



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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: [Licence 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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

ARCHIVES

AGPL	George Padmore Research Library on African Affairs (Accra Ghana) - Bureau of African Affairs
PRAAD	Public Records and Archive Administration Department of Ghana (former National Archives of Ghana)
BNA	National Archives (United Kingdom)

INTERVIEWS

Interview with	Baffour K. Senkyire,	Accra,	11 th November 2013
Interview with	David Bosumtwi-Sam,	Accra,	19 th July 2012
Interview with	David Bosumtwi-Sam,	Accra,	24 th July 2012
Interview with	David Bosumtwi-Sam,	Accra,	4 th September 2012
Interview with	Ernest Antony Richter,	Accra,	23 rd December 2011
Interview with	Kwaku Bapruai Asante,	Accra,	4 th September 2011
Interview with	Kwaku Bapruai Asante,	Accra,	6 th September 2012
Interview with	Kwaku Bapruai Asante,	Accra,	7 th November 2013

SECONDARY SOURCES

ADAMAFIO, T.,

By Nkrumah's Side - The Labour and the Wounds, Westcoast & Collings, London, 1982

ADAMAFIO, T.,

Hands off Africa!, Some Famous Speeches by Kwame Nkrumah, K.Owusu-Akyem, Accra, 1960

ADDO, E.O.,

Kwame Nkrumah: a Case Study of Religion and Politics in Ghana, University Press of America, Lanham, 1999

ADI, H.- SHERWOOD M.,

"Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787", Routledge, London/New York, 2003

ADI, H.- SHERWOOD M.,

The 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Revisited, New Beacon Books, London, 1995

ADOM, H.,

The Role of Ghana in African Liberation and Unity, 1957-1977, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Temple University, 1991

ADU, A.L.,

The Civil Service in New African States, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1965

AGYEMAN, K.,

Ideological Education and Nationalism in Ghana under Nkrumah and Busia, Ghana Universities Press, Accra, 1988

AHLMAN, J.S.,

Living with Nkrumahism: Nation, State, and Pan-Africanism in Ghana, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2011

ALBRIGHT, D.E., (Ed. by),

Africa and International Communism, Mac Millian Press, London, 1980

ALEXANDER, H.T.,

African Tightrope: My Two Years as Nkrumah's Chief of Staff, Praeger, New York, 1966

ALUKO, O.,

Ghana and Nigeria 1957-70, a Study in Inter-African Discord, Barnes & Noble, New York, 1976

APTER, D.,

Ghana in Transition, Atheneum, New York, 1963

- ARMAH, K.,
Peace without Power, Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966, Ghana University Press, Ghana, 2004
- ASAMOAH, O.,
Nkrumah's Foreign Policy 1951-1966, in K. Ahrin, , *The Life and Work of Kwame Nkrumah*, African World Press, Trenton, 1993
- ASANTE, S.K.B.,
Ghana and the Promotion of Pan-Africanism and Regionalism, Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, Accra 2007
- AUSTIN D.,
Politics in Ghana 1946-60, Oxford University Press, London, 1964
- AUSTIN, V.,
 "The Uncertain Frontier: Ghana-Togo" in *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol.1, 2, 1963
- BARDEN, A.K.,
 "African Unity Now", *Voice of Africa*, vol.1, 1 (1961)
- BARDEN, A.K.,
 "Evolution of Ghanaian Society", *Voice of Africa*, vol.4, 2 (1964),
- BATSA, K.,
The Work of Pan-African Union of Journalists in W.M. Sulemana-Sibidow, (Ed. by), *The African Journalist*, Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, 1964
- BATSA, K.,
The Spark : Times Behind Me – From Kwame Nkrumah to Limann, Rex Collings, London, 1985
- BINEY, A.,
The Political and Social Thought of Kwame Nkrumah, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2011
- BING, G.,
Reap the Whirlwind. An Account of Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana from 1950 to 1966, Mcgibbon & Kee, London, 1968
- BOONE, C.,
Political Topographies of the African State. Territorial Authority and Institutional Choice, Cambridge University Press, 2003
- BOONE, C.,
 "Rural Interests and the Making of Modern African States", *African Economic History*, n.23 (1995)

- BOSUMTWI-SAM, D.,
Landmarks of Kwame Nkrumah, Ussh Graphic Design, Accra, 2001
- BOURRET, F.M.,
Ghana, the Road to Independence 1919-1957, Oxford University Press, London, 1960
- BRETTON, H.L.
The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah, Frederick A. Praeger, New York, 1967
- ČERVENKA, Z.,
The Organization of African Unity and its Charter, C.Hurst & Company, London 1968
- DEI-ANANG, M.,
The Administration of Ghana's Foreign Relations, 1957-1966: A Personal Memoir, The Athlon Press, University of London, 1975
- DUMOR, E.L.,
Ghana, OAU and Southern Africa, Ghana University Press, Accra, 1991
- FUGLESTAD, F.,
Djibo Bakary, the French and the Referendum of 1958 in Niger, The Journal of African History, Vol.14, n°2, 1973
- GEWALD, J.B.,
Hands off Africa!!: an overview and analysis of the ideological, political and socio-economic approaches to African Unity expressed at the first All-African People's Congress held in Accra, Ghana in December 1958, s.n., 1990
- HOOKE, J.R.,
Black Revolutionary. George Padmore's Path from Communism to Pan-Africanism, Pall Mall Press, London, 1967
- HOWE, R.W.,
"Did Nkrumah Favour Pan-Africanism?", Transition 27 (1966)
- IKOKU, S.G. (JULIUS SAGO),
Le Ghana de Nkrumah, autopsie de la Ire République (1957-1966), François Maspero, Paris, 1971
- IKOKU, S.G. (JULIUS SAGO),
"Propaganda Through Radio and Television" in W.M. Sulemana-Sibidow, (Ed. By), *The African Journalist*, Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, 1964

- JAMES, C.R.L.,
Nkrumah and the Ghana Revolution, Allison & Busby, London, 1977
- JAMES, C.R.L.,
Note on the Life of George Padmore, unpublished manuscript
- JAMES, L.E.,
What we put in black and white: George Padmore and the practice of anti-imperial politics.
 PhD thesis, The London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), 2012
- KLOMAN JR., E.H.,
African Unification Movements, International Organisation, v.16, n°2, 1962
- KOHN, H.,
African Nationalism in the Twentieth Century, Van Nostrand Company, Princeton, 1965
- LEGUM, C.,
Congo Disaster, Penguin Books, London, 1961
- LEGUM, C.,
Pan-Africanism. A Short Political Guide, Pall Mall Press, London, 1962
- MAKONNEN, R., - KING, K.,
Pan-Africanism from Within, Oxford University Press, Eastern Africa, 1973
- MANDELA, N.,
 "The United Nations and South Africa" in *Voice of Africa*, vol.4, 7-8 (1964)
- MANDELA, N.,
 "We Shall Win" in *Voice of Africa*, vol.2, 3 (1962)
- MANDELA, N.,
 "Why I am ready to Die" in *Voice of Africa*, vol.5, 1 (1965)
- MARCUM, J.,
The Angolan Revolution, the Anatomy of an Explosion (1950-1962) [vol.1], the M.I.T. Press,
 Cambridge, 1969
- MAZRUI, A.A.,
Africa's International Relations, The Diplomacy of Dependency and Change, Westview
 Press, Boulder, 1977

MENSAH, J.J.,

The Bureau of African Affairs in the Kwame Nkrumah Administration from 1951 to 1966, unpublished thesis, University of Ghana, 1989

MOHAN, J.,

Ghana, the Congo and the United Nations, Journal of Modern African Studies, 7, 3 (1969)

NLC (NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL),

Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa, Documentary Evidences of Nkrumah's Interference in the Affairs of Other African States, Ministry of Information, Accra, 1966

NLC (NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL),

Nkrumah's Deception of Africa, Ministry of Information, Accra, 1966

NKRUMAH, K.,

Africa Must Unite, Heinemann, London, 1963

NKRUMAH, K.,

Towards Colonial Freedom, Panaf, London, 1962

NKRUMAH, K.,

I Speak of Freedom, Heinemann, London, 1961

NKRUMAH, K.,

Neo Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism, Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965

NKRUMAH, K.,

Challenge of the Congo, PANAF, London, 1969

NKRUMAH, K.,

Consciencism, Philosophy and Ideology for Decolonization and Development with Particular Reference to the African Revolution, Heinemann, London, 1964

NKRUMAH, K.,

Ghana: the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson, Edinburgh, 1957

NKRUMAH, K.,

Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah – Freedom Fighters Edition, International Publishers, New York 1969

NKRUMAH, K.,

"What I mean by Positive Action", undated CPP pamphlet

- NKRUMAH, K.,
 "Birth of my Party", Voice of Africa, vol.1, 1 (1961)
- NKRUMAH, K.,
 "Since Addis Ababa", Voice of Africa, vol.3, 11(1963)
- NKRUMAH, K.,
 "What is to be done?", Voice of Africa, vol.4, 2(1964)
- NKRUMAH, K.,
Speech by the Prime Minister of Ghana at the Opening and Closing Sessions on December 8th and 13th, 1958, Community Centre, All-African People's Conference, Accra, 1959
- NKRUMAH, K.,
Dark Days in Ghana, Panaf, London, 1970
- OBENG, S. (ED. BY),
Selected Speech of Kwame Nkrumah, vol.1-2, Afram Publications, Ghana, 2009
- OMARI, P.,
Kwame Nkrumah: the Anatomy of an African Dictatorship, Africana Publishing Corporation, New York, 1970
- OWUSU, R.Y.,
Kwame Nkrumah's Liberation Thought: a Paradigm for Religious Advocacy, Africa World, Trenton, 2006
- PADMORE, G., (ED. BY)
History of the Pan-African Congress, Hammersmith Bookshop, London 1963
- PADMORE, G.,
The Gold Coast Revolution, Dennis Dobson, London, 1953
- PADMORE, G.,
The Life and Struggles of Negro Toilers, Red International of Labour of Union Magazine for the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, 1931
- PADMORE, G.,
Pan-Africanism or Communism?, Dennis Dobson, London, 1956
- PADMORE, G.,
 "Labour Party Backs Gold Coast Independence" in The Ashanti Pioneer 3 September 1954

- PHILLIPS, J.,
Kwame Nkrumah and the Future of Africa, Faber & Faber, London, 1960
- POE Z.,
Kwame Nkrumah's Contribution to Pan-Africanism: an Afrocentric Analysis, Routledge, New York, 2003
- POLSGROVE, C.,
Ending British Rule in Africa, Manchester University Press, 2009
- POWELL, E.,
Private Secretary /Female/ Gold Coast, St Martin's Press, New York, 1984
- PRAH, K.K.,
Ras Makonnen: True Pan-Africanist, The Weekly Review (Nairobi), January 6th, 1984 in
Beyond the Color Line: Pan-Africanist disputations, selected sketches, letters, papers and reviews, Africa World Press, Trenton, 1997
- QUAISON-SACKEY, A.,
Africa Unbound: Reflection of an African Statesman, F.A. Praeger., New York 1963
- RAGULO BENING, R.,
"The Ghana-Togo Boundary" in Africa Spectrum, vol.18, 2 (1983)
- ROONEY, D.,
Kwame Nkrumah. Vision and Tragedy, Sub-Saharan Publishers, 1988
- SHAW, T.M. -ALUKO, O.,
The Political Economy of African Foreign Policy, Gower, Alershot, 1984
- SHERWOOD, M.,
Pan-African History: Political Figures from Africa and the Diaspora since 1787, Routledge, London, 2003
- SITHOLE, N.,
African Nationalism, Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1959
- SULEMANA-SIBIDOW, W.M., (Ed. By),
The African Journalist, Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute, Winneba, 1964
- TERRETTA, M.,
Cameroonian Nationalists Go Global: From Forest Maquis to a Pan-African Accra, Journal of African History, 51 (2010)

THE SPARK (EDITED BY),

Some Essential Features of Nkrumahism, Panaf Books, London, 1970

THOMAS, S.,

The Diplomacy of Liberation: the Foreign Relations of the ANC since 1960, Tauris Academic Studies, London, 1996

THOMPSON, W.S.,

Ghana's Foreign Policy, 1957-1966: Diplomacy, Ideology, and the New State, Princeton University Press, 1969

THOMPSON BAKPETU, V.,

Africa and Unity, Longman Pub Group, 1977

VAN WALRAVEN, K.,

The Yearning for Relief: a History of the Sawaba Movement in Niger, Brill, Leiden, 2013

VV.AA.,

Some Essential Features of Nkrumahism – a compilation of articles from “The Spark”, The Spark Publications, Accra, 1964

ZOLBERG, A.,

One-Party Government in the Ivory Coast, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1964

WALLERSTEIN, I.,

Africa: the Politics of Unity, an Analysis of a Contemporary Social Movement, Random House, New York, 1967

WELCH, C.E.,

Dream of Unity, Pan-Africanism and Political Unification in West Africa, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1966

WOLFERS, M.,

Politics in the Organization of African Unity, Metuen, London, 1976