

NOTES

FOREWORD

1. Ama Biney. 2013. "Ghana's contribution to the anti-apartheid struggle: 1958–1994," in *The Road to Democracy in South Africa (Volume 5, African Solidarity, Part I)*. ed, Sifiso Ndlovu (Pretoria, South Africa: University of South Africa Press) p. 79.

INTRODUCTION: THE SYMBOLISM OF GHANAIAN NATIONALISM

1. The Twi-language honorific title "Osagyefo" (the Redeemer) was bestowed upon Nkrumah by his supporters for leading the Gold Coast to independence from Britain.
2. For example, the theme of the 2006 Historical Society of Ghana Conference was "Preserving and Recording Ghana's Past: Fifty Years of Ghana's Independence."
3. The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) convened an international conference, in July 2007, titled, "Ghana@50—In search of Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah—Charting New Frontiers of Knowledge and Leadership for Africa in the New Millennium." In November 2009, I convened an international symposium to commemorate the centenary of Kwame Nkrumah's birth under the auspices of the History Department at Connecticut College in New London, Connecticut. The event was titled, "Ghana in Africa and the World: A Symposium Commemorating the Centenary and Legacy of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (First President of Ghana), 1909–2009."
4. See, for example, Tawia Adamafio, *By Nkrumah's Side: The Labour and the Wounds* (Accra: Westcoast Publishing House, 1982); H. T. Alexander, *African Tighrope: My Two Years as Nkrumah's Chief of Staff* (New York: Praeger, 1966); Kwame Arhin, ed., *The life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah: Papers of a Symposium Organized by the Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon* (Trenton, NJ: African World Press, Inc., 1993); A. B. Assensoh, *African Political Leadership: Jomo Kenyatta, Kwame Nkrumah, and Julius K. Nyerere* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 1998); Assensoh, *Kwame Nkrumah of Africa: His Formative Years and the*

Beginning of his Political Career, 1935–1948 (North Devon, England: Arthur H. Stockwell, 1989); *Assensob, Kwame Nkrumah: Six Years in Exile, 1966–72* (Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd, 1978); Ama Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Geoffrey Bing, *Reap the Whirlwind: An Account of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana from 1950 to 1966* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968); David Birmingham, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Father of African Nationalism*, (Rev. ed., Athens: Ohio University Press, 1998); Basil Davidson, *Black Star: A View of the Life and Times of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: Allen Lane, 1973); K. B. Hadjor, *Nkrumah and Ghana: The Dilemma of Post-Colonial Power* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988); Genoveva Kanu, *Nkrumah the Man: A Friend's Testimony* (Enugu, Anambra: Delta of Nigeria, 1982); June Milne, *Forward Ever* (London: Panaf, 1977); Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah* (London: Panaf Great Lives Series, 1974); Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography* (London: Panaf, 2006); Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah. The Conakry Years: His Life and Letters* (London: Panaf, 1990); Samuel Obeng, comp., *Selected Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah*, 5 vols. (Accra: Afram Publications, 1997); T. Peter Omari, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Anatomy of African Dictatorship* (New York: Africana Publishing Corporation, 1970); G. K. Osei, comp., *12 Key Speeches of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: African Publication Society, 1970); David Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988); Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad, 1935–1947* (Legon, Ghana: Freedom Publications, 1996); Yuri Smertin, *Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: International Publishers, 1987); and W. Scott Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957–1966* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

5. See Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 1963 (New ed., New York: International Publishers, 1970); *Challenge of the Congo* (New York: International Publishers, 1967); *Class Struggle in Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1970); *Consciencism: Philosophy and Ideology for De-Colonization*, 1964 (First Modern Reader Paperback ed., New York: Modern Reader Paperbacks, 1970); *Dark Days in Ghana*, 1968, (New ed., New York: International Publishers, 1969); *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957); *Handbook of Revolutionary Warfare: A Guide to the Armed Phase of the African Revolution* (First United States ed., New York: International Publishers, 1969); *I Speak of Freedom* (London: Heinemann, 1961); *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (New York: International Publishers, 1965); *Revolutionary Path* (1st US ed., New York: International Publishers, 1973); *Towards Colonial Freedom: Africa in the Struggle against World Imperialism* (London, Heinemann, 1962); and *Voice from Conakry: Broadcasts to the People of Ghana Made in Conakry between March and December 1966 on Radio*

- Guinea's "Voice of the Revolution" (London: Panaf Publications Ltd, 1967).
6. See Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995); John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd ed. (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993), 66, 67–8; Jack Child, "The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture: Latin American Postage Stamps," *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (February 2005): 119–120; Igor Cusack, "African Cuisines: Recipes for Nation-Building?" *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (2000): 207–225; Cusack, "African National Anthems: 'Beat the Drums, the Red Lion Has Roared,'" *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (December 2005b): 235–251; Emily Gilbert, "Ornamenting the Façade of Hell: Iconographies of 19th-Century Canadian Paper Money," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 16 (1998): 57–80; Emily Gilbert and Eric Helleiner, eds., *National-States and Money: The Past, Present and Future of National Currencies* (London: Routledge, 1999); Keith Hart, *Money in an Unequal World: Keith Hart and His Memory Bank* (London: Texere, 2001); Eric Helleiner, "National Currencies and National Identities," *American Behavioural Scientist* 41 (August 1998): 1409; Helleiner, "Introduction to Special Section on 'The Geopolitics of North-South Currency Blocs,'" *Geopolitics* 7, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 1–4; Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Chapter 4; Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), Chapter 7; Merrick Posnansky, "Propaganda for Millions: Images from Africa," *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004): 54; Anthony D. Smith, "Nations and History," in *Understanding Nationalism*, ed. Montserrat Guibernau and John Hutchinson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 11, 13, 23; and Tim Unwin and Virginia Hewitt, "Banknotes and National Identity in Central and Eastern Europe," *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 1008.
 7. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
 8. For more on the origins, meanings, and uses of Adinkra symbols, see Adolph H. Agbo, *Values of Adinkra Symbols* (Kumasi, Ghana: Ebony Designs and Publications, 1999); Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In my Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Heike Owusu, *African Symbols* (New York: Sterling, 2007); Doran H. Ross, *Wrapped in Pride: Ghanaian Kente and African American Identity* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum at UCLA, 1998); Robert Sutherland Rattray, *Religion and Art in Ashanti* (Brooklyn, NY: AMS Press, 1988); and W. Bruce Willis, *The Adinkra Dictionary: A Visual Primer on The Language of Adinkra* (Washington, DC: The Pyramid Complex, 1998).

9. Richard Rathbone, ed. *Ghana: Part 1, 1941–1952*, Ser. B, vol. 1 of *British Documents on the End of Empire* (London: H.M.S.O., 1992), xxxv.
10. See, for example, Peter Burke, *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).
11. Karen A. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags,” *Sociological Forum* 8, no. 2 (June 1993): 244.
12. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 246.
13. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 252.
14. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 252–253.
15. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 252.
16. See Agbenyega Adedze, “Commemorating the Chief: The Politics of Postage Stamps in West Africa,” *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004): 68–73; Hugo Dobson, “Japanese Postage Stamps: Propaganda and Decision Making,” *Japan Forum* 14, no. 1 (2002): 21–39; Yu-Chin Huang, “National Identity and Ideology in the Design of Postage Stamps of China and Taiwan, 1949–1979” (London: PhD diss., School of Oriental and African Studies, 2007); Robert A. Jones, “Heroes of the Nation? The Celebration of Scientists on the Postage Stamps of Great Britain, France and West Germany,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 3 (2001): 403–422; Merrick Posnansky, Agbenyega Adedze, and Jessica Levin, “Postal Images of Africa: A New Frontier,” *African Arts* XXXVII, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 52; and Posnansky, “Propaganda for Millions: Images from Africa,” *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004): 53–57; and David Scott, “National Icons: The Semiotics of the French Stamp,” *French Cultural Studies* 3 (1992): 215–234.
17. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 245.
18. Michael Kevane, “Official Representations of the Nation: Comparing the Postage Stamps of Sudan and Burkina Faso,” *African Studies Quarterly: The Online Journal for African Studies* 10, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 13, <http://www.africa.ufl.edu/asq/v10/v10i1a3.htm>.
19. See R. F. Holland, *European Decolonization, 1918–1981: An Introductory Survey* (London, 1985); John G. Darwin, *Britain and Decolonization: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan 1988), and Darwin, *The End of the British Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); John D. Hargreaves, *Decolonization in Africa* (Harlow, England: Longman, 1988); F. Ansprenger, *The Dissolution of the Colonial Empires* (London: Routledge, 1989); Frank Furedi, *Colonial Wars and the Politics of Third World Nationalism* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1994).
20. See, for example, Terence Ranger, “The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa,” in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

21. See Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (London: Routledge, 1998), 108. However, these two schools of thought were not always mutually antagonistic, as argued by Githu Muigai, who showed in the Kenyan case, that both ethnicity and colonial concerns mattered in the independence movement. See Githu Muigai, “Jomo Kenyatta & the Rise of the Ethno-Nationalist State in Kenya,” in *Ethnicity and Democracy in Africa*, ed. Bruce Berman et al. (Oxford: James Curry, 2004).
22. See Anderson, *Imagined Communities*; Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*; Smith, “Nations and History,” 19; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 138; and Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*.
23. See Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher B. Steiner, eds., *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), xix; Michael Amoah, *Reconstructing the Nation in Africa: The Politics of Nationalism in Ghana* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 5, 7; and Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa* (New York: International Publishers, 1970), 88.
24. Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa* (London, 1957).
25. Grinker and Steiner, xxviii.
26. See, for example, Jean M. Allman, “The Youngmen and the Porcupine: Class, Nationalism and Asante’s Struggle for Self-Determination, 1954–57,” *Journal of African History* 31 (1990): 263–279; Jean M. Allman and Richard Rathbone, “Discussion: The Youngmen and the Porcupine,” *Journal of African History* 32 (1991): 333–338; Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Ashanti Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); Rathbone, *Nkrumah & the Chiefs: The Politics of Chieftaincy in Ghana, 1951–1960* (Oxford: James Curry, 2000); and Dennis Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946–1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).
27. See Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, 120–22.
28. See Posnansky, Adedze, and Levin, “Postal Images of Africa,” 52.
29. See GPA: S4/24 (Stamp Advisory Committee—Postage Stamps to Commemorate Attainment of Full-Self-Government), Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Communications to F. E. B. Clark, Deputy Director, Posts & Telecommunications Department, letter no. GB.28/383, September 15, 1955; GPA S4/24, File GB.28, “Minutes of a Meeting Held in the Conference Room of the Ministry of Communications on Saturday 24th September 1955 to Consider Issue of Commemorative Postage Stamp,” 1.

30. See Kenneth Wilburn, "Africa to the World!: Nkrumah-Era Philatelic Images of Emerging Ghana and Pan-Africanism, 1957–1966," *African Studies Quarterly* 13, nos. 1–2 (Spring 2012): 41.
31. See Harcourt Fuller, "Civitatatis Ghaniensis Conditor: Kwame Nkrumah, Symbolic Nationalism and the Iconography of Ghanaian Money, 1957—the Golden Jubilee," *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 3 (2008): 520–541.
32. Richard Rathbone, ed. *Ghana: Part I, 1941–1952*. Ser. B, vol. 1 of *British Documents on the End of Empire*. (London: H.M.S.O., 1992): xxxi.
33. See, for example, Jack Child, *Miniature Messages: The Semiotics and Politics of Latin American Postage Stamps* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008); Child, "The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture," 108–137; Huang, "National Identity and Ideology"; Jacques E. C. Hymans, "East Is East, and West Is West? Currency Iconography as Nation-Branding in the Wider Europe," *Political Geography* 29 (2010): 97–108; Lutz Marten and Nancy Kula, "Meanings of Money: National Identity and the Semantics of Currency in Zambia and Tanzania," *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 20, no. 2 (2008): 183–199; Jan Penrose, "Designing the Nation: Banknotes, Banal Nationalism and Alternative Conceptions of the State," *Political Geography* 30 (2011): 429–440; and Oliver Tappe, "A New Banknote in the People's Republic: The Iconography of the Kip and Ideological Transformations in Laos, 1957–2006," *Internationales Asienforum* 38, nos. 1–2 (2007): 87–108.
34. Child, "The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture," 120–121.
35. Tappe, "A New Banknote in the People's Republic," 103.
36. Tappe, "The Iconography of the Kip and Ideological Transformations in Laos," 92, and notes 15–17.
37. Unwin and Hewitt, "Banknotes and National Identity," 1005.
38. Unwin and Hewitt, "Banknotes and National Identity," 1005.
39. See Jean Allman, ed., *Fashioning Africa: Power and the Politics of Dress* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004).
40. See Janet Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2006); Hess, "Exhibiting Ghana: Display, Documentary, and 'National' Art in the Nkrumah era," *African Studies Review* 44, no. 1 (April 2001): 59–77; Hess, "Imagining Architecture: The Structure of Nationalism in Accra, Ghana," *Africa Today* 47, no. 2 (Spring 2000): 35–60; and Hess, "Spectacular Nation: Nkrumahist Art and Resistance Iconography in the Ghanaian Independence era," *African Arts* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 16–25, 91.
41. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 17.

42. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 17.
43. See, for example, Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 30, 34, 52, 53, 68, and note 74, chapter 1, 184.
44. I developed this argument in a previous journal article. See Fuller, "Civitas Ghanensis Conditor."
45. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 28–29.
46. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, note 62, chapter 1, 183.
47. Igor Cusack, "Tiny Transmitters of Nationalist and Colonial Ideology: The Postage Stamps of Portugal and its Empire," *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 4 (October 2005): 591–612.
48. Posnansky, "Postal Images of Africa."
49. Helleiner, "National Currencies and National Identities," 1409–1436.
50. Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*, 88.
51. Agbenyega Adedze, "Museums as a Tool for Nationalism in Africa," *Museum Anthropology*, Theme Issue on Museums and the Politics of Nationalism 19, 2 (1995 Fall): 59–60.

I BANAL SYMBOLS OF THE NEW NATION-STATE

1. Karen A. Cerulo, "Symbols and the World System: National Anthems and Flags," *Sociological Forum* 8, no. 2 (June 1993): 244.
2. Cerulo, "Symbols and the World System," 245.
3. On his first voyage to the United States from Britain, Nkrumah sailed on a shipping vessel called the *Cunard White Star Line*. See Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957), 28.
4. LSE is known for having produced many noted Third World and African leaders and statesmen. In addition to Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, and more recently Ghana's John Atta Mills, attended the LSE.
5. For more on the history of the UGCC, including Nkrumah's role in and split from the organization, see Dennis Austin, "The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention," *The Journal of African History* 2, no. 2 (1961): 273–297.
6. LSE's Press and Information Office states that Kwame Nkrumah received a PhD from the LSE in 1946, although it is more likely that he was awarded an honorary doctorate after he became prime minister of Ghana in 1957. He was also awarded an honorary doctorate from Lincoln University, later.
7. Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 73.
8. Adolph H. Agbo, *Values of Adinkra Symbols* (Kumasi, Ghana: Ebony Designs and Publications, 1999), 12.

9. Agbo, *Values of Adinkra Symbols*, 12.
10. See, for example, Joseph B. Danquah, *Friendship and Empire* (London: Fabian Publications, 1949); *Gold Coast: Akan Laws and Customs and the Akim Abuakwa Constitution* (London: Routledge, 1928); *Historic Speeches and Writings on Ghana*, compiled by H. K. Akyeampong (Accra: G. Boakie Publishing Company, 1966); *Journey to Independence and After: J. B. Danquah's Letters, 1947–1965*, compiled by H. K. Akyeampong (Accra: Waterville Publishing House, 1970); *The Akan Doctrine of God: A Fragmentation of Gold Coast Ethics and Religion* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1944); and Joseph B. Danquah and A. Adu Boahen, eds. *The Ghanaian Establishment: Its Constitution, Its Detentions, Its Traditions, Its Justice and Statecraft, and Its Heritage of Ghanaism* (Accra: Ghana University Press, 1997).
11. Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 134.
12. In traditional Ghana, a chief or king sits on a stool (in the south) or a skin (in the north), equivalent to European monarchs who sit on thrones as a symbol of their tradition, power, and authority. Each skin or stool employs the services of a linguist to convey and interpret the chief's ideas and messages to his people—similar to a press secretary of a modern statesperson.
13. E. Ablade Glover, *Linguist Staff Symbolism*, 2nd ed. (Kumasi, Ghana: Design Press, University of Science and Technology, February, 1992).
14. Glover, "Linguist Staff Symbolism," 1.
15. Glover, "Linguist Staff Symbolism," 1.
16. Glover, "Linguist Staff Symbolism," 1.
17. *Evening News*, May 10, 1954, 1.
18. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 186, note 66.
19. See Gareth Austin, "Capitalists and Chiefs in the Cocoa Hold-Ups in South Asante, 1927–1938," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 21, no. 1 (1988): 63–95; and "The Emergence of Capitalist Relations in South Asante Cocoa-Farming, c. 1916–33," *Journal of African History* 28, no. 2 (1987): 259–279.
20. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 35.
21. *Ashanti Pioneer*, June 10, 1956, 1.
22. Michael T. Kaufman, "Opoku Ware II, King of the Asante, Is Dead at 89 [sic, 79]," *The New York Times*, March 4, 1999, Section B, 8.
23. Upon the death of Agyemang Prempeh II in 1970, a new monarch, Otumfuo Opoku Ware II, became the fifteenth Asante king when he ascended to the Golden Stool. The latter passed away in 1999, at the age of 79. The current *Asantehene* is Otumfuo Osei Tutu II. See Kaufman, "Opoku Ware II," 8.
24. Janet Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 43.

25. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 45. In the past as well as in contemporary times, it is considered a taboo to refer to deceased chiefs or *Asantebenes* as being “dead.” The Asantes typically say that the king or chief has “gone to the village.”
26. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 266.
27. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 252.
28. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 266.
29. The British used the same flag design for its other possessions and colonies in West Africa, but used a different abbreviation for each colony. For example, the Gambia was designated by a “G,” Lagos Colony with an “L,” and Sierra Leone with a “S.L.” See H. Gresham Carr, *Flags of the World*, rev. ed. (London: Frederick Warne and Co., 1961).
30. Jack Child, “The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture: Latin American Postage Stamps,” *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (February 2005): 119.
31. National Anthems, <http://www.nationalanthems.us/cgi-bin/forum/YaBB.pl?num=1153445087> (accessed September 12, 2006), and <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/living/flag.php> (accessed September 12, 2006).
32. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 246.
33. Manuel Barradas, *Tractatus Tres Historico-Geographici (1634): A Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, trans. Richard Pankhurst (Harrassowitz, 1996), 59, 70, 71; and “Country Profile: Ethiopia,” Library of Congress, April 2005, accessed March 26, 2014, <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/profiles/Ethiopia.pdf>.
34. Several other newly independent African nation-states also used the primary color scheme of the Ethiopian flag, albeit with different designs, on their national flags. Doran Ross, telephone conversation with author, March 25, 2014.
35. The symbolism of the national flag has also been used to build national identity by other Third World nationalist movements. For example, Laotian nationalists designed a tricolored flag in 1945 (with two red stripes on either side and a blue one in the middle), which symbolized the emergence of the new nation-state born in sacrifice yet blessed with nature’s bounty. The red was a universal color symbolizing that the people fought and bled for their independence. Blue stood for the fertility of the Lao land, while an image of a white full moon in the middle of the blue stripe symbolized purity. See Oliver Tappe, “A New Banknote in the People’s Republic: The Iconography of the Kip and Ideological Transformations in Laos, 1957–2006.” *Internationales Asienforum* 38, nos. 1–2 (2007): 105.
36. See Clem McCartney and Lucy Bryson, *Clashing Symbols: A Report on the Use of Flags, Anthems and Other National Symbols*

- in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: The Institute for Irish Studies for The Community Relations Council, 1994). For other discussions on the relationship between national flags and the politics of nationalism in the developing world, see Igor Cusack, "African National Anthems: 'Beat the Drums, the Red Lion has Roared,'" *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (December 2005): 235–251; Child, "The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture," 108–137; National Anthems, www.national-anthems.net/ and www.national-anthems.org/history.htm; and David, National Anthems www.david.national-anthems.net/index.html.
37. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 21; Austin, *Politics in Ghana*, 377–380.
 38. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 32.
 39. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 32, 33.
 40. Jean M. Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Ashanti Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 16.
 41. For more information about the nature of porcupines, see Sybil P. Parker, ed., *Grzimek's Encyclopedia of Mammals* (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, 1990), 5.
 42. Glover, "Linguist Staff Symbolism," 1.
 43. Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine*, 16.
 44. Dzenkle Dzewu, *A Challenge to Kwame Nkrumah* (Accra: July 1957).
 45. Cerulo, "Symbols and the World System," 246, 247.
 46. Bank of Ghana, "Issue of 10000 & 20000 Cedis Banknotes," 3.
 47. <http://david.national-anthems.net/gh-60.txt> (accessed September 12, 2006).
 48. Cusack, "African National Anthems," 236.
 49. The 1966 version does not make any reference to the "Founding Father(s)."
 50. <http://david.national-anthems.net/gh-60.txt> (accessed September 12, 2006).
 51. <http://www.nationalanthems.us/cgi-bin/forum/YaBB.pl?num=1153445087> (accessed September 12, 2006). See also Paul Nettl, *National Anthems*, 2nd ed., trans. Alexander Gode (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1967).
 52. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 184, note 72, chapter 1.

2 PHILATELIC NATIONALISM

1. Agbenyega Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief: The Politics of Postage Stamps in West Africa." *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004):

- 96; David Scott, *European Stamp Design: A Semiotic Approach to Designing Messages* (London: Academy Editions, 1995), 17; Keith Jeffery, "Crown, Communication and the Colonial Post: Stamps, the Monarchy and the British Empire," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 34, no. 1 (March 2006): 45–70.
2. Merrick Posnansky, "Propaganda for Millions: Images from Africa," *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004): 53.
 3. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 68–73.
 4. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 70.
 5. Natalie Yowles, *Modern Art and Artists in Ghana: A Cultural Development* (PhD diss., University of Legon, Ghana, 1981), 44–45, quoted in Janet B. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2006), 28.
 6. The other members of the Postage Stamps Committee included A. R. Boakye (chairman), ministerial secretary, and J. R. Wallis, M. O. (secretary), assistant secretary of the Ministry of Communications; R. J. Moxon, director of Information Services; and F. E. B. Clark, deputy director of the Department of Posts & Telecommunications. See Ghana Postal Archives (GPA) S4/24, Permanent Secretary, MOC to F. E. B. Clark, Deputy Director, P&T, September 15, 1955; GPA S4/24, F. E. B. Clark to Permanent Secretary, MOC, September 16, 1955; GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955, Issue of Commemorative Postage Stamp," 1.
 7. See David Scott, "Michael Goaman: A Graphic Designer Who Created Classic Postage Stamps with His Wife for 30 Years," Obituary, *The Guardian*, June 15, 2009, www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2009/jun/16/obituary-michael-goaman; and Telegraph, "Michael Goaman," Obituary, May 31, 2009. www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/culture-obituaries/art-obituaries/5417655/Michael-Goaman.html. Based in Edinburgh, England, the Goaman Archives includes Goaman's pencil and paint sketches, photos of unaccepted designs, correspondences with the Crown Agents and Ghana Postal Services, mock-ups of some accepted designs, and other documents. It is an important resource for scholars who would like to research the history and impact of this important designer of African and British Commonwealth stamps.
 8. Kofi Antubam, *Ghana's Heritage of Culture* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1963), 11.
 9. Antubam, *Ghana's Heritage of Culture*, 20.
 10. Antubam, *Ghana's Heritage of Culture*, 23.
 11. Antubam, *Ghana's Heritage of Culture*, 23.
 12. *The Stamp Magazine*, stamp-K5, "Kofi Antubam," November 3, 1962, 1.
 13. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 68–69.

14. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 1.
15. Headquartered in London, Stanley Gibbons produces an annual illustrated list of postage stamps issued by the government of each country, and contains valuable information such as dates of issue, denominations, and brief information about the imagery appearing on the stamps. Like its American counterpart—Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue—Gibbons' catalogs are an essential reference resource for national post offices, stamp dealers, philatelists, researchers, and other stamp enthusiasts.
16. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 1.
17. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 1.
18. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 2.
19. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 2.
20. As Aggrey's fame grew in Africa, the United States (where he pursued tertiary education) and elsewhere, he also became known as "Aggrey of Africa." It was Aggrey, who, along with the Reverend A. G. Fraser and Sir Gordon Guggisberg, the colonial governor, founded Achimota College (later Achimota School) in 1927, in Accra. Aggrey became its assistant vice-principal. See <http://www.utexas.edu/conferences/africa/ads/21.html> (accessed November 30, 2007).
21. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 2.
22. *The Stamp Magazine*, "Kofi Antubam," 1.
23. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955, Issue of Commemorative Postage Stamp," 2.
24. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 2. Moxon's seeming superstitions about the ill fate of independence leaders who portray themselves on national postage stamps is not without merit. As Adedze reveals, "It is ironic . . . to remark that over 99% of those postindependence leaders who put their images on postage stamps were either overthrown in military coups or were forced to quit the government." See Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," footnote 4, 68–73.
25. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting Held in the Conference Room of the Ministry of Communications on Monday 3rd October 1955 to Consider Issues of Commemorative Postage Stamp," 1.
26. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting 3rd October 1955," 1.
27. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 2.
28. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting 3rd October 1955," 2.
29. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting 3rd October 1955," 2.
30. GPA: S4/24, GB.28/431, Secretary, Ministry of Communications to Kofi Antubam and Stamps Committee, "Postage Stamps," December 15, 1955. See also GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Stamps Committee Held in the Ministry of Communications on Friday 13th January [1956] at 2:30 P.M.," 1.
31. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of the Meeting Friday 13th January."

32. Kwame Sarpong, prod., "Commentary of Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah's Speech at the Conference of African Freedom Fighters in Accra on 04/06/62," *Africa's Man of Destiny: 40th Independence Anniversary Ghana 1957-1997* (The Gramophone Records Museum & Research Centre of Ghana at Cape Coast: CD, 1997).
33. GPA: S4/39, GB.28/SF.22/52, Ministry of Transport & Communications to Designers, "Commemorative Issues of Ghana Postage Stamps - 1960," 2.
34. GPA: S4/45, Indent for Urgent Requirements on the Ghana Supply Commission, No. PAT A/cs.10/63-64, June 15, 1964, 1.
35. GPA: S4/45 (National Founder's Day 1964), A/cs.3.I, E.A. Okraku to the CEO—Ghana Supply Commission, "Issue of Stamps to Commemorate the National Founder's Day 21st Sept. 1964," June 22, 1964. See also GPA: S4/45, 'Notes on the Issue of Postage Stamps to Commemorate "National Founder's Day (1964);"' and GPA: S4/45, Indent for Urgent Requirements on the Ghana Supply Commission, No. PAT A/cs.10/63-64, June 15, 1964, 1.
36. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 3; GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting 3rd October 1955," 2. Mr. Clark suggested that the stamps should be composed of 12 denominations— $\frac{1}{2}$ d, 1d, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d, 2d, $2\frac{1}{2}$ d, 4d, 6d, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{2}{-}$, $\frac{2}{6}$ d, $\frac{5}{-}$ and $\frac{10}{-}$.
37. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 2.
38. GPA: S4/24, GB.28/452, J. R. Wallis to F. E. B. Clark, February 29, 1956.
39. NA: DO 35/6194, J. Chadwick to Whitehead, correspondence, February 27, 1957.
40. GPA: S4/24, GB.28/452, J. R. Wallis to F. E. B. Clark, February 29, 1956.
41. *Ashanti Pioneer*, "Stamps with Nkrumah's Portrait Condemned: It's Gross Abuse of Political Power, Says M.P.," February 18, 1957, 1, 7.
42. Kwame Nkrumah, "Why the Queen's Head Is Coming off Our Coins," *Daily Sketch*, June 20, 1957: 12.
43. See Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 68-69.
44. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting, 3rd October 1955," 2. See also Kofi Antubam, "Some Court Symbols, Their Uses, Proverbs and Significance" (Achimota, Ghana, 1955), 1-2.
45. See Richard Rathbone, "Kwame Nkrumah and the Chiefs: The Fate of 'Natural Rulers' under Nationalist Governments," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Sixth Series* 10 (2000): 45-63; and Jean M. Allman, *The Quills of the Porcupine: Ashanti Nationalism in an Emergent Ghana* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
46. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting, 3rd October 1955," 2. See also Antubam, "Some Court Symbols," 1-2.

47. Child, "The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture," 119.
48. Antubam, "Some Court Symbols," 3.
49. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting, 3rd October 1955," 2.
50. GPA: S4/24, "Minutes of a Meeting, 24th September 1955," 3; GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of a Meeting, 3rd October 1955," 2–3.
51. GPA: S4/24, GB.28, "Minutes of the Meeting, 8th March, 12th March and 28th March 1956," 2.
52. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," footnote 4, 68–73.

3 ECONOMIC NATIONALISM

1. Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 115, 116, 118, 122.
2. See Mark Figueroa, "W. Arthur Lewis's Social Analysis and the Transformation of Tropical Economies," in "Special Issue on Sir Arthur Lewis, Part II," *Social and Economic Studies* 54, no. 4 (December 2005): 72–90; Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 119, 120, 121; Douglas Rimmer, *Staying Poor: Ghana's Political Economy 1950–1990* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1992), 86–87.
3. Igor Cusack, "African National Anthems: 'Beat the drums, the Red Lion Has Roared.'" *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 17, no. 2 (December 2005b): 235–236, 240, 248, 250.
4. Harcourt Fuller, "From Cowries to Coins: Money and Colonialism in the Gold Coast and British West Africa in the Early 20th Century," in *Money in Africa*, ed. Catherine Eagleton, Harcourt Fuller, and John Perkins (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 2009), 54–61; S. Caine, "Monetary Systems of the Colonies II: West Africa," *The Banker* (August 1948): 93–99; John M. Carland, "The Colonial Office and the First West African Note Issue," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 23, no. 3 (1990): 495–502; Antony G Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (London: Longman, 1973); J. B. Loynes, *A History of the West African Currency Board* (London: The WACB, 1974); Loynes, *The West African Currency Board, 1912–1962* (London: The WACB, 1962); and W. T. Newlyn and D. C. Rowan, *Money and Banking in British Colonial Africa: A Study of the Monetary and Banking Systems of Eight British African Territories* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954).
5. Eric Helleiner, "The Monetary Dimensions of Colonialism: Why Did Imperial Powers Create Currency Blocs?" *Geopolitics* 7, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 21.
6. Fuller, "From Cowries to Coins," 58–60.
7. Helleiner, "The Monetary Dimensions of Colonialism," 23–24; Wambui Mwangi, "The Lion, the Native and the Coffee Plant:

- Political Imagery and the Ambiguous Art of Currency Design in Colonial Kenya,” *Geopolitics* 7, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 31–62.
8. Douglas Mudd, “Money & Sovereignty,” <http://www.dmudd.net/hist697/msfinalintro.htm> (accessed June 22, 2005).
 9. Cusack, “Tiny Transmitters of Nationalist and Colonial Ideology: The Postage Stamps of Portugal and its Empire.” *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 4 (October 2005): 591.
 10. Baffour Ankomah, “Never Again!... 40 Years After the Coup that Derailed Africa’s Progress,” *New African*, special issue, *Nkrumah’s Legacy 40 Years After the Coup* (February 24, 2006): 3.
 11. Edward S. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana: Commemoration of the Golden Jubilee* (Accra: Bank of Ghana, 2007), 66; “Brief History of the Ghana Currency” (Accra, Ghana: BoG, July 18, 2006).
 12. *West African Currency Board Annual Report, Annual Report 1954–5*, 10.
 13. BoG, “Brief History of the Ghana Currency.”
 14. National Archives UK—Commonwealth Relations Office (henceforth NA: DO) 35/6194, “The Par Value of the Ghana Pound,” *International Monetary Fund Internal Correspondence*, October 24, 1958; BoG, “Brief History of the Ghana Currency.”
 15. NA: DO 35/6194, “The Par Value of the Ghana Pound;” NA: DO 35/6194, Washington to Foreign Office, inward saving telegram, “Monetary Distribution,” November 7, 1958; NA: DO 35/6194, “The International Monetary Fund Recognises the Ghana Pound,” The Ministry of Information & Broadcasting on Behalf of the Minister of Finance Press Release No. 986/58, November 6, 1958.
 16. NA: DO 35/6194, “Currency,” extract, *Ghana Fortnightly Summary*, July 17, 1958, 3; see also NA: DO 35/6194, “Ghana Bank Note Circulation,” *Financial Times*, July 21, 1958.
 17. NA: DO 35/6194, PR 79/59, “Ghana Currency to be Sole Legal Tender in Ghana From 1st July, 1959,” January 23, 1959, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting on Behalf of the Minister of Finance; see also NA: DO 35/6194, Secretary of the WACB to the Under Secretary of State of the Colonial Office, letter, December 8, 1958.
 18. NA: DO 35/6194, PR 674/58, “New Ghana Notes,” BoG, July 25, 1958.
 19. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana* 66.
 20. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 66.
 21. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 69.
 22. T. C. McCaskie, “Accumulation, Wealth and Belief in Asante History: I To the Close of the Nineteenth Century,” *Africa* 53, no. 1 (1983): 23–43; and McCaskie, “Accumulation, Wealth and Belief in Asante History: II,” *Africa* 56, no. 1 (1986): 3–23.
 23. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 69.
 24. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 131, 135.

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26. Lutz Marten and Nancy C.Kula, “Meanings of Money: National Identity and the Semantics of Currency in Zambia and Tanzania,” *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 20, no. 2 (2008): 187.
27. Cerulo, “Symbols and the World System,” 250.
28. Keith Hart, “Heads or Tails? Two Sides of the Coin,” *Man, New Series* 21, no. 4 (December 1986): 637.
29. Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom* (London: Heinemann, 1961), 111.
30. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 121.
31. Kwame Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite* (1963; new ed., New York: International Publishers, 1970), 110–111.
32. Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 116.
33. Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom*, 111–12.
34. Nkrumah, *Africa Must Unite*, 111.
35. Michael Adas, *Machines As the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1990).
36. See Francis Danquah, *Cocoa Diseases and Politics in Ghana, 1909–1966* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995); Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 116, 118, 120, 121, 122, 134; G.B. Kay, ed., *The Political Economy of Colonialism in Ghana: A Collection of Documents and Statistics, 1900–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 94.
37. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 118, 119, 120; T. Killick, “The Volta River Project,” in *A Study of Contemporary Ghana*, vol. 2, ed. Walter Birmingham, I. Neustadt, and E.N. Omaboe (London: Allen and Unwin, 1967), 393.
38. Child, “The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture,” 123.
39. Agbenyega Adedze, “Re-presenting Africa: Commemorative Postage Stamps of the Colonial Exhibition of Paris (1931),” *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004): 58–60. See also Adedze, “Commemorating the Chief,” 69.
40. Posnansky, “Propaganda for Millions: Images from Africa,” *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004): 54; Child, “The Politics and Semiotics of the Smallest Icons of Popular Culture,” 122–123.
41. GPA: S4/39, GB.28/SF.22/38, Ministry of Transport & Communications to Designers, “Commemorative Issues of Ghana Postage Stamps – 1960,” July 14, 1959, 1.
42. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 121, 128, 134.
43. GPA: S4/24, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Stamp Advisory Committee, 11th March 1958.”
44. GPA: S4/24, “Minutes of 5th Meeting, 15th April 1957,” 2; GPA: S4/24, “Minutes of 6th Meeting, 25th April 1957,” 1–2; GPA:

S4/24, “The Reconstituted Stamp Advisory Committee Final Report and Recommendations”; GPA: S4/24, GB.28, R.O. Amuaku-Atta to the Minister of Communications, memorandum, “Report and Recommendations of the Stamp Advisory Committee,” 1, July 13, 1957.

4 CIVITATIS GHANIENSIS CONDITOR

1. In conversations with several Ghanaian students and teachers who attended or taught at primary schools during the Nkrumah period, they also mentioned that they would recite the African National Congress’s anthem and other songs that paid homage to the “Father of the Nation,” his nationalist and Pan-African ideals.
2. Douglas Mudd, “Money & Sovereignty,” <http://www.dmudd.net/hist697/msfinalintro.htm>. Accessed June 22, 2005.
3. Mudd, “Money & Sovereignty.”
4. See T. C. McCaskie, “Accumulation, Wealth and Belief in Asante History: I. To the Close of the Nineteenth Century,” *Africa* 53, no. 1 (1983): 23–43; and McCaskie, “Accumulation, Wealth and Belief in Asante History: II. The Twentieth Century,” *Africa* 56, no. 1 (1986): 3–23.
5. National Archives UK—Colonial Office Records, CO 984—The Records of the West African Currency Board (henceforth NA: CO 984). NA: CO 984/2. “Report of the West African Currency Committee: Statement of the Coins Which are now Legal Tender in the Five West African Administrations.” 05.06.12, 10. This wish, however, would prove to be more difficult than anticipated.
6. NA-CO 984/2, *WACC Report Statement of the Coins*, 11.
7. Igor Cusack, “Tiny Transmitters of Nationalist and Colonial Ideology: The Postage Stamps of Portugal and its Empire,” *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 4 (October 2005): 592.
8. Wambui Mwangi, “The Lion, the Native and the Coffee Plant: Political Imagery and the Ambiguous Art of Currency Design in Colonial Kenya,” *Geopolitics* 7, no. 1 (Summer 2002): 33.
9. Tim Unwin and Virginia Hewitt, “Banknotes and National Identity in Central and Eastern Europe,” *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 1005.
10. NA: DO 35/6194, “Ghana’s New Currency,” *New Commonwealth*, August 1958.
11. Emmanuel Asiedu-Acquah, “Elaborating Power: The CPP Press, Foreign Affairs Reportage and the Nkrumah Personality Cult 1957–1966” (paper presented at the annual conference of the Historical Society of Ghana, Accra, Ghana, University of Ghana, Legon, August 9–12, 2006).
12. W. Benjamin, *Illuminations* (New York: Schocken Books, 1968), 239–240.

13. Mwangi, "The Lion," 31–32.
14. NA: DO 35/6194, PR 719/58, "New Ghana Coins," Governor of the Bank of Ghana, August 7, 1958.
15. NA: DO 35/6194, PR 719/58, "New Ghana Coins," Governor of the Bank of Ghana, August 7, 1958.
16. NA: DO 35/6194, J. Chadwick to Whitehead, correspondence, February 27, 1957. An exception to this norm was Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The Royal mint had produced two commemorative coin sets for Ceylon to celebrate the Buddhist anniversary, none of which featured an image of the Queen. See NA: DO 35/6194, G. S. Whitehead to J. Chadwick, letter reply, March 5, 1957.
17. NA: DO 35/6194, J. Chadwick to Whitehead, February 27, 1957.
18. NA: DO 35/6194, J. Chadwick to Whitehead, February 27, 1957.
19. NA: DO 35/6194, J. Chadwick to Whitehead, February 27, 1957.
20. For more on the history of the Gas in Accra, see John Parker, *Making the Town: Ga State and Society in Early Colonial Accra* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000).
21. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, letter, June 28, 1957. Copies of the letter were also sent to the Speaker of the Ghana National Assembly, the Leader of the Opposition, the Ga State Council, the Joint Provisional Council, as well as the London and Ghana press.
22. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
23. See Nkrumah, "The Queen's Head," 12.
24. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
25. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
26. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
27. The Bond of 1844 was a treaty of political alliance between the British and a confederation of Fante states to protect the latter against Asante aggression. It was later extended to include other coastal and inland polities, and effectively signalled the beginnings of formal British colonialism in the Gold Coast.
28. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
29. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
30. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
31. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
32. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.

33. Nkrumah, "The Queen's Head," 12.
34. Nkrumah, "The Queen's Head," 12.
35. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, letter, June 28, 1957.
36. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
37. NA: DO 35/6194, Ga Aborigines Society to the British Prime Minister, June 28, 1957.
38. Nkrumah, "The Queen's Head," 12.
39. Reverend Dr. Francis Kumi Dwamena, interview by author, Accra, Ghana, July 14, 2006.
40. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 122.
41. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 122. See also S.S. Quarcoopome, "Urbanisation, Land Alienation and Politics in Accra," *Research Review* 8, iss. 1-2 (1992): 40-54.
42. June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 171.
43. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 123.
44. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 122; see also "What Next, Kwame . . . ?" *Daily Graphic*, June 22, 1957.
45. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 123; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 171.
46. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 123.
47. *Liberator*, November 5, 1956, 1; and *Asbanti Pioneer*, August 1, 1957, 1.
48. *Daily Graphic*, July 6, 1957, 1; and Kofi Opoku-Manu, "Currencies in Ghana's History" (PhD diss., University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, Ghana, 1973), cited in Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 52.
49. *Daily Graphic*, July 6, 1957, 1; Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 52.
50. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 52; *Liberator*, June 25, 1957, 2; *Liberator*, June 26, 1957, 2.
51. Cusack, "Tiny Transmitters of Nationalist," 593.
52. See *Liverpool Daily Post*, "Gold for Ghana," June 30, 1960, and *Times*, "Gold Piece For Ghana: Republic Day Commemoration," June 20, 1960.

5 EXHIBITING THE NATION

1. Roy Richard Grinker and Christopher B. Steiner, eds, *Perspectives on Africa: A Reader in Culture, History and Representation* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), xxviii.
2. Merrick Posnansky, "Propaganda for the Millions: Images from Africa," *African Arts* 37, no. 2 (2004): 54-56.
3. Posnansky, "Propaganda for the Millions," 54, Figure 5 caption.
4. Posnansky, "Propaganda for the Millions," 54 and note 2, 94.
5. Posnansky, "Propaganda for the Millions," 56-57.

6. Agbenyega Adedze, "Museums as a Tool for Nationalism in Africa," *Museum Anthropology*, Theme issue on Museums and the Politics of Nationalism 19, no. 2 (1995 Fall): 58.
7. Mark Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display: The National Museum, Ghana," *Journal of the History of Collections* 13, 2 (2001): 231–232; Adedze, "Museums as a tool for Nationalism in Africa," 60–61.
8. Achimota was an elite, private British colonial institution established in 1927 to educate Africans for mid-level administrative positions in the British colonial service.
9. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 234.
10. As a research museum commissioned to investigate and display archaeological objects found in the Gold Coast, the Museum of Archaeology's collections included ceramics, terracotta, beads, iron, brass, and stones. See Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 233; and ICOM Ghana, http://www.ghana.icom.museum/24024_e.html, accessed July 14, 2009.
11. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 237.
12. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 237.
13. Richard Rathbone, ed. *Ghana: Part 1, 1941–1952*. Ser. B, vol. 1 of *British Documents on the End of Empire* (London: H.M.S.O., 1992), li.
14. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), liv.
15. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 239.
16. H. J. Braunholz, as quoted in Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 239.
17. See, for example, A.W. Lawrence, *Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1963).
18. A. W. Lawrence and Ralph Merrifield, "The National Museum of Ghana," *Museums Journal* 57, no. 4 (July 1957): 88, as quoted in Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 235.
19. Quoted in Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 241.
20. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 235.
21. See *The Times*, "National Museum for Ghana: 80ft. Aluminium Dome," March 11, 1957, 8; Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 232; and ICOM Ghana, http://www.ghana.icom.museum/24024_e.html (accessed July 14, 2009).

22. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 233.
23. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 233.
24. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 236.
25. Christopher B. Steiner, "Museums and the Politics of Nationalism," *Museum Anthropology* 19, 2 (1995): 5.
26. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 244.
27. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 244.
28. Steiner, "Museums and the Politics of Nationalism," 3.
29. Steiner, "Museums and the Politics of Nationalism," 4.
30. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 244–245 and note 78, 250.
31. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 245.
32. *The Cultural Policy of Ghana* (Accra: National Commission on Culture, October 2004), 33.
33. Caption for Kente display at the National Museum of Ghana, 2007.
34. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 240.
35. Janet B. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2006), 21.
36. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 24.
37. Quoted in Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 241.
38. Francis Boakye Duah, "Community Initiative & National Support at the Asante Cultural Centre, Ghana," in *Museums & the Community in West Africa*, ed. Claude Daniel Ardouin and Emmanuel Arinze (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 105–106, 110; Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 240.
39. Merrick Posnansky, letter to author, March 31, 2014.
40. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 240.
41. Crinson, "Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 240; Duah, "Community Initiative & National Support," 112; Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 24.
42. Crinson, "Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display," 240.
43. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 182, note 39, chapter 1.

44. For more insights into the Hamitic theory, see, for example, the writings of the British ethnologist Charles Gabriel Seligman (1873–1940), especially *The Races of Africa* (London, Oxford University Press, [1930] 1966).
45. See J. B. Danquah, *The Akan Doctrine of God: A Fragmentation of Gold Coast Ethics and Religion* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1944); Eva Meyerowitz, *Akan Traditions of Origin* (London, 1952); Meyerowitz, *The Akan of Ghana, Their Ancient Beliefs* (London 1953); Meyerowitz, *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* (London, 1960); and Meyerowitz, *The Sacred State of the Akan* (London, 1951). For further analysis on the Ghana hypothesis, see also R. A. Mauny, “The Question of Ghana,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 24, 3 (July 1954): 200–213.
46. Dennis Austin, “The Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention,” *Journal of African History* 2, no. 2 (1961): 297.
47. Crinson, “Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display,” 233.
48. Crinson, “Nation-Building, Collecting and the Politics of Display,” 241–242.
49. See Parker, *Making the Town*.
50. Around 1967–1968 (after Nkrumah had been ousted from power), Merrick Posnansky was an expert witness for a case against the museum regarding the sale of its non-Ghanaian art, which was purchased by A. W. Lawrence and others. The case also involved the theft of over \$100,000 by individuals in the museum. Merrick Posnansky, letter to author, March 31, 2014.
51. Crinson, “Nation-building, Collecting and the Politics of Display,” 242.
52. Adedze, “Museums as a Tool for Nationalism in Africa,” 60.
53. Adedze, “Museums as a tool for Nationalism in Africa,” 63.

6 MONUMENTAL NATIONALISM

1. <http://www.legal-explanations.com/definitions/monument.htm> (accessed March 6, 2009).
2. Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, 3 vols., trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Yvonne Whelan, “The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape: Monuments to British Monarchs in Dublin Before and After Independence,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 28, no. 4 (2002): 508–533; James E. Young, “Memory and Counter-Memory,” in “Constructions of Memory: On Monuments Old and New,” special edition, *Harvard Design Magazine* 9 (1999): 6.
3. See Stephen Heathorn, “‘The Long Retreat of Stone Generals’: Imperial Memory, Decolonisation and the Repatriation of Imperial Monuments from Sudan, 1956–60” in “Studies in Ethnicity and

- Nationalism,” Special issue, *Nation and Empire* (2005): 47; Sanford Levinson, *Written in Stone: Public Monuments in Changing Societies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); Michael North, “The Public as Sculpture: From Heavenly City to Mass Ornament,” in *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990).
4. “Nations and their Pasts,” 16th annual ASEN Conference, March 28–30, 2006, LSE.
 5. “Nations and their Pasts.”
 6. Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans., ed. L. Coser (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Heathorn, “The Long Retreat of Stone Generals,” 46; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London, Verso, 1994); Jay Winter and Emmanuel Sivan, “Setting the Framework,” in *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, ed. J. Winter and E. Sivan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
 7. Janet B. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2006), 30 and note 75, chapter 1, 184; Cabinet Minutes, May 14, July 30, and October 29, 1957.
 8. Public Records and Archives Administration (PRAAD), Ghana National Archives. ADM 14/6/99, “Ghana Independence Celebrations: Ceremonial Opening of the National Monument by Her Royal Highness The Duchess of Kent” Program.
 9. PRAAD, ADM 14/6/99, “Ghana Independence Celebrations” Program.
 10. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 23.
 11. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 182, note 35, chapter 1.
 12. Edmund Abaka, “Youth and Development: Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and The Ghana Young Pioneer Movement” (paper presented at the “Ghana in Africa and the World: A Symposium Commemorating the Centenary and Legacy of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (First President of Ghana), 1909–2009” conference, Connecticut College, New London, CT, November 6, 2009).
 13. Sarah Stockwell, *The Business of Decolonization: British Business Strategies in the Gold Coast* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 9.
 14. Rathbone, Richard, ed. *Ghana: Part 1, 1941–1952*. Ser. B, vol. 1 of *British Documents on the End of Empire*. (London: H.M.S.O., 1992) li and note 63, p. lxxiv.
 15. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), note 39, lxxii.
 16. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), xliii–xliv.
 17. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), xlv.
 18. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), xlv.

19. This fear of communism harkens back to the inter-War era in West Africa, as evidenced by the treatment of Gold Coast and other West African political agitators and nationalists in the 1920s and 1930s, including J. B. Danquah, Ofori Atta, and Nnamdi Azikiwe.
20. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), xlv.
21. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), xlv.
22. Among those appointed to the Coussey Committee were three of the members of the UGCC who would later become part of “the Big Six”—credited in the post-Nkrumah nationalist historical narrative with leading the Gold Coast to independence. They were Edward Akufo-Addo (1906–1979), Joseph Boakye Danquah (1895–1965), and Emmanuel Odarkwei Obetsebi-Lamtey (1902–1963). Conspicuously absent from this list is the main member of the Big Six, namely, Kwame Nkrumah.
23. Rathbone, BDEEP (Ghana I), xlv.
24. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 52–53.
25. Kwame Nkrumah, “Why the Queen’s Head Is Coming off Our Coins,” *Daily Sketch*, June 20, 1957, 12.
26. Nkrumah, “The Queen’s Head,” 12.
27. *Daily Graphic*, July 2, 1957, 16.
28. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 30 and note 77, chapter 1, 184.
29. Sammy Kango, “Nkrumah Statue Sent to Museum,” *Ghanaian Times*, September 19, 1975; GMMB: Statues File No. 0244, G. Amegatcher, Assistant Keeper-Art GMMB, to the General Manager of Railway and Ports Authority, memorandum # 0739/60, “Restoration of Bronze Statues of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,” June 15, 1981; GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Professor R. B. Nunoo, director of the Ghana Museums & Monuments Board to the Producer, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, memorandum 0739/51, “Late Ex-President Nkrumah’s Statue,” August 5, 1980. See also Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 30 and note 77, chapter 1, 184.
30. Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 132.
31. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, (London: Panaf, 2006) 216.
32. See, for example, *Liberator*, August 10, 1956, 3; *Liberator*, October 23, 1956, 1; and *Liberator*, November 21, 1956, 2.
33. Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 53.
34. See, for example, *Liberator*, November 16, 1956, 1; *Liberator*, December 13, 1956, 1; and *Ashanti Pioneer*, May 2, 1956, 2.
35. *Liberator*, January 15, 1957, 2, as cited in Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 53.”
36. *Liberator*, January 15, 1957, 2, as cited in Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*, 53.
37. *Daily Graphic*, November 6, 1961, 1.

38. *Ashanti Times*, July 6, 1957, 1.
39. *Liberator*, November 5, 1956, 1, and *Ashanti Pioneer*, August 1, 1957, 1.
40. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, memorandum No. 0244/17, "Draft Memorandum on National Statues," May 27, 1964.
41. Merrick Posnansky, letter to author, March 31, 2014. See also, Thurstan Shaw, *Excavation at Dawu: Report of an Excavation in a Mound at Dawu, Akuapin, Ghana* (London, UK: University College of Ghana/Thomas Nelson, 1961).
42. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Executive Secretary, GMMB to Professor Nicola Cataudella (Rome), memorandum No. AM.064/45, February 8, 1963.
43. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, R. B. Nunoo, director of GMMB to A. J. Dowuona-Hammond, Minister of Education, memorandum No. 0244/3, February 11, 1963.
44. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, GMMB to Cataudella, March 14, 1963.
45. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Draft Memorandum on National Statues," May 27, 1964.
46. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Mark D. Abloh, Executive Secretary, GMMB to the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Education, memorandum No. 0244/21, "Statues," July 2, 1964.
47. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Abloh to Ministry of Education, July 2, 1964; GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, T. K. A. Duodu, Ministry of Education to Director, Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, memorandum ZF.23/Vol.III/447, "Statues," October 19, 1964.
48. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Government Sculptor," May 27, 1964.
49. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Government Sculptor," May 27, 1964.
50. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Notes of the Meeting on "Statues" held in the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board on Monday, 22nd March, 1965 at 10.45 A.M.," 1.
51. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Draft Memorandum on National Statues," May 27, 1964.
52. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Draft Memorandum on National Statues," May 27, 1964.
53. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Notes of the Meeting, 22nd March, 1965 at 10.45 A.M.," 1.

7 PAN-AFRICAN NATIONALISM

1. Retired major Maxwell O. Tweneboa-Kodua, Curator, GAFM, e-mail message to author, August 26, 2009; Emmanuel Quainoo, Senior Museum Guide, Ghana Armed Forces Museum, interview by author, Kumasi, Ghana, July 27, 2006.

2. See Miguel F. Brooks, ed., *A Modern Translation of the Kebra Nagast (The Glory of Kings)*, 1st ed. (Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 1996).
3. For a complete history of the Battle of Adwa, see Maimire Mennasemay and Getachew Metaferia, eds., *The Battle of Adwa, 1896: Exposition and Analysis of Ethiopia's Historic Victory Against European Imperialism* (Trenton, NJ: Red Sea Press, 2006); Paulos Milkias and Getachew Metaferia, eds., *The Battle of Adwa-Reflections on Ethiopia's Historic Victory Against European Colonialism: Interpretations and Implications for Ethiopia and Beyond* (New York: Algora Publishing, 2006); Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa, 1876–1912* (London: Abacus, 1992); and Fassil Yirgu and Pamela S. Brown, eds., *One House: The Battle of Adwa 1896, 100 Years* (Chicago, IL: Nyala Publishing, 1996).
4. A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 63.
5. Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957), 22–23.
6. Nkrumah, *I Speak of Freedom* (London: Heinemann, 1961), 126–130; June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography* (London: Panaf, 2006), 83–84.
7. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 95–97.
8. See Dennis Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946–1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 396; Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 125, 126, 127; W. Scott Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957–1966: Diplomacy, Ideology and the New State* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 32, 111.
9. See Adeoye Akinsanya, “The Afro-Arab Alliance: Dream or Reality,” *African Affairs* 75, no. 301 (October, 1976): 511–529; Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 127, 128, 129, 130; Tareq Y. Ismael, “The United Arab Republic in Africa,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 2, no. 2 (Autumn 1968): 175–194; Arnold Rivkin, “Israel and the Afro-Asian World,” *Foreign Affairs* 37, no. 3 (April 1959): 486; Thompson, *Ghana's Foreign Policy*, 9, 34, 43, 46, 50–1, 137, 178, 284, 287, 429.
10. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 80–81.
11. For more on the Congo Crisis, see Cruise Conor O'Brien, *To Katanga and Back* (London, Hutchinson, 1962); Ludo De Witte, *The Assassination of Lumumba* (London: Verso, 2001); Howard Epstein, ed., *Revolt in the Congo, 1960–1964* (Armor Books, 1974); Ch. Didier Gondola, *The History of Congo* (Greenwood Press, 2002); Thomas Kanza, *The Rise and Fall of Patrice Lumumba* (Schenkman Books, 1979); Colin Legum, *Congo Disaster* (Penguin Books, 1961); René Lemarchand, *Political Awakening in the Belgian Congo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); Patrice Lumumba, *Congo, My Country*, trans. Graham Heath (London: Pall Mall Press,

- 1962); Martin Meredith, *The State of Africa: A History of Fifty Years since Independence* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2005); Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*; Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa since 1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Herbert Weiss, *Political Protest in the Congo: The Parti Solidaire Africain during the Independence Struggle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967); Stephen R. Weissman, *American Foreign Policy in the Congo, 1960–1964* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974); and Crawford Young, *Politics in the Congo* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965).
12. See Nkrumah, *Challenge of the Congo*, 86, 89, 107, 110, 115–116, 173, 193, and 266; and Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 94–95.
 13. See Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 91–92, 97, 144–150, 159, and 175–176.
 14. A “juju”, synonymous with “voodoo” and “fetish,” is an object(s) traditionally used as a charm, a fetish, or amulet in many parts of Africa (in particular, West and Central Africa) and the Diaspora. These charms are believed to possess or be able to channel ancestral and spiritual powers that can be used to achieve desired outcomes in the living world.
 15. Later on in the 1990s, former curator Lt. Col. Donkor expanded the Peacekeeping Hall exhibits to include other UN and OAU/AU peacekeeping missions in which Ghanaian soldiers took part since the Congo Crisis, including in Rwanda, the Congo, Liberia, Sierra Leone, as well as internationally in Burma and Indonesia. ICOM, http://ghana.icom.museum/24001_e.html (accessed November 21, 2006); Quainoo, Senior Museum Guide, GAFM, July 23, 2009.
 16. C. L., “The Accra Conference of African States,” *The World Today* 14, no. 6 (June 1958): 260.
 17. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 127.
 18. Austin, *Politics in Ghana*, 396; Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 126;
 19. Merrick Posnansky, letter to author, March 31, 2014.
 20. GPA S4/51, “First Anniversary of the Death of Premier Patrice Lumumba,” SDC Memorandum #2365: 2.
 21. GPA: S4/39, GB.28/SF.22/38, Ministry of Transport & Communications to Designers, “Commemorative Issues of Ghana Postage Stamps – 1960,” July 14, 1959, 1.
 22. GPA S4/51, *First Anniversary of the Death of Premier Patrice Lumumba 12th February 1962*. Standing Development Committee Memorandum #2365 by the Ministry of Construction and Communications, “Commemorative Issues of Ghana Postage Stamps: 1962,” n.d. (but probably mid-late 1961): 2.
 23. Merrick Posnansky, letter.
 24. Nkrumah, *Autobiography*, 16.

25. GPA, S4/39 (Stamps Olympic Games June 1960), GB.28/SF.22/52, Ministry of Transport & Communications to Designers, "Commemorative Issues of Ghana Postage Stamps - 1960," September 3, 1959, 2.
26. GPA, S4/39, GB.28/SF.25/18, Ministry of Transport & Communications to Director of Posts and Telecommunications, "Olympic Games Commemorative Stamps," March 18, 1960.
27. See Kevin Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
28. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 68–69.
29. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 68–69, 71.
30. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 70.
31. Adedze, "Commemorating the Chief," 70–72.

8 THE DOWNFALL OF KWAME NKRUMAH

1. Kwama Nkrumah, 41.
2. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 41; June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography* (London: Panaf, 2006), 173. See also Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 135–136.
3. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 41–42; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 169–174.
4. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 136–37.
5. National Liberation Council and the Ministry of Information, *The Rebirth of Ghana: The End of Tyranny* (Accra-Tema: State Publishing Corporation, Printing Division, 1966), i.
6. The first occurred in 1960 in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), and a failed attempt occurred in Ethiopia in that same year. These were followed by successful military takeovers in Togo (1963), Algeria, the DRC, and the Central African Republic (1965), as well as Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Nigeria's first of many-to-come coups (1966).
7. Johnson Library, National Security File, Special Head of State Correspondence File, Ghana, 3/24/66–10/6/66. No classification marking.
8. Johnson Library, Special Head of State Correspondence File, Ghana, 3/24/66–10/6/66.
9. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 8.
10. See John Stockwell, *In Search of Enemies: A CIA Story* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1978), 160, 201.
11. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 8.
12. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 138.
13. Cocking, *The History of Ghana*, 132, 133, 139; David Rooney, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Political Kingdom in the Third World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988), 176.

14. See, for example, "A Waste," *N.Y. World Telegram & Sun Editorial*, November 1, 1965; Associated Press, "Ghana Bites U.S. Hand So Feeding Is Halted," *The New York Herald Tribune*, November, 23, 1965, 3; Associated Press, "U.S. Rejects Nkrumah's Request for \$100 Million," *The Washington Post*, November 23, 1965, A12; 1965; John W. Finney, "An Irked U.S. Bars Ghana Food Plea: Reacts to an Anti-American Attack in Nkrumah Book," *The New York Times*, November 23, 1965, C3; Lloyd Garrison, "Book by Nkrumah Attacks the U.S.," *New York Times*, October 31, 1965, 13, C1; Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Rejects Ghana Plea for Surplus Food," *The Evening Star, Washington, D.C.*, November 23, 1965; Donald H. Louchheim, "Nkrumah Calls U.S. Archenemy of Africa" *The Washington Post*, November 3, 1965, A15; and Joseph R. L. Sterne, "Ghana Denied \$100,000,000 in Aid After Anti-U.S. Blasts," *The Sun, Baltimore*, November 23, 1965, A1, A9.
15. See, for example, John D. Esseks, "Political Independence and Economic Decolonization: The Case of Ghana Under Nkrumah," *The Western Political Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (March 1971): 59–64; Sarah Stockwell, *The Business of Decolonization: British Business Strategies in the Gold Coast* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).
16. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 138–39.
17. Dennis Austin, *Politics in Ghana 1946–1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 396; Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 126; June Milne, "The Coup that Disrupted Africa's Forward March," in "Nkrumah's Legacy 40 Years After the Coup," special issue, *New African* (February 24, 2006): 6–9.
18. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 34.
19. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 3.
20. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 22–23.
21. Similar occurrences of contesting history by pulling apart the statues of leftist leaders can be found elsewhere; in Budapest, demonstrators dismantled and knocked off the sculpted head of Stalin's statue during the 1956 revolution. Amidst the ruins of the Chancellery in Berlin lies a bust of Adolf Hitler. On March 8, 1966, former members of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) blew up the Nelson's Pillar monument that was constructed in Dublin, Ireland, in 1808 to honor the British naval hero Lord Horatio Nelson. See "Nations and their Pasts," 16th annual ASEN conference, March 28–30, 2006. The symbolic attacks on the policies of political leaders through the demolition of monuments that they erected, reflects both historical and contemporary trends by antimonarchy, antigovernment, or anti-incumbent movements to remove or desecrate monuments that were seen as the symbolic representation of unpopular monarchs, imperial occupiers or domestic regimes. Of course, the earliest African examples of this were from Ancient Egypt, where cartouches of killed or deposed pharaohs were erased. This is even evident in more recent

- times, including postcolonial Khartoum, pre- and postapartheid South Africa and states within the former Soviet Union. In 1992, Ethiopian workers in Addis Ababa dismantled the statues of communist leaders such as Lenin erected by the exiled Colonel Mengistu. See, for example, Annie E. Coombes, *History after Apartheid: Visual Culture and Public Memory in a Democratic South Africa* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003); Coombes, "Translating the Past: Apartheid Monuments in Post-Apartheid South Africa," in *Hybridity and its Discontents: Politics, Science, Culture*, ed. A. Brah and A. E. Coombes, 173–197 (New York: Routledge, 2000); Andrew Crampton, "The Voortrekker Monument, the Birth of Apartheid, and Beyond," *Political Geography* 20 (2001): 221–246; Pamela Dube, "Monument will Honor Steve Biko," *Sowetan*, August 12, 1997: 6; Stephen Heathorn, "The Long Retreat of Stone Generals': Imperial Memory, Decolonisation and the Repatriation of Imperial Monuments from Sudan, 1956–60," in "Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism," special issue, *Nation and Empire* (2005): 43–61; Hess, *Art and Architecture in Postcolonial Africa*; Hess, "Exhibiting Ghana;" Hess, "Imagining Architecture;" Hess, "Spectacular Nation;" Henrika Kuklick, "Contested Monuments: The Politics of Archaeology in Southern Africa," in *Colonial Situations: Essays on the Contextualization of Ethnographic Knowledge*, ed. George W. Stocking, 135–170 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991); Mark Lewis and Laura Mulvey, dirs., *Disgraced Monuments* (New York, NY: Cinema Guild, 1991, VHS); Sabine Marschall, "Forging National Identity: Institutionalizing Foundation Myths Through Monuments," *South African Journal of Cultural History* 19, no. 1 (2005): 18–35; Lawrence J. Vale "Mediated Monuments and National Identity," *Journal of Architecture* 4 (1999): 391–408; Whelan, "The Construction and Destruction of a Colonial Landscape;" and Martin Meredith, *The State of Africa: A History of Fifty Years of Independence* (Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers, 2005), Chapter 22, plate 15.
22. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 138.
 23. Sammy Kango, "Nkrumah's Statue to be on Show," *Ghanaian Times*, January 5, 1977.
 24. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Gilbert Amegatcher, Assistant Keeper of Art, Ghana Museums & Monuments Board to A. Akator, Head of the Sculpture Section, College of Art, University of Science & Technology, Kumasi, memorandum 0739/31, "Restoration of Nkrumah Statues," June 20, 1978; GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Nunoo to GBC, memorandum 0739/51, "Late Ex-President Nkrumah's statue," August 5, 1980; GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, G. Amegatcher to the General Manager of Railway and Ports Authority, June 15, 1981; GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Observation of Bronze statues of the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah."

25. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, sub-File No. 0739, Custodian Superintendent to Assistant Director, Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, memorandum, "Conveyance of Statues," September 19, 1975.
26. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 138.
27. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 31.
28. Meredith, *The State of Africa*, chapter 22, fourth plate.
29. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 31.
30. *Daily Graphic*, March 4, 1966, 5.
31. *Evening News*, March 14, 1966, 6.
32. Gaines elaborates on the causes, consequences of and chaos that ensued during the military coup, and the impact that it had on Ghanaians as well as "American Africans" in Ghana. See Kevin Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana: Black Expatriates and the Civil Rights Era* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), Chapter 7.
33. *Evening News*, March 14, 1966, 6, quoted and cited in Hess, *Art and Architecture in Ghana*, note 91, chapter two, 187.
34. NLC, *The Rebirth of Ghana: The end of Tyranny*, i.
35. *Evening News*, March 3, 1966, 3.
36. In 2007, the GAFM created new displays of Heads of State in Ghana, and Nkrumah's pictures were put back in the display. Interview with Emmanuel Quainoo, Senior Museum Guide, GAFM, August 13, 2009.
37. Merrick Posnansky, letter to author, March 31, 2014.
38. NLC, *The Rebirth of Ghana*, 2.
39. NLC, *The Rebirth of Ghana*, 30.
40. This new anthem has been used from 1966 to present. See <http://www.ghana.gov.gh/living/anthem.php> (accessed September 12, 2006).
41. *Daily Graphic*, "Is There a Black Star?" February 22, 1967.
42. Paul Tuffuor, "Substitute Gold for Black," *Daily Graphic*, March 1, 1967.
43. Tuffuor, "Substitute Gold for Black."
44. Dzenkle Dzewu, "Black—It's Symbol of Gloom and Fear," *Daily Graphic*, March 2, 1967.
45. Dzewu, "Black—It's Symbol of Gloom and Fear."
46. C.G. Baeta, "Retain the Black Star," *Daily Graphic*, March 1, 1967.
47. Baeta, "Retain the Black Star."
48. G.K. Odonkor, "A Source of Inspiration," *Daily Graphic*, March 1, 1967.
49. Bank of Ghana, "Brief History of the Ghana Currency" (Accra, Ghana: BoG, July 18, 2006); Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 71.
50. Komen-Sapanin, "C50 Notes Abolished," *Daily Graphic*, February 24, 1967, 28.

51. Edward S. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana: Commemoration of the Golden Jubilee* (Accra: Bank of Ghana, 2007), 70.
52. D. Tetteh, "Brawl Over New Cedi," *Daily Graphic*, March 3, 1967, 1, 3. See also Komen-Sapanin, "C50 Notes Abolished," 28. After that time, however, the value of the national Cedi currency began a downward spiral from which it only recovered in the late 2000s and beyond.
53. British Postal Museum and Archive (BPMA), 122/6490, File 9, *Demonetization of Postage Stamps – Enquiry from Ghana*, Joseph M. Aggrey to Kenneth Hind, memorandum, "Postage Stamps – Demonetization of," October 24, 1966.
54. BPMA: S.4/1, 27602/64, S.T.B. Johnys to Joseph M. Aggrey, October 31, 1966, 1–2.
55. GPA: S4/75 (Castles and Monuments of Ghana), GB.28/SF.22/Vol.7, (SGD) E.P.O. Kwafo, Ministry of Communications, to the Director, Department of Posts & Telecommunications, "Issue of Commemorative Postage Stamps for the First Anniversary of the 24th February Revolution," December 1, 1966.
56. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 138.
57. See Gaines, *American Africans in Ghana*, 228–243.

9 THE DEATH AND SYMBOLIC "RESURRECTION" OF
KWAME NKRUMAH

1. Kwame Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana* (1968; new ed., New York: International Publishers, 1969), 66.
2. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 36.
3. See National Liberation Council and the Ministry of Information, *The Rebirth of Ghana: The End of Tyranny* (Accra-Tema: State Publishing Corporation, Printing Division, 1966), 6–20.
4. See Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, Chapter 3 "the National Liberation Council," 33–51.
5. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 21, 34, 44.
6. Roger S. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 148.
7. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 148.
8. June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography* (London: Panaf, 2006). See Part Two, "The Conakry Years," especially Chapter 13, "Villa Syli."
9. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 152; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 129.
10. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, photographs of original Kotoka statue at Kotoka International Airport. The Kotoka statue was moved from the airport to the grounds of the National Museum in October 2000 to make repairs to it and to facilitate renovation works

to modernize the airport. However, the statue was never returned to the airport and currently stands behind the statues of Nkrumah in the fore court of the National Museum (see Figures 9.2a and 9.2b)—an ironic juxtaposition given that Kotoka was “behind” the coup against Nkrumah and highlights Kotoka’s “backstabbing” of Nkrumah.

11. Nkrumah, *Dark Days in Ghana*, 22.
12. NLC and the Ministry of Information, *The Rebirth of Ghana*, 21.
13. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 152–62.
14. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 245–247.
15. Ama Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 171–172; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 251.
16. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 259.
17. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 160; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 259.
18. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 161; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 259.
19. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 264. See also Biney, *The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah*, 182–184, for accounts of the divergent ways in which Nkrumah’s death was reported and reflected on in the African and Western media.
20. See Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 169–71.
21. Gocking, *The History of Ghana*, 169; Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 259, 265–266.
22. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 266.
23. On July 5, 1978, General Acheampong himself was ousted in a palace coup d’état and replaced by Lieutenant-General Frederick W. K. Akuffo. Although not the main reason, but it seems plausible to speculate that Acheampong’s public enthusiasm for Nkrumah’s legacy was among the factors that led to his own ouster from government, given that members of the military still held animosities toward Nkrumah—even long after his death.
24. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, J.E. Tibiru, Commissioner of Police/ADMN, Ghana Police to the Director, Ghana Museums and Monuments Board, memorandum ref. no. 194/SF.2/61, “Statue of Ex-President Kwame Nkrumah,” June 6, 1975.
25. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244 (unclear signature), Ghana Museums & Monuments Board to the Managing Director, S.C.C., Accra, memorandum 0739/16, “Mounting of Nkrumah’s Statue,” February 28, 1977.
26. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, unrecognisable signature, handwritten memorandum 0739, March 26, 1977.
27. Sammy Kango, “Nkrumah Statue Sent to Museum,” *Ghanaian Times*, September 19, 1975.

28. Kango, "Nkrumah Statue," n.p.; Kwamena Apponsah, "Nkrumah's Statue In," *Daily Graphic*, November 19, 1976.
29. Apponsah, "Nkrumah's Statue In," n.p.
30. Apponsah, "Nkrumah's Statue In," n.p.
31. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Sub-File No. 0739, handwritten note, no title, unrecognizable signature, November 19, 1976.
32. GMMB: Statues File No. 0244, hand written note, File No. 0739, December 8, 1976.
33. Sammy, "Nkrumah's Statue to be on Show," *Ghanaian Times*, January 5, 1977.
34. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, (unclear signature), Ghana Museums & Monuments Board to the Managing Director, S.C.C., Accra, memorandum 0739/16, "Mounting of Nkrumah's Statue," February 28, 1977; GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Ag. D/CM/WDC-Executive,/AK, "Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (1909 – 1972)," December 20, 1982; GMMB: Statues File No. 0244, "Observation of Bronze Statues of the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah."
35. Kango, "Nkrumah's Statue to be on Show," n.p.
36. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Observation of Bronze statues of the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah."
37. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, AG.K. (Centre Museum), "Restoration of Kwame Nkrumah Bronze Statue," memorandum, November 1, 1980; GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Nunoo to GBC, memorandum 0739/51, "Late Ex-President Nkrumah's Statue," August 5, 1980.
38. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Newell Elymas to the Producer, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, letter, "Armless Nkrumah on Exhibition at the Ghana Museum," June 12, 1980.
39. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Nunoo to GBC, "Late Ex-President Nkrumah's Statue," August 5, 1980.
40. Despite the promises made by the Museums and Monuments Board that the monument of Nkrumah would be fully restored, the statue remains displayed at the National Museum with both of its arms broken off to this day.
41. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, text of plaque label, "Dr. Kwame Nkrumah (1909 – 1972)."
42. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Kwame Nkrumah Statue Investigation Report," December 6, 1984, 1.
43. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, "Kwame Nkrumah Statue Investigation Report," 1. See also GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Principal Keeper, Dr. I.N. Debrah, memorandum, "Restoration of the Kwame Nkrumah Statue," October 11, 1984.
44. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 203–204.
45. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 204.

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1. June Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography* (London: Panaf, 2006), 268.
2. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 268, 270.
3. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 268.
4. Milne, *Kwame Nkrumah: A Biography*, 268, 270.
5. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs funded the Museum of Nzema Culture and History—Fort Apollonia, which opened in 2010. Although this “eco-museum” is dedicated to the memory of Kwame Nkrumah, it is a far cry from the intention of a motion that was originally brought forward by J. A. Kinnah in Parliament in 1961 to construct a shrine at Nkrumah’s place of birth. See <http://www.ghanamuseums.org/nzema-culture-museum.php>.
6. *The Statesman*, “National Alliance of Liberals Proposed Memorial Monument to JB Danquah and Obetsebi Lamptey,” February 28, 2007, 1, www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?newsid=2665§ion=1 (accessed March 23, 2007). After falling from grace with Nkrumah and being forced into exile, Gbedemah returned to Ghana and founded the NAL in the 1969 general election year, winning a seat in the National Assembly. However, he was barred from holding the seat in parliament due to the standing NLC ban on former CPP officials from holding public office for a decade.
7. *The Statesman*, “National Alliance of Liberals,” 1; see also *The Statesman*, “Okudzeto’s Motion for a Fitting Monument for JB,” February 28, 2007), www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?newsid=2670§ion=17 (accessed March 23, 2007).
8. *The Statesman*, “National Alliance of Liberals,” 1.
9. *The Statesman*, “Okudzeto’s Motion for a Fitting Monument for JB,” 1–2.
10. *The Statesman*, “Okudzeto’s Motion for a Fitting Monument for JB,” 2–4.
11. *The Statesman*, “Okudzeto’s Motion for a Fitting Monument for JB,” 4–5.
12. *The Statesman*, “Okudzeto’s Motion for a Fitting Monument for JB,” 4–5.
13. *The Statesman*, “Okudzeto’s Motion for a Fitting Monument for JB,” 5.
14. *The Ghanaian Times*, “J.B. Danquah’s Son Petitions,” February 15, 2007, cited on *Joy Online*, <http://news.myjoyonline.com/news/200702/1632.asp> (accessed December 14, 2008).
15. GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, Vincent Okunor, Honorable Secretary, King Tackie Tawiah Memorial Trust, to the Director, GMMB, Memorandum No. KTTMT/BT/95/5, “Erection of

- Statue at General Post Office Square :- (Near G.N.T.C.),” March 29, 1995. See also, GMMB, Statues File No. 0244, G.Y. Addo for Director of Administration, Accra Metropolitan Assembly, to Nii Kpobi Tettey Tsuru III, La Mantse, King Tackie Tawiah Memorial Trust, Memorandum No. A.013/4/512, “Erection of statue at General Post Office Square (near G.N.T.C.),” March 27, 1995.
16. See N. Cooper, “King Tackie Tawiah I: Hundred Years On,” *Ghanaian Times*, September 28, 2002. President Kufuor commissioned the statue on September 24, 2002, and was assisted by Nii Amugi II, President of the Ga Traditional Council, Nii Akropong III, Head of Nii Teiko Tsuru We, and the family of King Tackie Tawiah I.
 17. These include the Manhyia Palace Museum, which was established in 1995 as a royal museum dedicated to the history of the Asante Kings, the Prempeh II Jubilee Museum, the New Juaben Palace Museum, and the Centre for National Culture (formerly the Kumasi Cultural Centre). See http://ghana.icom.museum/24002_e.html (accessed November 24, 2006).
 18. The other Ghanaians honored in this series include Dr. J. B. Danquah, John Mensah Sarbah, Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, and G. E. (Paa) Grant.
 19. Ghana News Agency (GNA), March 2, 2010.
 20. Edward S. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana: Commemoration of the Golden Jubilee* (Accra: Bank of Ghana, 2007), 224.
 21. Bank of Ghana, “Issue of 10000 & 20000 Cedis Banknotes” (Accra: Bank of Ghana Archives & Publications, 2002), 2.
 22. Paul Acquah, Launching of the Ghana Cedi: Speech by Dr. Paul Acquah, Governor, Bank of Ghana (Accra: Bank of Ghana, May 3, 2007); Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 224–25; and John Kufuor, Keynote address given by H. E. John A. Kufuor at the launch of the 50th Anniversary Celebrations of the Bank Of Ghana, Accra, August 1, 2007.
 23. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 224.
 24. Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 225.
 25. Mac-Jordan, “Ghana: New Two Ghana Cedis Notes Unveiled,” *Global Voices*, May 18, 2010, <http://globalvoicesonline.org/2010/05/18/ghana-new-two-ghana-cedis-notes-unveiled/> (accessed April 20, 2011).
 26. BanknoteNews, “GhanaNew2-Cedi Note Confirmed,” July 23, 2010, <http://www.banknotenews.com/files/category-africa.php> (accessed April 20, 2011).
 27. Thomas Dickens, “A Better Ghana: The New Two-Cedi Note,” *GhanaWeb*, April 24, 2010, 2011, <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=180642> (accessed April, 20, 2011).
 28. Acquah, Launching of the Ghana Cedi, 3–6; Ayensu, *Bank of Ghana*, 224–27.

29. Banknote News, "Ghana New 2-Cedi Note Confirmed."
30. The Guinean government also issued currencies to honor other leftist world leaders, including Patrice Lumumba and Josip Broz Tito, between the 1970s and 1980s. See <http://www.banknotes.com/gn.htm>.
31. Translation provided by Odd Arne Westad, April 20, 2011. Other Third World leaders have been commemorated on Soviet stamps in the past. This includes Patrice Lumumba in 1961, Nelson Mandela in 1988, and Jawaharlal Nehru in 1989.
32. Reuters, "Long Live the King! AU's Lavish New Home Hit by Statue Row," *Ayyaantuu News Online*, February 11, 2012 <http://ayyaantuu.com/africa/long-live-the-king-aus-lavish-new-home-hit-by-statue-row/> (accessed November 24, 2012).
33. Reuters, "Long Live the King!"
34. Reuters, "Long Live the King!"
35. "Ethiopians Give Lacklustre Welcome to Kwame Nkrumah Statue," *Nazret.com*, February 14, 2012, <http://nazret.com/blog/index.php/2012/02/14/ethiopians-give-lacklustre-welcome-to-kwame-nkrumah-statue> (accessed November 24, 2012).
36. "Ethiopians Give Lacklustre Welcome to Kwame Nkrumah Statue."
37. "Why Nkrumah is a Fitting Statue at the Newly Inaugurated African Union Headquarters," *Ethiopian Recycler*, February 11, 2012, <http://etrecycler.blogspot.com/2012/02/why-nkrumah-is-fitting-statue-at-newly.html>, (accessed November 24, 2012).
38. Reuters, "Long Live the King!"
39. Ghana @ 50 Website, <http://www.ghana50.gov.gh/ghana50/> (accessed March 16, 2007).
40. Ken Amankwah, Events Coordinator, Ghana @ 50 Secretariat, interview by author, Accra, Ghana, September 15, 2006; Ivor Agyeman-Duah, Information Officer, Ghana High Commission, and biographer of President John Kufuor, interview by author, London, November 16, 2006.
41. "Nkrumah Birthday a Holiday," *Daily Graphic*, September 15, 2009, <http://discussions.ghanaweb.com/viewtopic.php?f=13&t=90136&p=2510846> (accessed November 24, 2012).
42. Roger C. Gocking, *The History of Ghana* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2005), 141–142.

CONCLUSION

1. See Robert A. Jones, "Heroes of the Nation? The Celebration of Scientists on the Postage Stamps of Great Britain, France and West Germany," *Journal of Contemporary History* 36, no. 3 (2001): 403–422; and Jones, "Science in National Cultures: The Message of Postage Stamps," *Public Understanding of Science* (2004): 75–81.

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- . Statues File No. 0244. Newell Elymas to the Producer. Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. Letter. “Armless Nkrumah on Exhibition at the Ghana Museum.” June 12, 1980.
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