

## Kwame Nkrumah and the Dawn of the Cold War

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The West African National Secretariat, 1945–48

Marika Sherwood

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# Introduction

Today's African Union is the descendant of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) formed in 1963. Among the OAU's founders was Kwame Nkrumah. Nkrumah began to advocate this unity as a student in the USA, from 1935 to 1945. He then migrated to England and helped organise the Pan-African Congress in October 1945. West Africans attending recognised the need to form a new organisation to achieve unity – and independence. So some went to Paris to discuss this with African activists there. They decided to form the West African National Secretariat (WANS) as 'the complete and absolute independence for the Peoples of West Africa is the only solution to the existing problems facing Africans – and could only be achieved by working together – by unity'. WANS's campaign for unity (and much else) began in February 1946 and ended in 1948.<sup>1</sup>

The solidarity of the World War II Allies fractured once the Axis powers (Germany and its allies) were beaten. The 'West' became very fearful of the expansion of their ally, the USSR, as it now controlled the East European countries it had freed from the Germans. The 'West' was also hugely fearful of the spread of communist philosophy – i.e., that of the USSR, which challenged their capitalism. So a new war was begun, which came to be known as the Cold War. That is, a war fought not with bombs and guns, but with propaganda, 'education', restrictive laws, manipulations, control of the press – and the 'intelligence' services such as MI5 and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Many of the Allies were the owners of colonies – so their fear of the spread of communism extended around the world. The USA now wanted access on its own terms to the markets and raw materials in the European-owned colonies.

This small book on the work of WANS sets it in the context of the political world of the 1940s. It explores how Africa fits into the Allies'

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Marika Sherwood, *Kwame Nkrumah: The Years Abroad*, Legon: Freedom Publications, 1996, chapters 9 and 10, and also Sherwood, 'The African Students Association of America and Canada, 1941–1945', *Lagos Historical Review*, issue 14, 2015.



plans for the world. It outlines the relationship between the colonial masters and with the USA. And their attitudes towards the USSR.

The immediate post-war years were the beginning (in some areas the expansion) of the struggles by colonised peoples for their independence. Did they know that they were now fighting not only their own colonial masters? And that those 'masters' were working together and with the USA against them? As this is a huge topic, this small book will focus on the Gold Coast, with some account of events in Nigeria.

George Padmore described the situation in 1948, after the 'riots' in the Gold Coast:

Alarmed by the rapid growth of nationalism in Africa and other parts of the British colonial empire, the Colonial Office has been inspiring a campaign designed to brand organisations such as the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC), the Nigerian Youth Movement, the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) and the West Africa Youth League as Communist controlled and therefore should be suppressed ...

The Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies ... told the House of Commons that the recent riots and shootings on the Gold Coast were instigated by African Communists to drive the British out ...

The campaign is ... linked with the Truman Doctrine of using African raw materials and man-power to contain Soviet Russia, and in the event of war turning Africa into strategic bases.<sup>2</sup>

Here I am only giving 'outlines' of this history, and only to what I think was the *beginning* of the Cold War in Africa in 1948. Full accounts (even just of the Gold Coast) would fill many books. I did not have access to all the West African newspapers and archives while researching WANS. It is important to emphasise that the British government has still not released all the archives on WANS and anti-colonial/pro-independence activists, even for 1945–8. One of my requests for the release of some files, in 2016, prompted the following response: '[W]e have decided that this information should be withheld ... Section 27(2) of the Act exempts

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<sup>2</sup> *Chicago Defender*, 15/5/1948, p.15. On Padmore see the very recent book by Leslie James, *George Padmore and Decolonization from Below: Pan-Africanism, the Cold War, and the End of Empire*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

information if it is confidential information obtained from a State other than the UK or from an international organisation.<sup>3</sup>

Some readers might find the quotations from newspapers somewhat repetitive. My aim is for readers to see how widely the philosophy and aims of WANS was recognised and supported. *And thus what a threat it was to Western supremacy.*

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3 I could give dozens of examples. The date of my request was 28 April 2016.

# 1

## The 'Relevant' World, 1940–5

To understand what was faced by those who furthered the struggle for freedom and independence when World War II ended, it is essential to look at the most relevant political issues during these years.

Initially during World War II the 'Allies' opposed to Germany were Britain, Belgium, Greece, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia and the USSR, the only communist country. France was an 'Ally' until it was occupied/conquered by Germany in 1940; it then became known as 'Vichy' France. General Charles de Gaulle fled from France and formed a 'government in exile'. The USA joined the war on the side of the 'Allies' when it was attacked by Japan in December 1941. Germany led the 'Axis' powers, which by 1941 consisted of Bulgaria, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Romania and Slovakia.

### World War II and 'British' West Africa

The British were fearful that the neighbouring French-owned colonies would support 'Vichy' France and Germany. The Royal West African Frontier Force (RWAFF) was enlarged to protect British possessions, and also to fight against the Axis powers in Italian-controlled Somaliland and Abyssinia. When the French colonies in West Africa were freed from Vichy domination, the RWAFF's 81st and 82nd West African Divisions (from Gambia, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast) were moved to fight against the Japanese in Burma. En route, and then while awaiting repatriation, they spent some time in India, where they became acquainted with India's campaign for independence from its British masters.

About 200,000 West Africans served in the military: some had volunteered, others had been conscripted.<sup>1</sup> A Compulsory Service Ordinance was passed in 1941. According to the West African War Council, the chiefs 'were in the best position to know which members of the community can

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<sup>1</sup> The Parliament in London was loath to admit that not all soldiers were volunteers. See *Hansard*, House of Lords, 19/7/1944, vol.132, c.1018.

best be made available for military service and which must be retained for food production'.<sup>2</sup> Officers were all European until 1942, when Seth Anthony was sent from the Gold Coast to England for officer training; he was appointed second lieutenant on 'graduation'. There were also massive financial contributions: the West African peoples sent a total of £1.5 million to the UK and their governments granted Britain £1 million in interest-free loans.<sup>3</sup>

The soldiers' pay was minimal and they complained of ill-treatment, lack of adequate medical care, insufficient rations and lack of and/or bad housing. On discharge they were paid a meagre 'gratuity'.<sup>4</sup> Corporal punishment, not practised on European troops, was abolished only in May 1946. The widely distributed film of the Victory Parade in London excluded the contingent of colonial troops who had participated in the parade.<sup>5</sup>

The exports from the colonies – industrial diamonds, rubber, coal, cocoa, oils, columbite, tin, manganese and bauxite (sometimes produced by 'conscript'/forced labour) were crucial to the war effort. After the war ended, questions were asked in Parliament about terminating forced/compulsory labour in the colonies: for example, on 14 November 1945 the government reported that 'compulsory labour for essential services is still in operation in Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia'. The plan was to end it by September 1946.<sup>6</sup>

2 David Killingray with Martin Plaut, *Fighting for Britain*, Suffolk: James Currey (2010), 2012, pp.45–6; D. Killingray, 'Military and Labour Recruitment in the Gold Coast during the Second World War', *Journal of African History*, 1982, 23/1, pp.83–95, quotation is from p.91.

3 Cameron Duodu, 'Major Seth Anthony: the First Black African Commissioned into the British Army', Obituaries, *The Independent*, 19/3/2009; Marika Sherwood, *World War II: Colonies and Colonialism*, Savannah Press, 2013, pp.48–9; also [www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/colonies\\_colonialism\\_01.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/worldwars/wwtwo/colonies_colonialism_01.shtml).

4 *Hansard*, House of Commons, 17/3/1948, vol.448, cc.2064–6. For questioning of the numbers of volunteers, see Wendell P. Holbrook, 'British Propaganda and the Mobilisation of the Gold Coast War Effort, 1939–1945', *Journal of African History*, 1985, 26/4, pp.347–61. For recruitment practices, non-payment of pensions and pensions for the disabled, see Killingray with Plaut (2012, n.2), pp.198–9. On the Gold Coast, see Adrienne Israel, 'Measuring the War Experience: Ghanaian Soldiers in World War II', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1987, 25/1, pp.159–68 and Adrienne M. Israel, 'Ex-servicemen at the Crossroads: Protest and Politics in post-War Ghana', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 1992, 30/2, pp.359–68. See also Timothy Parsons, *The African Rank-and-File*, Oxford: James Currey, 1999 – this is only about the East African troops, but their conditions of service were no different to that of West Africans.

5 *LCP Newsletter*, June 1946; *Pilot*, 24/7/1946, p.1; 15/8/1946; *West Africa*, 14/12/1946.

6 *Hansard*, 14 November 1945, vol.415, cc.2276–7W.

The Allies' West Africa Command had its headquarters in Accra. The airports at Takoradi, Accra, Maiduguri and Kano hosted the aircraft provided by the USA (via its 'Ferrying Squadrons') and thus became major staging posts en route to the battles in the 'Near' and then the 'Far East'.<sup>7</sup> The US Air Transport Command was also headquartered in Accra. By December 1944 some 5,000 Africans were enlisted in the West African Air Corps as 'ground crew'.

The US military employed 6,000 local men in construction work in Accra and 13,000 in the construction and maintenance of the new road and rail systems to take bauxite to the coast for shipment.<sup>8</sup> Thus the war provided some temporary employment.

To ensure loyalty to the 'Mother Country', the British government set up a Department of Information in the Gold Coast and financed the setting up of radio stations, 'mobile motion-picture units' and a weekly news sheet, *Empire at War*. The Colonial Film Unit was set up in 1939 to monitor, censor and produce films. In 1943 the British Council began to set up agencies in most colonies. According to historian Ashley Jackson, 'an elaborate propaganda and espionage network was also built up in the Gold Coast which specialised in anything from rumour-mongering to sabotage and smuggling'.<sup>9</sup> The war also demonstrated to Africans that Europeans were not invincible: they had fought each other, some were victorious and some were beaten.

## The UK

Britain wanted not only to win the war but was fearful of losing her colonies – after all, they supplied Britain's wealth, as was admitted by Labour MP Stafford Cripps: 'The reality is that the industrial life of this

7 On the 'Ferrying Squadrons', see Deborah Wing Ray, 'The Takoradi Route: Roosevelt's Prewar Venture beyond the Western Hemisphere', *Journal of American History*, 1975, 62/2, pp.340–58.

8 David Killingray, 'Labour Mobilisation in British Colonial Africa for the War Effort, 1939–46', in D. Killingray and R. Rathbone (eds), *Africa and the Second World War*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1986.

9 F.M. Bourret, *The Gold Coast: A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland 1919–1946*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949, pp.154–5; British Film Institute, *The Film in Colonial Development*, London: BFI, 1948, p.22 (this is the report of a conference held in 1948; the plans/attitudes/aims expressed are of interest); Ashley Jackson, *The British Empire and the Second World War*, New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2006, p.226. I have not looked at the archives of the Council which have been deposited at the National Archives. (Correspondence with British Council, January 2016.)

country has been built up on the basis of colonial markets and colonial sources of raw material. Monopoly market and monopoly supplies of raw materials give a very greatly increased possibility of drawing profits from our industry ... Cut off from our colonial supplies and markets, our present industrial structure would collapse.<sup>10</sup>

Did Britain's leaders foresee the possibility of having to grant independence to her colonies? Conservative Prime Minister Winston Churchill expressed his attitude towards 'natives' very clearly: when Gold Coasters were openly campaigning for self-government, he stated that it was 'crazy' to give the vote to 'naked savages'. Lord Cranborne, the Colonial Secretary, argued that 'We all know in our heart of hearts that most of the Colonies, especially Africa, will probably not be fit for complete independence for centuries.'<sup>11</sup> There were hopes that the Labour Party, elected to power in July 1945, would have a different attitude. But this was not so, and within a few months, the party was severely criticised by many newspapers. The *West African Pilot*, to cite just one example, argued on 5 April 1946 that 'the present policy of the Labour government in matters relating to Africa ... is even worse than that of the Tories.'

## France

In January 1944 'Vichy' France held a conference of colonial governors in Brazzaville. The future of the colonies, it was decided, was definitely not independence. After all, 'the civilizing work being carried out by France in its colonies excludes any idea of autonomy and any possibility for development outside the French imperial bloc; the possible future establishment for self-government in the colonies is – even in the remote future – excluded.'<sup>12</sup>

However, Paris was recaptured by De Gaulle and his troops in August 1944; he set up a Provisional Government which included representatives of all political parties. The National Assembly then set about drawing up a new constitution.

10 Stafford Cripps, *The Struggle for Peace*, London: Gollancz, 1936, pp.17–18.

11 Lawrence James, *Churchill and Empire*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2013, p.377; Hugh Tinker, *Men Who Overturned Empires*, London: Macmillan Press, 1987, p.20.

12 'La Conference Africaine Francaise' (Algiers, 1944), from D.K. Fieldhouse, *Merchant Capital and Economic Decolonization*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994, p.359. See also, e.g., C.A. Julien, 'From the French Empire to the French Union', *International Affairs*, 1950, 26/4, pp.487–502; Patrick Manning, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

## The World Federation of Trade Unions

To discuss the aim of strengthening the Western Alliance, trade unionists from around the world were invited to a conference held in London in February 1945. Two hundred and four delegates representing 53 organisations attended. T.A. Bankole and M.A. Tokunboh represented the Nigerian Trade Union Congress; I.T.A. Wallace-Johnson, the Sierra Leone Seamen's Union; J.S. Annan, the Gold Coast Railway and Technical Workers' Union; and E.F. Small and Garba-Jahumpa, the Gambia Labour Union. The conference called for the world

to secure the development of undeveloped countries ... And committed the participants to work in all countries, including the colonies, for protective labour legislation and trade union rights ... The provisions for regional representation on the executive Committee included a seat for Africa. The manifesto pledged the organization to work for the full exercise of the democratic rights and liberties of all peoples ... The Conference recorded its conviction that a world federation should be set up uniting trade union bodies 'on a basis of equality, regardless of race, creed or political faith'.<sup>13</sup>

The African representatives issued a statement which ended with 'The time is fully ripe for the formation of a West African Trade Union Federation'.<sup>14</sup> Bankole, Wallace-Johnson and Ken Hill of the Jamaican Trades Union Council are reported as referring to the Atlantic Charter (see below) in their demands for independence. This was then included in the *Declaration on the Attitude to the Peace Settlement*: 'The Trade Union Movement will look to the San Francisco Conference ... to bring an end to the system of colonies'.<sup>15</sup>

13 Marjorie Nicholson, *The TUC Overseas*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1986, quotations are from pp.248-9.

14 *West Africa*, 31 March 1945, p.281; see also *West African Pilot* (henceforth cited as *Pilot*), 12/10/1945 and 15/10/1945.

15 John McIntosh and S. Ireland, *Report of the WFTU Conference, County Hall London, February 6th to 17th, 1945*, London: TUC, undated; there are reports in many newspapers around the world, e.g., London's *New Leader*, 24/2/1945, p.4; *Pittsburgh Courier*, 3/3/1945. See also Betty Wallace, *World Labour Comes of Age*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1945, and Peter Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988, chapter 2. There are three long articles by Rudolph Dunbar (British Guiana-born musician and journalist) on the London meeting, marked as 'Special Release, Saturday, February 24, 1945' by The Associated Negro Press, Chicago, in the Claude Barnett Papers, box 42, folder 2, at the Chicago History Museum.

Wallace-Johnson also argued that 'this Conference should give special consideration to the position of Colonial peoples and especially the Colonial workers ... [They] appeal to the Conference for assistance in building up a strong and independent Trade Union Movement ... [And] for (1) the abolition of the colour bar ... (2) abolition of forced labour ... (3) abolition of flogging'.<sup>16</sup>

The formation of a World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was agreed: the inaugural meeting was held in Paris in September–October 1945. The West Africans who had attended in February were there, and were joined by A. Soyemi Coker of the Nigerian Trade Union Congress. Wallace-Johnson and Small were nominated (elected?) to the General Council as was C.W.P. Menson, representing the Gold Coast – his 'substitute' was J.S. Annan. Wallace-Johnson was nominated to the Executive Committee.<sup>17</sup>

The labour movement in the USA was split between two national organisations: the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). The AFL called the WFTU 'an instrument of Soviet imperialist interests and foreign policy', and refused to affiliate.<sup>18</sup> The CIO, which did not practice racial exclusion, joined.

That all workers should have the right to form trade unions was agreed, and 'self-determination for all' was also discussed. The resolution stated: 'it would indeed be but an incomplete victory if the common people in the colonies and territories of all nations were now denied the full enjoyment of their inherent right of self-determination and national independence'.

This was immediately contested by the British TUC (Trade Union Congress) representative, who 'did not think the WFTU was "the medium whereby this is to be done. If once we get into the maze of politics ... this International will perish."' Historian D.J. Davies argues that 'the TUC was reluctant to commit itself even to a *policy* for encouraging the growth of colonial trade unions, largely because it feared the

16 McIntosh and Ireland (nd, n.15), p.155.

17 Information from WFTU pamphlet, *Resolutions of the Conference-Congress September 25 to October 8, 1945, Palais de Chaillot- Paris*, Paris, undated. Again the conference was widely reported. I can find no information on C.W.P. Menson.

18 See, e.g., Noreen Branson, *History of the Communist Party of Great Britain, 1941-51*, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1997, p.189.



opening of the British colonies to communist activity'.<sup>19</sup> Or did it fear the loss of lucrative colonies? Or fear antagonising the British government?

Despite such disagreements the WFTU was established, with its headquarters in Paris. It proposed holding a meeting in Dakar to discuss issues affecting workers in colonies. In 1949, with the help of the CIA, the AFL and 'comprador' trade unions (including the British Trade Union Congress) withdrew, and set up an alternative organisation, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.<sup>20</sup>

## USA and Africa

Except for its receipt of hundreds of thousands of enslaved Africans, Africa was new to the USA's policy makers. But Africa was certainly of interest to America's manufacturers, who wanted *direct* access to the markets there, and to the minerals and other raw materials. The colonial powers/companies controlled all, and certainly did not want to permit the entry of American competitors.

World War II vastly enlarged America's interests in Africa. As noted above, the USA established airports, modernised ports and built railways. Consulates were opened in Accra, Lagos and Dakar in 1942 and were 'generally welcomed'. In 1943 Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued a *Statement on American Foreign Policy* which included a section on 'Dependent Peoples': 'There rests upon the independent nations a responsibility to dependent people who aspire to liberty. It should be the duty of nations having political ties with such peoples ... to help [them] develop materially and educationally to prepare themselves for the duties and responsibilities of self-government, and to attain liberty'.<sup>21</sup>

In 1943 the USA began to hold a series of conferences on the French Colonial Empire, focussing on 'the security of the US, economic imperialism and international controls'. In April 1945 the USA began discussing economic involvement in its colonies with the Portuguese ambassador

19 [www.wftucentral.org/history/](http://www.wftucentral.org/history/) – sections on 'The Founding Congress' and 'Basic Aims and Objectives'. D.J. Davies, 'The Politics of the TUC's Colonial Policy', *Political Quarterly*, 1964, 35/1, pp.23–34, quotation is from p.30.

20 Weiler (1988, n.15), parts 1 and 2, and his article, 'The US, International Labor and the Cold War: the Breakup of the WFTU', *Diplomatic History*, 1981, pp.1–22; George Padmore, 'African Trade Unionism', World News section, *Chicago Defender*, 14/12/1946, p.15.

21 NARA: RG84, Entry UD2597, NND765029, letter from Consulate, 5/5/1942. (There are five boxes of reports.) ('NARA' is the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, DC, USA.)

in Washington.<sup>22</sup> The consuls in Accra and Dakar regularly sent vast amounts of information to Washington, for example on the economy, on exports, on the chiefs and on politics. In 1945 the consul in Dakar argued that 'the French West African native knows ... that it was only through the operations of the American military forces that France was saved ... Knowledge of [this] helped encourage anti-colonial resistance.'<sup>23</sup>

How did the consuls collect all this information?

### The Office of Strategic Services

In September 1941 Ralph Bunche, an African-American academic,<sup>24</sup> was appointed Senior Social Science Analyst in the 'British Empire Section' of the Office Strategic Services (OSS, the forerunner of the CIA<sup>25</sup>). He was put in charge of research on Africa and other colonial areas. This indicates the new level of US interest.

Using information from resident Africans and helpful organisations, in 1942 Bunche produced a report, *Preliminary Statement on Nationalism Among British West African Natives*.<sup>26</sup> This outlined the 'vigorous and growing nationalist feeling ... the young, fearless intelligent and shrewd leadership [wanted] to drive the British out.'<sup>27</sup> Also in early 1942 the OSS published *Information on the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia*. This was followed in April 1943 with *A Strategic Survey of the Gold Coast*.<sup>28</sup> In

22 NARA: RG59, Box 1730, f.353M.1163/4-745, memorandum from Henry Villard, Deputy Director, Office of Near Eastern and African Affairs, 7/4/1945.

23 UCLA: Charles P. Young Research Library: Ralph Bunche Papers, Box 57, folder 12. The first conference was on 20 April 1943; Martin C. Thomas, 'Innocent Abroad? Decolonisation and US Engagement with French West Africa, 1945-56', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2008, 36/1, pp.47-73; Frank Furedi, *Colonial Wars and the Politics of Third World Nationalism*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1994, p.78.

24 Dr Bunche, on the staff of Howard University, had done fieldwork for his PhD in East and South Africa. See, e.g., Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Odyssey*, New York: Norton & Co, 1998; Robert A. Hill and Edmond Keller (eds), *Trustee for the Human Community: Ralph Bunche, the United Nations, and the Decolonization of Africa*, Columbus, OH: Ohio University Press, 2010.

25 As correctly explained on Wikipedia, 'The OSS was formed as an agency of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to coordinate espionage activities behind enemy lines for all branches of the United States Armed Forces. Other OSS functions included the use of propaganda, subversion, and post-war planning.'

26 Ralph Bunche Papers (n.23), Box 59, folder 12. Among his informants were Kwame Nkrumah, Ako Adjei and Abdul K. Disu of the African Students Association (ASA), and visiting Gold Coast cocoa merchant W.J. Kwesi Mould. (On the ASA see Chapter 2.)

27 Ralph Bunche Papers (n.23), Box 67, folder 10, OSS British Empire Section, Report #50, 9 September 1942.

28 These reports, nos. 0523 and 960, are accessible on microfilm - Schomburg Center, Sc Micro R.4113.

the same month, now writing for the Military Intelligence Division, in his report *British West Africa: Subversive Movements*, Bunche argued that the 'Youth Movements' in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast were not communist or fascist organisations, but were 'susceptible to enemy exploitation'.<sup>29</sup>

Bunche then produced the *Introductory Statement on (a) Nationalism and (b) Possibility of International Controls in West and Equatorial Africa*, for a Conference on West and Equatorial Africa held by the War Department on 4 May 1943. In this he concluded that 'African nationalist movements are a potential source of future trouble in Africa unless wise policies are developed and applied'. Neither an increased 'mandates system' nor 'direct international control' were acceptable to Africans; an African regional council with provisions for 'native representation' would be the best post-war solution, he argued.<sup>30</sup>

In 1944 a long 'confidential' discussion paper was circulated by the OSS on *British Colonial Policy and the Problems of Anglo-American Cooperation*. In order to avoid 'conflict in the post-war world', this analysed misunderstandings, policies and problems, and suggested possible solutions. It was followed by a project on 'Communist Influence in French North Africa', and one on the Congo Basin.<sup>31</sup>

That year Bunche also produced his full report on *West African Nationalism*, examining the relationship between trade unions and the nationalist organisations: both 'operations converge toward the ultimate and common goal of complete native independence'. He outlined what he called three 'types of nationalist groups'. These were 'plagued by internal dissensions', and 'the task of uniting the various nationalist elements toward the idea of Pan West Africa further complicates the situation'.<sup>32</sup>

Bunche also advised the chief of the OSS's UK section on whom to approach in London for information on the African colonies, and on

29 Ralph Bunche Papers (n.23), Box 57, folder 10.

30 Schomburg Center: MG439, Ralph Bunche Papers, Box 2; also available in the Bunche Papers at UCLA (n.23), Box 59, folder 2.

31 OSS Research and Analysis, #1398, dated 28/4/1944; it also published *Nationalist Trends in British West Africa*, in August 1944 – OSS, R&A 2279. Both are in the Ralph Bunche Papers (n.23), Box 60, folder 1 and Box 57, folder 9.

32 Schomburg Center (Ralph Bunche Papers, n.30), Box 2, 'West African Nationalism', report by Ralph Bunche, 25 July 1944; also in the UCLA Bunche Papers (n.23), Box 60, folder 10.