

that this is actually a project pursued by Muslims across the world. The reliance on the voices of Western political commentators limits the book's remit to "talk about multiculturalism" whereas the lived reality of it remains muted. The book's value lies, in my view, therefore in the detailed description of moments of immigration history rather than in the narrative it offers.

**Bea Lundt / Christoph Marx (eds.): Kwame Nkrumah 1909–1972. A Controversial African Visionary (= Historische Mitteilungen, Beiheft 96), Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 2016, 208 p.; Ulrich van der Heyden: Kwame Nkrumah – Diktator oder Panafrikanist? Die politische Bewertung des ghanaischen Politikers in der DDR im Spannungsfeld der deutsch-deutschen Konkurrenz in Westafrika, Potsdam: WeltTrends 2017, 86 p.**

Reviewed by  
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Kwame Nkrumah was born in 1909 in a small village in the southwest of the Gold Coast, then still under British colonial rule, and became the first president of Ghana, when the country gained independence in 1957. In his politics he followed the ideals of African socialism, Pan-Africanism and non-alignment, but his visions turned into an autocratic governing style and in 1966 he was removed from office in a military and police led coup d'état when he was on his way to Hanoi for a state visit.

He died in exile in Bucharest in 1972. An edited volume and a monography explore the depth of this historical figure.

The volume "Kwame Nkrumah 1909–1972. A Controversial African Visionary" is edited by Bea Lundt, Professor of History at the European University of Flensburg, and Christoph Marx, from the Historical Institute at the University of Duisburg-Essen. It is structured into three parts. The first, "Visions and Politics", explores the ideological and philosophical influences of Nkrumah as well as his ambitions to spread his ideas. The second part, "Opposition and Coup", appraises the political cleavages in pre- and post-independence Ghana, policies under Nkrumah as well as the circumstances that led to the coup in 1966. The third part, "Evaluation and Memory", focuses on the political and national legacy of Nkrumah.

To look at the chapters in more detail: The first part on "Vision and Politics" opens with an exploration of the intellectual relationship and personal friendship between Kwame Nkrumah and George Padmore, the influential anti-colonial and Pan-African intellectual, who even served as Nkrumah's special Advisor on African Affairs after Ghana's independence (Arno Sonderegger). The introduction of this particular person in Nkrumah's life and thinking is followed by a chapter on a significant place: the "Ideological Institute' at Winneba" (Kofi Darkwah). The institute was envisioned by Nkrumah to teach his understanding of political theory and was opened in 1961. Until it closed in 1966 it had trained hundreds of students from diverse social and regional (even international) backgrounds in economics, history or philosophy, but first and fore-

most “Nkrumahism”, Nkrumah’s version of African socialism. The last chapter in this (first) part discusses the social and political struggles of women during the Nkrumah years (Cyrelene Amoah-Boampong). It argues that women and women’s organisations played an important role in Nkrumah’s politics, not only from an ideological point, but actually held some positions within the government, as the three female ministers he appointed to his cabinet shortly after independence.

The chapters of the second part “Opposition and Coup” assess in more detail the party politics and policies under Nkrumah. The opening chapter of this part deals with several opposition groups and parties to Nkrumah and his Convention People’s Party from before independence to 1960, when he had effectively transformed Ghanaian politics into a one-party system (Kwame Osei Kwarteng and Mary Owusu). The chapter reveals the competition between different visions for independence and the direction of the future nation state Ghana from 1951 onwards. The main disagreement between the liberal-conservative fractions, who aimed at a gradual transition from British to self-rule and preferred more market-oriented “Western”-aligned politics, and the Nkrumahists’ left-leaning African socialism prevailed even far beyond the end of Nkrumah’s government and are taken up as well in later chapters in the volume (see e.g. the chapters by Felix Müller and Carola Lentz). The following chapter examines the period before this, from 1948 to 1951. It explores in detail the origins of these opposition(s) and analyses the forming of different narratives on the events leading up to independence (Nana Yaw B.

Sapong). Thereafter, the focus shifts to a specific policy area under Nkrumah, the “Agricultural Development of Northern Ghana” (Samuel Aniegye Ntewusu). This part closes with a chapter on the 1966 coup that removed Nkrumah from office (Jonathan Otto Pohl). Mainly based on declassified documents from the CIA and US State Department the focus is on the role of the US in the coup.

The final part, “Evaluation and Memory”, opens with an analysis of different assessments of Nkrumah’s legacy by Ghanaian intellectuals between 1970 and 2007/8, that ranged from condemnation to rehabilitation and eventually even outright worship (Felix Müller). This is followed by an analysis of the political struggles and public debates that surrounded (and continue to do so) the Nkrumah Statue (Carola Lentz). This part (and indeed the book, as there is no conclusion) ends with a chapter on the visions and politics of modernization within a “Technological Nationalism” that started under Nkrumah with visions of a great leap forward, among others symbolised by the ambitions to harness nuclear power for energy production in Ghana (Harcourt Fuller).

The authors of the edited volume closely reconstruct politics and contestations around the different topics through a detailed examination of actors and their entanglement within events and broader developments. The reader is offered an analysis of the complex multi-faceted struggles and negotiations of the different actors that were part of the politics before and after independence in Ghana and gives insights into ongoing struggles around the consolidation and writing of this very history. Further, the edited volume is a com-

pilation of vividly reconstructed aspects of the politics and vision as well as the legacy of Nkrumah that while taking their vantage point in one particular historical figure, offer much insight on the struggle for decolonisation in Africa as well as the continued impact of this historical experience on a country entangled in international politics.

In the second book under review here, Ulrich van der Heyden, lecturer at the Free University of Berlin and the Humboldt University of Berlin, discusses the political appraisal of Kwame Nkrumah in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) against the background of the competition between the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and GDR in West Africa.

The monography "Kwame Nkrumah – Diktator oder Panafrikanist?" opens with a discussion of the reception of the African independence aspirations and movements within the GDR (chapter 1). This is followed by a contextualisation of Nkrumah's politics within an environment of German-German competition in West Africa and their diverging interests (chapter 2). The following chapters address the perception of Nkrumah in the general public of the GDR before (chapter 3) – and after – the 1966 coup (chapter 6), the post-Nkrumah era and the two German states (chapter 4) as well as hopes for a return of Nkrumah to Ghanaian politics (chapter 5).

The last two chapters address specific examples of GDR-Ghana relations and the way the politics of the FRG impacted them. Two cases in point are difficulties surrounding the award ceremony in Berlin to bestow Nkrumah with the honorary doctorate at the Humboldt University of Berlin in 1961 and some years later the

back and forth to award him the honorary senator of the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Both cases of GDR-Ghanaian cooperation have so far received little attention, but also showcase the impact of German-German tensions in Africa on these relations. The last chapter addresses the controversy around the GDR secret service officer Jürgen Rogalla that had been sent to Ghana on invitation of Nkrumah to help establish the Bureau of African Affairs, which most likely had the aim to support Ghana's Pan-African foreign policy as a kind of secret service institution, by providing the necessary intelligence tools (chapter 8).

The monography does not only contribute to the large corpus of literature on Nkrumah, but also to the far lesser body of publications on the relations between the GDR and Africa, and here in particular, Ghana. It is published in German as a small booklet of 86 pages, which makes it probably very accessible to a readership beyond the usual expert circles. In that line of reasoning it would have been useful to add a time line of events in an appendix, as the topic-centred chapters do not lend themselves to an easily identifiable chronology and the chapter titles do not suggest an immediately apparent order.

Be that as it may, the detailed depiction of the actors and events in van der Heyden's account of Nkrumah's politics vis-à-vis the German-German rivalry is insightful and stimulating to read. The book is strongest in its reconstruction everyday events that almost casually reveal broader international political currents of the time.

For example, when he writes about a visit by the FRG ambassador to Nkrumah in April 1965. Apparently, the ambassador

had written home to the Federal Foreign Office that he was overjoyed to see that while with him there was also a representative of the GDR waiting to see Nkrumah, he was welcomed to the VIP waiting room, and did not had to sit like the other in the common waiting area and was also invited in to Nkrumah's office brief minutes after his arrival – walking past the GDR representative, as he still had to wait. What the diplomat did not know at the time the GDR representative did indeed have his conversation with the Ghanaian president later, but that it took far longer and was more detailed than anticipated and ended with a picture taken for the press of this visit; a detail that greatly annoyed the FRG delegation (p. 22).

Throughout the book such anecdotes illustrate the everyday diplomatic ramifications of the German-German rivalry in Accra and, as in this example, the consequences of the Hallstein-Doctrine of the FRG (that aimed at undermining any diplomatic or official recognition of the GDR). Small events and actions were interpreted at times very differently by the delegation of the two Germanys as well as the Ghanaian politicians. Van der Heyden has a light-hearted way of telling these stories, that form part of a larger rivalry not just between the two Germanys, but also – as emerging in those years – between the US and the Soviet Union. Yet, these manifestations of larger politics within day-to-day diplomatic affairs that seem almost comic, had very tangible consequences for the first independent African country and its president, who was still new to managing international politics.

As Jonathan Otto Pohl argues in his chapter on the 1966 coup and US's role in the

edited volume, this German-German foreign diplomatic rivalry was only one facet of a system of international politics. The other was the involvement in and rather active welcoming by the US government under President Johnson of the 1966 coup that ended Nkrumah's presidency. Within the context of the Lumumba assassination in Congo or the removal from power of Sukarno, the first president of independent Indonesia, it was just one of many foreign power interferences throughout post-colonial countries during the so-called Cold War, that turned hot in many of them. The superpower rivalry in the region was based on a narrow understanding of geopolitics as a zero-sum game, facilitating the scrambling for an Africa in the wake of independence. In this respect the two books are strong accounts of the myriad entanglements between local, national, transnational and international politics.

**Ulf Brunnbauer / Klaus Buchenau:**  
**Geschichte Südosteuropas,**  
**Ditzingen: Reclam 2018, 511 p.**

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Textbooks in the Anglo-Saxon world do not bring tenure. They don't even figure as legitimate items in one's research profile. At best they can bring some money. They are almost always a de facto anonymous undertaking, collaborative but so standardized stylistically, that the authors' per-