expressing his dismay and horror that there was a "'Dead' silence . . . on the fate of the indigenous fishermen and fishmongers."[634] On August 17, Morrison reiterated to the District Commissioners that the Fishing Corporation was intended to aid the "indigenous

[632] Ibid., August 6, 1964, Fisheries Office (Western Region) to the Secretary to the Regional Commisiner.

[633] Ibid., June 21, 1963, Regional Secretary to D.K. Mensah.

[634] Ibid., July 11, 1963, J.B. Morrison to all the District Commissioners.

fishermen and fishmongers" and not to "usurp" their "rights and chances" as was "happening now."[635] However, why had there been total silence on the matter?

The Fishing Corporation engaged in a deliberate campaign to bifurcate the fishermen's unity and garner the support of local public officials. The Fishing Corporation held rallies in local communities and promised the fishermen many things, including to educate their children "overseas," a financial expenditure that was well beyond the means of the fishermen.[636] To the District Commissioners, the Fishing Corporation insisted that it was closely collaborating with the local fishermen. Morrison ridiculed the Fishing Corporation's insinuation that they were "work[ing] hand in hand with the Co-operatives." He noted that "there has been no practical move made towards this objective"[637] and characterized the Fishing Corporation's claims as "instrument[s] of propaganda to induce the fishermen towards support; but with the concealed intent of creating confusion in the Fishing Co-operative camps, to open a chance to displace the co-operative organization."[638] Rather than working with the local fishermen to displace foreign capital and competition, the Fishing Corporation was disrupting and uprooting their local rivals through sophisticated and blunt measures. Morrison chided the Fishing Corporation for manipulating public opinion with falsehoods and lamented how District Commissioners were "easy prey to the subtle plans of the Corporation."[639]

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[635] Ibid., August 17, 1963, J.B. Morrison to all the District Commissioners.

[636] Ibid., August 5, 1963, J.B. Morrison to all the District Commissioners.

[637] Ibid., August 17, 1963, J.B. Morrison to all the District Commissioners.

[638] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG8/1/267, August 5, 1963, J.B. Morrison to all the District Commissioners.

[639] Ibid.

Morrison argued that the Fishing Corporation was "guilty of undue conceit . . . of attempts" to operate "as though Government-sponsored, but more or less private enterprise, and maneuvering to overlap the operations of the Fishing Co-operatives."[640] The Fishing Corporation was deliberately blurring the lines between itself and the state for its benefit. Such tactics provided the Fishing Corporation with the veneer of authority, hegemony, and unstoppability. Morrison was keen to dismantle this well-constructed façade. He reminded people, including the Fishing Corporation, that the Corporation was not the government and that it had to "adopt the proper procedure and more constitutional method of approach, by negotiation with the regional bodies through the national body."[641] Morrison reminded the District Officers that they had the power to reject the Fishing Corporation's permits to stage rallies in their neighborhoods and encouraged them to do so. A failure to tease out the differences between the relationship between the government and the Fishing Corporation, Morrison alleged, would justifiably raise the fishermen's "suspicion of a deliberate intention by the Fishing Corporation to obstruct the operations and functions."[642]

The fishermen would not fall into history's dustbin so easily, however. During the Fishing Corporation's early years, the local fishermen outperformed it. The fishermen in their hand-made canoes hauled in more fish than the Fishing Corporation did with their "experts" and "31-foot motor boats," prompting the fishermen to laugh and taunt their 'competitors.'[643] To the

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[640] Ibid, August 17, 1963, J.B. Morrison to all the District Commissioners.

[641] Ibid., August 6, 1964, Fisheries Office (Western Region) to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner.

[642] Ibid., August 5, 1963, J.B. Morrison to all the District Commissioners.

[643] PRAD-Cape Coast RG3/5/1067, December 20, 1957, J. Atopie Christian, "Proposals for the Establishment of Large Scale Fishing, Fish Processing, and Food Manufacture."

self-assured and acclaimed modernizers of Ghana's leadership, the fishermen's "primitive" tactics and operations were indicative of Ghana's backward past and antithetical to its modernist future. These early defeats were discernible blows to the Fishing Corporation's credibility and signaled the distance the corporation still had to cover if it sought to displace foreign competition.

When the National Liberation Council (NLC) came to power on February 24, 1966, through a Western-backed military coup d'état, the Fishing Corporation was one of the first institutions investigated. The investigation exposed financial manipulation, theft, and inefficiency within the Fishing Corporation—something which the local fishermen had long suspected and complained about. The NLC's 1967 Commission determined that the Fishing Corporation failed to break the tide of foreign fish importation and dryly noted that Ghana still imported 60 percent of its fish during the Fishing Corporation's commercial peak in 1965. The Commission's committee even sarcastically alleged that the imported fish was of better quality and "yielded more profit than the fish brought in by the Corporation's own vessels."[644] J.N.N. Adjetey the Chief Fisheries Officer testified that the Fishing Corporation had to reduce its fleets from over 350 to about fourteen and that several of its "retail ships were badly sited and unprofitable and had to be closed down." Adjetey's testimony highlighted the financial troubles and a lack of business acumen that plagued the Fishing Corporation.

The Commission also alleged that some members of the Fishing Corporation and Soviet citizens engaged in "irregularities," particularly with the sale and purchase of fish. The

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[644] The hearing noted that only four out of the 10 side trawlers built in the Soviet Union were in use. See PRAAD-Accra ADM5/3/214, "Interim Report: Instrument of Appointment/ Commission of Enquiry (State Fishing Corporation) Instrument, 1967," 4.

Commission noted that Ghanaians "provide[d] entertainment for the Russians while their vessel remained in port" and then would sell the fish directly to the Soviets, contrary to the government's regulations.[645] The Commission noted that some health inspectors, like E.K. Attakorah, engaged in corruption by failing to account for 184 cartons of rotten fish between November 1963 and December 1965. Attakorah had also condemned 464 cartons of fish without issuing verifying certificates and sold them on the black market.[646] The concerns over the actions of the Fishing Corporation as expressed by the local fishermen, Morrison, and the Commission highlighted the problems state-corporations could fall into when given seemingly unlimited government backing. In the fishermen's case, the government's broader failure to ensure that the state-corporation was indeed benefiting and not undermining them was a missed opportunity to secure both private and public backing for one of the government's most significant state-

[645] PRAAD-Accra ADM5/3/214, "Interim Report: Instrument of Appointment/Commission of Enquiry (State Fishing Corporation) Instrument, 1967," 71. Below is the transcript relating to the Soviets, the Fishing Corporation, and corruption: "As already pointed out fish from Russian vessels was discharged and ostensibly sent to the Ghana Cold Stores in the name of the Corporation. According to the evidence, Mr. V.A. Quaye, the Stevedoring Officer, was not one of the officers authorized by the Corporation to withdraw fish from the cold store. Yet it was Mr. Quaye who went to the cold store and authorized part of the fish, hereinbefore called the Russian crew fish, to be transferred to the Russians and the cold store authorities complied, contrary to standing instructions from their customer, the Ghana Fishing Corporation . . .. Mr. V. O. Bannerman, the Distribution Manager, was also aware of this, for the daily summaries would show what quantity had been transferred to the Russians. He explained that Mr. Quaye told him that he had instructions from Mr. S. B. Ofori that the Russians should be allowed to take some of their supply for themselves to be sold for their entertainments and that he checked up from Mr. S. B. Ofori who confirmed. Mr. S.B. Ofori however denied this . . .. We accept Mr. S.B. Ofori's denial. Mr. Quaye's story was that the arrangement followed the charging to this personal account of an amount of £26 that he had used to entertain the Russians." See PRAAD-Accra ADM5/3/214, "Interim Report: Instrument of Appointment/Commission of Enquiry (State Fishing Corporation) Instrument, 1967," 72.

[646] Ibid., 17.

capitalist initiatives. Questions over the financial health and feasibility of Ghana's state-corporations had been a hot topic during the Nkrumah years also.

Ghanaian parliamentarians complained about the financial losses Ghana's state-enterprises were enduring. In October 1963, Wireko complained that Ghana had "sunk far too much into unfruitful projects . . . and have thereby wasted much of our revenue. Often . . . there is waste in many of our Corporations and State Enterprises." He bemoaned the fact that the state had lost "thousands of pounds" into the marble factory.[647] Lamenting corruption in state-corporations, Wireko stated: "We cannot afford to pay taxes to be put into such enterprises and later on discover that the money goes into the pockets of some individuals."[648] A.W. Osei, a United Party parliamentarian from Ahafo, criticized the running of Ghana's state farms. Osei lamented that the "Russian" run state farm at Adidome was "a failure" and insisted that if Ghana continued to let Russians operate these state-farms that they would "waste our money for nothing." Conversely, Osei noted that the Ghanaian-manned Nkwakubew state farm was "100 percent better than the Russian manned state farm at Adidome."[649] As was the case with the Fishing Corporation, the Ghanaian government fundamentally believed that specialists—whether Ghanaian or foreign—were better equipped to control vital industries over the local artisans.

Osei's criticisms were simultaneously pro-Ghanaian and anti-Soviet and conveniently overlooked other factors, such as the weather, that could have contributed to the alleged production failures. Osei failed to acknowledge that other Ghanaian crewed operations were not

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[647] October 29, 1963, J.A. Braimah, *Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates*.

[648] Ibid.

[649] October 28, 1963, A.W. Osei, *Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates*.

producing the profits the state had envisioned. Citing the Public Accounts Committee's report, other parliamentarians criticized Osei's analysis as insufficiently grounded in reality.[650] Nonetheless, the Fishing Corporation embodied the successes and failures of state-corporations during the Nkrumah-era. Indeed, in analyzing the Fishing-Corporation, one could see the "traces of original intent, deconstructing, we must, say, into material signifiers of waste, consumption, dissolution, and incompletion."[651]

CONCLUSION

On October 28, 1963, J.A. Braimah, a CPP parliamentarian official from the Gonja East district asserted that "Planned socialist economy is not a monster. Socialist economy becomes monstrous only when it wears down the individual and forces to him to slim—against his or her wish—and puts him in perpetual fear of the morrow, and makes him live in a sense of fear of an impending disaster and in a fitful or a beauty which perpetually elides . . . of a world which he never reaches, and no hope of entering. Socialism of the welfare state is the ideal . . . African way of life; each in the service of all and all in the service of each."[652] Through the socialist state-capitalist framework, the newly independent state sought to break the chains of colonialism and neocolonialism by courting capitalism to build self-sufficient local industries while placing it within a socialist framework to ensure that the impact of foreign capital and capitalism did not exploit the population.

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[650] October 28, 1963, J.D. Wireko, *Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates*.

[651] Apter, *The Pan-African Nation*, 213.

[652] October 28, 1963, J.A. Braimah, *Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates*.

While the state courted capitalism, it had envisioned socialism as its societal and economic foundation and was endeavored to make this dream a reality. The state sought to gradually take over productive sectors through its state-corporations, which were intended to outperform domestic and international competitors. Like all economic systems, there are winners and losers. Unlike apartheid South Africa where state industries were deliberately created to protect and absorb surplus white labor in order to protect them from economic ills and to ensure the apartheid's government internal support,[653] the Fishing Corporation seemed to do the opposite. The Fishing Corporation seemingly undermined the livelihoods of local fishermen. Local fishermen and their families suffered at the hands of the state-capitalist project, whose modernizing dreams and rhetoric conceived of the locals as obstacles to progress.

The construction of Ghana's socialist-state capitalist project was also driven by local communities, villages, and Ghana's socialist intellectual circles. These individuals played essential roles in constructing Ghana's economic priorities, articulating a distinct mode of Ghanaian socialism, and shaping what projects were built. The government built the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute in Winneba to train a generation of socialists who would both eventually manage these corporations and be indoctrinated in the Ghanaian socialist ideological project. While the government-imposed state-corporations on various sectors, it was simultaneously attentive to local needs and created a policy and economic framework that could absorb them. This tension and duality were constant within the Ghanaian socialist-state capitalist project. The next chapter also explores the tensions and

[653] Clark, *Manufacturing Apartheid*.

contradictions between the Ghanaian state socialist-capitalist project and a different demographic—this time, the workers.

Chapter 4:
"We Too Know How to Drink Whiskey and Educate Our Children:" Workers in the State-Capitalist Project [654]

On June 16, 1959, approximately 400 Pioneer Tobacco Company workers were "hooting" and singing "Asafo war songs," while holding aloft placards stating: "We are not in South Africa. Down with Flood. Away with Mclean. We want our rights. Mate-Nicols Aide-Camp. Flood go back to South Africa. Remove N.C. Nicol – Big Stooge."[655] They marched through Takoradi, the coastal capital of Ghana's Western Region, for better labor protections and the reinstatement and prison release of their two colleagues—Joseph Alexander Odoi and Isaac Mensah. Odoi and Mensah had been fired and imprisoned for their reaction to a white Pioneer Tobacco Company managerial staff member, Crowther-Nicol, calling Odoi a "monkey." Upon hearing those words, Odoi had become infuriated and broke the glass on Crowther-Nicol's desk and threatened to kill him.[656] After learning about Odoi's plight, Mensah mobilized the workers to strike by hitting a "gong-gong."

When the police and company authorities came searching for Mensah, he locked himself inside the General Manager's office and escaped through the "air-condition apparatus hole" when the General Manager and G.A.O. Donkor, the Takoradi Police Superintendent, pounded on the door.[657] Later, Donkor admonished the union officials because the workers did not address

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[654] All British language spellings have been changed to American English spellings.

[655] Ghana Public Records Administration and Archive Department (PRAAD)-Cape Coast/ADM 23/1/2745, I.N. Yankah, June 16, 1959; Ibid., June 15, 1959, W.J.J. Odoteye to G.A.O. Donkor.

[656] Ibid., June 15, 1959, W.J.J. Odoteye to G.A.O. Donkor.

[657] Ibid., June 15, 1959, Western Region's Regional Officer to the Commissioner of Labor; Ibid., June 15, 1959, W.J.J. Odoteye to G.A.O. Donkor.

their grievances through the appropriate channels as stipulated in the December 1958 Industrial Relations Act but instead went on (a noisy) strike. Foreshadowing the cooperation between the postcolonial state, police authorities, and private and public industries, Donkor warned union executives that further work-stoppage incidents would result in continued police action.[658] The events at the Pioneer Tobacco Company provide a glimpse into the complex world and contradictions between and within the socialist state-capitalist project, worker militancy and rights, the union, and big business and capital.

Following the work of scholars who center black workers' agency and real lives into national and international historical narratives,[659] this chapter illuminates the centrality of African workers, through their letters and feet, in shaping and voicing the contradictions and aspirations of the Ghanaian socialist state-capitalist project. This chapter defines workers as individuals engaged in any contractual, wage-earning labor or enterprise. This ranges from pupil laboratory technicians to night-guards to railroad workers to fitter mechanics, to carpenters to miners. In promoting a more egalitarian state, the workers pushed the leadership to consider and situate the real lives of ordinary people into their maxims. The workers, however, were not a monolithic ethnic or ideological group. They had different conceptions of 'progress,' and forms

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[658] Ibid., June 17, 1959, Western Region's Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor, Accra; Ibid., June 15, 1959, Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor, Accra.

[659] These texts include Robin D.G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: North Carolina University Press, 1990); Nzula, Potekhin, Zusmanovich, *Forced Labour in Colonial Africa*; George Padmore, *The Life and Struggle of Negro Toilers* (London, England: Sun Dance Press, 1971); C.L.R. James, *Nkrumah and the Ghanaian Revolution* (London, England: Allison and Busby, 1977) and *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (Chicago, Illinois: Charles H. Kerr, 2012).

of rebellion. Some took to heavy bouts of alcohol, some to letters, others to theft, others to a dereliction of duty, some to 'striking gongs,' others to violence, and still others to protests. In this paper, I examine how workers addressed unfair dismissals, verbal and physical abuse, sexism, racism, underpayment or lack of pay, ethnic discrimination, and the effects of disability.

Scholars have exhibited the power and role of African workers in pushing against the boundaries of colonial companies and empires,[660] whether by striking,[661] going slow, or fleeing,[662] but few have studied how these same workers continued to use their voices and feet to highlight their displeasure against a post-colonial African government,[663] and even fewer in the Ghanaian context.[664] The events at the Pioneer Tobacco Company revealed that workers in

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[660] For strikes in South Africa, See William H. Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987) and Robert Vicat Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871-1890*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 122-145; For strikes pertaining to East Africa, see Frederick Cooper's voluminous book: Frederick Cooper, *Decolonization & African Society*: *The Labor Question in French and British Africa* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996); In looking at the Sudan, Gareth Curless examines the railway workers' strike in 1947 and 1948 against the British colonial government. See: Gareth Curless, "The Sudan is 'Not Yet Ready for Trade Unions': The Railway Strikes of 1947–1948," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 41, Issue 5 (2013), 804-822.

[661] Lisa A. Lindsay, "Domesticity and Difference: Male Breadwinners, Working Women, and Colonial Citizenship in the 1945 Nigerian General Strike," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 3 (June 1999), 783-812.

[662] A. I. Asiwaju, "Migrations as Revolt: The Example of the Ivory Coast and the Upper Volta before 1945," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (1976), 577-594.

[663] Elizabeth Schmidt, *Decolonization from Below Guinea* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2007), 157-179; Paul Stewart, "Intensified Exploitation: Rock Drill Operators' Post-Strike Productivity Deal in a South African Platinum Mine," *Labour, Capital and Society*, Vol. 45, No. 2 (2012), 32-57.

[664] See Davidson, 176-179; St. Clair Drake and Leslie A. Lacy, "Government versus the Unions: The Sekondi-Takoradi Strike, 1961," in *Politics in Africa: Seven Cases*, ed. Gwendolen M. Carter (New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966); Richard Jeffries, *Class, Power and Ideology in Ghana: the Railwaymen of Sekondi* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University

Ghana—individually and collectively—confronted big business and defied state laws to support their colleagues, improve their plight, and attack discrimination. The incident also showed that strikes in Nkrumah's Ghana were more frequent than previously understood. The placard references to internationalism also showed that workers in Ghana were knowledgeable about larger oppressive labor and racial systems. It is unsurprising since people from other parts of West Africa and the globe labored in Ghana.[665] While scholars have focused on the 1961 strike as a major turning point in labor relations in Ghana,[666] the 1961 strike was merely part of a much larger wave of strikes and concerns about labor conditions throughout Ghana. While most 'major strikes' occurred in Southern Ghana due to the geographic location of private and state industries, public and private displays of discontent occurred throughout Ghana.

The workers in Ghana converted and subverted the state's growing bureaucratic channels, such as the Trade Union Congress, and the District and Regional Commissioners, to challenge decisions, carve out dissent, and challenge the forms of respectability and terms of the seemingly increasingly anti-worker, anti-dissent state. This forced Nkrumah's government to reconsider their relationship to capital and domestic labor. The revolutionary rhetorical currency of Nkrumah's regime became simultaneously valuable to the poor Ghanaian worker and dangerous

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Press, 1978); Jeff Crisp, *The Story of an African Working Class* (London, England: Zed Books, 1984), 125-178; Jeffrey S. Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2017).

[665] G.B. Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana*, 'Table 4. Foreign Africans in Ghana, by Origin, 1921-1960, (000s),' 312; Tony Killick, "Table 6.7" in *A Study of Contemporary Ghana. Vol. 1*, in W. Birmingham, I. Neustadt, and E. N. Omaboe (eds.), *The Economy of Ghana* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 132; PRAAD-Sekondi WRG8/1/259, February 28, 1963, A.J.B. Christopher to the District Commissioner.

[666] Drake and Lacy, "Government vs. the Unions: The Sekondi-Takoradi Strike, 1961," 137-141.

to the Ghanaian state and private enterprises. The workers demanded a space that embraced the revolutionary ideals and 'political kingdom' Nkrumah and his associates had constantly referenced during the decolonial struggles and the postcolonial state. These revolutionary slogans could not *be* empty rhetorical measures; they *had* to be actualized. The workers' contributions to a more egalitarian Ghanaian state should not be overlooked.

GHANA'S ECONOMY

In Nkrumah's March 6, 1957, Independence Day speech, he put the onus on Ghanaian workers to work "hard" to ensure that the first independent black African state would become a "respected . . . nation in the world." Nkrumah reminded the population that they were "no longer a colonial but free and independent people' and that sacrifices had to be made to ensure that they remained 'free forever." Dampening their expectations, Nkrumah acknowledged that Ghana would "have difficult beginnings," but urged their "support" to ensure that "when the African is given a chance, he can show the world that he is somebody!"[667] Black well-wishers and experts, such as George Padmore, Sir W. Arthur Lewis, the world-renowned University of Manchester economist, St. Clair Drake, the pioneering African-American sociologist and anthropologist, W.E.B. Du Bois, and C.L.R. James flocked to Nkrumah's side to prove Nkrumah's claim that the "black man [wa]s capable of managing his own affairs."[668]

As the euphoria subsided, the task of revamping Ghana's economy started in earnest and the government charged the workers with making Nkrumah's dreams a reality by increasing their productivity while shunning laziness and personal wealth. While celebrating the CPP's fifteenth

[667] Kwame Nkrumah, March 6, 1957, Ghana Independence Day Speech.

[668] Ibid.

anniversary, Nkrumah informed the nation that the 7-year development plan would establish a "socialist pattern of society" and instructed workers to "work hard and eschew anything that borders on laziness, dishonesty and subversion."[669] Ghanaian workers were central to realizing Nkrumah's plans. In 1962, the Accra City Council Chairman, Mr. E. C. Quaye, warned workers that the council would not "tolerate any sign of laziness and indiscipline."[670] On August 27, 1963, the C.P.P.'s *The Party Chronicle* castigated workers who showed an "unhealthy desire to get rich quick," instead of "working hard to build Ghana." "Some workers," *The Party Chronicle* continued, were "criminally addicted to laziness," and thus stealing from Ghana.[671] It was up to the workers to show that "the black man could manage his own affairs." Nkrumah wrote that while the "pre-independence slogan of 'Self-Government Now' was replaced with that of SERVE GHANA NOW (emphasis in original)," that Ghana "held no glowing hopes of wealth without labour." Nkrumah noted that workers had to "work doubly hard now that" they "were laboring for ourselves and our children, and not for the enrichment of the former colonial power."[672] On August 7, *The Party Chronicle* reminded the workers again that it was their job "to build Ghana into that showpiece of African success which we are all so proud to think of…."[673] The Ghanaian top brass had simultaneously promised the workers paradise—that their development schemes would eliminate social ills, poverty, and unemployment, and make Ghana

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[669] PRAAD-Cape Coast RG1/13/1. Vol. 4, "Osagyefo's Message to the Nation on the Occasion of the 15th Anniversary of the Party."

[670] *West Africa*, May 12, 1962.

[671] "Let's Serve Ghana Now," *The Party Chronicle*, Vol. 1. No. 19, August 27, 1963.

[672] Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 107.

[673] "Let's Serve Ghana Now," *The Party Chronicle*, Vol. 1. No. 18, August 7, 1963.

into Africa's model while pushing the workers to work overtime and to suffer to make those dreams a reality. In a deteriorating economy in the first half of the 1960s, "average real wage levels dropped by twenty percent in the private sector and by forty percent in the public sector" from 1960 to 1965.[674] Like the colonial regime before it, the Ghanaian government was the state's biggest wage-employer. Thus, any increase in the workers' wages cut directly into the government's budget. However, who were these workers, and where did they come from?

WHO WERE THE WORKERS: WHERE DID THEY COME FROM?

Southern colonial Ghanaian farmers owned most of the cocoa-producing lands[675] and transformed colonial Ghana into a global cocoa producing powerhouse by 1911.[676] Northerners increasingly moved south for seasonal agricultural migrant labor,[677] to engage in mining, and to build colonial infrastructure projects. With the cocoa boom, however, Northerners were increasingly able to bargain with their potential employers, and, in some cases, transform wage labor into what Gareth Austin calls, "managerial share-cropping."[678] Not everyone partook in

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[674] Sackeyfio-Lenoch, "Ghana Trade Union Congress and the Politics of International Labor Alliances, 1957-1971," 208.

[675] Polly Hill, "The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, Vol. 31, No. 3. (July 1961); Polly Hill, *The Migrant Cocoa Farmers of Southern Ghana* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

[676] Polly Hill, *Studies in Rural Capitalism in West Africa* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 22.

[677] Ralph E. Beals and Carmen F. Menezes, "Migrant Labour and Agricultural Output in Ghana," *Oxford Economic Papers, New Series*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (March 1970), 111.

[678] Gareth Austin, *Labour, Land, and Capital in Ghana; From Slavery to Free Labour in Asante, 1807-1956* (Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2005); Gareth Austin, "Cash Crops and Freedom: Export Agriculture and the Decline of Slavery in Colonial West Africa," *International Review of Social History*, Vol. 54, Issue 1 (April 2009), 1-37.

these labor and contractual negotiations. Forced female labor underpinned cocoa production and was critical both to its productivity and profitability.[679] Cheap and forced labor also buttressed other colonial enterprises.[680]

The British colonial apparatus and mining companies funneled people from the north to the south.[681] This labor movement mirrored earlier slave traffic routes. Soon, the British colonial administration and mining enterprises internationalized the colonial Ghanaian labor force by importing inexpensive and forced laborers from China, Nigeria, and the French colonies.[682] By 1939, approximately 54 percent of the mines' workforce came from northern colonial Ghana, northern Nigeria, and the French colonies.[683] From 1937 to 1940, about 35,000 Northerners migrated to the south for work. This number reached 46,000 by 1945. Around 1948, this figure doubled to nearly 92,000. In 1954, approximately 200,000 Northerners had migrated south seeking employment.[684] By 1960, urban areas such as Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi, and Takoradi in

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[679] Beverly Grier, "Pawns, Porters, and Petty Traders: Women in the Transition to Cash Crop Agriculture in Colonial Ghana," *Signs,* Vol. 17, No. 2 (Winter 1992), 304-328.

[680] Justin Willis, "'Men on the Spot,' Labor, and the Colonial State in British East Africa: The Mombasa Water Supply, 1911-1917," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (1995), 25-48.

[681] C. E. Tsey, "Gold Coast Railways: The Making of a Colonial Economy, 1879-1929" (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1986); Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana*, 135.

[682] R. G. Thomas, "Forced Labour in British West Africa: The Case of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast 1906-1927," *Journal of African History*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1973), 80-81; K. O. Akurang-Parry, "'We Cast about for a Remedy': Chinese Labor and African Opposition in the Gold Coast, 1874-1914," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (2001), 365-384.

[683] Jeffries, *Class, Power and Ideology in Ghana,* 26.

[684] Beals and Menezes, "Migrant Labour and Agricultural Output in Ghana," 111.

southern Ghana witnessed "considerable" growth, while mining towns such as Tarkwa and Obuasi, also in the south, grew modestly.[685] Southerners overwhelmingly tended to occupy skilled positions, while Northerners and foreigners occupied unskilled ones. Richard Jeffries argues that occupational differences were converted into ethnic and cultural ones, undermining workers' solidarity.[686] This, however, does not suggest that colonial Ghanaians failed to mobilize against British interests as we will see with the rise of trade unions.[687]

By 1960, women constituted 1,870 out of 33,840 miners, quarrymen, and related workers. Furthermore, women comprised 101,520 out of 395,940 craftsmen, production process workers, and laborers "not elsewhere listed."[688] Perhaps as many as 47 percent of female workers in Ghana could be classified as migrant workers.[689] Regarding female employment more generally, approximately 80 percent were self-employed or employers, with most being "petty traders or hawkers."[690] While factory workers' constituted a "very small proportion of the total population," according to Margaret Peil, they were crucial to Ghana's "future development."[691]

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[685] David Grove, *Population Patterns: Their Impact on Regional Planning* (Kumasi, Ghana: Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology), 14.

[686] Jeffries, *Class, Power, and Ideology in Ghana*, 27.

[687] Soviet officials remarked that American and British capital and companies such as Barclays, Unilever, and the United African Company, dominated the Ghanaian economy. See AVP RF, d. 720. op. 2. por 6. pa.1, June 11, 1958, N. A. Makarov to the USSR European Department.

[688] Killick, "Table 6.6," 129.

[689] Ibid., "Table 6.7," 132.

[690] Margaret Peil, *The Ghanaian Factory Worker: Industrial Man in Africa*, (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 6.

[691] Ibid., 4.

THE TRADE UNION'S COMPLICATED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WORKERS

In 1941, the British colonial government legalized trade unions in response to widespread discontent in colonial Ghana.[692] Soon, British union leaders traveled throughout the colony to try and develop trade unions that functioned in concert with the government's interest. Unfortunately for the British, this did not come into fruition. The Ghana Trade Union Congress (T.U.C.) became a vehicle for both anti-colonial and nationalist activity and an avenue for economic protection for laborers in various sectors.[693] Mine workers in colonial Ghana had "emerged as one of the most militant and politically aggressive groups" by the early twentieth century.[694]

The T.U.C.'s radical wing caused both Nkrumah and the British difficulties leading up to Ghana's independence.[695] To counter this development, Nkrumah and the CPP brought "the colony's labor movement into its fold" to harness their anti-colonial activity by both appointing Nkrumah's allies and declaring the CPP a workers' party. "The loss of labor's independence under the pre-independence C.P.P.," according to Jeffrey Ahlman, "came to haunt both the

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[692] Jeffries, *Class, Power and Ideology in Ghana,* 26.

[693] R. B. Davison, "'Labor Relations in Ghana,'" *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 31, Issue 1 (March 1957), 138.

[694] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism,* 120.

[695] G. M. Carter, "The Gold Coast: A Future Dominion?" *International Journal,* Vol. 9, No. 2 (Spring 1954), 141-143.

workers' movement and the party."[696] Yet, contemporaries had a different perspective on whether the T.U.C. was under the government's control.[697]

According to F.S. Miles, a British official in the British High Commissioner's Office in Accra, despite foreign perceptions that the T.U.C. had become the government's arm, it continued to secure gains for its members. Miles ventured:

> I cannot help feeling that the Ghanaian trade union movement is often unfairly maligned by uninformed criticism from overseas.... [I]n its day to day work of labor relations and negotiation it operates effectively and efficiently in much the same way as British trade unions do. And Ghana's T.U.C., unlike its British opposite number, has not had to face the problem of unofficial strikes![698]

Although the senior trade union officials were "well" compensated, they worked doggedly. They traveled across the country "putting across . . . new ideas to the workers," increased membership, created a robust bureaucratic machine,[699] organized annual conferences, created educational rallies, organized self-help seminars, and provided members with basic forms of literacy.[700] Tettegah—considered by the British as a dynamic and "driven" influential T.U.C. leader—argued[701] that the "rank and file" workers still influenced "their leaders" despite the impositions

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[696] Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism*, 121.

[697] Rolf Gerritsen, however, dismisses the notion that the C.P.P. ever "controlled" the T.U.C. See Rolf Gerritsen, "The Evolution of the Ghana Trades Union Congress Under the Convention Peoples Party: Towards A Re-Interpretation," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (December 1972), 229-244.

[698] LAB13/1347, December 23, 1959, letter from F.S. Miles.

[699] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton

[700] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM23/1/3843, May 25, 1964, E. A. Cowan to the Union of Catering Trades of Trades Union Congress – Ghana.

[701] LAB13/1347, December 16, 1959, F.S. Miles to R.B. Dorman, Frank Mills, Parker, and Miles Preston.

of the Industrial Relations Act (which will be described in more detail in the next section).[702] The trade unions' regional secretaries were "continuously bombarded by streams of workers bringing their grievances," creating "an atmosphere in a Regional Office . . . often near . . . bedlam."[703]

In coordination with the union, workers mutinied to push their employers to re-hire dismissed colleagues and garner other concessions. In late February 1958, 160 Takoradi Veneer and Lumber Company (T.V.L.C.) workers, with their union's backing, went on strike after a co-worker, William Sodo, was dismissed for inefficiency. Both Sodo's identity and what constituted his "inefficiency" are absent within the archive. Nevertheless, the T.V.L.C. dismissed the revolting workers and instructed them not to return to the company's premises until March 4. In addition, the T.V.L.C. offered workers who had recognized the folly in attacking big capital the opportunity to reapply for their positions but only after March 4. Facing an uncertain future, some abandoned the strike and resumed work on February 28. The remaining strikers, however, by March 7 forced the T.V.L.C.'s management to reverse course.[704] First, the T.V.L.C. withdrew its universal termination letter. Second, the T.V.L.C. agreed to send any employee three written warnings before terminating them—each letter simultaneously had to be sent to the union, the government labor officer, and the worker in question. Third, the company overturned Sodo's dismissal and transferred him to another division without any salary alterations.[705] The T.V.L.C. incident illustrated the workers' ability, with the union's aid, to bring about positive change.

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[702] Ibid., October 13, 1958, E.M. Melles to Mr. Wallis and Mr. Marshall.

[703] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton.

[704] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM23/1/2745, March 7, 1958, Western Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor, Minister of Labor & Co-Operatives.

[705] Ibid.

Other circumstances around Ghana, however, supported the workers' hidden concerns that the union was not entirely on their side but co-opted by the government and private capital. In late September 1958, the H.M. Customs and Excise Employees Union instructed their members to strike for three hours a day, starting on September 27 until a government Commission was appointed to address[706] both forced overtime hours without pay during the week and weekends and what constituted a regular work day and week.[707] Ninety workers ceased working at the harbor until these grievances were resolved.

Facing a full labor strike by October 16, 1958, the government met with the union's representatives. The two parties came to a five-point resolution. First, all work stoppages would immediately cease. Second, the union was required to "submit a list of grievances to the Establishment Secretary personally." Third, the government's organizational and methods team would review the "existing structure and procedures in the Department" to bring about "improvements." Fourth, the "Establishment Secretary" would appoint three people to "receive and consider memoranda and oral evidence" concerning the union's grievances and fashion recommendations to address them. Fifth, the workers were denied compensation for wages lost during the strike. Moreover, the workers would be responsible for all production 'backlog' hours accumulated due to the strike, within the month, outside of their "normal working hours and without overtime payment."[708] Despite the strikers' envisioned goals, the union's agreement with

[706] Ibid., September 29, 1958, Western Region's Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor; Ibid., September 30, 1958, Assistant Commissioner/W.R. Ghana Police to the Secretary to the Western Region's Regional Commissioner.

[707] Ibid., September 28, 1958, Harpol Takoradi to CIDPDL.

[708] Ibid., October 1, 1958, letter from R.K.A. Gardiner.

the government relegated them to a substantial period of unpaid labor. Again, the resolution highlighted both the uneven power relations at play between the union, the workers, and the government, and the government's proclivity to treat workers as production parts. While the workers had won the creation of an administrative platform allegedly attentive to their grievances, the agreement, had in fact, increasingly crystallized their vulnerability.

It was apparent to the workers that an improvement to their working environment was antithetical to the government's economic production agenda. In a September 1959 message, Joe-Fio Meyer, the T.U.C.'s secretary-general, threw the gauntlet to the workers. He reminded them that they were "no longer colonial workers being exploited by capitalist imperialists to enrich their own country." Instead, Meyer informed the workers that they were working to improve their children's and the nation's plight. He urged the workers "to make sacrifices and . . . defend [their] hard-won independence."[709] Echoing themes of subordination, orderliness, and patriotism to the national development project, on August 23, 1960, the Western Regional Commissioner in Takoradi, John Arthur, informed the Ghana Utility Manufacturing Company's workers that he "disliked any Industrial trouble in his area." Arthur continued, "Industrial unrest would not only hamper the smooth running of governmental machinery but also bring untold economic hardships to the people."[710] In the massive September 1961 strikes that engulfed the nation, the T.U.C. and government labeled the strikes as both "a political maneuver to undermine constitutional authority" and orchestrated by "certain subversive . . . foreign capitalists."[711] Neither saw the workers as sophisticated, independent agents pushing for their rights.

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[709] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton.

[710] "Arthur: I dislike these industrial troubles…," *Daily Graphic*, August 24, 1960.

[711] "T.U.C. Talks of the Workers' Enemies," *The Daily Graphic*, September 20, 1961.

Where the workers' interests did not align with those of the unions, private industries, or the government, the workers often ignored their orders or regulations. At the Locomotive Steam Company (L.S.C.) at Tarkwa, a coastal town in the Western Region, the crane men, feeling that their parent union, Ghanaian Mines Workers' Union, was not addressing their "long-standing" grievances, created a separate association, the Cranemen Association. On April 18, 1958, John Dadzie, the Association's General Secretary, wrote to L.S.C., against the Mines Workers' Union president's wishes, threatening to strike if their demands for a salary increase to match the L.S.C.'s engine firemen's and drivers' incomes were unmet within twenty-one days.[712] After failed negotiations, 86 Cranemen Association members went on strike.[713]

Throughout Nkrumah's regime, the trade union oscillated between fighting for labor rights and collaborating with both private capital and the government to undermine their members to emphasize their influence and power in the new society. The African workforce did not rest on their laurels with the rise of the first African government. Instead, they understood this moment as crucial to protecting and reshaping labor rights and acquiring positive gains from the uncertainties and seeming duplicity of the state, the union, and the private sector.

PASSING THE LABOR (AMENDMENTS) AND THE CRIMINAL CODE (AMENDMENTS)

The utopian life Ghana's independence leaders envisioned remained out of reach for many workers as constant and visible monuments and whispers of corruption within the governing party, the Convention People's Party (CPP) and the government swirled. While wages in public

[712] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM23/1/2745, May 21, 1958, F.K.A. Baffour to the Western Regional Labor Officer.

[713] Ibid., December 18, 1958, F.K.A. Baffour to Commissioner of Labor.

and private sectors remained stagnant during the early years of Nkrumah's government despite the increasing costs of rent and living,[714] Kojo Botsio, an influential cabinet member and minister, had recently built "a very ostentatious new house"[715] and people witnessed Trade Union Congress (T.U.C.) vehicles utilized as private property at nightlife entertainment "spots."[716] In addition, European companies such as Elder Dempster Agencies Limited and the United African Company (U.A.C.) fired workers over dwindling profits and rising costs.[717] Public calls to embrace socialism and struggle became hollow to workers when Nkrumah increased his Cabinet Ministers' wages from £1,200 to £1,800 a year in June 1960 to stifle and prevent endemic corruption within the state.[718] Some workers "began to mutter 'one law for the rich'" and another for the rest.[719] J.D. Wireko, a Ghanaian Parliamentarian representing the Amansie-East district and a CPP party member, questioned the Minister of Finance's 1964 budget proposal and seemed to support the workers' claims:

> Now, I come to the laborer who received £G11 a month. I have said that even those of us (wealthier Ghanaians) who are lying down face upwards cannot see God, what about those who are lying down with their faces to the ground? I would therefore suggest to the Government that a second thought be given to the case of the laborer who earns only £G11 a month. This laborer has to buy the

[714] LAB13/1409, August 27, 1960, L. Bevan to C.D. M. Drukker.

[715] Ibid., August 29, 1960, L. Bevan to C.D. M. Drukker.

[716] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton.

[717] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM23/1/1275, April 26, 1958, the Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor; Ibid., April 21, 1958, H.G. Leeke to President of the National Maritime and Dockworkers Union.

[718] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton.

[719] Ibid., August 27, 1960, L. Bevan to C.D. M. Drukker.

> same kind of food as I do. If I buy a pound of mutton for say 2s. he has to pay the same price for it.[720]

During Tettegah's absence to the Soviet Union, on August 3, 1960, about 100,000 workers in Accra "threw the municipality into pandemonium when they staged a demonstration at midday . . . demanding more pay and better working conditions." The workers carried placards reading: "We want better pay," "We too know how to drink whiskey and educate our children," "One man no chop in the Republic of Ghana," "£1,000 a month too big for one man," among other signs. While holding these placards aloft, the protesters "sang war songs and made terrific noise, booed and rained abuses on T.U.C. officials who were under police protection."[721] The Executive Board of the T.U.C. released a statement that they were "absolutely convinced that the recent demonstrations in Accra and other parts of the country were not direct [sic] against the Convention People's Party, the Government or the Trade Union Congress." Instead, the Executive Board insisted that the workers were reacting "simultaneously . . . to long standing [sic] anomalies and grievances existing in certain employments [sic] and the demonstrations were directed against employers' adamant refusal to negotiate on these issues and the consequent deadlocks that occurred." The Executive Board reiterated their full support for "the workers' general demand for wage increases in line with its devoted aims to raise the standard of living of the workers." Furthermore, they insisted that they were in active consultations with the Government to address the workers' issues.[722]

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[720] October 29, 1963, J.D. Wireko, *Ghana National Assembly Parliamentary Debates*.

[721] "Accra Workers Demonstrate for Better Pay: They Hoot and Boo at President's Statute," *Ashanti Pioneer*, August 4, 1960.

[722] William H. Friedland Collection Box 10, "Central Statement Outlining Congress Stand on Behalf of the Workers."

The T.U.C.'s board's statement revealed their delicate position. On the one hand, they sought to protect and support their members' push for higher wages and working conditions. On the other hand, they attempted to shield the government and insisting that both the government and it were on the workers' side. In pushing this line, the board tried to misdirect the workers' anger towards other non-government employers who refused to provide the workers with wage increases. With the government as the nation's biggest wage employer, the T.U.C.'s flexible position seemed out of step with reality. Nonetheless, these strikes contravened directly against the government's attempts to suppress public displays of discontent through the 1958 Industrial Relations Act, forcing the government to enact new anti-labor laws.

On August 23, 1960, the Ghanaian government quickly pushed two bills—the Labor (Amendment) and the Criminal Code (Amendment)—through the National Assembly. The former law gave the Minister of Labor and Co-Operatives the authority to impose new or revised minimum rates of remuneration as "'necessary in the public interest.'" The latter bill mandated public newspapers to submit their publications for governmental scrutiny to prevent disclosures of country-wide revolts, which could prejudice public opinion or undermine public safety. On Thursday, August 25, 1960, the Industrial Relations Act (IRA) was amended to permit both a "'union shop,'"[723] which required workers to join a union and pay dues, and grant the CPP and the Ghanaian president greater control and scrutiny over the "activities of individual union leaders."[724] In addition, Kweku Boateng, the Minister of Labor, added an amendment making it "compulsory for every worker in Ghana" to possess trade union membership and a provision

[723] "All Workers Must Join A Trade Union," *The Daily Graphic*, August 26, 1960.

[724] LAB13/1409, August 27, 1960, L. Bevan to C. D. M. Drukker

barring employers from hiring non-union members for more than a month. These provisions passed despite Union Party stalwart Joe Appiah's concerns that the "'union shop'" and Boateng's additions contravened the Ghanaian Constitution's "'fundamental principle of the liberty of the subjects and human rights.'"[725]

The measures put the Minister of Labor in charge of the T.U.C.[726] It dissolved all unions unaffiliated with the T.U.C.[727] and merged approximately 100 unions into 16 national unions.[728] It was a reconfiguration Tettegah had called for in September 1957.[729] Furthermore, non-union officials were barred from negotiating wage rates or labor conditions with any employer.[730] IRA legalized "compulsory check-off" of union dues from workers' salaries, effectively made strikes illegal, and "remove[d] some of the restraints on the unions' freedom of action which were embodied in the Act."[731] The T.U.C.'s Education and Publicity Department noted that the new Act created an "elastic system of negotiation and conciliation which" rendered "strikes almost unnecessary."[732]

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[725] "All Workers Must Join A Trade Union," *The Daily Graphic*, August 26, 1960.

[726] LAB13/1347, February 25, 1959, E.M. Melles to Mr. Marsh and Mr. Wallis.

[727] Ibid., July 23, 1959, E.M. Melles to Mr. Marsh and Mr. Wallis.

[728] LAB13/1409, May 13, 1960, "May Day Speech of John K. Tettegah, Secretary-General of the Trades Union Congress of Ghana, Delivered in Accra on Friday, 13th May, 1960."

[729] Sackeyfio-Lenoch, "Ghana Trades Union Congress and the Politics of the Labor Alliances, 1957-1971," 198.

[730] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton.

[731] LAB13/1347, July 23, 1959, Mr. Marsh and Mr. Wallis to Miss. E.M. Melles.

[732] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton.

The measures, however, were unpopular among some of CPP backbenchers and workers, despite public efforts to popularize it.[733] Critics argued that the new draconian measures deprived the unions of their teeth. At a CPP meeting, a few of the "Bill's exponents" were given "rough treatment" while explaining the Act's benefits.[734] In an October 15, 1958, newsletter, the Ghana United Africa Company Workers Union severely derided the T.U.C.'s attempts to create 16 unions. "[W]hy 16?" the newsletter questioned. It then continued, "Just sixteen (16) as if the workers are like flocks of sheep and cattle that can be grouped just as herdsmen want."[735] The newsletter then criticized the "scheme" as simply a "copy-book" of the German and Israeli trade union "patterns." The workers saw the provisions within the New Structure as both "a mere instrument of exploitation" to collect money from the workers to benefit a handful of career professional trade union leaders,[736] and "undemocratic and contrary to known practices in all democratic countries."[737] In 1961, the government altered Section Six of the Labor Registration Act, stipulating that no employer could employ "any unemployed person unless such person" possessed "a registration certificate."[738] Moreover, an employer interested in hiring someone had to "apply to the appropriate Public Employment Centre for the nomination of [a] suitable person

[733] Ibid.

[734] LAB13/1347, February 25, 1959, E.M. Melles to Mr. Marsh and Mr. Wallis.

[735] Jay Lovestone Papers. Box 73. 19., October 15, 1958, by The Ghana U.A.C. Workers Union.

[736] Ibid., October 1, 1958, by the Ghana U.A.C. Workers Union.

[737] Ibid.

[738] Despite this law, the archive is replete with stories of government officials complaining that employers were knowingly hiring individuals without a registration certificate.

for employment."[739] In 1962, a further eight regional labor departments were created, with each employing a regional labor officer, to provide the government with greater administrative and political control.[740] Enforcing national directives was difficult.

After an inspection of the Ghana Timber Marketing Board on February 15, 1961, the Western Region regional labor officer, E. K. Ando-Brew, was appalled to find that "almost all" the Board's hires after October 31[741] contravened directly against the government's 1960 Labor Registration Act because they did not possess a registration certificate. Ando-Brew informed both the Board's chief accountant and general manager, Charles Oceansey, that their actions went against the law, and "to arrange with those members of [their] staff without labor registration certificates to report to this office for registration in due course, and in batches convenient" to them.[742] Ando-Brew also met with Oceansey to discuss the problem.[743] On February 21, the Board wrote to Ando-Brew, assuring him of their "fullest co-operation at all times" and that they were "taking immediate steps to see that all members of [their] staff without labor registration certificates report in batches at [his] office to be registered."[744] When Ando-

[739] PRAAD-Tamale NRG9/4/23, May 11, 1962, Commissioner of Labor to All Government Departments, All Corporations, Ghana Employers Association, Chamber of Commerce, and the Buildings Federation.

[740] Ibid., May 16, 1962, Commissioner of Labor to all the Regional Labor Officers.

[741] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG 24/2/236—23/1/60-18/1/67, February 18, 1961, E. K. Ando-Brew to the General Manager of the Ghana Timber Marketing Board.

[742] Ibid.

[743]Ibid., June 20, 1961, Regional Labor Officer to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner of Sekondi.

[744] Ibid., February 21, 1961, Ghana Timber Marketing Board to the Employment Officer.

Brew returned to the Board's premises on April 17, however, an additional twenty-five people were hired, all contrary to the law. These actions, the regional labor officer reported, made it difficult for unemployed workers, who complied with government mandates, to find employment in the Western Region.[745] These episodes underscored both the difficulties in enforcing national directives and laws and the state's unwillingness to punish non-complying members and branches rather than compel directives.

Despite the growing government constraints, the workers won more concessions. Workers earning £360 or less a year would receive raises, dating to the previous month, July 1960. The minimum wage, Nkrumah declared, for unskilled laborers would rise to 6/6 from 5/6 a day.[746] Those earning £600 a year would "receive a . . . £15 a year" wage increase. It only translated, however, to a "1/- a day" increase for twenty-five working days a month.[747] Tettegah's public pronouncement had put the Ghanaian government into a political box. It was forced to set up a Cost of Living Committee and artificially control the prices of all basic commodities,[748] which had not already been increased, like cotton.[749] Basic commodities were not the only items increasing for the workers.

Despite the quasi-success the workers and trade unions had engineered in bringing favorable concessions, on December 3, 1960, the Trade Union Council's National Executive

[745] Ibid., June 20, 1961, Regional Labor Officer to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner of Sekondi.

[746] LAB13/1409, August 27, 1960, L. Bevan to C.D.M. Drukker.

[747] Ibid., November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton."

[748] Ibid.

[749] Ibid., August 27, 1960, L. Bevan to C.D.M. Drukker.

Council held a meeting at the Hall of Trade Unions in Accra to unanimously accept the Executive Board's proposal to double membership dues from two to four shillings a month.[750] What the Ghanaian government conceded to the workers in one hand, they took back with the other under the mantra of trade union dues. Not all welcomed this turn of events. As February 15, 1961, dawned, off-shoot unions and councils, such as the Lomenda Local Council, in the Central Region, refused to pay the increase.[751]

In a brief but pointed letter, the Municipal and Local Government Workers' Union reminded the council clerks for Komenda, Edina, Eguafo, Abrem, and Asebu that it was "illegal" for a worker to refuse to pay the increased dues "which entitles him membership of the Trade Union Congress to remain in the employment of the Council."[752] John T. Victor Kwegyir, the Union's general secretary and treasurer, warned the Lomenda Local Council that failure to collect the increased membership dues was illegal. It was the union's "expectation," Kwegyir wrote, "that all arrears of dues must be deducted and forwarded without the least delay."[753] The T.U.C. received forty-five percent of the dues, forty percent went to the municipal and local government workers' union, and fifteen percent to the regional organization.[754] Circulating

[750] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM 23/1/3843, December 5, 1960, Municipal & Local Government Workers Union to All Clerk of Councils & All Town Clerks, Mun. Councils.

[751] Ibid., February 15, 1961, "Increase of Membership Dues."

[752] Ibid.

[753] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM 23/1/3843, February 16, 1961, John T. Victor Kwegyir to the chairman of Lomenda local council.

[754] Ibid., July 24, 1961, John T.V. Kwegyir to All Clerk of Councils, All District Commissioners, All Branch Secretaries, and All Regional Organizers.

reports that union dues, in some cases, were being used for private purposes made it increasingly unlikely for local councils to acquiesce to the new directive.[755]

Despite these threats, the Lomenda Local Council still refused to pay. The Asin, Komenda, Denkyira, Gomoa, Agona, Breman-Asikuma, and Awutu-Effutu Local Councils, among others, had all still failed to pay.[756] In response, on April 22, 1961, the T.U.C.'s local branch decided that all unpaid dues would be deducted directly from the members' April to August 1961 salaries.[757] The two sides continued to be at an impasse. By June 21, an exasperated D.A. Forson, the T.U.C Branch Secretary, informed the Lomenda Local Council that participants in a Branch Union meeting on June 20 had "unanimously agreed" that all the members' salaries "for . . . April, May, and June 1961 be checked-off the salaries and [w]ages of members."[758] Perhaps sensing resentment swelling, the T.U.C. softened its demands. The decision to take the arrears directly from the workers' salaries, Forson communicated, did not apply to August.[759] The local councils' and branches' obstinacy had brought about a minor governmental concession. The archival documents about this controversy end here, however. It is unclear whether the local branches and councils caved into the increasing pressure and paid the increased dues or continued to shield their maligned members.

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[755] Crisp, *The Story of an African Working Class*, 135.

[756] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM 23/1/3843, November 8, 1961, "List of Councils in Arrears As At 31st August, 1961."

[757] Ibid., April 24, 1961, "Membership Dues."

[758] Ibid., June 21, 1961, "Payment of Arrears of Dues."

[759] Ibid.

Ultimately, the government created these measures to attempt to control Ghanaian labor and make it more attractive to foreign capital and interests. Ako Adjei, the Ghanaian Minister of External Affairs, assured foreign investors that "Ghanaian labor would not be troublesome."[760] Nkrumah reminded the increasingly agitated workers that their interests aligned with the Ghanaian state's and the state's with theirs. This would "achieve," Nkrumah proclaimed, "maximum results and prove that public enterprises can be successfully run."[761] The T.U.C.'s magazine, *Labour*, echoed Nkrumah's and Adjei's pronouncements for the workers to sideline their interests for the state's. *Labour* argued that the trade union's role was "firstly, to mobilize and organize the workers to carry out state plans, and secondly, to be concerned with systematically improving their living and working conditions."[762] African workers' plight had explicitly and implicitly become secondary to and submerged under the bifurcated goals of private capital and national development.

BUREAUCRACY: A VEHICLE FOR RESISTANCE

With the government's vigorous attempts to suppress public displays of worker dissatisfaction, workers turned increasingly to bureaucratic and grievance channels to protest unfair dismissals, record their frustrations, and highlight workplace discrimination. Alfred Sandow Alhaji, a Pupil Laboratory Technician, was dismissed on June 15, 1962, for going to his hometown, Tamale, in northern Ghana, in May 1962 and June 1962, without permission. The Principal Personnel Officer characterized Alhaji's behavior as indicative of "a gross lack of interest in this

[760] LAB13/1347, April 23, 1959, by E.M. Melles.

[761] LAB13/1409, November 4, 1960, F.S. Miles and T.W. Keeble to J.O. Morton.

[762] Ibid.

Organization," the Soviet Geological Survey Team (S.G.S.T.).[763] Alhaji responded critically to the Officer's letter, describing large parts as inaccurate. First, Alhaji questioned how the Officer could have severely reprimanded him for leaving to Tamale on May 1962 when his employment began on June 1, 1962. Alhaji urged the Officer to "refer" to his "personal file for the actual date" of his appointment. Second, Alhaji clarified that he was a Pupil Laboratory Technician and not a Pupil Geological Assistant, indicating why he was not on the latter's "roll call." However, Alhaji did admit to leaving for a Ghana Young Pioneers interview in Accra without permission.[764] Nkrumah had created the Ghana Young Pioneers to "inculcate a respect for discipline and order into the country's young men and women" and as a space to absorb surplus labor.[765]

On September 24, 1964, Stephen Fianoo, a Northerner and an S.G.S.T. employee, sought a pass to leave the S.G.S.T. compound since he was preparing to transfer to Kintampo, another town. The guard denied Fianoo's request and grabbed Fianoo's bicycle and keys. A physical altercation between the two ensued. The police intervened, sending both men to court. The court fined Fianoo £8 and the guard £1. Fianoo paid the fine and transferred to Kintampo. A few days later, Fianoo received a letter from J.B. Baryen, the A.G. Principal Personnel Officer, informing him that he had "been suspended because of the fine" he paid. On October 10, Fianoo wrote a

[763] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/11, June 16, 1962, the Principal Personnel Officer to Fred Sandow Alhaji.

[764] Ibid., June 20, 1962, Alfred Sandow Alhaji to the Principal Personnel Officer.

[765] Jeffrey S. Ahlman, "A New Type of Citizen: Youth, Gender, and Generation in the Ghanaian Builders Brigade," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 53, No. 1 (2012), 87, 88, 99.

scathing letter to the Minister of Industries protesting his suspension and highlighting discrimination against Northerners.

Fianoo, referencing Ossei Kusi's case, an Ashanti convicted of physically assaulting a subordinate, furiously questioned why an individual fined £8 could "not work in this Department," but an "Ex. Convict" could hold an "important" post in the "Department?" Fianoo continued, "It appears now that Ashantis are the only people given fair deal in this Department and I am therefore appealing to you for your kind consideration."[766] Similarly, Abudulai Moshie, an S.G.S.T. guard, professed that the Department dismissed him because he was a Northerner. In his complaint against F.E. Darko, the Senior Executive Officer at the S.G.S.T., Moshie charged that Darko slapped his mouth, called him a fool, and stated that he was a not a good man because he was a Northerner. Moreover, Moshie wrote that Darko lamented the fact that Northerners "got … free work to do" because "better people" were "ready with money to apply."[767] Besides hinting at a corrupt pay to work scheme, Abudulai Moshie substantiated Fianoo's concerns that Northerners suffered discrimination in government employment spaces and the new Ghana. Despite these charges, Fianoo's and Moshie's complaints were dismissed.[768]

On October 31, 1964, Kojo Adu, an S.G.S.T. driver, wrote to the T.U.C.'s General Secretary, lamenting his dismissal for transporting an unauthorized woman and cow. "On the 15th day of October, 1964," Adu wrote, "I was issued with thirty gallons of petrol to Kintampo

[766] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/15, October 10, 1964, Stephen Fianoo to the Minister of Industries.

[767] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/11, June 28, 1962, Abudulai Moshie to the Personal Officer at S.G.S.T, Tamale, and Mr. Darko.

[768] Ibid., July 11, 1962, Secretary to the Regional Commissioner to Abudulai Moshie.

and back." While returning from Tamale the following day, an unknown woman at Yapei asked him to transport "a cow . . . from Yapei to Tamale." Aware of the strict regulations against transporting unauthorized persons and goods, Adu rejected the woman's request. After the woman's departure, Adu's friend informed him that she was the Regional Commissioner's, Ebenezer Adam's, wife. Adam was a CPP co-founder. Armed with this new information, Adu returned "to the spot" and transported "the cow to the Residence at 10 p.m." Unfortunately for Adu, while returning to Tamale, his truck ran out of fuel, and he abandoned it. The next day, Adam fired him.

Adu was flabbergasted by the turn of events. "As already indicated," Adu concluded to the T.U.C.'s General Secretary, "I have never been questioned about my efficiency and so I do not find any way clear as to what warranted my dismissal. I should therefore be grateful if you would go into this."[769] Accepting Adu's account at face-value infers that Adam's wife deliberately compromised him. The situation's peculiarity elicited a direct response from Alhaji Imohu Egala, the Minister of Industries. Despite Egala's acknowledgment that Adu's situation was riddled with appearances of impropriety and constituted a black eye to the institution, Egala supported Adam's decision.[770] Adu's incident underscored how complaints maneuvered through the bureaucratic channels, and with it, the increased possibility of a low-level case embarrassing a high-level official. Another top Ghanaian government official would get embroiled in a scandal involving workers.

[769] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/15, October 31, 1964, Kojo Adu to the General Secretary of the T.U.C.

[770] Ibid., November 25, 1964, Imoru Egala to Kojo Adu.

The workers of Neoteric Building Company at Appremdu, located slightly west of Takoradi, were constructing army barracks. They complained about their dire financial, social, and political plight due to a European contractor's failure to pay them and the Minister of Defense's, Kofi Baako's, violent response to their plight. The workers noted that they had been transferred from Koforidua and Accra to Appremdu with their wives and children to construct army barracks. Unable to afford food, the workers went to "cassava farms to beg."[771] Using the language of Nkrumah's dutifulness and love of Ghana in their letter to the Western Regional Commissioner, the workers insisted that it was their "duty to serve our country-Ghana and to serve her well" despite not being paid. They were "all mixed up" in their minds, the workers continued, and that it "took [them] aback" when Baako instructed them "suddenly" to cease working on the morning of May 12, 1962.[772] Not only did Baako instruct the workers to cease working, but he chased after them "with his stick, clearing" them "as if we were goats."[773] The workers informed the Western Regional Commissioner that while they had already contacted the T.U.C. and District Labor Office about their plight that nothing had changed. While the workers thought that the two organizations were doing their best to support them, they still believed that they needed to write to the Western Regional Commissioner "to come to their aid," and pay them before they died "of hunger."[774]

[771] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG24/2/325, June 1, 1962, O. Ayepa Amoah to the Western Region Regional Commissioner.

[772] Ibid.

[773] Ibid., June 1, 1962, O. Ayepa Amoah to the Western Region Regional Commissioner.

[774] Ibid.

Regarding Baako's actions, the workers noted that he had "perhaps . . . forgotten that if you trouble a hungry snake, you will force it to bite you. Yet we are not snakes and will never act like that [sic]." The workers warned the Regional Commissioner that they were almost "one thousand" and that if they "were to die of hunger, it will be a great disaster to the Ghana Nation, yet we belief in the freedom and justice of Ghana [sic]."[775] The archival record ends there. It is unclear what happened to the fate of the approximately one thousand workers. While the workers did not always receive compensation, it was through these letters that incidents of department neglect, oversight, unfair treatment, and discrimination came to light and forced the state, whether superficially or substantially, to address the allegations.

Workers wrote to the Labor Officers regarding unpaid wages, prompting government officials to address the issue. On October 7, 1960, the Officer-in-charge at Bolgatanga wrote to R. T. O. Mensah, a contractor, noting that he had been made aware that painters and laborers who worked "last month at Zuarungu on the renovation and re-decoration of the staff quarters" had not been paid. The Bolgatanga Labor Officer informed Mensah that if he did not pay the workers within four days that Court action against him would proceed "without further notice" since the "Department takes a very serious view of cases where contractors deliberately refuse to pay for the labour (sic)."[776] When complaints about unpaid labor and ill-treatment concerned senior government officials, nothing seemed to happen. On March 21, 1963, Anku Lamptey and Sam Kpobi, both masons, wrote a letter to the officer in charge of the Wa Labor Office to complain about Banyin's and Dada's failure to pay them for their services since October 1, 1962.

[775] Ibid., June 1, 1962, O. Ayepa Amoah to the Western Region Regional Commissioner.

[776] PRAAD-Tamale NRG9/3/2, October 7, 1960, Bolgatanga Officer-In-Charge to R.T.O. Mensah.

The two men urged the relevant officer to "treat" their issue with "urgency" because their families were "lying with starvation due to financial embarrassment."[777] After nearly six months of arm wrangling, in which Banyin and Dada ignored the new Wa Officer-in-Charge's letters and settlement overtures,[778] the Wa labor officer admitted defeat. He stated: "Efforts were however made to persuade Messers. Banyin and Dada to settle their liability but all failed, and as the complainants do not come within the interpretation of 'Employees' under the Labour Ordinance, this office was unable to institute any legal action against the Respondent on their behalf."[779] The Wa labor officer urged Lamptey and Kpobi to file a civil lawsuit against Banyin and Dada to receive their just compensation. While one bureaucratic channel foreclosed the possibility of relief, another administrative avenue, the judicial system, offered Kpobi and Lamptey potential recourse.

Outside the purview of strikes, acts of theft and dereliction of duty were other avenues of worker dissent. "The submerged social and cultural worlds of oppressed people," Robin Kelley has argued, "frequently surface in everyday forms of resistance—theft, footdragging, the destruction of property—or, more rarely, in open attacks on individuals, institutions, or symbols of domination."[780] Such forms of resistance manifested itself in the Ghanaian context. Anthony

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[777] PRAAD-Tamale NRG9/4/23, March 21, 1963, Anku Lamptey and Sam Kpobi to the Officer-in-Charge of the Wa Labor Office.

[778] Ibid., March 25, 1963, the Officer-in-Charge of the Wa Labor Office to Anku Lamptey and Sam Kpobi.

[779] Ibid., September 20, 1963, Officer-in-Charge of the Wa Labor Office to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner.

[780] Robin D. G. Kelley, "We Are Not What We Seem:" Rethinking Black Working-Class Opposition in the Jim Crow South," *The Journal of American History,* Vol. 80, No. 1 (June 1993), 77.

Dwira, a store officer, "sold some empty packing cases without authority." Darko requested to learn from Dwira how many cases Dwira sold, to whom, the profit he gained, why he sold the "packing cases without" permission, and to "surrender any sums of money" derived from those deals. He had two days to address those concerns or face "severe disciplinary action," including police notification.[781] Ali Kusasi was accused of and dismissed for stealing and selling "29 sales of soap" in Damongo, the capital of the West Gonja District, while on assignment there. The "cost of 25 sales of soup" was taken from his wages.[782] Asamoah-Kwamena, a store officer, had been caught with stolen government equipment. Darko instructed him to return all the goods from his house to the store within a few days. When Darko and a few officers ventured to Asamoah-Kwamena's other home, however, they found more store equipment "hidden" there. "Asamoah-Kwamena bolted away" when Darko and other officers approached his house.[783] Dwira was arrested and "arraigned before Magistrate's Court for stealing two drums of petrol," worth "88 gallons."[784] With the Ghanaian economy failing in part due to the decrease in cocoa-prices, workers leveraged their position within state institutions to increase their incomes. While the government considered this theft, these workers saw it as their just deserts for the sacrifices that they continued to make for the new state.

WORKPLACE RACISM AND VIOLENCE

[781] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/11, June 23, 1962, F. K. Darko to Mr. K. B. Ayensu; PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/30/11, June 23, 1962, F. K. Darko to Mr. Anthony Dwira.

[782]Ibid., Principal Personnel Officer to Mr. Ali Kusasi.

[783] Ibid., June 29, 1962, M.A. Donkor to the Regional Commissioner.

[784] Ibid., August 1, 1962, M.A. Donkor to The Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Industries.

The colonial era had witnessed the expansion and monopolization of European firms and capital on the West African coast. Basil Davidson noted that racism was harshest in the areas where "white settlers . . . saw themselves as a 'local master race.'" In colonial Ghana, many white settlers viewed themselves as racially superior.[785] "In the Gold Coast," according to Jemima Pierre, "as elsewhere, it was imposed through a system of inequality based on racial difference that grated differential access to goods, services, property, opportunity, and even identity."[786] Despite the arrival of the 'new political kingdom,' racism's non-discrete and discrete forms—borne out of the culmination of slavery, scientific racism, imperialism, and colonialism—were still keenly felt among Ghanaian workers and businesses. The workers employed various channels, such as the courts, bureaucratic avenues, and strikes, to combat racism.

Racial violence existed during the early years of Nkrumah's regime. By 1960, approximately 12,000 Europeans resided in Ghana,[787] many in the coastal areas.[788] In December 1957, a European supervisor—whom the African workers described as a "bully"—working for Gliksten (West Africa) Limited Company, assaulted an African tree-feller clerk in Dwenase, Sefwi-Wiawso.[789] In early March 1958, Wilson, the United African Company's (U.A.C.'s)

[785] Davidson, *Black Star,* 24.

[786] Pierre, *The Predicament of* Blackness, 24; Rhonda Howard, *Colonialism and Underdevelopment in Ghana* (New York, NY: Africana Publishing Company, 1978).

[787] Kay, *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana*, Table 5a. European Population in Ghana by nationality, 1921-1960 (census years)," 313.

[788] Ibid., Table 5b. European Population in Ghana by region, 1921-1960 (census years)," 313.

[789] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM 23/1/2745, December 13, 1957, Western Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor.

motor manager, assaulted an African fitter mechanic.[790] Six months later, another violent racial incident arose at Gliksten. R. A. Trickett, a European Saw Doctor, attacked two African night guards.[791] African workers did not take these incidents lightly.

African workers aggressively called for the offending parties' dismissals. Gliksten's Employees Union's Secretary informed the District Labor Officer that they had sent two letters, on December 8 and 9, 1957, to Gliksten to notify them that their approximately 250 members would strike unless the European Supervisor was fired.[792] In Wilson's case, 126 U.A.C. motor department employees in Takoradi went on strike for two hours on March 10, 1958, demanding his sacking.[793] Similarly, in the Trickett affair, between 1,000 to 1,700 railroad workers in October 1958 stopped working in protest.[794]

Despite the workers' multi-layered efforts to bring about a zero-tolerance policy and culture against racial violence, the responses to those incidents were often lenient and evasive. If punishing Europeans hindered company profits, offenders suffered lenient punishments. Gliksten hesitated to release the European Supervisor from his position because he "was a good worker and an expert on a special crane, one of which had recently been introduced into the

[790] Ibid., March 11, 1958, the Western Region Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor.

[791] Ibid., October 16, 1958, "Strike of Employees of Gliksten (W.A.) Limited," letter to the Commissioner of Labor.

[792] Ibid., December 13, 1957, the Western Region's Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor.

[793] Ibid., March 11, 1958, the Western Region's Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor.

[794] Ibid., October 9, 1958, D/S to the Minister.

establishment to increase production."[795] Similarly, Gliksten refused to discharge Trickett because it would take six to twelve months to replace "a person of Mr. Trickett's abilities." Rather than list whether the workers' wages would be retrieved, or the compensation, if any, to be paid to the Africans assaulted, the government's report listed that 2,292 working days were lost due to the fourteen-hour strike at Dwenase and eight-hour work stoppages at Kwapong, Ahenekwa, Bibiani, Aheresu, and Awaso.[796] In Wilson's case, dotted at the bottom of the government document was that 252 production hours were lost. These statements, omissions, and gestures were not lost on the workers, union, and management. It gave the accurate impression that European management could assault African workers with impunity if profits were being garnered. [797] It appeared that profits superseded racial justice in the new state.

Gliksten deemed an "apology" and "reprimand" sufficient to address the European supervisor's actions. Trickett, for his trouble, received "a very severe public reprimand."[798] The U.A.C., however, transferred Wilson within three days.[799] The archive does not reveal whether Trickett, Wilson, or the European supervisor were docked any pay. The Secretary to the Regional Commissioner wrote to Gliksten that they were only "surprised" and "displeased" that Trickett "so attempted to take the Laws of Ghana into his own hands and trusts that you

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[795] Ibid.

[796] Ibid., October 16, 1958, "Strike of Employees of Gliksten (W.A.) Limited," letter to the Commissioner of Labor."

[797] Ibid., March 11, 1958, the Western Region's Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor.

[798] Ibid., October 16, 1958, "Strike of Employees of Gliksten (W.A.) Limited."

[799] Ibid., March 11, 1958, the Western Region's Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor.

(Gliksten management) will see to it that there is no recurrence of such warranted and disgraceful behavior."[800] The District Labor Officer echoed the Regional Commissioner's report. He urged all company employees, "whether white or black," to report all disciplinary cases to the company's general manager, as though that body would adequately deal with the matter. [801] If prior actions indicated future ones, the government's belief that the company would effectively deal with racial violence was severely misplaced.

Unfortunately, black Africans endured workplace retaliation for exposing racism. On September 16, 1963, Tingah Moshie, a night watchman at Agir-Ghana Company Limited, a private company, claimed that his dismissal for sleeping on the job was categorically "false, malicious and untrue." Moshie insisted, however, that he was suffering retribution because he provided evidence in another case pending before the District Commissioner and the Takoradi police department that Roman, his boss, had called another watchman, Allasan Moshie, a "Blackman Monkey."[802] Similarly, on September 18, an African Carpenter filed a complaint with the District Commissioner against a European named Witney for both creating an inhospitable work climate and for dismissing him because he told him to stop insulting the Ghanaian government through racial innuendo. Witney colluded with other whites, Tingah alleged, especially with white women, to "tell [him] certain nasty words just to infuriate me to

[800] Ibid., October 24, 1958, the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner to the Manager, Messrs. Gliksten's (W.A.) LTD., Dwenase.

[801] Ibid., December 13, 1957, the Western Region's Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor.

[802] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG8/1/259, September 16, 1963, Tingah Moshie to the Managing Director.

anger." "I feel," Tingah concluded, "that I have been dismissed out of sheer prejudice and malice."[803]

Whites were not the only ones guilty of assaulting African workers. Abudulai Moshie, a Soviet Geological Survey Team (S.G.S.T.) night watchman, wrote a complaint against the S.G.S.T.'s Senior Executive Officer, F. K. Darko, for ethnic discrimination, assault, and wrongful dismissal on June 28, 1962. According to Abudulai Moshie, Darko suddenly "maliciously slapped" his "mouth," called him a "fool," and heralded ethnic insults at him, and said that he was not a "good man" because he was a Northerner. Hinting at a pay to work scheme, Moshie alleged that Darko said: "Better people are ready with money to apply [for] work but you foolish person and a Northerner like you have got a free work to do (sic)." Moshie implored the Commissioner to investigate the matter and reinstate him.[804] In another instance, Ossei Kusi, an S.G.S.T. Executive Officer, "beat up a Departmental driver." Unlike the previous individuals, Kusi was convicted in court and had to choose either a £G25 fine "or three months imprisonment with Hard Labor." Kusi paid the fine and continued to work at the organization.[805]

Rumors that Africans were being dismissed to accommodate European workers or that government contracts were being given to foreign firms over African enterprises laid bare the shortcomings of independence. After the dismissal of approximately twenty-one workmen for redundancy and a further six without notice in December 1957 at Tarkwa mines, the Regional

[803] Ibid., September 18, 1963, unknown individual to the District Commissioner

[804] PRAAD- Tamale NRG8/30/11, June 28, 1962, Abudulai Moshie to the Regional Commissioner.

[805] PRAAD- Tamale NRG8/30/15, October 10, 1964, Stephen Fianoo to the Minister of Industries.

Labor Officer wrote to both the Commissioner of Labor and Minister of Labor and Co-Operative Division that there was "a great suspicion that retrenchment of African employees has been planned to enable more Europeans to be employed on the mine as already a number of them (Europeans) have been engaged at various sites during this year."[806] The persistence of racism, or its optics, in the revolutionary era disenchanted local African businesspersons also.

In 1962, S. K. Oman, OSCO Shipping Agencies Limited's Executive Director, wrote three letters about the emptiness of both Ghana's independence and the rhetoric of the African personality if African jobs were being given to European firms. Oman attacked the heart of both Nkrumah's African personality project and his Independence Day speech that Ghana's independence would show the world that black people were capable of "'managing'" their affairs. Oman wrote to the Minister of Ministry of Construction and Communications that "Giving these jobs back to expatriates make our independence meaningless, and defeats the purpose of our attempt to project the African personality." Oman noted that the Master Porterage and Stevedoring schemes should be under "Ghanaian control so that the disbursements to be presented to the ship-owners which amounts to about £130,000, may remain in the country instead of the shipowners collecting the amount in the form of freight." He wondered why local Europeans operated master Porterage schemes in Europe, yet, in Ghana, Europeans, who had "already taken a lot from this country," should acquire these contracts?[807] Oman's message struck a delicate chord. The Regional Labor Officer, E. K. Ando-Brew, was "chary about

[806] PRAAD-Cape Coast ADM 23/1/2745, December 19, 1957, Regional Labor Officer to the Commissioner of Labor and Minister of Labor and Co-Operative.

[807] PRAAD-Sekondi WRG24/2/236, June 13, 1962, S. K. Oman to the Minister of Ministry of Construction and Communications.

commenting" on Oman's letters and dismissed them. Ando-Brew concluded, "Surely the Ports Authority is not an expatriate concern and as I gather that some local shipping firms may be tipped as sub-contractors to the Authority I see no reason why the OSCO Shipping Agencies should not approach the General Manager of the Railway and Harbors Authority on the matter."[808]

While many black liberationists looked to and imagined Ghana's independence as a direct assault on racism, the reality was far different. These complaint letters highlight that black African workers continued to face racism, from its violent to its economic forms. Rather than quietly absorbing these moments of prejudice, these archival letters show that workers used their feet, and the bureaucratic and legal channels to disclose and confront prejudice and racism in their workplace, and the new society.

WOMEN

While racial prejudice, physical assaults, and underpayment underlay the workers' existence, these problems, coupled with sexism, were particularly acute for female workers. There is a noticeable absence of letters in the archives from women workers to District Commissioners, Regional Officers, and employers protesting their plight. This situation might highlight both their lack of connectivity and access to or distrust of administrative support channels, but also their employment in other sectors. David Grove argued that only a paltry percentage of women in the Northern Region were employed in non-agricultural work.[809] Public discourses gendered labor. In 1961, Heather Jenner argued in *The Daily Graphic* that men were better laborers when there

[808] Ibid., July 23, 1962, the Regional Labor Officer to the Regional Commissioner's Secretary.

[809] Grove, *Population Patterns,* 29, 37.

was a woman to feed him and do his household chores.[810] Such characterizations aided in making women invisible, anachronistic, and vulnerable in the workforce.

During Nkrumah's regime, illegal employment and underpayment of female labor were widespread. A Regional Labor Advisory Committee meeting on July 21, 1962, in Tamale, raised serious concerns about the numerous reports indicating that contractors knowingly employed girls under the age of 15 and paid women laborers below the minimum wage.[811] The Secretary to the Regional Commissioner in the Northern Region noted that the government's "efforts to get the contractors to pay the approved minimum rates have tended to involve the replacement of the female labor by male labor." Not only did the men replace the women laborers, but the contractors increased the men's wages for the same tasks. Owing to the loss of employment and income, the women "created pathetic scenes much to the embarrassment of the Labor Officers.'" In an increasingly challenging economic climate, a woman's salary either constituted a family's sole income or substantially buttressed it. Due to the precariousness of their situation, some women laborers knowingly accepted sub-par working conditions rather than push against the *status quo* and risk losing their only avenues of sustenance. To "remedy" this widespread problem and prevent contractors from causing "social problems," the Regional Commissioner urged the Minister of Labor to prosecute offending contractors strenuously.[812] The archive remains silent about whether the Minister of Labor accepted or ignored the recommendations.

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[810] "Does Marriage Make the Man a Better Worker?" *Daily Graphic*, September 6, 1961.

[811] PRAAD-Tamale NRG9/4/23, July 23, 1962, the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner in the Northern Region to the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, Accra.

[812] Ibid., July 23, 1962, the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner in the Northern Region to the Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare Accra; While the archive does not reveal whether these women were sexually assaulted or harassed during their jobs, from

However, by 1965, Mrs. Susanna Al-Hassan, the Minister of Social Welfare, had become gravely concerned "with the soaring rate of prostitution and lewdness" amongst young women and about "how best to combat such evils."[813] Eighteen people from organizations ranging from the Reverend Minister of the Anglican Church to the Chairman of the Urban Council were charged with solving this dilemma.[814] The committee was especially worried about "school girls and young working girls" engaged in sex work. They requested that the public provide their "fullest co-operation" to end prostitution. They urged the community to view the young girls as their "own daughters," and not "aliens," who were "fallen victims. . . to social evils."

To address the burning question of sex work, the committee proposed an eleven-point solution. First, persons under seventeen years of age would be prohibited from nightclubs. Second, no alcohol would be permitted to be served to anyone under twenty-one years of age. Third, bar and nightclub owners would be required to hire "strong and vigilant men to" prevent underage persons from entering their premises. Fourth, young women seeking hotel accommodations would be referred to the Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.) for assistance. Fifth, the Ministry of Social Welfare would "embark on a social education programme to wage war against Prostitution." Sixth, the Ministry was urged to prevent "young girls from drifting into" urban areas for "employment" and create employment facilities through "established women's institution[s] for [the] training in crafts and housewifery." Seventh, bar

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evidence elsewhere in the world, it is extremely likely that Ghanaian women succumbed to such horrors.

[813] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/308, J. E. Ashon to the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner, Tamale.

[814] Ibid., 2.

and hotel owners were required to immediately call the police when they suspect "customers" posing as "husbands and wives" with young adults for accommodations. Eighth, bar and nightclub owners were discouraged from employing young girls to do "immoral practices." Ninth, "[t]hat barkeepers and night clubs be empowered to refuse notorious and unscrupulous girls' admission to the premises." Tenth, a training course outlining the rules governing young women's employment be created and taught to young women working at bars and night clubs. Finally, the relevant Minister should sign a list of accepted rules of conduct and circulate it amongst bars and night clubs.[815]

By July 21, 1965, T.M.K.A. Yarney, the Acting Secretary to the Regional Commissioner, sent notices to numerous hotel and bar proprietors in Tamale that if they allowed "notorious and unscrupulous girls admission to [their] premises" or failed to notify the police if they suspected any "suspicious" customers, that their licenses would be revoked.[816] On the same day, Yarney also sent a letter to the Regional Education Officer, instructing the Officer to forbid any children from attending "all films at the cinema house except pictures that [were] educational." In addition, Yarney called on the Regional Education Officer to "arrange for teachers and Education Officers to check on cinema houses to see whether there [were] any defaulters."[817]

While the campaign against sex-work had drawn almost every important government, social, and party official within the Northern Region into its orbit, the committee did not substantially address the socio-economic realities that pushed these young women into

[815] PRAAD-Tamale NRG8/5/308.

[816] Ibid., July 21, 1965, T.M.K.A. Yarney to the Proprietors of Tamale Rest House, Allasan Hotel, Kit Kat Bar, Alhaji Bar, Atomic Paradise, Kings Bar, Legion Club, and Sparrows Inn.

[817] Ibid., July 21, 1965, T.M.K.A. Yarney to the Regional Education Officer at Tamale.

"undesirable" occupations or the reality that women engaged in "less desirable" occupations were being underpaid, and then dismissed when government officials sought to compel their employers to increase their wages.[818] However, the anti-sex work movement, the push to prevent female child labor, and to pay women the national minimum wages underscored the precariousness of uneducated women in Northern Ghana during Nkrumah's administration. Whether the Minister of Labor heeded these recommendations is unclear. The push to prevent female child labor, and to pay women the national minimum wage underscored the precariousness of uneducated women in Northern Ghana. Women were not the only vulnerable subclass of workers in the new state.

ABLEISM

In a society increasingly constructed around the rhetoric of national development and production, differently abled Ghanaians became both increasingly antithetical to the national economic agenda and the site of government efforts to make them economically productive. Kofi Baako, a prominent governmental and CPP official, suggested that those who "accumulated wealth through hard and honest labor, would have their property protected from 'lazy, unscrupulous undisciplined but able-bodied citizens.'" According to Jeff D. Grischow, "By implication, those who did not comply would not be allowed to share in the fruits of economic development."[819] Towards the twilight months of 1960, at least 100,000 Ghanaians were considered disabled.[820]

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[818] For a thorough discussion of this topic see Jessica Cammaert's *Undesirable Practices: Women, Children, and the Politics of the Body in Northern Ghana, 1930-1972* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), particularly Chapter 5.

[819] Jeff Grischow, "Kwame Nkrumah, Disability, and Rehabilitation in Ghana, 1957-66," *The Journal of African History*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (2011), 187.

[820] Ibid., 188.

As part of the national development agenda, Grischow argued that Nkrumah "sought to integrate disabled Ghanaians into the workforce as productive wage laborers."[821] But, as Grischow revealed, this policy was a continuation of the British colonial policy to "retrain" disabled ex-colonial Ghanaian soldiers into "productive workers" in the 1940s. For Nkrumah, Rehabilitation Centers were central to incorporating and converting disabled Ghanaians into productive labor. For Grischow, "Nkrumah's rehabilitation project therefore was more about economic growth than welfare."[822] While Grischow's work offers a thorough account of the government's disability policies and its attempts to incorporate differently abled-bodied workers into its economic machinery, the voices of those individuals are absent. Thus, what happened to people disabled through work or without access to these centers? Here, I turn to the case of Abolga Frafra, a laborer at Messrs. P. & W. Ghanem Traders and Contractors in Tamale. His letter, hidden in archives, allows us to peek into the lives of such individuals and their relationship to the state and society.

Frafra was maneuvering a "tripper truck" at work on September 15, 1961, when he was involved in an accident. "I am now completely paralyzed," Frafra wrote, "and cannot do anything other than sitting on the wheelchair presented to me when I left hospital [sic]." Through the Ministry of Labor's intervention, P. & W. Ghanem awarded Frafra a single, lump-sum payment of £490.5. By October 30, 1965, however, Frafra's finances had withered. "All that amount has been spent by me on my livelihood and continued treatment," Frafra wrote to the Upper Region Regional Commissioner. Frafra was "now completely destitute." Due to his

[821] Ibid., 180.

[822] Jeff Grischow, "Disability and Rehabilitation in Late Colonial Ghana," *Review of Disability Studies,* Vol. 7, No. 3 & 4 (2014).

"invalidity," most of his family members had "abandoned" him. Frafra begged for pity and an extra "some small ex-gratia award to enable" him "to live."[823] While rehabilitation centers, designed to educate, re-train, and strengthen disabled workers and make them productive economic parts had been opened in Accra, Ho, Bolgatanga, and Tamale by 1963,[824] it is unclear whether Frafra had joined any. However, in September 1961, Frafra had no centers to join.

Ando-Brew took "pity" on Frafra's "pathetic" plight and urged the Regional Commissioner to assist Frafra. Ando-Brew noted that Frafra could not be "offered any gainful employment however light it may be" because he was "totally paralyzed in both legs and can only move about in a wheelchair with the constant help of others."[825] Ando-Brew acknowledged that P. & W. Ghanem had done their legal duty to Frafra by both compensating him with the lump sum of £490.5 and providing him with "a wheel-chair costing £30."[826]Ando-Brew, nonetheless, beseeched the Regional Commissioner to help Frafra acquire some extra funds. However, I. B. Ashun, the Secretary to the Regional Commissioner, curtly dismissed Ando-Brew's request.[827]

Frafra's situation underscored both the economic, political, and social contradictions of the revolutionary agenda and ableism as the new state's economic foundation. While the

[823] PRAAD-Tamale NRG9/4/23, June 12, 1965, and October 30, 1965, Abolga Frafra to the Regional Commissioner of the Upper Region.

[824] Grischow, "Kwame Nkrumah," 180, 194.

[825] PRAAD-Tamale NRG9/4/23, November 3, 1965, E. K. Ando-Brew to the Regional Commissioner.

[826] Ibid.

[827] Ibid., November 10, 1965, I.B. Ashun to E. K. Ando-Brew.

government and industry expected workers to be devoutly loyal to the course of national development, those succumbing to its debilitating effects, besides minimal financial compensation, were largely relegated to invisibility. Frafra's relationship both to the archive and the revolutionary, socialist project was one of squalor, discomfort, and hardship. His tastes, interests, dreams, and hopes outside of his 'disability' are unrecorded, unknown, and forgotten; they reveal the limits of an archive and post-colonial project centered on ableism and economic production. Yet, it is through his pleading letter that we can peer into his life, and perhaps into the lives of other people in similar circumstances.

CONCLUSION

The shifting political and economic landscape from British to Ghanaian rule did not cower the workers into a false sense of security. From the very first months of Nkrumah's government, strikes and complaints against capital and working conditions were widespread. While Ghanaian workers garnered concessions, such as higher salaries, better working hours, and better bureaucratic channels to voice their displeasure against their employers, the Ghanaian government simultaneously engaged in a process of trying to subvert their rights, push them to work harder for the state, and curtail their freedom to demonstrate against the state both in the name of national development and for greater access to foreign and domestic capital. As Catherine Boone argued, "one of the chief hazards of postcolonial rule: regimes depended upon the political support of those they exploited the most."[828] The Ghanaian workers, unfortunately, fell into this category.

[828] Catherine Boone, "Rural Interests and the Making of Modern African States," *African Economic History*, Vol. 23 (1995), 1.

The Ghanaian government was caught between two opposed interests: revolutionize the workers' working conditions or push for national development at the workers' expense. It was a dichotomy of interests they could never truly reconcile. In their effort to (re-)gain control of Ghana's economy, the government sought to control labor unions, the workers' movements, salaries, and who had the right to work and under what conditions. Despite this, the Ghanaian government also recognized that the easiest way to delegitimize itself both in its subjects' and the world's eyes was to ignore the workers or fail to improve their plight.

In that sense, the government was bound to competing interests—workers' rights, foreign and domestic capital, and its national development goals. It could not possibly accommodate all without ensuring friction. While the archive has been rightly criticized and scrutinized for omitting the subaltern, this paper has also shown, as Jean Allman, Bianca Murillo, and Ahlman have argued, that a broader and deeper engagement into the regional and international archives can pry open the voices of workers and the forgotten into academic discourses and historical memory.[829] These archives reveal how African workers, individually and collectively, in the postcolonial state, articulated and fought for visibility, better working conditions, and rights.

[829] Allman, "Phantoms of the Archive," 104-129; Murillo, *Market Encounters*; Ahlman, *Living with Nkrumahism.*

EPILOGUE:
THE LEGACY OF THE BLACK STAR

"Today, there is no African who does not know about Kwame Nkrumah, the great African who has singed the beards of Imperialists and Colonialists, and undermine their strongholds and bastions in Africa. Today, there is no student of International Affairs who can seriously study African without Nkrumah, or write on positive neutralism and non alignment without studying the policies of Nkrumah. Politicians in all lands and nationalities everywhere have read at one time or the other about Kwame Nkrumah."[830]
Alex Quaison-Sackey

"….beginning in '57, with surprising regularity the names Ghana and Kwame Nkrumah appeared in the press and were heard around conference tables. Things began to happen in that small, new country. And they were happenings which threatened the White World's ownership and exploitation of that 'dark continent.'"[831]
Shirley Graham Du Bois

Facing an expectant and jubilant sea of soon to be formerly colonized subjects on March 6, 1957, Ghana's first prime minister enthusiastically uttered: "Today . . . there is a new African in the world [who will] show that after all the black man is capable of managing his own affairs!" These words simultaneously instantiated Africa's first socialist revolution and independent sub-Saharan African country. Less than nine years later, however, the Ghanaian revolution had collapsed. Nkrumah—the unflinching Pan-Africanist and the Black world's 'Messiah'—was overthrown, denounced, and exiled. The dream had turned into a nightmare. Those associated with Nkrumah or his regime became targets. Shirley Graham Du Bois recalled despondently and angrily that the new military government raided "bookshops, libraries, newsstands and . . . private homes." They removed and destroyed anything Nkrumah wrote, all CPP literature, and

[830] PRAAD-Accra SC21/4/25, Alex Quaison-Sackey, *Kwame Nkrumah—The Man,* 1.

[831] Shirley Graham Du Bois, "A Careful Look at Ghana," 1-2.

"everything" deemed "socialist," "communist," or from the Eastern Bloc.[832] The NLC tried to erase and undermine Nkrumah's socialist-state capitalist project and reputation. They also sought to sever ties with the socialist world and eastern bloc.

Alongside destroying the texts from Nkrumah and his 'supporters,' the new regime held numerous public inquiries to demonstrate to the nation and the world how corrupt and self-serving the former president and his regime had been and become.[833] They became perhaps what Soviet historians might refer to as 'show trials.' During this period, Nkrumah's former allies, officials, and friends turned on him and the state capitalist project. Some did so because they genuinely believed that Nkrumah's political-economic agenda was destroying Ghana while others sought to protect themselves and their families from persecution and prosecution. For instance, on September 2, 1967, Kwesi Armah wrote to Nkrumah lamenting that the NLC would kill his wife and children if he tried to start a political campaign to restore Nkrumah or to join him in Guinea-Conakry.[834] Formerly leading socialist and government figures like Kofi Baako denounced Nkrumah and the socialist project. Akin to the Ghanaian students in America who had asserted a few years prior that George Padmore and W.E.B. Du Bois had pioneered and dictated Ghana's socialist policies, the regime tried to paint a picture of a white Eastern socialist

[832] Ibid., 8; Kwame Nkrumah was angered that the NLC ransacked his office at the Flagstaff house. See Kwame Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1968), 25.

[833] These reports touched upon the inefficiency of the Ghana's state corporations, how CPP members misused and stole state-funds, and how Nkrumah was privately amassing a fortune at Ghanaians' expense. The reports also argued that Nkrumah's regime was engaged in subversive actions against other African regimes. It was also reported that Nkrumah played a role in the assassination of Togo's first president Sylvanus Olympio on January 13, 1963.

[834] MSRC, September 2, 1967, Kwesi Armah wrote to Nkrumah.

bloc masterminding Ghana's socialist state-capitalist project. The military regime even tried to force Nkrumah's mother to denounce him publicly and 'admit' that he was not a Ghanaian.[835] By trying to push Nkrumah's mother to proclaim that her son a foreigner, the new regime made implicit allegations that 'an alien' had usurped the throne.

The military regime tried to boost its own domestic credibility by seeking to tap into the growing dissatisfaction amongst Ghanaians during the Nkrumah era that their head of state was overly concerned with Africa and the world at their expense. As the Nkrumah government pursued an active liberationist Africa and global foreign policy, some Ghanaians fumed that Nkrumah's government dispensed with large amounts of resources to create secret military camps in Ghana for African liberationist fighters, to provide educational scholarships for other Africans, to allegedly destabilize other African regimes, and to send financial and material aid to African decolonization political groups. Moreover, some wondered why Nkrumah loaned £10 million to Guinea-Conakry and sent troops to the Democratic Republic of Congo to support Patrice Lumumba. Some Ghanaians were left flummoxed that Nkrumah thought that a small nation like Ghana could secure a nuclear-free world[836] and end America's brutal war in Vietnam.[837] The NLC regime tried to make the inference to its new subjects that only a foreigner would be interested in foreign affairs and neglect Ghana's domestic problems. Simultaneously, the new regime tried to de-link Ghana from the broader Pan-African, black liberation, and global socialist project. In this reformulation, global black liberation, socialism, and Pan-Africanism

[835] She refused to do this. See Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 25.

[836] Homer A. Jack, "Accra Bans the Bomb," *Africa Today*, Vol. 9, No. 7 (September 1962), 10-16.

[837] Ali A. Mazrui, "Nkrumah, Obote and Vietnam," *Transition*, No. 43 (1973), 36-39.

were not Ghanaian ideas, they were alien ones. It was a clear repudiation of Nkrumahism. According to this worldview, only non-Ghanaians would be so concerned with non-Ghanaian problems. The totality of these incidents, and others not listed, came under heightened scrutiny in the years immediately after the coup. Once a generally supportive and loyal faction of Nkrumah and his policies, the press also turned on Nkrumah and the old regime.

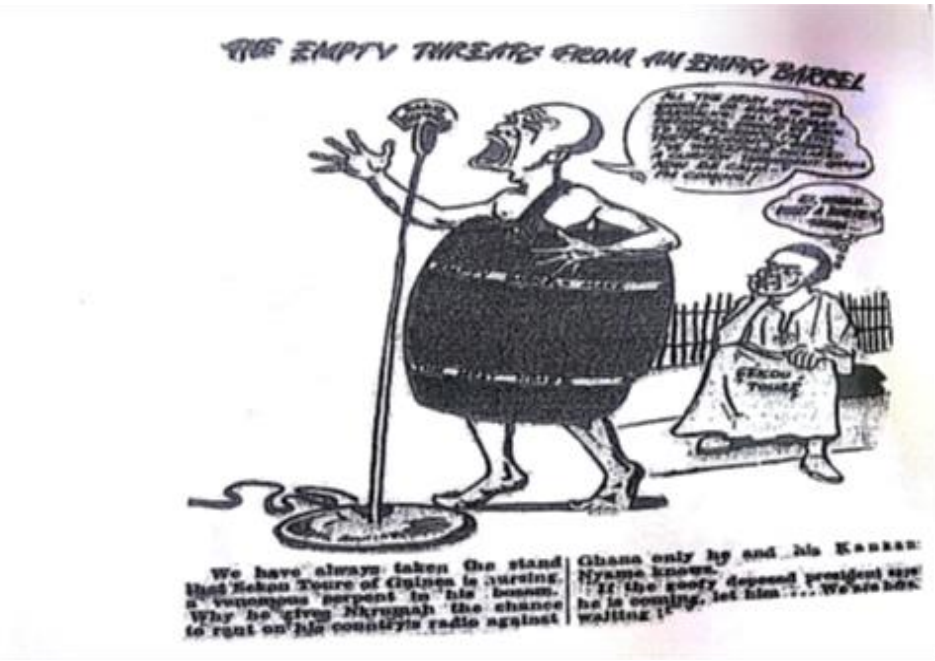

Figure 9: "The Empty Threatre From An Empty Barrel."[838]

[838] *Accra Evening News*, located in Baba G. Jallow, *Kwame Nkrumah Cartoons: A Visual History of the Times* (Accra, Ghana: Woeli Publishing Services, 2014), 116.

Figure 10: "The Storm of Economic Crisis."[839]

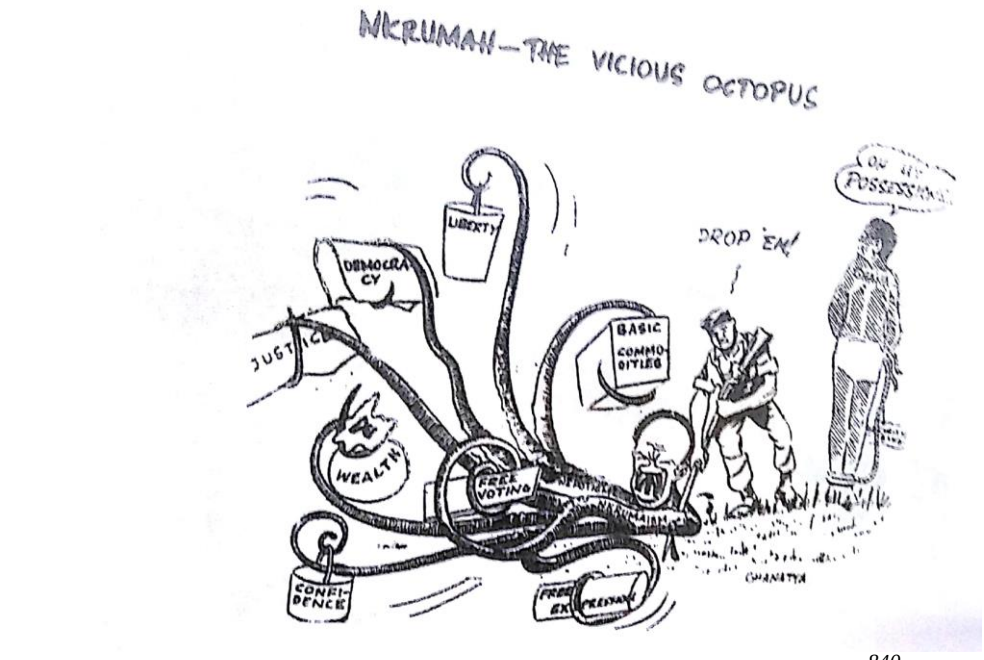

Figure 11: "Nkrumah: The Vicious Octopus."[840]

[839] *Accra Evening News*, located in Jallow, *Kwame Nkrumah* Cartoons, 120.

[840] Ibid., 66.

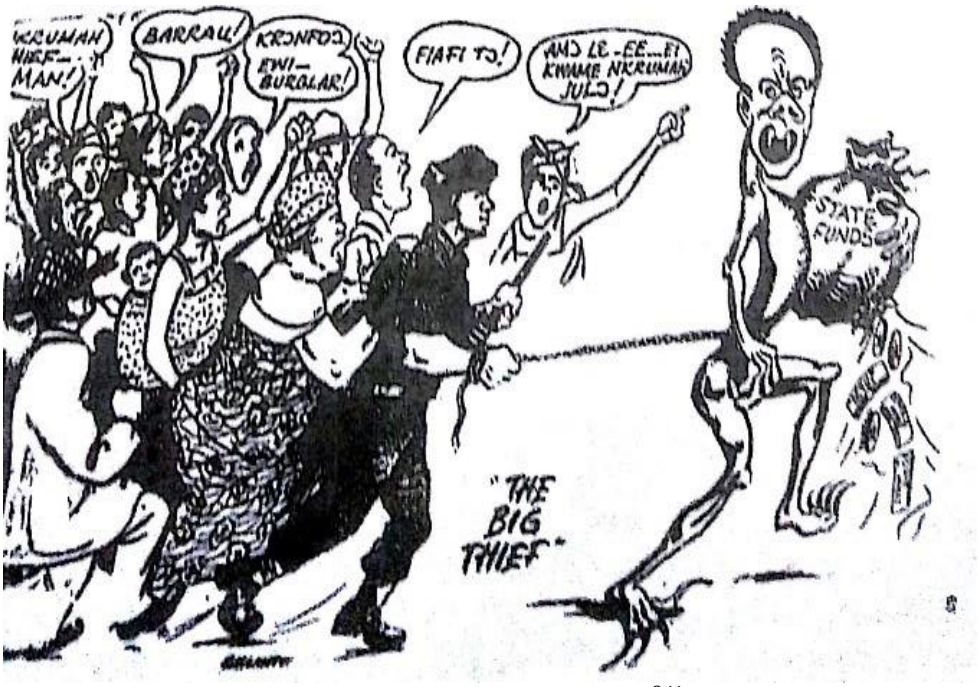

Figure 12: "The Big Thief."[841]

Ghanaian newspapers and magazines drew scathing caricatures of Nkrumah and his political-economic project. Cartoons such as "The Empty Threatre From an Empty Barrel," "The Storm of Economic Crisis," "Nkrumah: The Vicious Octopus," and "The Big Thief," pervaded the national body politic. "The Empty Threatre From an Empty Barrel" showed a desperate, barefooted Nkrumah yelling into a microphone in Guinea-Conakry.[842] Ghanatta, the editorial cartoonist, portrayed Nkrumah draped in a barrel with the words— "Empty Barrels Make the Most Noise."[843] Ghanatta ridiculed Nkrumah's continued calls for his followers to reinstate him as Ghana's leader and his continued warnings and attacks against neo-colonialism and imperialism. Yet, only a few years prior, Nkrumah's warnings and attacks against imperialism

[841] *Accra Evening News,* located in Jallow, *Kwame Nkrumah Cartoons*, 67.

[842] Guinea's head of state, Sekou Touré, permitted Nkrumah to stay in Guinea after the coup.

[843] Jallow, *Kwame Nkrumah Cartoons*, xiv.

and neocolonialism drew wide-spread praise amongst the press. Sitting behind Nkrumah in "The Empty Threatre From an Empty Barrel" is a visibly annoyed Sekou Touré, Guinea's head of state, pondering how to dispose of Nkrumah, the "venous serpent in his bosom," according to the cartoonist. Ghanatta sought to show that even those who had publicly backed Nkrumah and his calls for African unity were tired of his antics, his showmanship. Nkrumah's rhetoric was empty. He was only a showman, an actor, and not a statesman.

"The Storm of Economic Crisis" depicted Ghana's economy as an individual pleading for help while drowning in the ocean. In the background and above the individual is an ominously impending storm called, "economic crisis." In the cartoon, Ghana's economy had crashed into the currents of realism and practicality while sailing on a ship termed "ideological nonsense." As the ship floats away into oblivion, a figure appearing to be Nkrumah—its former captain, Nkrumah—attempts to save himself by pedaling away on a plank, leaving Ghana wailing for assistance. Fortunately for Ghana, however, help is nearby. The NLC leaders are coming to its rescue. They are dressed smartly in military attire and aboard a sturdy, steady, western, and capitalist facing boat. Under the auspices and prodding of the new regime, the media rejected both Nkrumah's socialist state-capitalist agenda and the Eastern Bloc. The media no longer characterized the west and the former colonial powers as the vessels and embodiments of neo-colonialism, moral decay, and imperialism but as the harbingers of political-economic stability and success.

Published in the *Accra Evening News* on March 1, 1966, "Nkrumah: The Vicious Octopus" portrayed Nkrumah as a wicked octopus holding the eight virtues of a thriving western-democratic society tightly. These virtues are health, confidence, free voting, free expression, democracy, justice, basic commodities, and liberty. The image shows a soldier

striking Nkrumah with a barrel of a gun and ordering him to "drop" the virtues from his clutches. Despite being assaulted with a weapon, the cartoonist portrays Nkrumah as unwilling to release the virtues from his grip. As the soldier wallops Nkrumah, Nkrumah's mouth opens to display his fiendish fangs. Hidden in the corner and harkening to the days of the trans-Atlantic and trans-Saharan slave trades is the image of a near-naked, chained, and enslaved person (who is Ghana) on a slave auction block. The enslaved nation pleads for its freedom; its real liberation. Here, the cartoonist draws out a certain irony that while Nkrumah sought to destroy the (neo)colonial bondage-system between Africans and Europeans that he had placed his subjects in a tyrannical hostage situation.

Satirically drawn in a similar vein and form to communist art, "The Big Thief," shows the bedrock of Nkrumah's support—the market women—chasing him. The cartoonist portrays Nkrumah as a naked devil attempting to escape with state funds but prevented from doing so by an officer's chain.[844] For the illiterate or those unable to read English, these images—and their captions in local Ghanaian languages (and English), sought to unmask both Nkrumah and the damage his policies did to Ghana. Rather than a savior, these cartoonists left none of its followers in any doubt that Nkrumah left the country reeling economically, was a devil, and a robber baron. In drawing the market-women in particular, the cartoonist wanted to demonstrate to the NLC's skeptics, the undecided, or those still holding favorable views towards Nkrumah that even those who had once wholeheartedly praised him were now cognizant of his cunningness and deceit.

[844] Ibid.

The NLC had to literally and metaphorically shed Nkrumah's blood to cleanse the country of the evil Nkrumah's regime had ushered. Consequently, the NLC put a bounty on Nkrumah's head and repeatedly made calls for Nkrumah's to return to Ghana—dead or alive. In exchange for Nkrumah's blood, other people's blood was spilled on the streets as Nkrumah remained out of the NLC's grasp.[845] The shedding of blood on Ghana's streets prompted Nkrumah to severely criticize America's African American Ambassador to Ghana William P. Mahoney Jr.'s characterization of the coup as bloodless. Nkrumah went on to describe Mahoney Jr. as an "'Uncle Tom.'"[846] While the assassins could not spill Nkrumah's physical blood, another kind of assault was awaiting the former head of state.

Nkrumah's critics assailed his lucidity, personality, and ambitions. The onslaught had started in the colonial era while Nkrumah and his associates traversed colonial Ghana pushing for independence in the late 1940s and 1950s. British colonial officials who had been closely monitoring these figures wrote that Nkrumah's mental "stability" was "open to question."[847] A decade or so later, in the aftermath of the February 24, 1966, coup, a white *Daily Telegraph* British journalist, Russell Warren Howe, wrote that Nkrumah developed "Hitlerlike fits of fisticuffs" and had "psychotic periods." As further evidence of Nkrumah's mental fragility, Howe offered the bizarre story that Nkrumah's cabinet had sought to get a Canadian psychiatrist to examine Nkrumah's mental health in 1958.[848] The report into Nkrumah's properties headed by

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[845] Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 20, 22-23, 27.

[846] Ibid., 49.

[847] KV2/1915, "Francis Nwia Kwame Nkrumah."

[848] Russell Warren Howe, "Did Nkrumah Favour Pan-Africanism?" *Transition*, No. 27 (1966), 15.

the NLC's Commission included an attack on Nkrumah's mental stability. The Commission, consisting of a supreme court judge—Justice F.K. Apaloo; the Bank of Ghana's chief accountant—Roger Ocansey; and a legal practitioner—Abayifa Karbo, concluded that the deposed president had a "split personality," was a hypocrite, and was "schizophrenic."[849] Mahoney Jr., a key conspirator in the coup against Nkrumah, provided a similar assessment. Mahoney Jr. argued that Nkrumah increasingly became "more extreme" as "domestic and foreign difficulties grew." Mahoney Jr. charged Nkrumah with destroying "Black Africa's finest judiciary" and turning almost every sphere of Ghana—the government, the press, and Ghanaian society—into "tools of his whims and fantasies."[850] According to Mahoney Jr., one of Nkrumah's greatest sins was his detachment from reality. While the American Ambassador praised Nkrumah's "brilliant, intuitive mind," he concluded that Nkrumah was "intellectually . . . muddle[d] of undigested traditions and[851] was overly "emotional." For the Ambassador, these faults left Ghana "frequently [with] sad results."[852] Ultimately, for Mahoney Jr., nothing could have been more tragic than "Nkrumah's career" because he "lacked the fundamental strength necessary to survive the wiles of fame and power."[853] Not only did Mahoney Jr.'s essay

[849] PRAAD-Accra, ADM5/3/115, January 19, 1967, "White Paper on the Report of the Commission of Enquiry into Kwame Nkrumah Properties," 1.

[850] William P. Mahoney, Jr., "Nkrumah in Retrospect," *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (April 1968), 247.

[851] Ibid.

[852] Ibid., 248.

[853] Ibid., 250.

infantilize Nkrumah, but it contained strong gendered undertones, particularly with latent references to hysteria discourses.[854]

Moreover, the concerted attacks on Nkrumah's mental state have deeper roots in racist colonial discourses about nonwhite peoples.[855] As Sally Swartz has shown, Europeans often treated and thought of Africans as "childish, impulsive . . . and incapable of suffering more 'refined' forms of mental illness, such as melancholia."[856] Some colonial operators in the late 19th and early 20th centuries "used their experience of the black insane in their asylums as the basis for a description of 'normal' African mentality."[857] The 'savage'—neatly depicted in the post-coup cartoon drawings of Nkrumah—was fundamentally incapable of 'reason.' According to colonial and neocolonial irrationality discourses, figures like Nkrumah demonstrated and could only display an "underdeveloped personality."[858] In essence, a rehashing of colonial discourses on African insanity and psychosis were masquerading as sufficient analytical descriptors of Nkrumah. Howe and Mahoney Jr. easily and readily employed them to attack Nkrumah's credibility and political-economic ideologies.

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[854] For texts on the relationship between hysteria and gender see Cristina Mazzoni, *Saint Hysteria: Neurosis, Mysticism, and Gender in European Culture* (New York, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996) and Cecily Devereaux, "Hysteria, Feminism, and Gender Revisited: The Case of the Second Wave," *ESC* Vol. 40, Issue 1 (March 2014), 19–45.

[855] Megan Vaughan, "Idioms of Madness: Zomba Lunatic Asylum, Nyasaland, in the Colonial Period," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (April 1983), 218-238.

[856] Sally Swartz, "Colonial Lunatic Asylum Archives: Challenges to Historiography," *Kronos*, No. 34, Making Histories (November 2008), 287.

[857] Sally Swartz, "The Black Insane in the Cape, 1891-1920," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1995), 399-415.

[858] Vaughan, "Idioms of Madness," 218.

Nkrumah was not the only beneficiary of this sort of vilification. From the onset of African independence, critics of postcolonial African leaders often labeled them as psychotic and unfit to lead. When we strip away the meanings of "psychosis" and "unfit," we can see them for what they were—colonial linguistical codes and markers for African leaders who failed to follow the former colonial powers' dictates in both domestic and foreign policy. Despite the concentrated attempts by the media, the judiciary, academia, and the political landscape to discredit Nkrumah and his regime's policies, both Nkrumah and his political-economic philosophies continued to attract support from a wide range of people.

Africans in Ghana and abroad wrote to Nkrumah expressing their support for his return to Ghana as its leader. On December 14, 1967, from Kent, England, Kofi Adjei wrote to Nkrumah lamenting the fact that the media refused to highlight the many Ghanaians aggrieved over the coup instigated by the "two-timing neo-colonist lackey Ankara." Adjei called for the "glorious redeemer-the son of God" to return to "his rightful position at the helm of the Pan-African revolution." Adjei concluded: "Oh how tragic it is to see leaderless Africa fumbling around aimlessly."[859] Adjei despaired over how African leaders—and Africa as a result—appeared confused because they sought to follow the policies of their former colonizers to the detriment of their peoples. On July 10, 1966, a 42-year old Joe William Afful Jr., who was both an officer at the Ghanaian legion and a certified carpenter from Tema, begged Nkrumah to return to and to save Ghana from the neo-colonialists and global white supremacy. For Afful Jr., the neo-colonialists were not simply white; they were white and black. "Dear Kwame honestly speaking we (98% Ghanaians) are suffering." Afful Jr. continued: "We are crying for [you to]

[859] MSRC Box 154-1, December 14, 1967, Kofi Adjei to Nkrumah.

come-back. We wish you could return even this month to redeem us from the hands of black and dis-satisfied imperialism."[860] Jaramogi Ajuma Oginga Odinga, a leading Kenyan politician, wrote to Nkrumah that he believed that the members of the NLC were "bloodthirsty military puppets."[861] Like Kofi Adjei and Afful Jr. before him, Odinga characterized the new Ghanaian leaders as western puppets determined to sacrifice Ghanaian and African sovereignty for personal gain and the imperialists' interests. Others like Benjamin A.K. Ahadzie, a Ghanaian living in Italy, wrote to Nkrumah on February 26, 1966, that the Ghanaian military's actions were "shameful and unpatriotic."[862] Unlike the colonial days were the 'enemy' was broadly characterized as 'white Europeans,' African citizens failed to distinguish between black and white neo-colonialists in the postcolonial era. Neo-colonialism did not have a racial color.[863]

Some of Nkrumah's supporters believed that Nkrumah was entitled, perhaps had a divine right, to lead Ghana until he died. They did not criticize the policies Nkrumah and his associates implemented or sought to put into effect. On October 23, 1970, a woman named Efuiva Atta from the Volta Region informed Nkrumah that "mammoth" meetings were being held all over Ghana to bring him back to Ghana. Like Jesus Christ and a king, Efuiva Atta wrote that people from different "tribe(s) and religion(s)" wanted Nkrumah to rule over them "forever." She was adamant that Ghana needed its "Messiah" to return.[864] Nkrumah's supporters had transformed

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[860] Ibid., July 10, 1966, Joe William Afful Jr. to Nkrumah.

[861] Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 156.

[862] Ibid., February 26, 1966, Benjamin A.K. Ahadzie to Nkrumah.

[863] Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1963), 148-205.

[864] MSRC Box 154-2, October 23, 1970, Efuiva Atta to Nkrumah.

Nkrumah into a god. According to them, Ghana's redemption could only arrive with his return. For these authors, Nkrumah was not the harrowing beast portrayed in the popular press, nor was he intellectually and economically bankrupt. Instead, Nkrumah's Pan-African, black liberationist, and socialist dreams were essential to Ghanaian and black salvation. Thus, Nkrumah was represented in dualistic divination forms—as the devil or the Messiah. A *New York Times* article noted that "No other country in Black Africa has become so synonymous with one man, and no man in Black Mrica [sic] has stirred more controversy than Kwame Nkrumah. Inside Ghana there are those whose reverence for him borders on religious passion. There are others whose revulsion runs so deep that twice in the last two years Nkrumah has barely escaped assassination."[865] The human that was Nkrumah had lost all mortal character, purpose, and intent.

The media attacks on Nkrumah were so concerted and seemingly coordinated that some of Nkrumah's supporters believed that the CIA inspired them. Moreover, some of Nkrumah's supporters confessed that they had both supported the coup and believed that Nkrumah's policies were destroying Ghana. Cherno Bandeh, an African student in Belgium, apologized to Nkrumah in a May 17, 1971, letter for believing the multitude of anti-Nkrumah statements emanating from the media and NLC government. [866] On April 23, 1966, Arthur Abraham, a student leader of the Pan-Africanist youth movement at Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone, wrote to Nkrumah expressing outrage about how publications such as *West Africa* and *Africa Today* were "becoming mouthpieces of anti-Nkrumah crowds."[867] They insisted that the United States was

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[865] "*Portrait of Nkrumah as Dictator*," *The New York Times*, May 3, 1964.

[866] MSRC Box 154-2, May 17, 1971, Cherno Bandeh to Nkrumah.

[867] Ibid., Box 154-1, April 23, 1966, Arthur Abraham to Nkrumah.

spearheading these attacks covertly. Bandeh and Shirley Graham Du Bois believed that the stinging assaults on Nkrumah were part of the CIA's larger plan "from California to Conakry" to destabilize African independence.[868] Bandeh, however, noted that those who read Nkrumah's works could liberate themselves from the CIA's propaganda. Bandeh informed Nkrumah that he and other students in Belgium had become "impassioned" by reading Nkrumah's writings. Consequently, these Belgium based students urged Nkrumah to return to Ghana quickly in order to unify the African continent and to stop the imperialists. In his concluding words, Bandeh wrote: "Long live Nkrumah and (Sekou) Touré! Long Live the African Revolution! Down with neo-colonialism!"[869] Nkrumah's books and constant radio addresses on neo-colonialism, revolution, and Pan-Africanism—which cartoonists had frequently ridiculed—continued to make an impact abroad and domestically. While Nkrumah was no longer able to use his position as Ghana's head of state as a 'bully pulpit' to denounce imperialism and support black liberational movements, he continued to play a quiet, but influential role in black radicalism.

As Nkrumah did during his school days in America in the 1930s and 1940s, he continued to play a vital role—symbolically and ideologically—in black liberation movements in the Americas. Black radicals in the Americas and Nkrumah exchanged letters and ideas. Nkrumah sent the Black Panther Party a copy of his book, *The Spectre of Black Power* (1968).[870] Furthermore, Nkrumah and the Black Power Movement leader Stokely Carmichael—the originator of the famous slogan "Black Power"—were in constant communication about black

[868] Ibid., Box 154-3, September 19, 1966, Shirley Du Bois to Mr. Dutt.

[869] Ibid., Box 154-2, May 17, 1971, Cherno Bandeh to Nkrumah.

[870] Ibid., "The Black Panther – Conakry Correspondence."

liberation and power in the Americas and globally. On December 11, 1967, Carmichael wrote to the former Ghanaian head of state about his importance to uniting the black revolutionary forces, especially the "black revolutionary youth in the Americas" under "strong ideological leadership." Seeking Nkrumah's material backing and ideological orientation, Carmichael informed Nkrumah that "there is no other black man alive today, outside yourself, who can provide our struggle all over the world with the correct ideological orientation and vigorous support."[871] For Carmichael, Nkrumah was the "foremost promoter of the World Black Revolution." Carmichael was not the only black figure in the Americas seeking Nkrumah's support and presence. In 1967, Stanford University students and the Stanford African and Afro-American Studies personnel wanted Nkrumah, whom they referred to as their "great undefeated Pan-African leader," to travel to Palo Alto, California, to offer his thoughts on African liberation, Pan-Africanism, and black power.[872] While Nkrumah never went to California, even in exile, he continued to stir the imagination of black radicals. His writings, increasingly militant, were being disseminated widely.[873] Despite Nkrumah's increased militancy and ever-growing focus on racism, Pan-Africanism, and black liberation, he was adamant that the pursuit "of all-out socialism" was more essential to African survival than continental unity.[874] Thus, even towards the end, the socialist dream never wavered.

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[871] Ibid., December 11, 1967, Stokely Carmichael to Nkrumah.

[872] Ibid., October 10, 1967, St. Clair Drake to Nkrumah.

[873] See for instance, Nkrumah's *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution* (New York, NY: International Publishers, 1968).

[874] Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 157.

Those who dreamed of witnessing Nkrumah return to Ghana as its head of state would be sorely disappointed. After quietly battling cancer for a few years, Nkrumah succumbed to it in Romania on April 27, 1972. The child from a small fishing village in colonial Ghana who had inspired a generation of people was no more. Nkrumah perished in exile, far from the continent and people he had once led into independence and who once sung his name in adulation. While Nkrumah's mortal eyes never saw Ghana again after the February 24, 1966, coup, the new military regime led by Colonel Acheampong, after some diplomatic wriggling, returned Nkrumah's lifeless body to Ghana.

After Nkrumah's death, his contemporaries eulogized his significance to African and global black liberation. C.L.R. James declared Nkrumah as "one of the greatest political leaders of our century."[875] In the *Black World* in 1972, James argued that for blacks globally, Nkrumah's name was "a symbol of release from the subordination to which they had been subjected for so many centuries. After Marcus Garvey, there is no other name that is symbolic of African freedom as the name of Nkrumah."[876] By describing Nkrumah as the heir to Garvey's liberationist ideals, James had linked Nkrumah not simply to African emancipation but black liberation. Such a comparison to Garvey would have deeply touched Nkrumah who was very much inspired by Garvey.[877] In a frantic letter to Nkrumah about his deteriorating health a month before Nkrumah died, African-American Marxist James Boggs referred to Nkrumah as "the

[875] CLR James Papers Box 9, Folder 9, Series II. 2. Nkrumah, Kwame – Various 1966-1967, 1072. Annotated, page 1, draft, "Kwame Nkrumah: Founder of African Emancipation."

[876] Ibid.

[877] Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York, NY: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957), 45.

father of the African movement for liberation and development."[878] The Pan-Africanist scholar Ali A. Mazrui noted that Nkrumah "was the beast of burden on whom Africa piled her weighty hopes."[879] The poet Enoch Ato Eshun wrote a poem in Nkrumah's honor, calling him "A visionary" and "A foundation builder." Eshun heralded Nkrumah as someone who sought to cut the neo-colonial "umbilical curse of a cord . . . To prove to the African" that "yes [,] we can."[880] The Nigerian Samuel Ikoku maintained that "Nkrumah stands proudly as the watershed of many potent ideas and powerful movements in African politics. Black irredentism (which superficially looks like the projection of the Black Power movement of America on to the African scene) draws its inspiration from Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism."[881]

All of these figures—from the African continent to its diaspora—situated Nkrumah within multiple intellectual, geopolitical, and geographical nexuses. They venerated Nkrumah's life as crucial to African and black freedom. If not for Nkrumah, these figures argued, African liberation would not have developed the way it had done. In multiple ways, they had clothed Nkrumah in prophetic, revolutionary, and messianic terms. Nkrumah's push for the political and economic independence of colonial Ghana, Ghana, and Africa did not arise and end within European constructed borders. Instead, it transcended spatial and ideological barriers. As the leader of one of the first explicitly independent black states in human history, Nkrumah was under no illusions of the task in front of his comrades and country. If they succeeded, they would

[878] MSRC Box 154-2, January 31, 1972, James Boggs to Nkrumah.

[879] Mazrui, "A Reply to Critics," 52.

[880] Enoch Ato Eshun, "Kwame Nkrumah," date unknown.

[881] Samuel G. Ikoku, "A Tribute to Kwame Nkrumah, "Présence Africaine," Nouvelle série, No. 85, Hommage à Kwame Nkrumah / Homage to Kwame Nkrumah (1er TRIMESTRE 1973), 38.

offer a hammer blow to centuries of racist claims that blacks could not self-govern. All the while knowing that if they failed that it would offer fresh impetus and support to the racist, colonial logic that blacks needed more tutelage and could not govern themselves.

Consequently, an ironic, but raging criticism of Nkrumah and his comrades was their refusal not to pursue a policy of poverty and subservience to the global order created by white racial superiority and its control and dominance of capital and its modes of production. What do I mean by this? Scholars and individuals have castigated Nkrumah for his fervent attempts to industrialize Ghana without delay and his efforts to de-link Ghana from its colonial economy. Quintessentially, such arguments criticize the Ghanaian leadership for failing to maintain a national economy that would perpetually be dependent upon western, global dictates on raw materials and their pricing. It is here that we reach an impasse or perhaps an intellectual and historical cul-de-sac. In studying such a towering figure as Nkrumah, someone whose shadow and spirit seeps deep into almost every corner of African decolonial and postcolonial studies, how do we avoid hagiographic or demonizing, ad hominem accounts? It is a question that this study perhaps fails to answer. But it is to suggest that we dig into the far reaches of the archive to locate the voices of those who gave song to the Ghanaian state.

The Red Star State does not substantially engage with Nkrumah's ideas of Pan-Africanism although Pan-Africanism hovers in the background, aiming to gain visibility. Yet, in thinking about thinking Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism, scholars must remember that Nkrumah's Pan-Africanism was decidedly nonracial; it was the push for African continental unification, which included whites, Arabs, Berbers, South and Far East Asians, blacks, and all of those on its soil. For Nkrumah, Africa and Africans were not synonymous with black; these concepts and identities overlapped and diverged at differing moments. A more significant study needs to be

conducted about Nkrumah's ability to at once oppose racialization but simultaneously be the symbol of black power and liberation.[882] In fact, the Ghanaian state also embodies this set of contradictions. On the one hand, the Ghanaian state tried to create a socialist state-capitalist society that saw class contradictions and imperialism as its fraternal enemies. On the other hand, Ghanaians employed race as a way to make claims to Ghanaian citizenship.

The Red Star State offers a methodological alternative to think about how we study the Ghanaian state and the Cold War. Jean Allman referred to the "shadow archives" and the problems of engaging with the post-colonial African archive due to it being globally dispersed, multi-sourced, multi-lingual, and fragmented.[883] To study international figures, we must—where our resources permit—follow their movements and the archives they created. While this presents its challenges, it is also an opportunity to examine alternative perspectives and information to write a richer, more complex history.

As Africa's first socialist state, Ghana's postcolonial formation and relationship with the USSR is an essential site of inquiry. Unfortunately, due to source intelligibility, restrictive access to and knowledge about pertinent archives and materials, and an academic over preoccupation with Soviet internationalism the study of Ghana-Soviet relations has been marginalized. Rather than privileging a singular national or continental archive, *The Red*

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[882] Agostino Neto argued that Pan-Africanism cannot simply mean black people. He also argued that Pan-Africanism should not be racialized. See Agostino Neto, "Who is the Enemy What is Our Objective?," *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 4, Issue 3 (1974), 109-120. See also Andrew Apter's article about opposing discussions between the Senegalese and Nigerian governments as to whether North Africans should be considered as Africans at Festec 1977. See Andrew Apter, "Beyond Négritude: Black Cultural Citizenship and the Arab Question in FESTAC 77," *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, Vol. 28, Issue 3 (2016), 315-317.

[883] Allman, "Phantoms of the Archive," 104–129.

Star State suggests that a multi-lingual, multi-sited, and international archive provides scholars with the best framework to imagine the breadth, complexity, and reach of the Ghanaian project. It explains why the statutes of Marx, Engels, and Lenin built and situated in a compound in Accra were not abnormal, but symptomatic of a global Ghana, a Ghana that had deep roots to the United States, Britain, Soviet Union, capitalism, socialism, and Marxist-Leninism. Moreover, in exploring events in Ghana, the dissertation moves past Accra—both as a site of archival research and as an intellectual, political, and cultural hub. While events in Ghana's capital are important, *The Red Star State* shows that the intellectual and policy debates that occurred throughout Ghana were as crucial to shaping the socialist state-capitalist project. These instances require both greater historical analysis and attention.

In his conclusion to *Dark Days in Ghana*, Nkrumah wrote: "Far from the ideas for which Ghana stood being discredited, they have been proved for all to see as correct and as charting the inevitable path which Africa must follow . . .. For time is on our side. The permanency of the masses is the deciding factor, and no power on earth can prevent its ultimate decisive effect on the revolutionary struggle."[884] *The Red Star State* neither seeks to praise nor condemn the Ghanaian socialist state-capitalist project. Instead, it seeks to understand how a new nation sought to make sense of the numerous contradictions, dreams, and realities that lay bare before it. Like other societies in world history, Nkrumah's Ghana held its own paradoxes. And like all other societies, these dialectics would eventually swallow it. However, to suggest that Nkrumah's and his associates' downfall was a result of 'African incompetence' or reflective of their inadequacies or shortcomings of socialist and Marxist thought misses a more substantial and meaningful narrative and understanding of postcolonial African history and African survival.

[884] Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana,* 159.

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Howard University Moorland-Spingarn Research Center

Stanford University Cecil H. Green Library

Stanford University the Hoover Institution Library & Archives

UCLA Charles E. Young Research Library

Blogs, Magazines, & Newspapers

ACLU

ANP

Ashanti Pioneer

Associated Press

Black Perspectives

Center for Strategic & International Studies

Daily Telegraph

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