

African Liberation and Unity in Nkrumah's Ghana: A Study of the Role of "Pan-African Institutions" in the making of Ghana's foreign Policy, 1957 - 1966
Grilli, M.

Citation

Grilli, M. (2015, November 3). *African Liberation and Unity in Nkrumah's Ghana: A Study of the Role of "Pan-African Institutions" in the making of Ghana's foreign Policy, 1957 - 1966*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/36074

Version: Corrected Publisher's Version

License: License agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the

Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden

Downloaded from: https://hdl.handle.net/1887/36074

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/36074 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Grilli, Matteo

Title: African liberation and unity in Nkrumah's Ghana: a study of the role of "Pan-

African Institutions" in the making of Ghana's foreign policy, 1957 - 1966

Issue Date: 2015-11-03

ABBREVIATIONS:

AAC African Affairs Centre

AAPC All-African People's Conference

AAPSO Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization

AAS African Affairs Secretariat

AATUF All-African Trade Unions Federation

ABAKO Alliance des Bakongo

AEF Afrique Équatoriale Française

AG Action Group

AGPL Archive of the George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs

ANC African National Congress

ARPS Aborigines' Rights Protection Society

BAA Bureau of African Affairs
BCP Basutoland Congress Party

BJSTT British Joint Services Training Team

BNA British National Archives

BPP Bechuanaland People's Party

CAF Central African Federation

COREMO Comité Revolucionario de Moçambique

CPP Convention People's Party

CRO Commonwealth Relations Office
CSC Counter-Subversion Committee
DCA Democratic Congress Alliance

DOPC Defence and Oversea Policy Committee

EAF East African Federation

FNL Front de Libération Nationale

FNLA Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola

FO (UK) Foreign Office (UK)

FRELIMO Frente de Libertação de Moçambique

GDR German Democratic Republic

IAFA International African Friends of Abyssinia

IAS Independent African States

IASB International African Service Bureau
IASC Independent African States Conference

IPGE Idea Popular de Guinea Equatorial
IRD Information Research Department

JIC Joint Intelligence Committee
KANU Kenya African National Union

KNDP Kamerun National Democratic Party

MCP Malawi Congress Party

MNC Mouvement National Congolais

MPLA Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola

MSA - Sawaba Mouvement Socialiste Africain - Sawaba

NAACP National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People

NAC Nyasaland African Congress

NASSO National Association of Socialist Students Organization

NCBWA National Congress of British West Africa

NCHER National Council for Higher Education and Research

NCNC National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons

NDC Nakuru District Congress

NDP National Democratic Party

NLC National Liberation Council

NNLC Ngwane National Liberatory Congress

NPCP Nairobi People's Convention Party

OAU Organization of African Unity

OCAM Organisation Commune Africaine et Magache

OK One Kamerun

PAC Pan-Africanist Congress
PAF Pan-African Federation

PAIGC Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde
PAPSA Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa

PPN Parti Progressiste Nigérien

PRA Parti du Regroupement Africain

PRAAD Public Records and Archive Administration Department of Ghana

RDA Rassemblement Démocratique Africaine

RILU Red International of Labor Unions
SPA Swazi Progressive Association

SPP Swaziland Progressive Party

SWANU South West Africa National Union

SWAPO South West African People's Organization

TUC Trade Union Congress

UAR United Arab Republic

UAS Union of African States

UDENAMO União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique

UGCC United Cold Coast Convention
UNC Union Nationale Camerounaise

UNIA Universal Negro Improvement Association

UNIP United National Independence Party

UP United Party

UPA Uniao dos Povos de Angola

UPC (Cameroon) Union des Populations du Cameroun

UPC (Uganda) Uganda People's Congress

VOA Voice of Africa

WANS West African National Secretariat
WASU West African Students' Association
ZANU Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU Zimbabwe African People's Union

CONTENTS

Curr	culum vitae	р.	V
Same	nvatting - Abstract	pp.	vi-vii
Ackn	owledgments	p.	vii
Abbr	eviations	p.	ix
Intro	oduction	p.	xvii
1.	Ghana's Pan-African Policy from Independence to the AAPC (March 1957- December 1958)		
Int	roduction	p.	1
1.1.	From Manchester to Accra	р.	3
1.2.	The Pillars of Ghana's Pan-African Policy and the Guidelines for the African Liberation Movements Supported by Accra	p.	14
1.3.	The Establishment of the Office of the Adviser on African Affairs	p.	18
1.4.	The Staff of Padmore's Office in the Years 1957 and 1958	p.	26
1.5.	Ghana's First Moves on the African Scene and the Role of Padmore's Office	p.	29
1.6.	African Unity and the Ghana-Guinea Union	p.	34
1.7.	African Liberation and Cold War in 1958: Accra's Troubled Relationship with Cairo	p.	38
1.8.	The Establishment of the African Affairs Centre	p.	44

1.9.	The All-African People's Conference	p.	49
1.10.	Conclusions	p.	52
2.	Translating the Theory into Practice (January – September 1959)		
Intr	roduction	p.	53
2.1.	Ghana's Foreign Policy in Africa after the AAPC	p.	54
2.2.	Press and Radio as Weapons for African Liberation and Unity	p.	62
2.3.	Ghana's Support to African Liberation Movements outside the Country	p.	66
2.4.	Ghana's Support to African Freedom Fighters and Political Refugees within its Borders	р.	71
2.5.	Provision of Scholarships to African Students	p.	78
2.6.	Support to Opposition Parties of Other African States: the Case of UPC, Sanwi, Sawaba and Action Group	p.	83
2.7.	Significant Changes in Padmore's Office: the Rise of A.K. Barden	p.	94
2.8.	Padmore's Death and Legacy	p.	102
2.9.	Conclusions	p.	105
3.	The Bureau of African Affairs and Ghana's Pan- African Policy in 1960		
Int	roduction	p.	107
3.1.	The Establishment of the Bureau of African Affairs and the African Affairs Committee	р.	108
3.2.	The African Affairs Committee and the Evolution of the "Pan-African" Institutions	p.	110

3.3.	The African Affairs Committee and Ghana's Policy on Refugees	p.	113
3.4.	The African Affairs Committee and the Support to Freedom Fighters	p.	117
3.5.	The Roots of the Ideological Institute of Winneba	р.	121
3.6.	The BAA at the Service of the Party and the State	р.	123
3.7.	Voice of Africa	p.	126
3.8.	The AAPC and PAPSA Conferences	p.	130
3.9.	The End of the Experience of the African Affairs Committee and the Official Establishment of the BAA	р.	133
3.10.	Sharpeville, the Question of Refugees and the South African United Front	p.	136
3.11.	The Role of the BAA in the Congo Crisis	р.	141
3.12.	A Balance of the BAA Work in Africa	р.	145
3.13.	Conclusions	p.	150
1.	The Age of Radicalization (January 1961 – December 1962)		
Intr	oduction	р.	151
4.1.	"African Disunity" and Ghana's New Pan-African Policy	р.	153
4.2.	The "Shift to the Left" and Ghana's Relationship with the East	р.	158
4.3.	The Establishment of the African Affairs Secretariat	р.	161
4.4.	Spreading "Nkrumahism" in Ghana and in Africa: the Ideological Institute of Winneba	р.	165
4.5.	The Confrontation between the AAS and the BAA	р.	177

4.6.	The Struggle for African Unity between 1961 and 1962	p.	183
4.7.	Voice of Africa and Radio Ghana in the Age of Radicalization	р.	186
4.8.	Conclusions	р.	193
5.	Between Diplomacy and Revolution (January1963 – February 1966)		
Intr	oduction	p.	194
5.1.	Kulungugu and its Consequences	p.	195
5.2.	Defense of Sovereignty and Fears of Subversion: the Togo Affair and the Road to the OAU	р.	198
5.3.	The Addis Ababa Conference and the Confrontation between Models of Political Unity	p.	202
5.4.	Ghana's Pan-African Policy after the OAU: the Leading Role of the BAA	p.	207
5.5.	The Bureau and the Work against the East African Federation	p.	210
5.6.	The Struggle for Influence in Africa and in Ghana after the Establishment of the OAU	р.	215
5.7.	The Institute of Winneba and the Political Press between 1963 and 1964	p.	219
5.8.	The Work with African Freedom Fighters in 1963-1964	p.	225
5.9.	The Response of the West to Ghana's Radical Policies and Subversive Activities in 1964	р.	235
5.10.	The Question of Subversion and the Fall of A.K. Barden	p.	241
5.11.	The Last Season of Nkrumah's Pan-African Policy	p.	250
5.12.	Conclusions	р.	260

Recapitulation of the Thesis and Final Considerations	p.	262
Bibliography	p.	269