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The bureau of African affairs in the
Nkrumah administration from 1951-1966
with a guide to its archives

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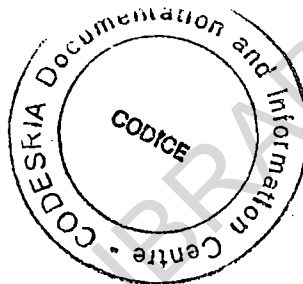
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THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS IN THE KWAME NKRUMAH
ADMINISTRATION FROM 1951 - 1966 WITH A (descriptive)
GUIDE TO ITS ARCHIVES



BY

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I certify that this thesis is my own original work. Where reference has been made to other peoples' views and analyses, full acknowledgements are given.

This thesis has not been presented in whole or in part to another educational institution for any degree.

Signed:


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CANDIDATE

Countersigned:


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SUPERVISOR

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Whatever deficiencies this study may be found to possess, I alone am responsible for them; the positive aspects most certainly are a reflection on those who in diverse ways assisted me in producing it.

Joseph Justice Turton Mensah

Legon.
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PREFACE

The idea of the Bureau of African Affairs in Ghana may not have been unrelated to Ghanaian connections with the International African Services Bureau in London in the 1940's, which was said to be popular with West African nationalists.

The existence of the Bureau concept in Ghana, however, may be traced back in a continuous pattern to the establishment of the office of the Advisor to the Prime Minister (Kwame Nkrumah) on African Affairs between 1957 and 1960. During its existence the Bureau of African Affairs aroused passions and attachments which created special bonds between itself and several people, organisations, and parties in Africa and other parts of the world. Meanwhile it also aroused many prejudices in Africa, and attracted adverse comments, especially from Western European countries.

In Ghana, its activities were so much maligned, so much abused, and so much misrepresented, contrary to any true understanding of its principles. It is unfortunate that the Bureau carried so much of these connotations.

When Nkrumah was overthrown, several allegations and accusations were levelled against the Bureau. These could not be answered by anyone because of mass arrests, detention of its key personalities, and the intimidation of others. It is not our intention here to answer the allegations and accusations levelled

against the Bureau. This paper is to contribute data which will assist historians and other researchers whenever they intend to present the totality of the African liberation story.

The people of Africa have, with increasing tendency, worked and looked forward to the day when they shall regain their ancient heritage and once more take their place rightly as free men. A principle of the Bureau was that Africa could no longer remain marginalised in world affairs, or allow itself to be viewed as occupying a subservient position to any world power. Clearly, then, the Bureau symbolised Africa's desire to build a stronger, mutually beneficial partnership between Africans themselves and with other nations of the world, on the basis of equality and ensure the enhancement of African independence.

It was against this backdrop of humanitarian, cultural, and political concerns that the BAA was launched to strengthen the most significant initiative in the history of Africa - the confrontation with imperialism and colonialism.

In principle what mattered to the organisation was action and a rationally grounded ideology geared to the masses of Africa. The policies of the Bureau were initiated in the feeling of the noble old sentiment about the 'glory' of Africa. Barely three years after Ghana's independence, twenty-three African countries had followed her example. Today, the number of independent African countries has passed the fifty mark. The OAU has come to stay; Namibia is now free; while the stage is being

prepared to smash apartheid and the power of racist South Africa. And in all these developments, the BAA is remembered as the first major African institution to provide innovative leadership during the earlier stages of the campaign.

My interest in undertaking this study was generated by a personal commitment to the aims and objectives of my profession as an archivist. This is a profession which not only makes provision for the preservation, arrangement, repairs and rehabilitation of historical sources of a nation but also for undertaking the preparation and publication of inventories, indexes, catalogues and other finding aids or guides to historical resources for easy accessibility to those interested in them. While working at the National Archives of Ghana, I came across substantial material of the Bureau. At the same time, I learnt also that the African Affairs Library in Accra holds equally substantial documents relating to the Bureau. The undertaking of this study, its title and scope were due to these discoveries.

To date, no detailed study of the Bureau has been made. The reason, perhaps, is that it has not been easy to get adequate information on it. It is with this in view that this study was proposed. Conceived as an historical study, the primary aim is an attempt to present some bases for the understanding of an organisation whose existence in Ghana antedated its legal establishment.

Since the main sources of material for this work are to be found in archives, there was great reliance on primary material, namely, the archives of the Bureau itself. But material from other sources have been utilised to correct errors in the primary sources.

Interviews were one such source utilised. It was possible to meet and talk to a number of politicians, retired civil servants and people who had themselves been in the thick of the affairs of the Bureau or were eye-witnesses to the goings on in the country at the time. These provided a high quality source of information. The interviews enabled us to obtain a realistic picture of how people of different shades of opinion viewed the Bureau. Among those interviewed were Mr John Tettegah (a former trade unionist and now ambassador), Mr Haizel (a former lecturer), Mr Amengatcher (Copy Right Administrator of Ghana) and Mr Ako Adjei, a close associate of Nkrumah.

This study was confronted by several difficulties. One was the non-availability of up-to-date and objective printed materials on the BAA. No one can deny the overwhelming abundance of literature on the era of Nkrumah's administration. But ironically, there are practically no known works devoted entirely to the Bureau. Thus in most of the works consulted, only scattered references are made to the Bureau. These include the works of Scott W Thompson, Kofi Batsa, Dei Anang and Tawia Adamafio. For example, in Thompson's book, Ghana's Foreign Policy, Diplomacy, Ideology and New States, one of the most

important sources of references on Nkrumah's foreign policy, there are only four short references to the Bureau in a book of 462 pages. Most non-academic works, including the NLC government (in Ghana from 1966-1969) publications, Nkrumah's Deception of Africa and Nkrumah's Subversion of Africa, are too biased to be considered helpful.

A second problem related to having to work on records located at two different research centres in Accra. In particular, the refusal of the African Affairs Library to allow access initially to their records, whose reorganisation had to be undertaken by us, nearly proved to be my Waterloo - (see letter appended). The classification, description, inventorying, labelling, bundling and boxing of over one thousand unaccessioned files and volumes was only one of the problems we faced.

The interviews posed another problem. Our respondents could not be reached easily as usual: as businessmen, busy politicians and civil servants, they found one reason or the other to avoid being interviewed. The result was that only few of the prospective respondents granted interviews. One died before our scheduled meeting: others have consistently kept postponing interviews to date.

This study as a whole is an attempt to tell at some length what the Bureau of African Affairs was. For the present, it is enough to say that it is centred on an organisation within the Nkrumah administration which was considered by its founders as

one of the appropriate means for ensuring the continued survival and development of Africa.

In this work we do not concern ourselves in much detail with those aspects of the Bureau's work which tended to be a subject of political controversy. Rather, in substance and in execution, it is a narrative which seeks to tell the whole story of the Bureau of African Affairs as the institution through which Nkrumah's vision of Africa swept beyond the confines of Ghana and Africa.

The study is organised in the following manner; Chapter 1, which is the introductory chapter, examines the symbolic significance of the historic background of Africa. It is our contention that an understanding of the background motivations to the initiatives in Ghana is helpful, if not essential, to an adequate appreciation of the feeling of concern the BAA's founders had for African peoples. As a consequence, the main intention of this chapter is to provide an insight into the African past.

For the purposes of this study the various stages relating to the growth of the organisation have been presented. Chapter 2 therefore concentrates on the establishment of the Bureau of African Affairs with regard to:

- 1 Early origins
- 2 The Office of the Advisor to PM on African Affairs

- 3 The pan-African background
- 4 The formal establishment of the BAA

Chapter 3 concentrates on such elements as aims and objectives, broad functions and personnel, and developmental and operational strategies.

Chapter 4 deals with the structure, organisation, internal working and implementing processes of the BAA, and touches upon some of its achievements and the kinds of problems it had to contend with.

For purposes of future research, and particularly future use of the Bureau's archives in mind, Chapter 5 enumerates the essential qualities and attributes relating to the physical structure and substantive attributes of the records of the BAA. While the archives provide the documentary basis for some of the evidence adduced in the narrative, the narrative on the other hand puts the records of the Bureau in their proper historical perspective.

Finally the conclusion reviews the chapters and makes a number of remarks regarding the objective reality of the Bureau of African Affairs as a working tool for the enhancement of African liberation.

ABSTRACT

The events that took place in Africa under the Bureau of African Affairs may be said to have been motivated by the realisation that new states of Africa though independent, were constrained by the international environment, but that within those constraints (and others dictated by physical resources and human capabilities), there remained a degree of choice for African leaders to fashion their governments' policies to meet the continental demands.

Consequently Kwame Nkrumah established the Bureau of African Affairs in order to expedite the fulfilment of the pan-African dream for the achievement of the total liberation of Africa from alien rule and domination and the enhancement of the dignity of the black man anywhere in the world. Strictly speaking this study is not just another thesis on Kwame Nkrumah. Rather, it is a study of a almost forgotten, but nonetheless important political institution established under his administration in pursuit of his African objectives.

In spite of the acclaimed achievements of the Bureau of African Affairs in the sphere of African liberation, the organisation collapsed with the government which gave birth to it, and dubbed as an organ of Nkrumah's subversive activities in Africa. The text discusses the evolution of the Bureau in Ghana, and shows the impediments it encountered in adapting its methods to face the challenge of the changes envisaged by the pan-African

ideals on the continent. In addition, the records which were drawn up or used in the course of the Bureau's administrative or executive transactions have been appraised and described in this study. Finally the study makes a number of conclusions regarding the fashioning of the Bureau to play the role of co-ordinating aid to African liberation movements.

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CHAPTER ONE

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Numerous studies of the Nkrumah period have been made, but most of them have been reactions to Nkrumah's role in Ghana or have dealt exclusively with Nkrumah's political ideas, his contributions to Pan-Africanism and his foreign and African policies. It would appear that scholars have failed to notice the significance of the place and roles certain political institutions played under Nkrumah; the precise nature of those institutions and their roles; and the responses they evoked from within Ghana and the outside world.

The primary aim of this study, therefore, is to throw greater light on one of the much neglected organs of Nkrumah's administration, especially in the sphere of foreign and inter-African policies. The Bureau of African Affairs (B.A.A.) was literally the chief political institution through which Nkrumah sought to expedite the fulfilment of his pan-African dreams - the achievement of the total liberation of Africa from alien rule and domination and the enhancement of the dignity of the blackman any where in the world. A related aim of the study is to produce a guide to the surviving record sources of the B.A.A., located at the National Archives of Ghana and the Research Library on African Affairs in Accra.

The study sets out to fuse history and archival science with the intention of applying the theories of the latter to elucidate the basic subject, the administrative history of the institution under study. This work is, therefore, a study in administrative history.

The study shall tell the story of how the B.A.A., a by-product of the pan-African thoughts of Nkrumah, was created and fashioned out to play the role of co-ordinating aid to African freedom fighters and movements. It seeks to discern the impact on the B.A.A. on African nationalist thinking and on liberation movements, and the extent to which its activities influenced African nationalists and fired their ambitions or assisted them in their struggle to end colonialism. For the purpose of placing the study in the broad context of African affairs, a brief review of the background factors leading to the establishment of the B.A.A. has been attempted.

After Ghana's independence, there was witnessed in the former 'model colony', a step up in the anti-colonial campaign, accompanied by persistent calls for further action for the total liberation and unity of all African states. Certain landmarks in Africa's long march in history and her role in world affairs appear to have been both basic and intrinsic sources of inspiration for political actions in Ghana.

No one really knows precisely when the history of Africa began. Nobody knows who the first inhabitants of this continent were. Until comparatively recent times, Africa appeared to be the most isolated and least known continent, except along its Mediterranean shore and a few spots on its Eastern and Western coasts. Yet, Africa had shared common experiences, leadership, cultural and language links with Asia, Europe and the Americas, which spanned both time and distance! ¹ Here, in fact, was one of the earliest centres of civilization in the world. The ancient civilizations of the Nile Valley, and the accounts of ancient Sudanese empires, prove that they

achieved greatness in the past and have made great contributions to the development of European civilization. European, Egyptian and Asiatic scholars and students were attracted to these empires as centres of learning during the medieval period. In addition to offering higher education in philosophy, medicine, mathematics and law, there also existed exchange programmes of professors between the universities of the Sudanese states and Cordova in Spain.² The University of Sankore in Timbuktu became the centre of Muslim scholarship in Africa. The Practice of medicine at this University was much advanced, and its doctors performed surgical feats that were not known in Europe for another 250 years.³

The Ghana Empire which was in ascendancy in the 4th century A.D was the most powerful state in West Africa, and by the eleventh century, Ghana was equal at least in power and might to England.⁴ The famous empire of Ghana, like most of its successors, collapsed as a result of serious external influences, internal disharmony and discord. Lack of unity and oneness of purpose was the decisive factor.

The achievements of ancient African empires have been a strong motivating force on pan-Africanists like Nkrumah. When the Gold Coast became an independent sovereign state, it adopted the name Ghana. On the occasion of Ghana's Independence, Dr. J.B. Danquah, an eminent Ghanaian philosopher and politician, proudly wrote to Dr. Nkrumah expressing his support for the adoption of the name of the ancient African empire for the Gold Coast when it became liberated.⁵ The weight of further evidence now brought

to light confirms that "the link between old and modern Ghana is that people of modern Ghana look to the ancient kingdom of Ghana as their cultural ancestors, rather in the same way that modern Europeans look back to Greece and Rome".⁶

The attachment of Africans to their glorious past must not be seen on sentimental and romantic grounds. As Kwame Nkrumah put it, "We take pride in the name Ghana not out of romanticism, but as an inspiration for the future".⁷ It might be useful at this point to recall what Kwame Nkrumah once said at Legon.

"Agencies of a social economic and religious advance tell of a new spirit which acting as a leavening ferment shall raise the anxious and aspiring masses, to the level of their ancient glory. The ancestral greatness, the unimpaired genius, and the recuperative power of race, its irrepressibility which arouses its permanence constitute Africa's greatest source of aspirations".⁸

SEMPI ALIQUID NOVI EX-AFRICA

It must be stressed that the foregoing is particularly relevant to the anti-colonial reaction in Ghana. Ghana through the B.A.A. was demanding a new way of thinking in Africa and a break from former colonial dogmas which shut the eyes of the African against his own self-respect and dignity.

Africa is, in all probability, the birth place of humanity, and possibly for a long time Africans were the only humans on earth.⁹ Anthropologists today say that Africa, not central Asia, was probably the original home of the human race.¹⁰ The new world and Australia¹¹ remained undiscovered for many years because no

one had known of their existence. This was not so with Africa. In the view of Lawrence Van der Post, "Africa had lain for many thousand years in full view of the thrustful civilizations that came and went along the Mediterranean Sea board. It was a known unknown, a dark secret in the full sun".¹² African civilization lasted longer than any other civilization known to man.¹³ During the heydays of African civilization, thousands of Negro professors at that time taught in the universities in Alexandria, then the seat of learning.¹⁴

Africa had been one continent which at all odd moments strangely excited the ancient world. This makes scholarly and academic interest in Africa as ancient as the continent itself. Almost everything the ancients said about Africa implied a sense of wonder: witness the saying of a Roman Pro-Consul, " 'out of Africa always something new", Homer's reference to Africa as 'a place fit for the vacation of the gods; Shakespeare's, 'I speak of Africa and golden joys; and Thomas Brown's observation in another dimension, 'there is all Africa and her prodigies in us."¹⁵

Erastothenes and Aristotle knew that the cranes migrated from the lakes where the Nile took its sources.¹⁶ Ptolemy, the ancient cartographer of the Mediterranean world, is credited as having marked down the 'Mountains of the Moon' roughly where the Ruwenzori complex of peaks stand today on his maps.¹⁷ There was also a true scientific curiosity about Africa; Persians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Jews, etc, exhibited this motive. Hanno and Strabo were among the travellers of the ancient world who tried to explore Africa. The Carthaginians appear to have

steered the opposite way from the east right round Africa in the 6th century B. C.¹⁸

All the ancient visitors to Africa came in search of trade, and it has been stressed that trading contacts between Africa and the ancient world far outdated the exploratory activities of the ancient mariners. The Sahara desert, two or three thousand years ago, was less parched and sterile than today. It was, therefore, easily crossed from oasis to oasis by riding oxen or by ox-carts, perhaps also on horses and asses until domesticated camels were introduced into Egypt.¹⁹ Thus, according to H.G. Wells, "across Africa toiled the caravans with their remote trade".²⁰ Exports included skins, slaves, iron, ostrich feathers, ivory and gold. The source of gold in the trans-Saharan trade from further south obviously must point to the region of the Guinea Coast.

There is also evidence which certainly provides information about contacts between North Africa and West Africa or the Sudanic belt by at least 1,500 B.C.²¹ Supporting this claim, Posnasky has written that "to discover the origins of long distance trade in West Africa, our search has to begin in the sands of the Sahara."²² It may be concluded that the ancient world's contact with Africa could not have been casual as the official records would want us to believe, and, therefore, invalidates Wighman's contention that "before 1467, the Guinea Coast as a whole was as a 'new world' never before known and on the authority of ancient 'science' knowable as the continent of America".²³

Those who have made a careful and unbiased study of ancient history trace many ideas and concepts that are essential

to the cause of human development to African origins. Apart from excelling in government, the Africans were the founders and teachers of art, science and literature in the world some 3000 years ago.²⁴ Africa attracted the Greeks as adventurers or colonists by opportunities for settlement as well as by the higher civilization of its peoples. There are several mythologies which indicate that the Greeks held Africans in such a high esteem as to lead them to believe in marriages between African women and Greek gods and heroes, and this makes Homer's reference to Africa as a place fit for the vacation of the gods meaningful. There are also clear indications in Greek legend which suggest the presence of African blood in the royal families of certain Greek City States.²⁵ Stating the case of the importance of Africa in Greek history, De Graft Johnson has written; "the claims of Greek mythology may be true or reflect dimly remembered but actual historical roles by peoples of African descent in the pre-historic Greek world."²⁶

There is also the fact that Africa had an economic and social value to the Romans. The nature of this economic importance can be summed up in four words "the granary of Rome." This quite simply means that the population of the city of Rome depended almost entirely on grain supplies from Africa for its food.²⁷ Socially, Africa had value for Rome in that it enabled the government to keep the urban population contented by providing it not only with food but wild beasts for its amphitheatric heroic shows.²⁸ Another way in which Africa was socially useful to Rome was in providing land for overseas settlements of Roman citizens.²⁹

Finally, it has been contended that Jewish civilization was not just semitic civilization; it was part of the far flung Hamito-Semitic world whose centre of gravity was in Africa.³⁰

CHANGING MOTIVES

After the early contacts, however, foreign knowledge about Africa appears to have become static until new impetus was given by the Arabs and the Chinese.³¹ What is most significant about the Chinese presence in Africa is that it antedates the arrival of the Portuguese by eighty years. They had detailed knowledge of Somaliland, Madagascar, Zanzibar and other parts of Africa.³²

However, between the ancient times and the 16th century, the scientific motive of the ancient times towards Africa was exchanged for one that was purely economic. There was developed during that period a new maritime trade between Europe and Africa. At its inception, it created a new pattern in commerce and human relations, as the African littoral was initiated into a new international trade that was to dominate African history for several centuries.

This trade, which initially followed a common pattern on voluntary basis, soon developed into an unbalanced trade in ivory, gold and illegitimate trafficking in human cargo. The conduct of trade which at its inception ranged from subtle persuasion to hard bargaining was converted to sheer physical force and continued exploitation of African labour and resources. In the opinion of Awolowo, the terms of trade between the aliens and Africans came to be dictated by the former and were both unfair

and unconscionable.³³

The whole of black Africa was exploited for slave labour for European mines and plantations in the America's to the tune of over forty million people.³⁴ About 60% of this number came from West Africa, which became one of the most ruthlessly exploited areas in Africa. It served as the enviable slave reservoir for the opening up of the New World.³⁵

This is how we came to have people of African descent today in the USA, the Caribbean and parts of Latin America. The abolition of the slave trade was followed by the age of exploration and in its wake came the age of conquests to be followed by colonial rule which divided Africa into French, English, German, Spanish, Italian and Belgian colonial areas. All these factors combined most effectively to wreck African civilization. In the words of Nkrumah, the Europeans "were so much blinded by their egocentricity that they forgot that Africans are a historic people responsible for their unique culture and society."³⁶ They even resorted to every means to keep Africans ignorant of their history.³⁷ These factors again contributed to the suppression of the African's initiative and made him a second rate man, even though considerable historical evidence exists to establish that were it not for the cruel interruption of her development, Africa could have maintained an unbroken record of power, resourcefulness, intellectual agility and influence in World affairs.

THE GUINEA COAST

The Guinea Coast used to be called the Whiteman's grave. Parts of the coast have been called one time or other the "Slave Coast", Gold Coast, Grain Coast, etc. Ghana lies in the centre of the countries along the Gulf of Guinea. The search for gold was the prime object of many European ventures to West Africa. It is believed that Columbus landed on the Gold Coast ten years before he discovered America, and as usual he was looking for gold.³⁸ The demand for Guinea gold is a well known factor in the growth of the Trans-Saharan and Atlantic trades in the 14th and 16th centuries respectively. The evidence shows that Guinea gold went into circulation as money in one form or another in Europe.³⁹ The whole question of medieval European coinage cannot be settled without reference to Guinea-Sudan gold. According to Alastair Lamb, "one cannot attribute the economic revolution which lay behind the Renaissance to Sudanic gold; but it played its part."⁴¹ Above all, perhaps, it performed a crucial role in stimulating the Portuguese in their quest for access to the Guinea Coast.

Gold made the Portuguese call the districts between the rivers Ankobra and Volta 'mina' meaning the 'mine', and the French 'cote del' or the Gold Coast, a name which was adopted by the English and later applied to the whole country when it became a British territory eventually. It continued to be so called for 103 years. According to the explorers Burton and Cameron, "this small section of West Africa poured

a flood of gold into Europe, and until the richer discoveries of California, it continued to be the principal supply to the civilized world.⁴² Gold still forms an appreciable component of Ghana's external trade. Ironically, gold exploitation in Ghana still enjoys foreign patronage, thirty years after independence.

One aspect of the story of the stages in the history of Africa on a regional basis will, it is hoped, simplify matters without diminishing the size of the inspiration from this region. This region naturally did not welcome the arrival of the white man. In describing West Africa as the Whiteman's grave, the early European adventurers were admitting the reality of the fact. It would appear that there was something mystically relevant in the latter protest from this region that has links with that natural phenomenon, and tends to make West Africa the true home of anti-colonial struggle. It ought to be remembered that nationalism in British West Africa was far more vigorous than in any other colonial area south of the Sahara.⁴³

Interesting as the above ideas are, the most interesting aspects of this region's impact on world history is that the people of this region were global pioneers in many ways. Third in significance, probably, after the revolt of the American colonies and the French Revolution, was the revolt of the slaves of San Domingo during the French Revolution. Significantly, this is the only known successful revolution of the people of African descent in classic times outside the African continent that the world had yet seen. The greatest

achievement of that revolution is the existence of present day Haiti, one of the earliest black sovereign states in the world. The slaves of San Domingo, "were raw Africans from the Guinea Coast,"⁴⁴ and Nkrumah and other African revolutionaries were greatly inspired by their achievements."⁴⁵

A further point of interest about the Guinea Coast was its contributions to that unique and characteristic outlook of the blackman which Nkrumah describes as the 'African Personality.' African Personality "is the sum total of that which go or combine to render the outlook of the African different from the outlook of the European, Asian and the American." It is that power of the Black person to turn sorrow into joy, crying into laughter, and defeat into victory. It derives its impetus from the ancestral heritage of Africa.⁴⁷

The shipment to Brazil of slaves from the Guinea Coast to replace the enslavement of Native Indians there was significant in so far as it emphasized the survival of the African as against the native Indians ^{as} victims of European enslavement; this can only be explained in terms of that personification. By pressurizing the Brazilian authorities to use African Slaves in place of Indians, the Jesuits recognised that human element that characterizes the personality of the African under all circumstances.

It is worth pointing out that motivational drives were provided for the African revolution by the achievements of individual Africans in several fields of endeavour in different parts of the world. Even in the face of great odds and

difficulties, it has been possible for the African personality to manifest itself to the extent that Africans have emerged as eminent statemen, scientists, philosophers and scholars. Some people will say St. Augustine was an African and so was the Queen of Sheba and Hannibal. Africans served as generals in the armies of Peter the Great of Russia, Napoleon in France, etc; as Presidents of free Republics (as in the case of Haiti and Liberia), and kings of Independent Nations (as in the case of Ethiopia).⁴⁸

Furthermore, inspite of the distorting effects of the European slave trade on Africa, many Africans who were themselves slaves were "able to show marks of genius and high character sufficient to redeem their race from the charges of backwardness."⁴⁹ Among these were Anthony William Amoo of Axim in Ghana, and Olaudah Equiano, a Nigerian.⁵⁰ Anthony William Amoo was sent to Germany as a slave when he was a boy. By his exceptional academic performance, he was able to earn respect and dignity for the whole of the African race. He became a professor of philosophy in a number of celebrated German Universities including Halle and Wittenberg.⁵¹ The Rector of Wittenberg, in acknowledgement of Amoo's achievements, paid the following glowing tribute to Africa:

Great once was the dignity of Africa, whether one considers natural talents of mind or study of Letters..... For she has given birth to several men of greatest prominence by whose talents and efforts the whole human knowledge had been built.⁵²

In a public greeting addressed to Amoo by the Chairman of his University, it was declared:

We proclaim Africa and its region of Guinea, -- the mother not only of many good things and the treasures of nature, but also the most successful minds; we proclaim her quite deservedly --- your genius particularly stands out seeing that you have excellently proved the felicity and superiority of your mind.⁵³

The encomiums and respect earned by Amoo were positive contributions to the enhancement of the dignity of Africans among the white race.

The other personality, Olauda Equiano, made direct contributions to the abolitionist movement in several ways. He served, among others, as a special link between the slaves and white liberals like Granville Sharpe, who aroused the cause of slaves in England. The lives of these two great Africans bear testimony to that undying spirit of the Blackman which has come to symbolize the African Personality.

These achievements and Africa's contributions especially to the enrichment of the coffers of European nations, notwithstanding, Africans were said to be a people without history. Commenting on

this Nkrumah said:

The central mythology surrounding Africa is that of the denial that we are a historical people - - - Its history, therefore, is widely felt to be an extension of European history. Hegel's authority was lent to this a historical hypothesis.⁵⁴

Even in our own time, Geoffrey Bing, a Briton and a one time adviser to Nkrumah, has stated in unambiguous terms that it was on becoming independent that Ghana came to world attention, and that the 1966 coup converted it into what it had always been, "a small state on the West Coast of Africa in no way historically or economically important to the world."⁵⁵ On the contrary, it was in view of the commercial importance of the Gold Coast that thirty-six medieval castles were built along the coast line of the Gold Coast.⁵⁶ According to H. S. Newland,⁵⁷

The historical appeal of these forgotten relics of international rivalry was a wide one, for, in their time, they commanded the attention of the British, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Brandenburgers under the Great Elector, and the Danes, while the French and the Swedes also claimed to have established themselves for a time in the country.⁵⁸

It has been stated in some quarters that the British decision to convert the Gold Coast into a crown colony, and the German and French moves to acquire strongholds in Nigeria⁵⁹ and the

Gold Coast, were the reasons for the British rush to declare a protectorate over Northern Ghana to be followed soon after with the conquest of Ashanti in 1901. As far as the British were concerned, the acquisition of the Gold Coast was yet another jewel in the imperial Crown.

Perhaps it needs to be emphasized that in the pursuance of imperial goals it did not matter to the Europeans whether Africa was important or not. It is being further suggested that when people are exposed to the culture of others, they usually learn to appreciate their values, customs, folklore, dances, music, arts, etc., and this exposure helps generate sympathy, respect and understanding of the people. But this was not what Africans experienced as a token of their worth to Europeans.

In addition to its purely inward looking role, European political subjugation was aimed not only at making it easy for African peoples to be controlled, and their territories administered on their own conditions: But, like babies, Africans were also fed on the cultural, national and international affections and prejudices of the colonial powers. Consequently, Africa became tied to the apron strings of the Europeans. One recalls that during this century, Africa, as elsewhere in Europe, experienced the cataclysm of two world wars. In these wars, Africans became involved not because they wished to do so. In the first World War, Ghanaian soldiers of the West African Frontier Force fought during the advance on Togoland.⁶⁰ To a certain degree, the war

situation, however, helped the African to rediscover himself. The records of the African soldier in both wars were as impressive as they were inspiring. It is no wonder that after the 2nd World War, a new generation of black Africans and Americans raised their voices in unequivocal protest against exploitation, oppression and the humiliation of black people everywhere. The increasing use made of ex-servicemen in the struggle against colonial rule and injustices in Ghana is a well known chapter in the history of West African Nationalism.

It is clear from this brief sketch that the rich resources of Africa, both human and natural in fields of education, religion, the basic sciences, mathematics and medicine, African culture and human relations, these contain for the rest of the world elements of tremendous value and constitute for Africa her contribution to world civilization; and there was the need to preserve the history of the survival of Africa's violated heritage which involves not only the past but a timeless eternity subsuming the present and the future.

PAN AFRICANISM

The inauguration of the African chapter of one of the most formidable pan-movements of the World, Pan-Africanism, was the work of the descendants of African slaves in the new World. Theirs was a reaction to their deep sense of frustration generated, obviously, by their consciousness of Africa's glorious past and the sacrifices she made in the past to the benefits of European developments. Having, therefore, discovered the disgusting hypocrisy of the white race in the face of

colonialism with its exploitative and racial discriminative tendencies, they decided to fight against those who had always claimed the right to rule and ruin the black race or peoples.

For example, George Padmore, working outside Africa, identified himself completely with its struggle and carried on all his adult life a tenacious fight for African nationalism and independence. His contributions to the press of Africa, the West Indies and the United States on the African cause, and also throughout the World served as a rallying point and inspiration to the leaders of African independence. Dr. Du Bois, a black American and the father of Pan-Africanism was known to have called on Africans and people of African descent to unite as far back as 1919.⁶¹ Du Bois eventually took Ghanaian citizenship, and in a speech on that day, he declared, "My great grand father was carried away from the Gulf of Guinea. I have returned so that my life will flow on in the vigorous stream of Ghanaian life, which lifts the African personality to its proper place among men."⁶² He was the man who introduced the idea of non-alignment into African politics with the Western world.⁶³

The foregoing demonstrate one of the most curious aspects of the history of Pan-Africanism. In Africa out of the Americas, Africa called forth her children - the Garveys, Duboises, Padmores, Blydens and others - who by the application of practical ideas, rekindled the spirit of nationalism in the generation of the educated Africans from the early 1920s. These were the

people and the situations that so critically influenced activities in Accra.

As one of the strands in the history of Africa's historic and glorious moments, those achievements did not fail to exert some influence on later events in several parts of Africa. After independence Ghana, like most African countries, was faced with a crisis of identity. There was need to create symbols with which people could identify themselves with pride so that the rest of the world may recognise them.

For these and other related reasons, Ghana under Nkrumah took on the mantle of the (great) Pan-Africanists so that the great sacrifices they made may not be in vain. The form of organisation best suited to this purpose was the B.A.A., an institution which had the advantage of overcoming ethnic or regional boundaries, and which could thus bring the people of Africa together in constant contact. That Africa should be a continent of sovereign and united states, and its leaders counted among sovereigns of the world after several years of exploitation and humiliation was not only a matter of pride, but the manifestation of the rebirth of a lost heritage, the protection of which called for positive measures.

NEO-COLONIALISM

So crucial in the political process was the creation of the consciousness that people could be politically free and continue to be a dependent country through foreign economic domination. In order that independent Africa serve the needs

of Western imperialism, it became essential for the imperialists to change their tactics. For example, the British changed from the 'Empire to Commonwealth'⁶⁴ after losing her African colonies; and there is the 'French Community' of which former French African colonies are members. For the colonial powers own credibility, it was essential that they provide a forum for the so called 'frank and open discussion' of international and socio-economic issues. But these so called "clubs" were shaped into frameworks for political, financial, trade and military associations, the fruits of which were to the prestige and benefit of the French or the British.

What was frustrating was that neo-colonialist motives were being voiced on several platforms by leading personalities in the imperialist camp. Charles Arden Noble Clarke, a former Governor-General of Ghana, lamented the end of what he called "European political leadership".⁶⁵ Chester Bowles of the Kennedy Administration⁶⁶ expressed similar sentiments. Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, a former British Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated that abroad the British no longer ruled, and they now had something more difficult to do to influence or guide."⁶⁷ And H.V. Hudson of the Ditchley Foundation wrote that:

National independence and African majority rule will be entirely compatible with the presence of a stable white population, many of whom will own land and mineral rights, run industries and commerce, and hold posts of authority in the armed and civil service.⁶⁸

Acts in Ghana after independence were to be seen in the light of statements like those above, and again in the light of the new type of colonialism which if tolerated would adversely compromise African independence, freedom, integrity and progress.

Thus in Africa, as any where in the world, it is accurate to speak of the primary aim of imperialism as basically to secure new sources of raw materials, and new markets for manufactured goods and an opening for capital investment in those fields where the biggest returns are expected. This has led to the reconsideration of the compatibility of the neo-colonialist motive with the aims and aspirations of independent Africa. The consensus appears to be that the only effective way to deal with the negative aspects of economic partnership is for Africa to unite in order to provide the framework for concerted political, economic and military action and pressure.

It should be emphasised that the establishment of the B.A.A., in Ghana was due to the initiative and personal commitment of Dr. Nkrumah, who had experienced the false colonial dogma of the superiority of the white race over the black race. In establishing the Bureau, it was Nkrumah's hope to inspire the people of Africa and sustain their confidence in their abilities to rise to any heights attainable by any other peoples. Nkrumah's motivation and efforts were, in all probability, in response to the spiritual and cultural values of Africans as symbolised in the African past, and the undying desire to resume Africa's greatness at the point where servitude and indignity

forced her to abandon it. Thus inspired, the contribution which African nations were expected to make constituted for Nkrumah a political mission in which Ghana, in its own peculiar circumstances, was destined to play a major role.

Dr. Nkrumah never made any secret of the propaganda role that he expected the Bureau to play. The propaganda was to be undertaken by the Bureau's agents throughout Africa. The object of this propaganda was:

1. To erase completely the persistent, ignoble prejudices other races hold of Africans.
2. To demolish in the African the apparent inferiority complex he has cultivated towards the white race.
3. To cure the world of the blatant amnesia of Africa's contributions in the world.
4. To restore the self confidence and the dignity of black people throughout the world, and a united Pan-Africa encompassing all of Africa.

The achievement of this grand objective was to be effected through any one or all of the following methods:

1. Systematic dissemination of information not only on Ghana but on the whole of Africa, for the education of the Africans themselves, and of the rest of the world. The modes adopted propaganda were publications, conferences and any other effective communication media.

2. To take on a confrontational stand against colonial authorities in Africa, including armed struggle, as the only effective means of freeing Africa from imperialism and colonialism. This was where Nkrumah found himself committed to the assistance of Freedom Fighters and Movements.
3. To work fervently for the rapid achievement of a united Africa as a guarantee against neo-colonialism.

From what has been said so far, we have to assume a genuine historical basis for Nkrumah's action in Ghana, bearing in mind the specific importance of the Guinea Coast in the general African context in relation to its contribution as well as the higher civilization of its peoples. If this is accepted, then the contention that the B.A.A. should be regarded as the chief instrument envisaged by Nkrumah for the achievement of African consciousness, regeneration and publicity must not appear fanciful.

Furthermore, on the face of the several references made to the African past by Nkrumah and most of the Pan-African nationalists, the evidence naturally points to the high esteem in which the historical heritage of Africa was held by the Pan-Africanists. What was done in Ghana was to be seen as the continuation of previous efforts as well as the practical expression of unity of purpose and action towards a greater ultimate goal - the achievement of the total liberation of Africa and political union. The greatest problem facing Africa, it has been observed, was not only colonialism but also that decolonised Africa must not exist

task to which every leader in Africa, according to the principal objectives of the B.A.A., was supposed to address himself.

However, this work is not devoted essentially to a detailed assessment of Pan-Africanism in Ghana or the political controversies which were generated by the B.A.A. We are not concerned with the complex problems of political ideas of foreign policy. To a great extent this study only attempts to trace the origins and evolution of the B.A.A. Its structure, aims and objectives will be examined. Finally, one of the goals of this study is to illustrate, among other things, the importance of administrative history in African studies. This aspect of African historiography has hitherto not received adequate attention from scholars.⁶⁹ The guide to the Archives of the B.A.A. has been presented as concisely as possible, thereby making documents of great potential importance to social scientists and other researchers accessible.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS PHASE ONEINTRODUCTION:

The first part of the title of this study may give the impression that the Bureau of African Affairs was inaugurated immediately Dr. Kwame Nkrumah assumed the mantle of political leadership in Ghana in 1951. But this was not so. As such the title of the study and the period it covers need to be explained. Various accounts indicate that at any time a political system is justified and sustained by a rationale - myth, ideology, philosophy, theory or whatever, Political actions are normally related by some logic to ends thus justified.

This is true of Nkrumah in relation to the B.A.A. Thus to have started this study from the conservative date of 1959 as the birth date of the B.A.A., as if it was a human being, would have been unsatisfactory. There is greater awareness among archivists of the problems presented by institutions like the B.A.A., than seems to be the case with non-archivists. The archivist sees the problem of the evolution of the B.A.A. more clearly than most professionals.

It should be noted that records have links with the agents which produced them, and it is that clear link with the transactions of which they formed a part that gives the records, as opposed to the information they contain, their peculiar evidential value. The survey of the records of the B.A.A. in the custody of the National Archives of Ghana, for example, indicate clearly that some of them ante-date the legal establishment of the B.A.A., which was not even accomplished in 1959 as is sometimes alleged.¹

As regards the evolution of administrative institutions in Ghana, perhaps the fundamental difference between pre-independent Ghana and post-independent Ghana is that in the colonial period administrative institutions evolved around personalities. It was only in the 1870's that we find the offices of those personalities gradually developing into department and much later into Ministries. For example, the Secretariat, one of the most important institutions of British colonial rule in the Gold Coast, started life as the Office of the Secretary to the Governor in 1843. Similarly, the Supreme Court of Ghana started life around George Maclean as the Judicial Assessor for the Gold Coast Colony. It was not until 1852 that the s Supreme Court Ordinance was passed.

A review of some of the available literature on the evolution of institutions shows that in the history of a country's or organisation's development, new departments are created, some are abolished, and yet some are amalgamated

with others; and yet numerous transfers of functions are made to existing ones or newly created ones. In spite of the fusion and fission, the reshuffling and movements to and fro, some institutions are able to retain their identity, thus withstanding the test of time.

This study seeks to establish among other things that:

- i. The B.A.A. was in existence long before its legal establishment under George Padmore as the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs.
- ii. That a certain time lag was required for the laying of a firm foundation in order to bring the institution to maturity.
- iii. That the year 1959 must be regarded as a significant landmark in the evolutionary process of the B.A.A.

It is, therefore, important in a study like this to look for the origins of the B.A.A. in the ideas and policies of its initiator or the holder of the office.

THE EARLY ORIGINS OF THE B.A.A.

The national struggles of any people, generation after generation, resemble a structure rising one stone on top of the other, with everyone of them serving as the base of the one that tops it. So was the evolution of the B.A.A., which was finally to become a dominant organ in the anti-colonial campaign in Nkrumah's Ghana, and enabled Ghana to play a frontline role in the struggle to bring freedom to colonised

peoples in Africa and the world at large.

The B.A.A. was not born with Nkrumah and his administration in Ghana. It had a long ancestry beginning from Nkrumah's student days in the USA through the time he came to team up with George Padmore in London. From these early experiences, and a closer observation of Nkrumah's career and approaches to African Affairs, three main source streams of the idea of an African Bureau could be located.

First, the earliest root of that idea may be traced to the formative years of Nkrumah's political thought in the United States. While at Pennsylvania University, Nkrumah helped to establish the Institute of African Studies there. Between 1941 and 1943 Nkrumah wrote several articles and gave a number of talks on subjects relating specifically to Africa.²

The United States was indeed the first nestling ground for Nkrumah's efforts towards the liberation of Africa from imperialism and the fostering of the idea of African Unity.³ While in America Nkrumah joined with others to organise African students in the USA and Canada into one big association of African Students in North America.⁴ He was elected the President of the Association, and in his inaugural message in 1943 he reminded the members of their responsibility towards Africa.⁵ He also helped to launch a newspaper called the "African Interpreter" as a mouthpiece of the African Students Association.⁶

Nkrumah further contributed immensely to stimulate American public interest in the African continent. He contributed testimonies which were embodied in a publication entitled, The Atlantic Charter and Africa from an American Standpoint in 1942.⁷ In April, 1944, the Council on African Affairs Incorporation of the United States organised a Conference, for which Nkrumah did much of the preparatory work.⁸ Nkrumah was also constantly in touch with Dr. Max Yergan,⁹ Paul Robeson and Dr. Ralph Bunche,¹⁰ the moving spirits of the International Committee on African Affairs in New York.¹¹

Aside from students, Nkrumah also gave his attention to other Africans who approached him with their problems.¹¹ He also received a large number of enquiries from Americans interested in African Affairs who came into contact with him, and this further sharpened his interest in Africa.¹² Let me hasten to add that what appears to have been an equally rewarding aspect of his American career was his practical involvement in American social activities.¹³ He was thus able to devote sometime and energy to the study of American politics and labour unions and their organisations and methods.

It was against this background that on his departure from America a friend wrote to wish him farewell thus; "Your years in America have been a real growth in every way, and you have much to take back to Africa with you to serve your people".¹⁴

Nkrumah himself tells us that while sailing in a boat out of New York harbour in 1945, he pledged to the receding Statue of Liberty that, "You have opened my eyes to the true meaning of Liberty. I shall never rest until I have carried your message to Africa."¹⁵

But to Africa Nkrumah did not come at once. Instead, he went to Britain and involved himself in political agitations through conferences, demonstrations and the activities of both students and workers from the colonies.

In Britain, Nkrumah was met at the Euston Station and welcomed into the organisational world of George Padmore and other hard core Pan-Africanists of the day.¹⁶

Henceforth, Padmore spent a great deal of time guiding and advising Nkrumah. He was much aroused by this teaching, and in particular by Padmore's deeper knowledge of the colonial question.¹⁷ According to John Tettegah,¹⁸ the impact Padmore made on Nkrumah was very strongly felt in Ghana's foreign policy generally, and on African Affairs in particular, during Nkrumah's tenure.

Indeed, to Nkrumah's association with Padmore and others in London may be traced the second source stream of the B.A.A. idea. After the Ethiopian Crisis in 1935, Padmore had formed the International African Bureau in London¹⁹ as successor to the International African Friends of Abyssinia Society (I.A.F.A.).²⁰ The organisation was chiefly devoted to the

study of the colonial question and the spread of propaganda and agitation all over Britain, Africa and other territories inhabited by people of African descent.²¹

As the chairman of the African Bureau, Padmore's encyclopaedic knowledge of African politics and African personalities formed the main basis of the Bureau's work and the development of its ideas. The work of the Bureau continued all through the war years. In 1945 the Bureau changed its confrontational stand to that for working for the achievement of independence by non-violent mass action. It was during this phase of the Bureau's work that Nkrumah made his entry into the turbulent London scene in 1945. Nkrumah was around just in time to see Padmore, Makonnen and others organise meetings, interest people in the African cause, and carry on widespread propaganda and agitation on behalf of Africa.

It was into this circle of anti-colonial agitators with their accumulated knowledge, experience and wide range of contacts that Nkrumah was introduced in June 1945. Nowhere in the world could he have found a better place to continue his education in anti-colonialism. For two and half years he worked and lived in the closest association with these people. As he once wrote, "with Padmore and Makonnen, we dispatched hundreds of letters to the various organisations throughout Africa and West Indies."²²

In London Padmore also put Nkrumah in touch with the West African Student' Union.²³ This and Nkrumah's dramatic

encounter with Ako Adjei on a London bus was significant because "it gave Nkrumah a solid base for his next moves, the creation of a secretariat for West African affairs."²⁴

According to Hocker, Nkrumah, by any standard, was no common-place anti-colonialist; he was a revolutionary.²⁵ Within a month of his arrival in London, Nkrumah became a joint secretary of the organising committee for the Manchester Conference, working at all hours to prepare the agenda and invite delegates.²⁶ In that role, he has declared:

We shot into the limbo of the gradualist aspirations of our African middle classes and intellectuals and expressed the solid down-to-earth will of our workers, trade unionists, farmers and peasants who were decisively represented at Manchester, for independence.²⁷

Nkrumah drew further inspiration from the Manchester Pan-African Congress. It opened on Monday 15th October at Charlton Town Hall, and was presided over by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois.

At the Manchester Conference four factors of general significance should be mentioned:

1. An appreciably large number of younger, educated and radical generation of African nationalists attended. They included Jomo Kenyatta, Ako Adjei, Awolowo, Wallace Johnson, De Graft Johnson, etc.²⁸

2. A definite demand was made for national independence for all African countries under colonial rule.²⁹
3. For the first time, practical men and men of action, as compared with those of the previous Conference, attended the Congress as delegates.³⁰
4. At this Congress Nkrumah and Padmore were elected joint secretaries on African Affairs.³¹

There is another special feature of the Manchester Conference which must be mentioned, since it too contributed to the success of the Conference. This is the fact that delegates who attended the Conference instructed their officers to implement all resolutions passed by the Congress which were summed up in Nkrumah's "Declaration to the colonial workers, farmers and intellectuals."³² As a result of the successes scored at the Manchester Congress, Nkrumah later became an historic pace-setter, both as a contributor to that success and as a conscientious proponent and practitioner of the revolutionary philosophy of "Positive Action".³³ After the 1945 Manchester Congress, Nkrumah became sensitised by centuries of wrong to Africa through colonial domination, and, incensed with the desire for freedom for Africa, developed a keen sense of responsibility on the subject of total liberation and the development of the continent. He published in Britain after 1945 an instructive journal called 'The New Africa' which called for change and freedom in Africa.³⁴

This is the background against which we must see Nkrumah's adoption of the African affairs model of George Padmore into the national body politic as important. It must be stressed that Nkrumah was keenly aware of the close inter-relationship between politics in Ghana and inter-African and international relationships.

The effects of the International African Bureau in reshaping political thinking among colonial peoples were considerable in many African countries, especially those which were then under British rule, and certainly in Ghana. Indeed, whatever the intrinsic importance of the Bureau, its influence was felt the greatest in Ghana in the way in which Nkrumah came to be under its direct influence. It must not be forgotten that it was under the auspices of the International Bureau that Nkrumah left London for the Gold Coast to begin his preparation for the revolution which was to initiate a new Africa.³⁵

Perhaps no single group of people influenced Nkrumah more than the personalities of the African Bureau in London. It must also be recalled that it was under their patronage that Nkrumah was able to pioneer a distinctive nationalism in Ghana.

The length and the continuity of his training was great for his later career. At the end of it all, he had accumulated considerable knowledge about how the colonial struggle had been conducted and was to be conducted in the future. Thus he could

draw upon a rich fund of experience to indicate to the rest of the world what was acceptable to colonial peoples of Africa and elsewhere; and he had no hesitation in doing exactly that. It was not at all surprising that during the political upsurge that ushered in self-government in Ghana, one could clearly discern strands reminiscent of the methods advocated by the International African Affairs Bureau of Padmore in organisation and practices such as agitation, propaganda, correspondences, journals, youth conferences, congresses and youth movements. Anti-bourgeoisie slogans and the use of non-violent Positive Action were also some of the features adopted in the anti-colonial campaign in Ghana. It is important to realize that it was through these well-tested tactics that the C.F.P. under Nkrumah set the pace and pattern for the winding up of the British and other European African Empires, and prepared the ground for the formation of the O.A.U., while the achievement of national power by the CPP since 1951 enabled it to pursue such policies as were in keeping with its aims.

The final and the most vigorous stage in the origin of the B.A.A., could be traced to the aftermath of the 1945 Manchester Pan-African Conference - namely, Nkrumah's historic return to the Gold Coast and the eventual reunion of Nkrumah and Padmore in Accra in post-independent Ghana.

Among the most important factors that came out at the Manchester meeting was that the congress resolved, inter-alia, that the participants at the congress should go back to their respective countries to inaugurate the new Pan-Africanist principle of non-violent Positive Action for the rapid decolonization of their territories and the emancipation of the African masses. This goes to emphasize that one of the proclaimed objectives of Manchester was to free all Africans from oppressive colonial domination and restore their dignity to them as human beings. The Aborigines Right Protection Society of the Gold Coast, one of the West African nationalist groups which was represented at Manchester, asked Padmore and Nkrumah to 'revive the good work' of the IASB and urged the necessity of establishing, in addition to IASB, a Pan-African Council with offices in London, New York, Paris, Geneva, Moscow and New Delhi with a central press in London.³⁶

One other thing which must be stressed is Padmore's influence on getting Nkrumah to go back to Ghana. Infact, Nkrumah is said to have accepted the U.G.C.C. secretaryship offer "with Padmore's strenuous approval."³⁷

THE OFFICE OF THE ADVISER TO THE
PRIME MINISTER OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Circumstances in Ghana following the Manchester congress which affected the development and nature of the continuing evolution of the B.A.A. will be the subject of this section.

Before the attainment of independence in the Gold Coast, the basic function of the C.F.P. at the grassroots level had been

to muster votes for elections. At that time, George Padmore was Nkrumah's personal representative in London.³⁸ On the attainment of self-government, Padmore was invited to Accra to witness Nkrumah's installation as the Leader of Government Business³⁹ at the reopening of the Gold Coast Legislative Council in 1951⁴⁰ for two main reasons; namely, first, because of his long experience with liberation movements and African unity, and, secondly, because of the close relationship he had with Nkrumah.

Padmore returned home soon after the ceremony without making any appreciable impact on the political scene in Ghana at the time, probably because from the political standpoint, it was considered in most revolutionary circles that for Nkrumah to decide to work the 1951 Constitution was to put the Ghana revolution into the mouth of the lion.⁴¹ It was after the transition period from 1951 to 1957 that something concrete could be achieved in the direction of the evolution of a Bureau of African Affairs. Now that independence was won, most of the governing party's persuasive organisational strategies, designed as they were against colonialism, were to be fully implemented. Independence, to Nkrumah and Ghana, meant more responsibilities.

In 1957 George Padmore was one of the celebrities invited to attend Ghana's independence ceremonies.⁴² On that occasion, he was the silent hero of Ghana and a figure venerated and respected throughout black Africa and

the entire black world.⁴³ Shortly after Independence, Nkrumah attended the Prime Ministers' Conference in London, and before he returned to Accra, it was public knowledge that Padmore would become Nkrumah's adviser on African affairs.⁴⁴ In September 1957 George Padmore arrived in Ghana and there was every indication that Nkrumah was considering appointing him to a cabinet post. But he was unable to persuade his colleagues to accept the notion. Indeed, it was not feasible to incorporate Padmore into the first indigeneous administration because Padmore was "only a friend of Nkrumah. He was not a Ghanaian".⁴⁵ Tettegah expressed similar sentiments when he declared, "since Padmore could not fit into the apparatus inherited after independence, Nkrumah turned to the idea of making Padmore a personal adviser in the Prime Minister's Office."⁴⁶

Discussions with differing shades of opinions revealed that there was nothing intrinsically wrong with the Nkrumah government wanting to offer a cabinet post to Padmore on the assessment of his abilities and potentialities. But in order to retain willing respect and support of the masses, in order not to dampen the morale of his colleagues, and in order not to reinforce the suspicion and fear already widespread among the opponents of the government, that decision was not applied. This was the circumstance under which Padmore came to

establish a Secretariat at the Office of the Prime Minister. As the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs,⁴⁷ he was also responsible for co-ordinating matters of special significance to African decolonization.

Padmore came, bringing with him all his immense prestige and the rich fund of cosmopolitan experiences, as well as his superior powers of articulation to bear not only on the Ghanaian revolution but on the African revolution as a whole. His office was next to Nkrumah's, and "once more George sat in an office with adequate resources doing the work he had done in the Kremlin and in his little London office."⁴⁸

If there was one overriding conviction shared by Pan-Africanists after Ghana's independence, it was the need to bring into sharper focus the necessity for a system in Ghana to be designed and operated in such a way as to foster actively the demands of anti-colonial forces in Africa. This factor manifestly contributed in no small measure to the establishment of the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs, and with its establishment, the Ghana Charter of the Bureau of African Affairs was impliedly launched without ceremony.

Within a matter of months of its establishment, Padmore had turned his office into one for investigation, propaganda and a centre for the exchange of views with other African leaders.⁴⁹

There was considerable opposition to Padmore's appointment. There were many people in the Civil Service, especially in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, who did not see the need for appointing a West Indian as a special adviser on African affairs.⁵⁰ Padmore was himself to find that there was substantial Ghanaian opposition to his presence because there were too many West Indians who held senior posts in local administration and the judiciary.⁵¹

But, from the administrative point of view, Padmore's position was to be seen differently. He was brought in specifically to head an office outside the orthodox government machinery to carry through Nkrumah's policy for the emancipation of those parts of Africa still under foreign rule. He was to work with the nationalist movements and political parties, an area of activity, which, according to Nkrumah, "would be inappropriate for civil servants to be engaged in at that time".⁵² It was on the basis of this that Mr. A.L. Adu, one of the senior Civil Servants in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dropped his opposition to Padmore's appointment, and helped to get the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs established, including negotiating for a vote for it.⁵³

True, an argument like this, coming as it was from Nkrumah, was strong enough to disarm a senior Civil Servant like A.L. Adu. But this did not measurably increase Padmore's stature among most civil servants, especially in the Foreign Affairs Ministry, who resented the extra-

bureaucratic influence he exerted over Nkrumah. They refused to allow him use their cable services and denied him access to their files.⁵⁴ Padmore's salary, which was put at £2100 per annum, generated hot debates during the negotiations on it, and made Padmore wish to leave Ghana.⁵⁵ Further, opposition to Padmore's presence seems to have centred around his puritanic socialist views⁵⁶ which were not popular among Nkrumah's entourage. This, coupled with Padmore's rumoured Trotskyism, led to the formation of a group within the C.P.P., led by Tawiah Adamafio and Tettegah, against the so called "West Indian Clique"⁵⁷.

Such, then, was the prevailing mood of the nationalists among whom Padmore was to work. The general feeling was that Padmore was not competent to advise Nkrumah on African Affairs because he had not lived in Africa.⁵⁸ And before people could appreciate the spirit of the role cast for Padmore in the anti-colonial campaign, he had come into conflict with a host of enemies in the party, the Civil Service, the cabinet and the National Association of Socialist Students Organisation (N.A.S.S.C.). "There was never a time when there was no pressure on George Padmore to leave."⁵⁹ But Nkrumah was more concerned with Padmore's Pan-African background and experience

and, therefore, did not yield to any local pressure, and the Office of the Adviser on African Affairs got off without hinderance, but to a very unhappy start.

THE PAN-AFRICAN BACKGROUND

The critical question to grapple with in our study is this: Why was Nkrumah so keen on having George Padmore as his adviser on African affairs? In our view, the answer lies in Nkrumah's general outlook on African affairs, and in the Pan-African background of Padmore.

In his approach to African affairs, Nkrumah regarded himself as an African first before he was anything else. Anything on African affairs, according to one expert, was Nkrumah's baby and must be handled by himself or under his keen supervision.⁶⁰ Again, Nkrumah did not like the idea of treating the affairs of other African countries and Africans as if they were foreign affairs and foreigners. Africa, to Nkrumah, was one and indivisible, and no part of it should be foreign to any other.⁶¹ This view was shared by Akita, Aekah and Tettegah, who as contemporaries of the period, have indicated that the really urgent issues in Nkrumah's inter-African relations after independence, in essence, were African unity and decolonization. This underscores Nkrumah's initial desire to establish a Ministry of African Affairs.⁶² In Nkrumah's search, therefore, for

a strong-based socialist ideology, the desire was created not only for a special secretariat, but also for a person with the proper orientation, who would prove efficient and effective, especially in the organisation and co-ordination of African women's groups, trade unions and political parties.

With George Padmore around, Nkrumah was in no mood to countenance any moves that were likely to stand in the way of the African cause.

George Padmore, was for a long time, a self-made spokesman for the rights of colonial peoples in London. From his youth, Padmore had been a person with extraordinary interest in African unity and liberation. He had worked with the Communist Party in the United States and ultimately became the head of the Negro Department of the Profintern - the Communist Trade Union International, with an office in the Kremlin.⁶³ In the course of his work, he was in contact with African nationalists and revolutionaries all over the world.⁶⁴ He was known to have helped to organise revolutionary activities in various parts of Africa, acquiring an immense practical and theoretical experience in the colonial question.⁶⁵ He had devoted himself wholeheartedly to African and Negro problems.⁶⁶

Though Padmore worked from outside Africa, his job took him to several places in Africa. From

time to time he made secret visits to South Africa and the then Congo (now Zaire). He was once interrogated by the police in Dakar.⁶⁷ Fadmore was not new to the politics of the Gold Coast and other African countries as early as the 1930's.⁶⁸ According to Theodore Ackah (born 1910), George Fadmore had visited the Gold Coast under a different identity in 1930.⁶⁹

It must be remembered that Fadmore's real name was Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse,⁷⁰ but we are unable to discover the evidence to support Ackah's claim of Fadmore's presence in Ghana as early as 1930. However, it has been established that there were some contacts with the Gold Coast before independence. In a letter addressed to Dubois in 1951 Fadmore talks of his trip to the Gold Coast.⁷¹ Another reference in Hooker⁷² points out that Fadmore was in Nigeria by way of the Gold Coast - "to which he had been invited by that confident political prisoner, Nkrumah, who was certain the CFF would win the February 1951 elections."⁷³

Nor were Fadmore's contributions to African liberation limited to the Comintern days. The peak of his African project was reached with the formation of the International African Bureau, which we have mentioned before. His tireless correspondence with Africans in all parts of the continent, and the continuous flow of Africans who had made the Bureau and its chairman their political headquarters

when in London, made Padmore one of the Pan-Africanists to enjoy considerable influence in African countries because of his long experience with liberation movements and his concern for African unity.

During those times, Padmore had been helpful to Africans in several additional ways which included the following:

1. They came for programmes and tactics for the revolutionary nationalist movements in Africa.
2. He worked out with African politicians tactical approaches to the Colonial Office.
3. He kept a strict eye on all colonial struggles, maintained contacts with movements, organisations and individuals in Africa and offered advice.

While the performance of Padmore during the period was most appreciated by Africans and won for him veneration and considerable respect of Africans the world over, the British colonial authorities sought actively to manipulate local sentiments against him, and particularly to offset his influence in African territories. For example, in Ghana Padmore's criticism of British colonial policy attracted adverse comments from Dr. J.B. Danquah.⁷⁴ But when this proved to be ineffective as a counter measure to Padmore's African gains, they resorted to the banning of some of his works on Africa.

Padmore's book, Africa - Britains Third Empire, was proscribed in a number of African countries, where the book was known to be creating uneasiness among Africans. Banning orders were imposed on Kenyans⁷⁵ not to read book. In the Gold Coast where the Governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, was supposedly dedicated to preparing the country for independence, his administration banned the book as being seditious, and publicly denounced Padmore's views as expressed in the book as communist,⁷⁶ even though this book was published in London in 1949, long after Padmore had parted ways with communism.⁷⁷ In the Gambia it was also prohibited and people who had not already received their copies were compelled to cancel their orders.⁷⁸

It is clear from our evidence that even though before Padmore's appointment as the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs he had never lived in Africa, certain factors emerge from his life and career which merited consideration:

1. Padmore was a West Indian of African descent, and had had the opportunity of supervising the activities of the world's black people.⁷⁹
2. He was abreast with major happenings in Ghana as well as in other parts of Africa.

3. He was a great African whose contribution to the anti-imperialist struggle is part of the history of their struggle. If there was a more dynamic critic of imperialism in the British Empire, then he was Padmore.⁸⁰ It is pertinent to note that in those days it was said that "if you want to know about Africa, the expert is George Padmore."⁸¹
4. There was considerable similarity in the perspectives of Nkrumah and Padmore. They both "thought along the same lines and talked the same language."⁸²

Thus as a man who had spent the great part of his life in the cause of black people throughout the world, Padmore was more than qualified to be Nkrumah's adviser on African affairs.

SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENT

At the Manchester Congress, it became common knowledge that most Africans did not know much about Africa.⁸³ It was thus suggested that "The Congress must resolve to set up somewhere in the world a central council which would keep in touch with the whole of the African World and know what is going on."⁸⁴ The suggestion, made by Garba Jahumpa of the Gambia, in addition to the resolutions passed by the Congress,⁸⁵ appear to have reached profound depths in Nkrumah's considerations in connection with his African programme. In the case of the Office of the Advisor

on African affairs, it would probably be true to say that the prime motive both for its establishment and the employment of a man of the stature of Padmore was to ensure the implementation of the resolutions of the 1945 Manchester Conference of which both personalities were the moving force. It was said that after Manchester the direction of Nkrumah's political career became plain.⁸⁶

Both men seem to have been prompted by the same motive; the desire to put a halt to colonialism and imperialist exploitation in Africa. To Nkrumah there was only one road to effective action, the organisation of the masses, and in that organisation the educated colonials must join.⁸⁷

Thus Nkrumah appears to have employed Padmore, a man of immense theoretical knowledge, practical experience and organizational ability, to take positive measures to prepare the ground for the take off of the grand scheme for the liberation of the rest of Africa from colonial domination, as well as for the setting up of what Nkrumah called a 'Central Council' somewhere in the world.

What justified this project which involved huge expenditure on the country? There is no doubt that the sheer impetus of the pan-Africanist spirit regenerated in Manchester was responsible for the initiatives later in Accra. But, it must be remembered, that, that impetus was

borne out of the belief that only a free and united continent could offer the individual African countries the proper forum for genuine progress and development. Thus it was believed that the activities of the Bureau, as a way of opposing the natural tendencies of imperial powers to hold on to their possessions, would strengthen the hand of the Ghana revolution.

PADMORE'S OFFICE

We shall now take a brief look at Padmore's office in Ghana. Padmore went about to set up a small office made up of himself, his old friend, Makonnen, of the London African Bureau fame, and James Markham, a Ghanaian. This office was initially located within the Prime Minister's office at the State House. Later, however, it was removed to a simple building, just behind the new American Embassy⁸⁹ which today has become the old American Embassy. With the help of a handful but carefully selected group of compatriots, supported by only a stenographer secretary in the person of A.K. Barden, the office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs handled African matters, while the Foreign Affairs Ministry dealt with non-African arrangements.⁹⁰

In spite of the fact that this office came directly under the supervision of the Prime Minister,⁹¹ Padmore was indeed the 'work house' there.⁹² George Padmore,

as we have noted, was an unusually well informed adviser on African affairs. He was thus poised to achieve his objectives, some of which may be summarised as follows:

1. The desire of replacing colonial structures with institutions responsive to the needs and aspirations of the colonized people. In this regard Padmore showed concern about the rather monotonous personnel in the Ministry with whom he had to work. In a letter to one such official, he charged him and others to refrain from devoting too much attention to "petty routine matters" and cautioned them that "unless this office frees itself from much of the traditional bureaucratic procedures ... we shall not be able to devote our efforts to constructive work ... We shall be failing in the main purpose for which the Prime Minister established this office.⁹³
2. Padmore devoted his energies to helping the C.P.P., of which he was a patron, and also fought relentlessly to help establish socialism in Ghana.⁹⁴ He had once stated it would take a conscious effort to undo the colonial heritage, to eradicate the evils of capitalist greed, but that it could be done, provided the C.P.P. remained a socialist vanguard Party.⁹⁵

On the African scene, Padmore's position emphasised two important facts:

- i. the transfer of the pan-African struggle with its its congresses onto the African soil, and
- ii. henceforth, the colonial struggle was to obtain direct support and encouragement from within Africa.

Finally, in foreign affairs generally, there was the beginning of a new policy of non-alignment,⁹⁶ and the determination to establish an African Personality in world affairs, by working for a fundamental unity between African states on foreign questions.⁹⁷

To these ends the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs dedicated itself. Padmore thus had every right to be recognised as a man with genuine claims as the champion of the African cause. His African origins had the greatest impact on his political connections and on policies he followed as adviser to the Prime Minister on African affairs.

One of the interesting features of Padmore's career in Ghana which was reminiscent of his earlier life was that he concerned himself with the task of arranging conferences on African affairs. He therefore had to undertake extensive tours of Africa and the Middle East.⁹⁸ By early 1958, he had flown about the African continent and succeeded in organizing the First Conference

of Independent African States for April 1958,⁹⁹ in an attempt to create the conditions for the unification of the African world.

So by the early part of 1958, a major breakthrough was registered by the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs, the arrangement of which was largely in Padmore's hands,¹⁰⁰ as would be the case with later ones.¹⁰¹ Another way in which Padmore's office was useful to the African cause was in bringing together African nationalists. At the first anniversary celebrations of Ghana's independence in 1958, nationalists from non-independent countries in Africa gathered in Accra to hear Nkrumah and Padmore's plans for a great pan-African conference of all political parties to take place later in the year. In December, 1958, was witnessed the holding of the All African Peoples Conference in Accra.

The office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs might have played a part in initiating steps towards the fulfilment of the proposal for a United West African Federation made at the 6th Pan African Congress in 1945 as the first step towards African Unity. We have no records of how this was actually done, but it is not far to speculate that it was probably not without the influence of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs that Ghana made a grant of £10 million loan to Guinea to save that country from collapse after

acquiring her independence from France in 1958.

It must be recalled that Padmore accompanied Nkrumah on visits in April and May 1959 to the newly independent Guinea after this grant. In July Padmore was in Saniguellie in Liberia with Nkrumah for a meeting of the Heads of State of Ghana, Liberia and Guinea,¹⁰² and one of the main objectives of that meeting was to help African territories not yet independent.¹⁰³

On the whole, there is considerable evidence to show that Padmore and his office did in fact measure to the expectations from the point of view of pan-Africanism. Even though his programme for the enlargement and extension of pan-Africanism in Africa was ambitious, he was able to define the nature of the challenge. What was probably left after the preliminary successes was for Padmore to proceed in a more systematic way towards the completion of his self-imposed task of African emancipation.¹⁰⁴

But the end of Padmore came too quickly and suddenly on the 23rd of September, 1959. With the absence of the physical presence of Padmore ended the first phase of the evolution of the Bureau of African Affairs in Ghana.

IMPORTANT LANDMARK

We have briefly sketched the importance of the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African

African Affairs through a look at some of its activities. The full meaning of this significant achievement will now be stressed.

The presence of Padmore in the Prime Minister's Office was significant in that it symbolised the end to the pan-African Movement's reliance mainly on responses emanating from outside Africa. It is also vital to understand that the importance of the work of that office did not lie only in the conferences it sponsored or was involved in. Instead, one could see a new and important trend in pan-African thinking. And that was that at last pan-Africanism had moved to the African continent where it really belonged and was needed most. The conferences were in all aspects meant to be successors to the pan-African meetings of earlier decades, the last of which was held in Manchester in 1945.¹⁰⁵

It is pertinent to point out that it was through the efforts of Padmore's office that, for the first time, it was made possible for free Africans to meet together in Africa,¹⁰⁶ to examine and consider African affairs. This contributed to an upsurge of greater concern and interest in the cause of African freedom and unity as never before. Thus, increasingly, by virtue of their colonial experience, independent African states, after their first meeting in Accra, became committed to direct involvement in securing the emancipation of the continent.

War was declared in a collective fashion for the first time in Africa on colonialism and on South Africa; and support was given to nationalist struggles.¹⁰⁷

We find also for the first time on the African continent, a resolution in support of the ultimate objective of a Commonwealth of free African States.¹⁰⁸

Although the conference of the Independent African States was a big success, and although freedom fighters received some moral and financial support from the independent African States, as pledged earlier at the Accra Conference, it was the All African Peoples Conferences which may be considered as the real morale booster. Ghana in particular was prepared to commit in greater proportion her resources and energies towards achieving African independence.¹⁰⁹

In retrospect, the ineluctable conclusion, therefore, is that the role of the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs, in the regeneration of the pan-Africanist movement and the emancipation of African colonies cannot be underestimated. After the Accra meeting, there was a dramatic change of outlook on the part of the nationalist leaders in Africa on the colonial question. The events in the Congo and that country's independence drive under Lumumba,¹¹⁰ and the violent liberation campaigns of Roberto Holden's Union of People's of Angola,¹¹¹ were the direct

consequences of the activities of that office. Furthermore, these were manifestations of the spirit and a new belief that whatever happens to Africans in one part of Africa affects Africans living in other parts.

The overall general implication of these events for Ghana was that Ghana came to represent the rallying point for colonial emancipation. It might be useful at this point to recall what was said by Mumuni Bawumiah in Parliament on this role:

It is realized all over the world today ... that Ghana, within two years of her Independence, has become the spearhead of the African Freedom Movement. Ghana has directed world attention to the continent of Africa and Africa figures prominently in International politics. Ghana has taken the lead to break the yoke of colonialism on the continent of Africa ... African National Consciousness has grown stronger than ever before and that alone is an achievement in itself; and we must continue to struggle until the day when Colonialism shall be entirely wiped out of Africa." 112

What has been said thus far will serve to show that until the formal establishment of the B.A.A., the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs provided the field for the co-ordination of African Affairs. One might say that, in this respect, Nkrumah and Padmore seemed to aim at promoting the collective interest and cohesive aspirations of all Africans. The next section will briefly

describe the subsequent development of the B.A.A., and show that the results which followed this development would indicate that there was hardly any doubt about the need for the intensification of the African liberation struggle.

FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

As has already been noted, the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs enjoyed a special, privileged status vis-a-vis the Ministries and Departments of government. The office, it must be recalled, did not only function as its name might indicate, but also functioned as a secretariat solely responsible for the co-ordination of matters affecting Africa as a whole.

As has also been noted, the activities of this office came under the direct guidance of George Padmore within the full view of Nkrumah. Without Padmore's physical presence, Nkrumah was left with no option but to assume Padmore's mantle "as the expositor of the blackman's dignity, the nagging conscience of the white man's world,"¹¹³ and to continue from where his friend left off.

The process at work in Ghana was one that required special talent, and it was not long before this was to be appreciated. The Bureau of African Affairs replaced the former special advisory office of the Prime Minister on African affairs. Impliedly, when Padmore died, there was no one Nkrumah considered as eminent as himself on

African Affairs.¹¹⁴ It has been observed that 'Padmore was the one person who commanded Mkrumah's respect ..."¹¹⁵ This view does not differ much from Asante's contention that there was no one readily available to take over the role of Padmore,¹¹⁶ And yet it was felt that the death of Padmore was not to be allowed to interrupt that work which was already showing positive results. It was in recognition of this fact that Mkrumah rendered the following tribute to Padmore on his death: "One day the whole of Africa shall be free and United and when the final tale is told the significance of George Padmore's work will be revealed."¹¹⁷ Mkrumah also announced that Padmore's Office would be elevated into a Bureau of African Affairs in order to put the work he began on a permanent basis.¹¹⁸

In December 1959, Mkrumah submitted a Memorandum entitled "the Bureau of African Affairs" to the 10th Meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, held on 7th December,¹¹⁹ The Cabinet's response to Mkrumah's Memorandum was positive. It was recorded in the Cabinet Minutes as follows: "The Cabinet considered a Memorandum circulated by the Prime Minister, and agreed that the law officers should be instructed to draft an instrument under the Statutory Corporation's Act of 1959, for the establishment of the Bureau of African Affairs as a body Corporate ..."¹²⁰

In March 1960, the Prime Minister's Memorandum came up again before the Cabinet for consideration. In the Cabinet Minutes of January - December 1960, it was approved as follows: "The Cabinet had before it a Memorandum by the Prime Minister, and approved the making of the Instrument of Incorporation of the Bureau of African Affairs attached to the Memorandum." ¹²¹

March 17th 1960, witnessed the signing of the Instrument of Incorporation of the Bureau of African Affairs by the Prime Minister. It was, however, not until May 4th 1960 that it was officially announced that the Bureau of African Affairs had been established by Statutory Instrument, and given formal and independent existence as a Statutory Board. ¹²²

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became its first Director in an acting capacity with Barden as the Secretary. ¹²³ It had a six-man Board of Directors which was constituted as follows: ¹²⁴

Mr. Nathaniel Welbeck	-	Chairman
Mr. Tawia Adamafio	-	Member
Mr. Andrew Y. Djin	-	Member
Mr. Peter Mbiyu Koinage	-	Member
Dr. T.R. Makonnen	-	Member
Mr. John Tettegah	-	Member

Mr. Nathaniel Welbeck was made the Chairman of the B.A.A.

with a special mission to "intensify" the activities of the Bureau in the fight against colonialism.¹²⁵

With the establishment of the Bureau of African Affairs as a legal government body, it practically came directly under Mkrumah without reference to any other Minister.¹²⁶ Thus the B.A.A. was ushered into what might be described as the operational phase of the pan-African objective, spearheading activities especially in the African liberation struggle.

The law which created the Bureau assigned to it as its main function "the study of changes of situations in other parts of Africa as they related to changes in Ghana."¹²⁷ This function will be a subject for close discussion in the next chapter. Suffice it to say here that the objectives of the B.A.A. in no way differed from those of its predecessor. The Bureau continued as an office for investigation, propaganda and a centre for the exchange of views with other African leaders. It must be added that the B.A.A., in a practical sense, continued from where the Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs left off as the agency for the co-ordination of assistance to Africans in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Changes which presuppose some infighting within the Bureau were very much in evidence later. The story has

it that, firstly, Nkrumah as well as the Board Members had full time responsibilities elsewhere: This did not permit them to direct the affairs of the Bureau as carefully as was necessary.¹²⁸ Secondly, Nkrumah ceased to be the Director and appointed Barden over and above the heads of the senior members of the Board, to replace him.¹²⁹

The Directorship was simply given to Barden on whose loyalty Nkrumah was very much sure. Another loyalist, Bosumtwi Sam was firmly installed at the Bureau as Secretary.¹³⁰ These were directly answerable to Nkrumah. In consequence, the members of the Board failed to show active interest in the work of the Bureau.¹³¹ This situation further widened the gap between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Bureau of African Affairs.¹³²

CHAPTER THREE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN
AFFAIRS; THE SECOND PHASEASPECT OF THE STRUGGLE:

In 1951 the CPP assumed the reigns of government in the Gold Coast. But, ironically, the socio-political apparatus of state the CPP government inherited was part of the British colonial structure: and the regulations that governed and determined its organisation, mobilization and internal working mechanisms were based on the colonial General Orders. British colonial judges and administrators found it desirable to import British Common Law¹ and administrative procedures into Ghana to fill what they deemed to have been a legal vacuum. From the political platforms and in the press, the issue was raised as to whether such a situation would make it possible for the government to bring about the changes they deemed necessary. They had sought freedom in order to have full and unhindered opportunity to carry out economic, social, political and cultural changes. Self-government was not to be regarded as an end in itself, but as a means to attain certain ends.

The establishment of the B.A.A. and other similar agencies as public institutions independent of the Civil Service² as at independence, like the anti-colonial struggle itself, was a revolt against certain things, and also an

aspiration towards certain things. It must, therefore, not be seen as an isolated event, but as part of the CPP government's general and long term plan to put into place a public administrative system which would be related to this broader background - the revolt against colonialism and neo-colonialism.

More significant is that Nkrumah and his colleagues in the CPP shared the common aspiration in wanting the British out of the way in order (i) to build Ghana along a socialist pattern of society; (ii) to build a continental union of independent African states to which Ghana would yield its sovereignty if it became necessary; and (iii) to build a strong political party which would transform the cause of the long term emancipation of the African continent and all black people.³ In consideration of these objectives, the public administrative system was expected to gear itself to reflect the political thinking of the day in terms of objective structures, staff and content of work. All these were to go hand in hand with, and be complementary to, political action. But six years of internal self-government failed to change anything. By 1957 it had become clear to those who were concerned with the place of the public service in modern Ghana that the service was not operating in consonance with the dynamics of the political system prevailing at the time.

The personnel in the public service, and the Civil Service in particular, hardly appreciated the new commitment of the CPP

government. For a number of reasons, a sizeable number of civil servants would not acknowledge the changed times and changed priorities. The influence of years of working in a colonial system did not make it easy for them to interpret the rules and regulations with the objective of achieving speedy implementation of the programmes and projects of the new administration.

By the turn of the decade, Nkrumah's African objectives were taking shape. The fact that he was championing the African Revolution became clearer, and the pace and amount of work to be done on account of his pan-African pursuit were not altogether cheerfully accepted by the civil servants. As Adamafo remarked:

Intensive socialist education could eliminate the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie mentalities of top Civil Servants and redeem them from their colonial mentality which negated their usefulness to the African Revolution.⁴

But the attempt to make the civil service a functional agency of the CPP "alienated further most of the civil servants who might have considered those activities too political".⁵

Thus, increasingly Nkrumah and the CPP came to feel more keenly the gap between the expectations of the government

and the performance of the public administration. In Nkrumah's words:

There is a curious indifference and inertness in certain quarters which I cannot understand. We must adopt a revolutionary attitude to our work and accomodate our mind and attitudes to the need for constant adaptations.⁶

It is against this background that one can appreciate Nkrumah's deep concern, expressed in the following words:

I have just caused a committee to be set up to produce suitable rules or new general orders which will fit with our present sense of urgency and conditions of work. In our new conditions, it is important that all our actions should be dictated by the needs of the prevailing situation in Ghana?

But any attempt at restructuring the Civil Service along any unconventional lines and inconsistent with the 'British Tradition' would have invited protests from civil service officials and the vociferous parliamentary opposition. Meanwhile, the independence constitution did not offer any extra-parliamentary statutory body through which the government could implement any such contemplated action. It was, therefore, only a matter of common sense for Nkrumah and the CPP to play it safe and work within the set iramework until it was in a position to alter things.

In the interim, Nkrumah picked on men he could trust to head a collection of secretariats which were to make him less dependent on ministerial organisations at the centre of the Civil Service, thereby reducing their influence on several levels of decision making.⁸ Along with the establishment of new secretariats in the Flagstaff House, Nkrumah also saw it fit to entrust the implementation of certain programmes and projects to newly established agencies which came to be described as public Boards and Corporations. By the end of 1965, there were 198 central government units comprising of Presidential secretariats, departments, divisions, etc. Sixty of these were of the Public Corporations genre.⁹ In this way Nkrumah sought to exercise real control over executive policy or administration.

STATUTORY BOARDS AND CORPORATIONS

The Bureau of African Affairs was set up by the Statutory Corporations Act of 1959,¹⁰ but it was to be treated as if it was a government department. According to Mr. Ako Adjei, who was the first superintending Minister of the Bureau, it was meant to be a department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in lieu of an original plan to make it a Ministry of African Affairs.¹¹

Each of the Statutory Boards and Corporations created

under the Act of 1959 had its own instrument of incorporation spelling out its broad instructions on targets and methods of operation. Generally speaking, the boards and corporations of which the B.A.A. was one, were established obviously to free them from the regulatory arrangements in the public services and the usual considerations of detailed Cabinet and Treasury control.¹² In other words, they were given separate life, free from the Civil Service and its rules and regulations.

The new type of state agencies were, however, to report to Ministers of State who also had the responsibility of appointing their boards of directors. In most cases, certain functions could only be exercised under covering approval by the appropriate Minister.

The Civil Servants who staffed the superintending Ministry could, therefore, have certain responsibilities in relation to the board or corporation, mostly of regulatory, advisory, supervisory and inspecting nature; but these should be clearly defined in the statutory instruments.¹³ Subject to these, however, the board or corporation was free to govern its affairs without further interference from the Minister and his staff.

Many observers have noted the tendency in a number of African states to transfer certain central government

responsibilities previously operated by the Civil Service to Statutory Boards and Corporations, in order to widen the scope of political patronage. These new creatures, as we are already aware, did not belong to the civil service per se. Their staff were normally given conditions of service superior to those in the Civil Service, ostensibly to induce superior performance, output and, above all, unalloyed loyalty. With specific reference to the B.A.A it was established out of Nkrumah's fear that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could not take on all the assignments in connection with his African aspirations. Kofi Ameko, one time Executive Secretary of the B.A.A., for one, thought that the issue of African liberation was too sensitive for career civil servants. According to him:

A liberation struggle is a political struggle. Civil servants generally do not exercise political options. They want safety of tenure of office. Nkrumah, therefore, established an African Affairs Secretariat at the Flagstaff House as a separate entity to deal with Africa's liberation and unity question. The African Affairs Secretariat was handling high diplomatic and administrative matters of African liberation struggle and unity.¹⁴

It is a universal fact that people tend to resist change for various reasons. That aside, there could be discrepancy

between the reality of the environment and the individual's perception of that environment. This often leads to incogruent, inappropriate or unexpected behaviour responses. In general, the position the Nkrumah administration adopted on the country's public service was based on a reasonable judgement of the conditions at the time. In a country like Ghana, where economic and social development was to a great extent guided and supported by government, much depended on governmental administrative effectiveness. The establishment of statutory corporations to undertake some functions of government was without doubt to ensure adequate safeguards and controls. In fact, the proliferation of independent commissions, boards and institutions was a response to the great increase in governmental functions, several of them entirely new. The B.A.A. was established for purposes which were closely tied in with the bread objectives of the C.P.P.'s overall African policies.

Objectives:

The struggle for self-government in the Gold Coast, according to Dr. Busia, was a revolt against paternalism, racialism and economic domination by the colonising power.¹⁵ He goes on to say that from the positive aspect,

The struggle for self-government is seen not only as a demand for political autonomy, racial equality, and economic control, it is also associated with the highest aspirations for the welfare of the community. It is these wider associations that have given the struggle for self-government the appeal of a high minded crusade.¹⁶

From the foregoing we realise that if there was one overriding conviction which the anti-colonial crusaders shared, it was to bring about a planned social and political change in Africa. The B.A.A. was established to spearhead a specific aspect of this planned change, namely, the liberation and unity of the African continent. As T. Ras Makonnen, himself a member of the Bureau's board, once wrote:

At the grassroots, pan-Africanism meant whatever their country, blacks should be able to take care of each other.¹⁷

The foundation for a Bureau of African Affairs had been laid by George Padmore before his death. What was required was a legal basis to support the exercise of its functions. From all indications, the Bureau was initially to operate as an entity within the African Affairs Secretariat. It was conceived as an organisation which would give the government the free hand and initiative in the formulation of operational policies to meet new demands of the period. Thus the CPP government chose

to exercise its power in African Affairs through a constitutional organisation. The supposition was that the B.A.A. would avail itself of those people both within and outside the civil service or from outside Ghana who had the relevant experience and the talents to provide alternative sources of policy advice to normal civil service channels.¹⁸

But even though the B.A.A. made use of civil service personnel, according to John Tettegah:

we tried to keep the organisation from the ambit of the civil service. Ameko, Barden, Bosomtwi Sam and others who worked for the Bureau had to resign their civil service appointments.¹⁹

Kofi Ameko informs us that recruitment procedures followed the following criteria:-

- ideological dedication to anti-imperialist, anti-colonialism and racism.
- Membership of the CPP;
- Academic and Technical qualifications and other political training in ones' particular field of assignment.²⁰

From the administrative point of view, highly qualified personnel were recruited for the Bureau. Among the personnel

of the B.A.A. could be found citizens of other African countries who shared the Ghanaian aspirations. As can be inferred, African liberation was to be secured on the basis of international and inter-racial cooperation.

As a result of the relatively sensitive nature of the liberation question, and the urgency of purpose which Nkrumah's government attached to it, the idea was also to remove the liberation question from the reach of top civil servants who might conspire against the spirit of the programme. For this reason, both Tettegah and Ameko²¹ agree that only patriotic people with special interest in African liberation, organisation of African masses including women, trade unionism and political parties were committed to its work.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to emphasize that Nkrumah and the CPP saw the B.A.A. as a tool to attack colonialism in all its forms on the African continent. In the light of the CPP government's commitments, the establishment of the Bureau in Ghana as a centre for the co-ordination of aid to freedom fighters in Africa would appear natural and consistent. In advocating for effective and speedy liberation of the continent, as well as the establishment of links with anti-colonial movements throughout the world, the B.A.A. was able to establish relationships with progressive parties and movements not

only in Africa, but in Asia, Latin America, Europe, the Caribbean and the Middle East.²²

Furthermore, while there was probably the need for an administration interposed between the central government and the African broad masses politically for African unity to be meaningful, the B.A.A. was expected to operate as an information centre or an agency in the field for the dissemination of information about Africa in order to familiarize Africans as well as non-Africans of what was going on in Africa, and about the progress of the liberation struggle. In this connection, veteran and progressive international journalists like Douglas Rogers, an Australian, and one Basner, a South African, and others helped to work the Bureau press to popularize Ghana and the African cause in other parts of the world.²³

In contributing to our knowledge of the Bureau, Kofi Batsa, who was also the Principal Research Officer of the B.A.A., recalls thus;

Our first objective was to secure the independence of individual African countries on the path to independence and of Africa as a whole. But we were also struggling to effect change in Government of those independent states whose attitudes ... or whose actions were contrary to our view of right course for Africans.²⁴

He adds further that one other strand in the Bureau's involvement in international affairs was that:

We were concerned to help countries secure their independence, but we were also concerned about countries where a minority controlled the Government or wielded excessive power - to prevent an unnatural minority rule from being entrenched in such a large area of the continent. Political pressure was what we used and force and arms were not ruled out.²⁵

Of course, the CPP government seemed to want a new order in the whole of Africa, in which tribal and racial loyalties were to be submerged and replaced with loyalty to an indivisible and united continent of peoples with one destiny. The achievement of national power by the CPP since 1951 enabled it to pursue such policies as were in keeping with its African objectives; and the B.A.A. was one of its most important instruments.

FUNCTIONS

That the Bureau of African Affairs functioned as a political entity of the African Affairs Secretariat, "Partially divorced but maintaining close liason with it"²⁶ must be emphasized. Statutorily, the Bureau was established in 1960 as the administering instrument for promoting the liberation struggle in place of Padmore's

office, which had dealt with the question of the liberation of dependent territories in Africa. The Statutory instrument establishing the B.A.A. assigned to it as its main function:

The study of all aspects of African developments, the determination of the possible effects of such developments on corresponding aspects of development in Ghana, and advising the Minister accordingly; the dissemination of information with regard to African Affairs in the furthering of activities of all organisations working for freedom and unity of Africa, and any other functions which the Minister may direct to be performed.²⁷

In a memorandum attached to the draft instrument of incorporation of the Bureau, it was noted that, "the functions of the Bureau stated in this clause will leave plenty room for manouvre by the Board of the Bureau"²⁸. This manouvreability clause made many people in Ghana to fear that since the Bureau came directly under the Minister (or Nkrumah later), it could be used to undertake any actions without reference to any body, no matter how radical or dangerous the activity was. In truth, the administrative methods adopted by the Bureau were different from the orthodox bureaucratic practices in the country, Moreover, the personnel of the Bureau "came under the direct command of Nkrumah, and were empowered to exercise political option and initiative."²⁹ But the generality of the statement of the

functions of the Bureau was in keeping with what it was intended to achieve. As Barden put it,

It was Osagyefo's wish that the Bureau should study the African problem, understand the struggle and most importantly of all, share the hope and the aspiration that Africa would be totally free and united.³⁰

The Bureau of African Affairs with the 'Spark' as one of its chief mouth pieces, took the line of "speaking to the people of Africa" and left the diplomatic work to the African Affairs Secretariat, which was part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of the President.³¹ However, there were other functions of the Bureau which were directly under A.K. Barden.

Following from the foregoing, it would, perhaps, be impossible to determine all the functions of the B.A.A., because they were unending and complex. In this study, the Bureau is viewed primarily as the machinery for dealing with Africa's liberation struggle.

The Bureau and its agents were themselves not engaged in the fighting in the field. It was being done by the Freedom Fighters in various dependent territories. Its main contribution was the offering of assistance to

Freedom Fighters in a number of ways. In describing the functions of the B.A.A. in 1961 to Ghana envoys in Africa, Mr. A.K. Barden said that it provided political parties and organisations abroad working for the freedom and unity of Africa with the necessary information calculated to project and promote Ghana's policy of African unity.³² It is apparent not only from Barden's comments, but also from the principles of clause 3 of the instrument of incorporation, that the B.A.A. had several other ancillary functions. Only those considered crucial will be highlighted in this study.

CO-ORDINATION OF AID TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Although the B.A.A. became the headquarters for all non-diplomatic Ghanaian involvements in Africa and the chief instrument of Ghana's African policy,³³ its chief responsibility was to co-ordinate Freedom Movements and fighters in African countries or in exile.

The Bureau also concerned itself with political parties and movements in Africa. It provided political parties and organisations abroad working for the freedom and unity of Africa with the necessary information calculated to project and promote the policy of African unity.³⁴ For the proper pursuance of this function, the Bureau was

reconstituted with Mr. Nathaniel Welbeck as its Director in 1962, with the objective of intensifying its activities in the fight against imperialism.³⁵ In assuming a militant position against colonialism and imperialism, the Bureau supported activists in a number of African colonial territories. By the end of 1966, the B.A.A. was serving a large number of Freedom Movements from its headquarters in Accra. In areas where the liberation movements were engaged in para-military activities, the Bureau did its best to get at the actual nature of their struggle and gave whatever assistance possible to ensure victory.³⁶ The Bureau therefore gave funds to recognised liberation movements to enable leaders from those areas to keep up their struggle. All assistance for individuals and organisations were channelled through the Bureau to ensure effective utilization of resources.

Requests for financial assistance by Freedom Fighters flooded Accra from all parts of Africa and from all manner of political leaders: Jomo Kenyatta, Nkomo, Sithole, Amilacar Cabral, etc., enjoyed the patronage of the Bureau.³⁷ These, as well as nationalists from Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, etc. received assistance in arms, medical supplies and advice on guerrilla strategy for fighting colonialism.³⁸ Dr. Banda's return to Nyansaland, now Malawi, from Ghana in 1958, "his sweeping election victory in 1961, and the independence

of Malawi in 1964, were steps all encouraged and aided by the B.A.A."³⁹

A C T I V I S T S:

The B.A.A. stationed specially recruited and trained activists in dependent territories where there was no room for diplomatic work. The work of the activists was to assist the nationalist leaders in their struggle against colonial occupation of their countries.⁴⁰

They were to keep in close touch with the Freedom Fighters and Nkrumah.

According to Barden, where situations appeared to be dormant, they did their best to stimulate activity and organisation and stressed the crisis involving Africa.⁴¹ For example, Barden, who eventually became one of the most outstanding directors of the Bureau, "was a pioneer activist of the B.A.A. He undertook risky journeys throughout Africa. He and many others were known to have undertaken perilous journeys to unfriendly territories including south Africa."⁴² In practical terms, according to Barden, they tried to gain insight into the organisational problems involved in building a free united Africa and learnt the need for new and specialized approaches to different situations in Africa. They also did their best to accumulate many techniques for developing the African struggle.⁴³ In doing this they often carried huge sums of money on errands for

freedom fighters.⁴⁴ Kofi Batsa recalls that:

In the B.A.A. we regarded ourselves as being the factory of ideas of Nkrumah. It was our job to take his ideas, turn them into actuality and to create the Africa he imagined before it was too late.⁴⁵

In addition to money, the activists, on their missions, conveyed Nkrumah's directives and anti-colonial documents to freedom fighters.⁴⁶ The selection of candidates for these tasks depended on the cadres willingness to respond at all times to the many demands on their courage and loyalty in the liberation cause. These special activists were the means by which the Freedom Fighters received some political education or indoctrination. They were both the vehicle of propaganda and agents for the recruitment of people from among the colonials for training as cadres in Ghana for service among their peoples. The significance of this aspect of the Bureau's function can hardly be emphasised. In using the Bureau as the fountain upon which Nkrumah's pan-Africanist dreams could be realised, the cadres were used to provide some of the strategy for the decolonisation of their territories from guidelines prepared from the CPP's experience in pre-independence Ghana.⁴⁷ It has been stressed that Nkrumah insisted that the activists studied the African problem, understood the struggle, and most importantly, shared the hope and determination that Africa would be totally free

and united.⁴⁸ The effect of the work of the activists, in Barden's assessment, was:

The...discovery... that great waves for the total liberation of Africa were gathering every where and practically every African country was willing to take up arms against colonial rule.⁴⁹

As the work of these activists aspread into independent African territories, the activities of the B.A.A. loomed large in African Affairs,⁵⁰ with varying degrees of acceptability. It was seen in several quarters as part of Nkrumah's expansionary or imperialistic African design.⁵¹ But to Kofi Batsa:

We were fighting neo-colonialism which could only be found in African states which had achieved formal independence and were considered by us as necessary steps in the liberation of Africa, in the protection of Africa against minority domination, and, in the longer term, in the freeing of Africa from economic domination.⁵²

Mr. A.K. Barden did not mince words when he addressed African Ambassadors by saying: "We discourage bloody fight between Africans. We do not however rule out the struggle against Africans who represent colonialism and neo-colonialist interests".⁵³

POLITICAL EDUCATION AND GUIDANCE

Activists for service with the Bureau were selected from all parts of Africa for training at the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological

Institute at Winneba. In fact, it was one of the objectives of that institution to provide ideological education to Freedom Fighters and other activists against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.⁵⁴ The Bureau also made it possible for nationalists and functionaries of liberation movements to participate in refresher courses provided at the Institute.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the B.A.A. sponsored students nominated by popular political parties from African countries, trade unions, youth, women and other organisations struggling for national independence and the unity of Africa⁵⁶ for studies in Ghana. All these were tied in with the general principles of Nkrumah's call to activists and the masses, "To build African states based on African ideals upholding the dignity and personality of the African so long submerged by colonialism".⁵⁷ This is a response of concerned Africans to the steady decline of the African race from the pre-eminent position it occupied at the dawn of civilization.

According to Kofi Ameko, it was realised that the liberation struggle was to be fought in phases. There was the armed struggle, the ideological struggle and the cultural and economic struggle.⁵⁸ So, although the B.A.A. was primarily concerned with the armed struggle, it could not divest itself of the others. There was thus a close connection between the Bureau and the ideological Institute. Theoretically, the Bureau was to give practical expression to what was being taught at the Kwame Nkrumah

Ideological Institute.

In emphasizing the importance of this role of the Bureau, Barden had written that:

In our efforts to guide all nationalist movements in Africa, we arrange visits to this country of political leaders and their leading functionaries to help them to access every aspect of their fight. When situations are intricate we arrange visits abroad for officials of the Bureau to study and conduct on-the-spot investigation into problems and needs of political parties and organisations.⁵⁹

TRAINING CAMPS

First of all, there was established the African Affairs Centre in 1959. This centre came under the Bureau of African Affairs in due course.⁶⁰ The centre harboured fighters from all over Africa. There were freedom fighters from independent African countries as well.⁶¹ As soon as the freedom fighters arrived in Accra, the Immigration Service sent them to the Bureau, which allocated them sleeping areas at the centre. Each new arrival was made to fill a questionnaire* and interrogated. These were part of a long process to ascertain that anti-Nkrumah agents were not sent down to work against him. After the establishment of their true identity, the genuine ones were given identity cards by the Bureau. They

could not leave the centre without special permission.⁶²

The Bureau also became concerned about their correspondences.

It opened and read all letters sent out by freedom fighters or received by them.⁶³

The African Affairs Centre was also used as a camp where the freedom fighters were given orientation courses and instructions. The first orientation

course for freedom fighters was given in 1961.⁶⁴

Some of

them were sent to the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute

for political education while others who were judged as

ignorant, like those whose past history appeared suspicious,

were sent away. Certain individuals were not only frustrated,

but became indisciplined because they felt they did not get the

red carpet treatment they merited and disappeared from the centre altogether on their own volition.⁶⁵

Perhaps the most sensitive aspect of the training programmes

of the Bureau was the establishment of Guerrilla Training Camps

outside Accra in which African Freedom Fighters and radical

groups in 'neo-colonial' African countries were trained in

guerrilla fighting.⁶⁶

When Freedom Fighters first arrived in Accra in 1959, they were not assigned to any camps outside Accra

for instruction until 1964. From 1964 this became necessary

because the great wave for the total liberation of Africa was

gathering everywhere and practically every African country was

willing to take up arms against colonial rule.⁶⁷ As such

training camps were cited in isolated locations in the country, namely, Obenemasi (an abandoned gold mine in Konongo), Mankrong (on the Afram River), Half-Assini (on the extreme South Western Coast of Ghana), and Mampong (in Ashanti).⁶⁸ These camps were equipped and managed by guerilla experts charged with the responsibility of training freedom fighters. As Barden put it, "we insist on creating situations which can make it possible for them to go back".⁶⁹ It was realised at every stage that they were not isolated from their struggle at home.

The leadership of training camps and the training were in the hands of Ghanaians. They were, however, assisted by technical experts from the German Democratic Republic, the Soviet Union and China.⁷⁰ Several individuals who poured out from the instruction camps and those who underwent courses at the Ideological Institute were sent away from Ghana to their countries when their courses ended. As soon as they left the country for their own countries, the Bureau sent their names, photographs and other personal information to the immigration authority in order to prevent their unauthorised return. This was a necessary step because instead of going home to assist in the liberation fight, some of the freedom fighters wanted to return to Ghana and live in comfort. In practical terms, this was one of the Bureau's declared aim of helping nationalist movements in their efforts to liberate their countries from all forms of imperialism.

CONFERENCES

As in the days of Padmore's office in African Affairs, the Bureau became either the organisers or co-organisers of a series of international conferences on African Affairs. At the conferences, leaders of freedom fighters, organisations, and political groups from French, Spanish, Portuguese and British territories, including those from the settler areas, were represented and brought together for the discussion of their common as well as peculiar problems.⁷¹

In April 1960, the positive Action Conference was also convened in Accra. Two hundred delegates from Africa and other countries attended this conference. The cost of air tickets for the conference was paid by the Bureau. Other delegates were the residents of the African Affairs centre, the people from the training camps and the Ideological Institute and party functionaries.

In addition, various conferences were held in Accra whose success depended on the Bureau. In 1962 the first international Congress of Pan-Africanists was held. It was followed by the World without the Bomb Conference. In 1963 the second conference of African Journalists was held in Ghana and on 10th May 1964 the 4th Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference was held at Winneba.⁷² These conferences gained special and well deserved fame; all concerned or were aimed

special and well deserved fame; all concerned or were aimed to cover the whole of Africa and the world. At these conferences, Freedom Fighters were usually called upon to sacrifice their leisure for the liberation of Africa. At these conferences, attempts were usually made to discourage bloody fights between Africans,⁷³ and to unify faction-ridden movements,⁷⁴ in order to make it possible for them to spearhead a united front for action against the racist regimes. Barden, the B.A.A. chief, like his predecessors, was the contact man with the Freedom Fighters in the field, and as we have noted, he travelled extensively to brief the leaders of the fighting men about conferences and other matters. In this way, the B.A.A. was used in moves in pursuit of African Freedom and in giving practical expression to pan-Africanism.

POLITICAL ASSYLUM AND REFUGEES

Essuman Johnson has said that Ghana served as a haven for African refugees and issued them with either Commonwealth or Ghanaian passports.⁷⁵ In the judgement of Barden, although African nationalists, and Freedom Fighters who fled their countries for political reasons took refuge in Ghana and requested both financial and political assylum,⁷⁶ he saw the refugee and assylum problem, as primarily a moral issue and vigorously justified the Bureau's stand on it as follows:

In order to ensure that the leading members of the African struggle are not unduly tortured and assassinated, ensure that these political refugees are granted a period of assylum to help them to reconnect their struggle at home.

During their period of stay here, we ensure that they keep close contact with the actual situation at home. We carefully work out a plan for them to be intricately involved in every phase of their fight at home. We insist on creating situations which can make it possible for them to go back. We realise at every stage that they must not be isolated.⁷⁷

In otherwords many African nationalists became refugees in Ghana as a result of their nationalism and found home in Ghana. From this base they continued the African liberation struggle.

Many of the refugees were members of illegal political parties disbanded in other independent countries such as the Sanwi group from Cote d'Ivoire where they were considered as dissidents.⁷⁸ Their relationship with the Bureau was one of dependence and control. The Bureau was expected to provide hostel facilities for some of the Freedom Fighters and nationalists. The African Affairs Centre, under Dr. Ras T. Makonnen, a West Indian and member of the Board of the Bureau, was obliged to house the political refugees, feed them until such time as they

entered guerrilla training camps. Interestingly some of the refugees the Bureau received represented parties operating in the same African countries or were even rival factions of the same party.⁷⁹

It must be recognised that on the question of political assylum for African Freedom Fighters, the Bureau had its limitations as much as the refugee himself. In the provision of assylum, due assessment was made of each case, and, as Barden explained, "we take this step only when we assess that such a step does not necessarily take leaders from the spot of their fight".⁸⁰ As such requests for assylum, were referred to the Bureau for clearance.⁸¹ The B.A.A.'s initial declared stand on the issue of assylum for persons from independent African countries in particular was clear:

There was no need to help citizens of independent countries. Citizens of independent countries seeking assylum should be told that the best way to carry on their struggle was to do so in their own countries.

This also applied to citizens from dependent countries to some extent since they should not be removed from the battle front.⁸²

But somewhere along the line this policy was discarded. By 1965 the grant of political assylum to large numbers of citizens from independent African states had become the order

of the day. People seeking assylum came from Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Niger, Nigeria, etc. On the occasion of the celebration of the all-African Peoples day in 1964, it was made known that on the orders of Nkrumah, Freedom Fighters from independent countries would receive refugee status in Ghana and that they were obliged to show that they were real nationalist revolutionaries.⁸³ This was how several groups and people like S.G. Ikoku, Adebajo, etc., came to work and live in Ghana.⁸⁴

This right about turn in policy affected the credibility of the Bureau and the government in several political circles. It was said that by this Ghana was turned into a Sanctuary and training ground for subversives from independent African nations like 'flies to fly paper',⁸⁵ thereby endangering the relationships between Ghana and her neighbours in particular and several African and foreign countries. But the Bureau, acting as the vanguard of the struggle for freedom, and as the only organisation in Africa on the colonial liberation front, had as its duty to serve notice to the world that Ghana was not going to tolerate the continued subjugation of her African brothers.

INFORMATION AND REPORTING

As already hinted above, there was a Bureau of African Affairs press. This is because there was awareness in Ghana of the imbalance which existed in the flow of information and communication around the world about Africa, and how much this

could do or was doing to cultural identity and overall independent development in Africa. As a nerve centre of African Affairs, therefore, the Bureau disseminated all types of information and reported on events from all over Africa and the world, and supplied all concerned with the freedom and unity of Africa with the necessary information calculated to project and promote the policy of African Unity.⁸⁶ For this and other purposes, propaganda represented an important function of the Bureau. In this section more than sixty personalities worked under Kofi Batsa as the service chief as well as the director of the 'Spark' newspaper.

It also acted as an effective medium for arranging propaganda handouts and launching of publications, and generally disseminated news of government policies about Africa to the foreign press. It was for this reason that it operated a large number of journals and newspapers in Africa and foreign capitals of London, New York, Paris, etc.

Among some of the papers the Bureau operated were the following:

1. The 'Spark' newspapers appeared weekly and reflected the ideological precision of Batsa and his Editor-in-Chief, Ikoku.
2. The Bureau also published each week a paper called the 'Freedom Fighters'.

3. The "Voice of Africa", a magazine and leaflet in English and French which was widely distributed.⁸⁷
4. African Chronicle
5. The Bulletin of African Affairs
6. Africa today etc.

In the pages of these publications, Freedom Fighters were called upon to be ready to sacrifice for African liberation, socialism and Nkrumaism. They were also used to help in disseminating views assist in organising world opinion on the side of the African struggle.

The Bureau, as we have noted, worked through activists in dependent as well as independent countries and through established missions in Africa and elsewhere, each using a separate code for communication with the headquarters in Accra. The Bureau was also able to use diplomatic bags for transmitting messages and supplies, but under a separate seal for communication between the Bureau and its field associates.

Extensive reporting on matters relating to development in Africa became one of the characteristic features of the Bureau. This was done through its field activists and by Ghanaian embassies abroad on behalf of the Bureau. On the international scene, the Bureau kept in close contact with world opinion by establishing close relationships with international organisations⁸⁸ throughout the world. It also concerned itself with burning world

issues, such as Nuclear Tests, Sino-India Border disputes, etc.⁸⁹ Through its strong links with international organisations, individuals, governments and associations, the Bureau was able to "publish thorough information about specific countries, and published for wide circulation any burning issues in Africa"⁹⁰ and the rest of the world.

Internally, a lot of reporting and documentation on local events was undertaken: for instance, major events such as the Kulungugu Bomb incident,⁹¹ treason trials,⁹² the Queen's visit to Ghana⁹³ and the death of important personalities such as Dubois.⁹⁴ Information was also constantly exchanged between the Bureau and certain organs of the state. Whatever the Research Bureau of Ghana's Ministry of Foreign Affairs transmitted to Nkrumah, a copy was sent to A.K. Barden of the B.A.A.⁹⁵ The presence in the Bureau's file of documents relating to Regional and District Commissioners' reports on local events, including disputes and chieftaincy affairs,⁹⁶ is indicative of the Bureau's involvement in local issues. Furthermore, special data was kept on all political refugees and assylum seekers in Ghana.⁹⁷ The Bureau had an additional responsibility of deciding on whether Freedom Fighters, etc., should be allowed to stay or not, and conveyed such decisions to the appropriate governmental agency for action. For example, in February 1965 the Accra Commissioner of Police was informed by the Bureau that "Osagyefo has commanded

that three Sanwi nationals be sent away from Ghana immediately".⁹⁸

For each African country, the Bureau opened a special file on 'Revolutionary Movements' operating in that country.⁹⁹ In each file, information to be found include details about political parties, groups, individuals¹⁰⁰ and about their political leanings, Special attention was paid to troubled spots in Africa, such as then Rhodesia,¹⁰¹ South Africa, the Congo crisis¹⁰² and the Central African Federation.¹⁰³ The Bureau also reported on events happening in other parts of Africa such as the Death of Patrice Lumumba¹⁰⁴ and Dag Hammaskjoeld,¹⁰⁵ and the visits of African Heads of States to Ghana and elsewhere. Thus the Bureau was able to implement its constitutional mission of supplying free and better information on African institutions, designed for racial upliftment and liberation, whether cultural, economic or political.

THE SECURITY ASPECT

It was the further responsibility of the Bureau to oversee certain aspects of national security¹⁰⁶ in order to ensure that peace and security prevailed; hence, its interests in reports from local sources as the police and district and regional commissioners. For further security guarantees, the Bureau had to identify authentic liberation movements by going to the field to ascertain by intelligence

process which liberation movements were genuine for identification for assistance.¹⁰⁷ "We depended on spot investigations through activists and progressive diplomatic circles for this."¹⁰⁸ This was done in order to avoid subversive elements that might go under the cloak of freedom movements. Ghana's national sovereignty, as much as the liberation struggle, was to be protected.

Further still, leaders coming to Accra for consultations were subjected to critical vetting before they arrived in the country. This was necessary because most of the Freedom Fighters arrived in Ghana under false names and with false passports. Some might be infiltrators. Through intelligence work by the field staff, infiltrators were sent back home¹⁰⁹ for the simple reason that they might be agents of imperialism who reactionary Ghanaians might lure into their camps and use them to disrupt the work of the Bureau and the liberation processes, and destabilize the national unity and peace.¹¹⁰ Finally, the Bureau took active part in unearthing anti-government activities by Ghanaian dissidents within and outside Ghana.¹¹¹

AS ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT AND OTHERS

The Bureau continued with the work of its predecessor as the chief organ to advise the president on African affairs¹¹²

in particular and on related issues. In the end "the Bureau was more influential in shaping policy than other foreign policy agencies because its officers told Nkrumah what he wished to hear".¹¹³ It advised on all matters concerning freedom fighters, political refugees and revolutionary movements in Africa, and the rest of the whole oppressed world. In this connection all leaders and foreign groups who wished to see Nkrumah on issues connected with the liberation struggle had to do so through the Bureau. It was, therefore, the bounding duty of the B.A.A. both at home and abroad to work in the interest of all Africa and for peace in the world.

IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION

One important aspect of the B.A.A. which appears to have generated controversy in African and other quarters was its ideological bias. Firstly we observe that the B.A.A. was committed to a united socialist Africa based on Nkrumaism. It has been argued that this did not receive the blessings of some African leaders because after independence the question of unity did not appeal to them. Co-operation, rather than a political union, was all that they required.¹¹⁴

This was seen as the manifestation of neo-colonialism, and so the B.A.A. concerned itself also with the struggle

against neo-colonialism. They saw the reaction of certain African leaders to the African unity issue as an ideological struggle directed at the masses,¹¹⁵ and this was to be counteracted at all costs. First, it became very interested in plans to encourage the emergence of progressive leaders in those countries, hence the B.A.A.'s support and assistance to political parties in independent countries. Its aim here was to identify the political forces in those countries which supported African unity and the socialist principles, and use them to change the general lukewarm attitude of their peoples towards African unity.¹¹⁶ This accounted for the much complained of presence of B.A.A. activities in independent countries as well as the presence of dissidents from independent African countries in the B.A.A. camps.

Secondly, available evidence strongly suggests that the B.A.A. was also intended to be used to promote Nkrumaism as an authentic African ideology.¹¹⁷ Nkrumaism as an ideology was to be applied to the development processes in Africa as a whole.¹¹⁸ In a speech to the National Assembly in 1962, Nkrumah had declared that the winning of political independence was not an end in itself but a means to the economic and social emancipation of the people.¹¹⁹ In the spirit of that principle, the B.A.A. was to be used as an instrument of the C.P.P. to begin a full scale intellectual, educational and organisational work to propagate Nkrumaism in Africa.¹²⁰

We have already seen that the Bureau sponsored freedom fighters, refugees and candidates of rival political parties from all over Africa for ideological training at Winneba. One of the general principles of the philosophy of Nkrumaism was the application of scientific socialism for the development of Ghana in particular and Africa in general.¹²¹ It was in the pursuance of this objective that, when inaugurating the first course at the Ideological Institute for cadres and activists, Nkrumah declared:

... I see a beam of hope shooting across our continent, for the things which will be taught in this institute will strengthen African Youths and manhood and inspire them to scale great heights.¹²²

Thereafter, he called out the activists to effectuate an African State based on African ideals and the dignity and personality of the African in the age of progressive technological Westernization of the world, if independence is not to be alienated from from the people.¹²³

Based on speeches, statements and writings of Nkrumah and other activists, we can conclude by saying that the Bureau of African Affairs did function as an integral element in the full scale intellectual, educational and organisational attack

on colonialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms of manifestations.¹²⁴ It is in these spheres that the position of the B.A.A. in Nkrumah's aggressive and anti-colonial and radical Pan-African programme becomes meaningful.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

CHAPTER FOUR
ORGANIZATION

The fundamental basis for any administration is its organizational structure. Organization refers to grouping activities and putting together people so as to achieve a set objective in the most effective manner.

There are two identifiable problems in understanding organization.¹ The first problem is defining what is included in an organization and what is not. The second problem is identifying its goals,² bearing in mind that an organization's goal statement (written or verbal) may not effectively represent what the organization seeks to accomplish. Our intention here is not to discuss management theory and principles, but to bring to light (i) what was included in the Bureau's organization and (ii) whether the goal statement of the Bureau effectively represented what it sought to accomplish. It is from these perspectives that the examination of the organization and structure of the Bureau must be appreciated.

The B.A.A. had its central office in Accra.³ The Instrument of incorporation of the Bureau named a five-

member Board, and a Director, all appointed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The Director automatically became the Chairman of the Board, while any member of the Board could be appointed by the Minister as the Deputy Chairman.

The members of the Board held office for such periods and under such conditions as were determined by the Minister.

The Minister, subject to the provisions of the instrument, gave directions generally to the Bureau. In other words, the Minister was responsible for the exercise of general supervision over the Bureau; his authority, therefore, included directing the Board in the performance of its functions and ensuring that his directives were complied with.

The Minister had the power to reconstitute the Board or appoint, transfer, suspend or dismiss any of the employees of the Bureau. He also had power to confer such powers as may be necessary in accordance with the instrument of Incorporation of the Board,⁴ and the Bureau was bound to comply with such directives. The Minister also appointed the Secretary as well as approved appointments to the Bureau which carried a certain level of remuneration.⁵ The remuneration and allowances of the

members were subject to the approval of the Minister.

The hierarchy of the Council of the Bureau comprised:

1. The Minister
2. The Director-Chairman
3. The Board Members
4. The Executive Secretary

The first meetings of the Board were always directed by the Minister. With few exceptions, all decisions of the Board were subject to the approval of the Minister.

The Board of the Bureau was the governing body of the organization. It had the sole responsibility of the management and control of the activities, property, income and funds of the Bureau. It also had the power to co-opt any person to assist in its deliberations, but such a person had no voting power.

The administration of the Bureau's business was vested in the Executive Committee, which included the Director, who was also the Chairman of the Board. The Chairman was assisted by the Deputy Chairman, a Secretary and the other members of the Board. Co-opted members and the secretary did not have the right to vote at meetings of the Executive Committee.

The Chairman who presided over Executive Committee meetings of the Bureau, had, in addition to his vote, a casting vote in the case of equality of votes.

THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

The Executive Secretary was the Secretary to the Board as well as the general Secretary to the Bureau as a whole. He recorded the minutes of the Board, directed the secretariat of the B.A.A. and performed all the administrative duties assigned to him by the general meeting. He also carried out all the functions assigned to him by the Minister, the Director or the Board for the purposes of carrying out the programmes of the B.A.A. He maintained close liason between the directing and subordinate bodies of the B.A.A.

With the approval of the Board, the Secretary from time to time appointed other officers and servants to the staff of the Bureau to carry out special functions for the proper and efficient conduct of the business of the Bureau. Public officers who were often transferred or seconded to the Bureau reported directly to the Executive Secretary for their re-assignment. The Executive Secretary was, therefore, the administrative officer of the Bureau and was solely responsible for administering the affairs of both the Headquarters and

Field Staffs of the Bureau.

SECTIONS

With the advice of the Board, the Minister approved the establishment of sections or departments within the framework of the B.A.A. Board members shared functional interests with any one or more sections or concerned themselves in the activities of a particular section, as we saw in the case of Makonnen, who was the Warden at the African Affairs Centre.

The organisation, structure and the sphere of activity of each section, as well as any modifications were approved by the Minister. Each section was headed by an activist, nominated by the Director and approved by the Board.

The Sectional Heads were employed full time and in professional capacity. For example, Kofi Batsa,⁶ a journalist, was the head of the Publications Section. The Sectional heads submitted written reports on their activities to the secretary of the B.A.A. who in turn made an enlarged report to the General Meeting.

At the onset, the Bureau comprised of only two main parts - namely, the Special Services branch, and the

Research branch. Subsequently, its activities became enlarged to deal with other issues, which extended its field of operations. By 1960, there were more than four main sections operating under the administration of the Bureau. The administration of the Bureau had both functional and operational services. The operational branch was responsible for the Centre for African Affairs, while the functional services were made up of the press, accounts, security and transport.⁷

The administration also maintained a Research Library, the Linguistic Section, a conference hall, as well as protocol and publicity sections. Some political organizations from independent countries were represented by their own personnel at the Bureau. It was also not uncommon to find people from independent countries who worked for the Bureau or representatives of one group or the other from African countries.⁸ At this point a survey of the most important sections of the Bureau will be attempted.

SPECIAL SERVICES BRANCH⁹

This section dealt with Freedom Fighters. It assisted them in the field in their fight against colonialism. This section worked through specially trained activists who were sent

out with supplies of equipments, arms and ammunitions, money, etc. for the freedom fighters. They were also assigned special duties which often took them to several places in and outside Africa, all geared towards the assistance of the freedom fighters. Some of them operated in a semi-intelligence capacity and submitted intelligence reports on key personalities and their attitude towards the struggle. These were branded as spies and were often despised by many of their own people. But the activities of this section provided a powerful revolutionary impetus for the detachment of freedom fighters in the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

THE RESEARCH BUREAU

It supported the work of the special services, especially in cases where the Bureau's work extended to deal with issues such as the organization of world opinion on the side of the African struggle. The Research Bureau collected information and statistics covering all aspects of political, economic and social developments from all parts of Africa. It also provided political parties, movements and similar organizations with the necessary information calculated to promote the achievement of their objectives.

Through this section, Nkrumah tried to use the Bureau to extend the limits of knowledge about Ghana and Africa abroad. This was done through a clever use of propaganda which succeeded in creating a world audience for his policy statements on the African cause.¹⁰ This propaganda involved much detailed preparation of memoranda based on extensive research. The Bureau employed or maintained a team of research experts, historians, political scientists, etc., charged with the study of current world affairs.

It further undertook to publish for wide circulation any burning issues in Africa.¹¹ It also ran a newspaper clipping service¹² and built a systematic record and analysis of local and international events.¹³ It was also acknowledged that the African continent was the least scientifically explored of the continents.¹⁴ Towards remedying this, the Bureau used the research section for the encouragement of African studies, history, culture etc., not only in Africa but outside Africa as well. This was the one area where much use was made of the publication section for the dissemination of news, views, and information on Africa's glorious past, and the African personality. It was from these activities that the idea of the Encyclopaedia Africana was conceived. The encyclopaedia's purpose was to set out the true history of Africa and to facilitate and

popularize African studies.¹⁵ The guerrilla camps established in Ghana came under this unit.

THE PUBLICATIONS SECTION

The section, also known as the Bureau press, was headed by Kofi Batsa as the Principal Research Officer of the Bureau. It published a number of international journals which appeared regularly. Definitions of the Bureau's journals' general policy, execution of their work plan and their management were the responsibility of their editors-in-chief who were responsible to the Board, and acted in accordance with the Bureau's programmes. The Director of the Bureau was authorised to nominate for appointment by the Minister such editorial assistants and advisers as might be required for the publication of the journals.

Magazines and journals were published to enhance the cause of pan-Africanism, and most of them might have contributed to the cause of freedom fighters and of African unity in its early days.

The Bureau published a large variety of journals. Among these were The Voice of Africa, a magazine and leaflets in English and French, and a monthly publication known as the Spark, all geared toward influencing world opinion on the side

of the anti-colonial struggle. Two weekly journals, The African Chronicle and Freedom Fighters were also published by the Bureau. These gave African news and views. Among the informative literature issued by the Bureau was the Bulletin on African Affairs, which contained views and statements made from time to time by African nationalist leaders. The distribution system of the 'Voice of Africa' was one of the largest and most ingenious distribution systems that could be imagined.¹⁶

Most of these papers were published both in Ghana and outside, with funds provided by the Publicity Secretariat of the President's Office.¹⁷ Most of them were very authoritative journals and magazines, reflecting the government's opinion on the anti-colonial question. The Board of the Bureau also took the initiative to develop, publish or support any publications of anti-colonial concern, or of interest to African unity. Publications were meant further to carry the message of African liberation and Africa's rich historical background as well as its present wealth to all parts of the world. These messages were in the form of news and general orientation toward the ideology of the African Liberation struggle. The target group were not only freedom fighters. It included all progressive

organisations throughout the world. The publications were also aimed at reactionary groups in order to influence them to change their opposition to African liberation issues to that of commitment and support.

All these documents evoked tremendous international repercussions. The Research Bureau in collaboration with the publications and the special services section publicised Nkrumah's books. They were in direct contact with those publishers¹⁸ to ensure speedy publication of such books for distribution to freedom fighters, freedom movements and other progressive movements and organisations. The section also collected and reviewed other works which had relevance to African liberation and decolonisation. In conclusion, the over all aim of this section was a firm denunciation of colonialism, the promotion of the struggle for its abolition, and a concerted effort to gain international support for the colonial countries and peoples.

THE LINGUISTIC SECRETARIAT

As a result of the publicity work of the Bureau, messages, letters, a host of foreign journals and magazines poured in from several parts of the world. Materials from Africa included

ones in the French, Portuguese, Swahili and Amharic Languages. Among some of the staff of the Bureau were multi-lingual experts or linguists. These were charged with the translation of materials on the African cause into other languages, so that those freedom fighters who could read neither English nor French could get access to the relevant information in their own languages.

Some of the staff of this section came from other African countries. These were engaged in news reading and held discussions on Radio Ghana's External service for the benefit of freedom fighters in the field, the African and the world audience generally. Some of these, as victims of colonialism and imperialism, were themselves former freedom fighters or refugees in Ghana. As we have noted, some of them were representatives of their countries at the Bureau. The Bureau had offices for the various African liberation movements in Ghana. Humphrey Mulembe represented Zambia at the Bureau. Kamuzu Banda of Malawi also sent representatives to the Bureau. Nelson Mandela also sent representatives to the Bureau. Nelson Mandela was said to have been in direct contact with the Bureau and wrote articles for its journals.¹⁹ This section was also responsible for the translation of some of

Nkrumah books and works into other African languages. From the foregoing we come to appreciate the commitment of the Bureau to a clear-cut anti-imperialist, anti-colonial programme which included the demand for independence for the colonial countries and peoples.

THE PROTOCOL DIVISION

This division received and arranged special receptions for leaders of the liberation struggle, and others on special missions to Ghana.²⁰ It is worth noting that leaders of the liberation movements from dependent countries were recognised in revolutionary circles as defacto leaders of their peoples and were to be treated as such at least in Ghana, where the emphasis was to awaken the colonies and dependent countries to struggle for independence. For political and diplomatic reasons the Bureau was considered to be more appropriate than the Foreign Affairs Ministry to take care of these leaders.

All the Freedom Fighters of yesteryear, like Augustino Neto of Angola, Cabral of Guinea Bissau, Samora Machel of Mozambique, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Mandela, etc., were received by officials of this section with every pomp and pageantry that might have been accorded any head of state.

All arrangements in connection with their visits were conducted with diplomatic precision.

This section also collaborated to the greatest degree with the research division to determine which of the liberation movements and leaderships were to be supported or received into this country. They also liaised considerably with Ghana's Foreign Affairs Ministry and Ghana's missions abroad for the provision of passports and other travel documents. In collaboration with the Special Service Section, they took active part in rescue operations to save freedom fighters trapped in unfriendly territories.²¹

Further, all the guerilla training experts who came to Ghana came under the supervision of this section. It arranged for their residential documents, and saw to the repatriation of unwanted freedom fighters.

The operations of this section normally reached their peak during major national historic days, such as independence or liberation days, and during international conferences when a large number of freedom fighters and leaders of revolutionary movements were invited as observers. They usually came as the invitees of the government, but as the guests of

the B.A.A. By its activities, this section emphasised that the Bureau's objective was to instil hope in the hearts of millions of Africans that their anti-imperialist revolutions had firm support among pan-Africanists beyond their borders.

FINANCE OR SERVICE OF ACCOUNTING

Money is the pivot on which all organisations revolve and thrive. The B.A.A. was funded from the Contingency Fund, which came to be directly under Nkrumah.²² It was this fund which most affected the African cause. Freedom fighters and leaders received their assistance from this source. Without it the Bureau could not have undertaken current operations throughout Africa. The Finance section was thus charged to handle all financial arrangements and transactions. It disbursed huge sums of moneys for general expenses, as well as for operational expenses. It made funds available for air and boat fares for nationalists for training in Ghana and abroad, and in order to attend conferences, etc.²³

SOCIAL SERVICES AND TRANSPORTATION

These were put in place in order to cater for the social needs of the freedom fighters in the training camps and institutions in Ghana as well as freedom fighters and the activists

in the field. They needed to be protected physically and morally, and be provided with basic needs such as health facilities, education for their children²⁴ and the general upkeep of their families. Medical supplies, clothing and housing facilities were readily provided for the comfort of these people. In order to sustain their interest in the liberation struggle, special incentives in the form of entertainment and sometimes physical cash and other gifts were provided. Special parties, receptions and other forms of entertainments were organised by the Bureau to heighten the spirit of the freedom fighters and their leaders as well as the field activists both at home and abroad. In short, the general welfare of those in the employment or service of the Bureau, and for African liberation was the responsibility of the social services section.

The ability to move and to communicate was crucial in a liberation struggle. At home the Bureau acquired its own fleet of vehicles for the supply of inputs to the various organisations especially outside the capital, and also for the movement of personnel in the performance of their work. Among the demands that were made on the Contingency Fund was

the supply of "means of communication to enable our security section to be effective,"²⁵ and "powerful transmitters to connect the Bureau with freedom fighters and our Activists in the field".²⁶ These demands arising out of the activities of these sections were a great drain on the national economy, but to Nkrumah, "you do not count the cost when Africa's welfare is concerned".²⁷ The guerrilla camps which were established in certain parts of Ghana, and the people who were trained, and the arms and materials that were sent had to be visited and checked upon regularly.

DIFFICULTIES/PROGRESS AND PERSPECTIVES

At the time of Ghana's independence, the 'old' 'classic' colonialism had by no means left Africa, at any rate its richest parts. In the independent states of Africa, neo-colonialism had actively entrenched itself in the most diverse spheres of life. The situation in the continent was an extremely complex one, and events in Africa came to engage the anxious attention of politicians and scholars, including Nkrumah. South Africa continues to enslave and oppress more than 25,000,000 Africans²⁸ with impunity, while the rest of

the continent is divided into more than 40 different countries, most of them with small, weak economies that cannot by any means take advantage of large scale production in industry and agriculture.

In consequence the founding of the B.A.A. in Ghana was no more than an aspect of the fulfilment of Nkrumah's mission of Ghana and the Africa to be. The B.A.A. occupied a relatively strategic position in Nkrumah's administration, and was to play an important role in his overall political scheme in Africa. Its establishment was prompted by the need to put in place a revolutionary and an effective machinery to function as the nerve centre and pivot of the anti-colonial struggle.

The underlying idea was that if Africans could organise themselves into a large integrated whole, they could create some of the most important conditions for the security and a more solid control of their resources. The strategy was to give both economic and military substance to African independence. Once the total liberation of African peoples had been secured, the broadest possible majority of the people might enjoy the highest possible living standards.

This meant mobilizing the largest number of people and

involving them directly in the anti-colonial struggle. In all these, Ghana was to be kept in the fore-front. It was against this background that the B.A.A. was constituted as the instrument through which Nkrumah spoke to a world audience the message about African emancipation from colonialism and neo-colonialism. It was largely through the B.A.A. that Nkrumah's vision was to be carried beyond the shores of Africa, to embrace the black world, and, possibly, other oppressed peoples. The application of Garvey's principle of Universal African Nationalism²⁹ to the serious situation of African people in the last quarter of the 20th century, as evidenced in the BAA activities, was to prevent the African, the 'first' man on earth in the course of 6500 years²⁹ becoming the last man on earth.³⁰

MOTIVATION

In his book, Ghana: Evolution and Change in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Professor Adu Boahen asserted that the attainment of independence by Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah and his Convention Peoples' Party filled the hearts of Africans and peoples of African descent everywhere with joy and pride. All colonial Africa looked to Ghana for inspiration, assistance and direction.³¹ This was an assuredly complex and difficult task; but once Ghana strove to attain it, it was

its responsibility to provide African countries with independence and sound counsel on practices and policies supportive of growth and development.

Experience convincingly showed that the Ghana revolution had a profound impact on the destinies of the people of Africa. In Ghana in particular, and in Africa generally, people still make nostalgic references to the Nkrumah era in political and social discussions. This is so because Nkrumah's period stands him out from other nationalists in the relative closeness of his vision to popular aspiration. It is precisely in terms of this correspondence between his vision and popular aspirations that we measure the radical insight with which he carried the struggle against colonialism in Africa.

The story of that era of Ghana's history might be regarded as an integral part of the general history of the long and bitter struggle for black and African emancipation. With Nkrumah, the fight against colonialism was made into a part of the aspiration of the large majority of African peoples, and the populist radical vision stayed with him beyond independence and flowed into efforts that transcended

national boundaries.

Nkrumah's insistence on unity was based on the assumption that African states had no prospect of meaningful survival outside the context of collective political destiny in Africa: Hence Ghana's unyielding commitment to the struggle for national liberation in other parts of Africa.

The main theme of this section will relate to the assessment of the overall achievement of the Bureau even if for a comparatively short period. It will start with the secrecy in which the Bureau's activities were masked and its importance for the African Liberation struggle, its structural implication and relative functions in contrariety to the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs will be examined. Finally this section will bring into focus the impact of the Bureau on the African liberation struggle to date.

For over five years after its establishment, the only time some publicity was given to the Bureau in Ghana was in 1966, just before the fall of Nkrumah. The first of such publicity was when the Bureau's name appeared in an official public document - the authoritative and popular hand book on current affairs in Ghana - The Ghana Year Book.³²

In the Year Book, which appeared early in 1966, the Bureau was classified as one of the non-commercial Statutory Corporations and other Quasi-Government Organisations.³³

The second publicity came in the wake of the fall of Nkrumah's Government in February 1966 in a calculated attempt to expose mainly the negative aspects of the Bureau's work. Thus the business of the Bureau was conducted even in Ghana under the seal of absolute secrecy.

The inevitable suspicion which flowed from this state of affairs must obviously explain why the Bureau was described in various terms by the opponents of the CPP government.³⁴ Let us now try to make some observations on the Bureau and its Activists in order to establish whether or not there was a justification for what they did. This would include the following elements which must have raised eyebrows in government, party and other observers:

1. The easy accessibility of its personnel to the President or the Minister.
2. The regularity of trips of Activists abroad.
3. Security and Semi-Intelligence activities of the Bureau.³⁵

From what we have seen so far, the Bureau's activities involved some of its personnel in secret exercises and operations with freedom fighters within and outside Africa.

NATURE OF ASSIGNMENT

The question of support for freedom fighters and revolutionary movements was as sensitive as it was thorny for a government's direct involvement. The Bureau, it would appear, was created to undertake jobs of this nature so that government could not be blamed.³⁶ This view is corroborated by the Director of the Bureau when he said, "it is not realised that the Bureau is the only organisation in the country that can achieve political action to reinforce our policy that cannot normally be done through diplomatic processes and yet get away with it... The Bureau is there to accept blame for the government."³⁷

While the struggle against colonialism in Africa raged, on, neo-colonialism was gaining strong footing in independent Africa territories, mainly through the appearance of an African nouveau riche ruling class. The point at issue was whether African could afford to make

concessions to such modern regimes. Ghana's position was one of firm denunciation of exploitation in whatever form, and the struggle for its abolition was to be waged on all fronts in independent or dependent Africa, within governments and parties, and through diplomatic missions abroad. Herein lies the significance of the Bureau's secret work plan. It had to operate hush-hush in independent countries in order to assist progressive forces there to change the outlook of their neo-colonialist governments. Their open presence in dependent or independent countries was most dangerous. Direct confrontation with the colonial authorities was not feasible, while infiltrators from all other sections were to be outwitted. This explains the secret operations. The idea was that the struggle to abolish colonialism was a liberation struggle, and one could not liberate a country through genteel diplomacy and open day publicity.

In the course of the 1960s, the independence of the Congo (Zaire) brought new crisis which threatened to divide the independent African States into two opposing groups in support of two rival leadership groups.³⁸ A special Congo

Co-ordinating Committee was set up to deal with the problem of the Congo. The Congo experience convinced Nkrumah of the need to intensify diplomatic activities for bringing all African countries closer together. Consequently, he decided to establish the African Affairs Secretariat as his diplomatic arm for the purpose, to be supported by the Bureau as the chief instrument of promoting the liberation struggle further. As the liberation struggle gathered momentum, and in order to achieve the desired goal, there was the tendency to adopt unorthodox lines of diplomacy which invariably provoked foreign governments as much as it engendered domestic protests.

CONFLICTS

One thing which worried the officials of the Bureau was that, "our position has not been well understood both by the Foreign Ministry and by our Missions".³⁹ The Ministry had expected the Bureau to come under its supervision. In this the Ministry failed to recognise the Bureau as a specialized wing of the African Affairs Secretariat, and that as a body corporate it was not to be subordinated to the Ministry in the way the ministry desired. As already pointed out, the Bureau functioned as a political entity

pointed out, the Bureau functioned as a political entity of the African Affairs Secretariat, "partially divorced but maintaining close liason with it."⁴⁰ This misunderstanding gave rise to conflicts in several areas.

Following from Nkrumah's belief that the administrative machinery of the country should constantly undergo changes because the country was in a state of flux, the methods adopted by the Bureau could be seen in terms of the need for a 'new style' of secretariat machinery for dealing with Ghana's increasing responsibilities in Africa.

The personnel of the Bureau, selected by Nkrumah himself, were made to operate without regard to Civil Service rules. The administration of the Bureau, its policies and procedures, were revolutionary in character. Its operatives most frequently had direct access to Nkrumah or the responsible Minister without regard to the norms and sanctions of a Conventional Public Service. Thus the administrators of the Bureau could exercise political options and initiatives.

The Bureau initially operated only on a limited scale. But in the course of time its sphere of operations was enlarged to include the duplication of some of the functions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.⁴¹ Thus enlarged, the Bureau operated under cover in independent African states and dealt with revolutionary movements in other parts of the world by by-passing the Ministry. By and large, the

Bureau reported directly to the President and concerned itself with areas he considered Ghana could provide example or give a lead, or give aid.⁴²

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs saw the new roles of the Bureau as interference in their work, especially from the point of view of situations where the Bureau required secondments or transfers of personnel from the Ministry. This had the effect of constantly depleting the Ministry of experienced personnel and thereby hampering its own efficiency. The result was that the officials of the Ministry became resentful and refused to co-operate fully with the Bureau as they had done to Padmore's office before. The conflict with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was explained thus,

It has at times been a conflict between diplomacy and forthright statement or confrontation where the Ministry had used diplomacy as a cover for dilatoriness.⁴³

The staff of the Bureau were predominantly pro-C.F.P. men. They were given superior remunerations and service conditions as against others who remained in the Civil Service. This preferential treatment by Nkrumah was for purposes of tightening his authority and for greater efficiency. But in spite of the special treatment, some of the Bureau's officials,

according to Ackah, became corrupt and incorrigible.⁴⁴

Consequently, Ministry officials became full of contempt for Bureau staff and became revengeful towards their activities.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs further saw the activities of the Bureau in other countries as unorthodox, while the Bureau's operators felt convinced that the Ministry's response to the African cause was hampered by too much diplomacy. They were more than too anxious to demonstrate to the world that genteel diplomacy could not liberate Africa from imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Ministry officials were often accused in Bureau circles of being neo-colonialist agents.

In the Ministry, members of the Bureau were seen as spies, security officers and subversionists. Suspicion and hatred for the Bureau reached such a height that, although

the Ministry could not refuse them the use of its external communications system in their secret activities with Freedom Fighters outside the country, some officers of the Ministry often disclosed the Bureau's activities to the public and foreign agents.⁴⁵

The other area of clash was over the question of diplomatic representation. Some of the activists of the Bureau were selected for special postings to dependent territories. This created no problem. However, the re-assignment of some Activists as diplomatic representatives in independent African countries raised storms of protests in diplomatic circles.

The protests of Mauritania, Tanzania and Somalia were upheld and the activists were immediately withdrawn.⁴⁶ But Bosomtwi Sam of the Bureau was accepted first in Uganda and later in Kenya.⁴⁷ Such acts were viewed at the Ministry in sentimental vein, and they did all they could to portray the Bureau in bad light to the extent that, "as time went by it diminished much of the value of work done by Ghana for Africa".⁴⁸ This then confirms Bardens lamentation that "the idea of sending out activists has not been very

that "the idea of sending out activists has not been very well understood by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and our activities have been quoted as some of the obstructionist tactics of the Bureau".⁴⁹

By mid-1960 the contingency fund had come directly under Nkrumah, and it was applied lavishly on the Bureau. In opposing this, Civil Service Officials argued that in all countries and at all times, the administration of public finance had been a matter of fundamental importance from a political as well as economic standpoint. They were, therefore, in the position to indicate to government the way in which it was departing from acceptable methods and procedures. Ministry officials had no hesitation in doing this, particularly when it became apparent that certain officials of the Bureau were channelling some funds to their personal advantage.⁵⁰

PUBLIC REACTION

As we have seen, camps were established in Ghana for the training of freedom fighters. But, step by step, other uses were found for them until they became as much for the training of refugees and other groups from sister African

countries.⁵¹ For these and similar, but unconnected activities to the liberation cause, Barden continuously pressed the President for more money and facilities which included powerful transmitters, cameras and tapes,⁵² and was continually sending activists on costly and dangerous missions abroad.

Inronically, this was happening at a time when the country was engaged in socio-economic developments and required extra funding facilities. Consequently, the national economy was brought to a breaking point by a combination of the policy of pan-Africanism and excessive zeal for industrialization.

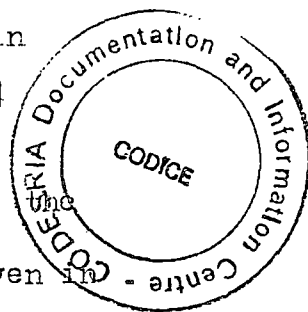
As if that was not enough, the machinery of the Bureau as a working organisation in Ghana was surrounded with considerable mystery, relieved by occasional flashes of light, which led to a strong tendency for people to adopt a somewhat distorted view of the organisation. Suspicion increased when it later came to light that the Bureau was being used in assisting the state apparatus in unearthing plans and exposing the anti-government intentions of people both within and outside the country.⁵³

In consequence, the Bureau incurred the displeasure of many people in key positions, and it was seen in several quarters as the ears of the Osagyefo. ⁵⁴

As the orientation of the Bureau altered, the Bureau of African Affairs became bete-noire, even in government and party circles. Its members became ostracised at government and party meetings. To offset this state of affairs, most high ranking members of the party and government had wished to ensure the redirection of the Bureau. In a report sent to Dr. Mkrumah, the Director of the Bureau complained thus:

There is evidence that quite a number of people are angling for the headship of the Bureau. In many instances, our own people have incited other people from outside to write against the Bureau. At a recent T. U. C. solidarity Conference... Tettegah informed some of the delegates that Osagyefo has decided to remove me from the Bureau. ⁵⁵

That apart, the opposition groups in Ghana harped on the draining effect of the Bureau on the economy of Ghana and did everything they could to present it as a subversive instrument against African states. ⁵⁶



INTERNATIONAL DISAPPROBATION

Since the Bureau had entrusted itself with the responsibility for training persons for revolutionary activities, other governments in Africa, particularly neighbouring ones, saw Ghana as a source of most of their domestic difficulties.⁵⁷ We have already taken note of the furore over the appointment of the Bureau's activists in certain African countries. Furthermore, the Bureau's continued work of organising political groups in other countries into cohesive frameworks by providing them with needed facilities was very much looked upon with suspicion at home and abroad.

Moreover, the Bureau's publicity activities, which were a particularly effective medium for spreading propaganda in favour of the liberation struggle, found disfavour with some African countries. The Bureau used its newspapers and journals, or other newspapers to criticise African leaders and the so-called nationalists who were not forthright in their condemnation of colonialism and neo-colonialist. A number of such nationalists were identified for attacks for allegedly flirting with imperialists and

neo-colonialists. Kofi Batsa of the Bureau Press was expelled from Nigeria because of an article he wrote in the 'Spark' on Dr. Azikiwe⁵⁸ of that country. In 1962 A.K.

Barden, the Director of the B.A.A, described a speech delivered by Azikiwe as "the Voice from London".⁵⁹

Ikoku, a Nigerian exiled in Ghana who worked for the Bureau, wrote a 2415 word-article in the front page of the Ghanaian Times and accused Nigerian of being neo-colonial capitalist.⁶⁰ Also, dissidents from other African countries received the support of the Bureau. Ikoku was put on the Editorial Board of the 'Spark', Bisi Anabanjo was seconded to Radio Ghana, while James Aluko, also from Nigeria, worked with the Ghana T.U.C.⁶¹ All this did not pass without protests from the disaffected countries.⁶²

In its contributions to a purely African cause, the Bureau was also devised as a 'window on the world,' so as to bring Africa in touch with happenings outside our immediate continental environment. It was in playing this role that the Bureau's activities inadvertently contributed to its alienation, especially in the Western World. This is attested to by a document sent to Nkrumah by the Director of the Bureau in which it is stated:

Externally, we have not been the darling of the foreign imperialist press. In America, the Bureau has been regarded as the C.I.A. and D.I.A. of Osagyefo's government. In Britain the Bureau is known as a subversive organisation.

This is to be expected in view of the Bureau's encouragement and assistance to freedom fighters and its activities in undermining the machinations of the imperialists in the dependent and independent countries of Africa.⁶³

In addition, the organisation received numerous requests for assistance from all sorts of quarters.⁶⁴ On this Barden wrote that:

There have been several attempts to hoodwink the Bureau into giving recognition to minor political parties or of giving financial assistance. There have been appeals to the Bureau for support of one or other of some political action. In some cases certain parties have come to realise that we have given support to opposing parties or government parties and have been thereby.⁶⁵

Therefore, instead of unifying the various elements it purported to serve, it created disunity and thus caused splinter groups to emerge.⁶⁶ This made the creation of the O.A.U. difficult, because the Francophone and other Africans

suspected and feared Ghana as a dominating force.⁶⁷

From the foregoing, some of the difficulties and or secrecy that surrounded the operations of the B.A.A administration seem to have arisen, at least in part, from the problem of definition of roles. Barden, taking advantage of the distorted state of affairs, resorted to building a staff of ex-servicemen and policemen like himself, thereby bringing the Bureau into public fear and hate. Among those to protest against the misdirection of the Bureau was Nelson Mandela who wrote that "the B.A.A. had turned out to be something quite contrary to what it was meant to be. Barden is systematically destroying Ghana."⁶⁸

Literally every aspect of the Bureau's life presented as chain of problems. According to Ako Adjei, it started life as a department, instead of a full Ministry of African Affairs in order to avoid confusion, or to minimize friction.⁶⁹ As it became stronger, the liberation question increased in importance as oppressed people's organized to resist imperialism. Where circumstances appeared favourable neo-colonialists attempted to destroy the effectiveness of the Bureau by appealing to their collaborators to declare

the organisation illegitimate. If we are to understand the problem properly, then it is essential for us to get the root of the problem.

As is to be expected, the African revolution to eliminate colonialism has almost invariably met with some sort of opposition. We saw in Chapter Two how George Padmore was nearly frustrated out of Ghana. Friction notwithstanding, experiences in Ghana convincingly show that differences between the Bureau and others arose out of different outlooks and perspectives of the times, and the political backgrounds of the personalities involved. It looks as if Nkrumah's opponents also transferred their fundamental political differences with him to the Bureau.

In any case, anti-Nkrumah elements tended to capitalise on the activities of the B.A.A. and used them as a weapon in their political combat in Ghana against the populist or the radical nationalist leaders of the CPP for whom they had profound contempt. Apart from these, people like Botsio and others who served as Ministers of Foreign Affairs during the period, were with Nkrumah from the beginning, so there were no conflicts to be expected from that level. There were also some well meaning officials

from the Ministry or the Civil Service as a whole who appreciated the work of the Bureau and did their best to advance its objectives.⁷⁰ The factors leading to diplomatic logjam are explained by one of the Bureau's Executive Secretaries thus:

At independence Ghana did not have a well engrained diplomatic training and tradition. Our diplomatic apparatus was young, and that could account for any kind of differences between the Bureau and the orthodox Ministry.⁷¹

That those in the CPP did not make their abhorrence on the British Civil Service tradition and the British Foreign Service procedures inherited by Ghana terra-incognita is in no doubt. Nkrumah's sharp criticism of the British administrative apparatus left behind in Ghana "as not in keeping with his African aspiration"⁷² alienated the officials of the old school. The sequel was the development of the mechanism of parallel agencies. The employment of these agencies, duplicating each other, and Nkrumah's decision to work through the B.A.A. and the African Affairs Secretariat,⁷³ was a recipe which did not go well with all

those who wished to maintain the status-quo. By 1962 the mechanism of the parallel agencies, although correct in organisation terms, had in fact been replaced by only one network with power, with the B.A.A. at its apex.⁷⁴

This organisation, seeking to improve the status of Africans by political action, directed the liberation struggle with reasonable success across the continent of Africa from Accra.

LEADERSHIP

Ghana gave leadership in Africa by providing training to freedom fighters under Nkrumah's personal surveillance as much as possible. The selection and training of activists to work with freedom fighters was done under his general supervision, with the assistance of the African Affairs Committee consisting of representatives of the party, the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Trade Union and the African Affairs Secretariat.

Through the B.A.A., considerable assistance was given to peoples fighting against aggression, and for national emancipation. Thus Ghana's pan-African posture was enhanced and this put her in the forefront of African Affairs. It also helped to raise the Blackman in the eyes of the world.

Africa put on a new image of prominence, usually described by Nkrumah in terms of the African Personality.

Ghana's declared objectives, expressed as the major element in the Bureau's work, attracted world attention to the extent that it made Ghana,

Not only the mirror of African aspirations but also the nerve centre of the power house of the struggle for the liberation and unity of our continent.⁷⁵

Many Nationalists who later became leaders in their own countries received some training or assistance through the B. A. A. These included presidents Kaunda of Zambia, the late Augustino Neto and Dos Santos of Angola, Kamuzu Banda of Malawi, the late Edwardo Mondlane and Samora Machel of Mozambique, Nkomo and Mugabe of Zimbabwe, and Nyerere of Tanzania. Others like Jomo Kenyatta, Savimbi, Roberto Holden, the late Amilcar Cabral and Lumumba came to Accra for consultations.

The Bureau actively assisted in liberation struggles throughout the length and breadth of Africa. Vivid examples are provided by events in Angola, Zimbabwe, Algeria, Congo,

South Africa, Mozambique and Namibia which were victims of foreign intervention. For the fraternal assistance given to other African countries, Ghana is still highly remembered for her part in the success story of African liberation. For example, Dr. N.M. Shamuyarira, the Zimbabwean Foreign Minister declared,

African nationalists had free and safe base in Ghana, and received revolutionary backing and encouragement from Nkrumah. For this self-less sacrifices on her national resources, Africa is deeply indebted to Ghana.⁷⁶

The most immediate achievement of the Bureau was that it helped to accelerate the collapse of the European empires in Africa. West Africa became rapidly decolonised, and the liberation struggle received further intensification, as more and more African states won their freedom.

The Bureau of African Affairs was instrumental in organising successfully African Liberation and Unity Conferences for working out the modalities and strategies for the total liberation of Africa. All these were done in the spirit of the Bureau's commitment to African re-

volution. It adhered almost doggedly to the Ghana Government's policy of African Unity, "not because Osagyefo was dedicated to it, but because we also believed in it and have worked towards its achievement".⁷⁷ The Bureau also worked hard to chart a course for African liberation not for liberation sake but based on a strategy for socialist economic development of the continent.⁷⁸

In order to achieve a united front for united action, the Bureau sought to organise all the groups in the African liberation struggle into a cohesive framework. This was so useful to Africa's march to freedom that, as we have observed in a previous section, some African leaders sent their representatives to work with the Bureau in Ghana as their own contribution and support for the Bureau's cause. The Bureau idea was also accepted, and its methods adopted, by other African states. The usefulness of the B.A.A. or its importance for Ghanaian foreign policy and the enhancement of Ghana's image in and outside the continent excited both envy and admiration. Nigeria, for instance, created a similar body called the African Affairs Committee with

Dr. K.O. Mbadiwe as the Personal Adviser to the Nigeria Prime Minister on Africa Affairs.⁷⁹ This Committee organised an all Nigerian People's Conference.⁸⁰ At the Conference it was expressed that Ghana was more African than Nigeria.⁸¹ One of the participants at the Conference said, "I would prefer to be a prisoner in Ghana than to be a free citizen in this country (Nigeria), because everywhere you go, they ask you, 'are you from Ghana'".⁸² It was no wonder that several Nigerians took refuge in Ghana and voluntarily offered their service to the B.A.A. Barden confirms this in a report to Nkrumah thus,

With the advent of opening up of new African Bureau's in various African countries..., the opening of a school should act as an ideological wing... of the Bureau's activities.⁸³

This was in response to the opening of African Affairs Bureau's in other sister African countries.

Through the Bureau of African Affairs, according to President Nujomo of Namibia, Osagyefo put Africa's struggle for independence on the map of the world.⁸⁴

Apart from the fact that all nationalist movements of

liberation, including F.L.A. of Algeria, were centralised in Accra,⁸⁵ Ghana "established embassies all over the world for helping liberation movements, and gave assistance to liberation movements in several ways".⁸⁶

It was very effective in the preparation of the group for the O.A.U. The disintegration of the colonial empires could be seen in the appearance of a large number of young independent African states in the international arena, and it was realized that by acting alone they could easily be manipulated by external forces. With this realization, and considering the varied character of the political situation on the continent, the Bureau accepted the challenge of instituting measures for encouraging African states to united action. It used the Bureau's press in a number of ways for this. It initiated, in the first place, a solid campaign in support of the government's call for closer cooperation and unity among independent African states in order to preserve their independence. In the ensuing propaganda, the need for African countries to overcome their backwardness speedily

and efficiently in order to solve radical national tasks was stressed. The effect of all these was to be observed through the support for the O.A.U. which came readily and immediately from the Kaundas, Kenyattas, Nyereres, Bandas, the Mugabes and all those who through the Bureau's activities saw African unity and integration as the only effective way forward for the continents survival and progress.

THE END

The Director of the B.A. Mr. A.K. Barden, was relieved of his post on the 10th of June, 1965,⁸⁷ but this was not made public as the Ghana Year Book of 1966 still presented him as the Director of the B.A.A. A major re-organisation of the national security system later also affected the Bureau. On 1st October, 1965, the Bureau lost part of its personnel as well as certain departments. Earlier on, on May 20th, the Bureau had lost control of the 'Spark',⁸⁸ one of its most powerful mouthpieces. In theory, after the re-organisation, the Bureau appeared to be far less important. Its final doom was sealed on 24th February, 1966.

Thus ended the life of the famous Bureau which worked to achieve the creation of African consciousness of the African "masses" and their roles in the African revolution. In the creation of national as well as pan-African consciousness, national leaders had to get known and national objectives and aspirations had to be explained through the Bureau to reach the largest number of Africans.

In this role, the B.A.A. served as a tool giving legitimacy to nationalist leadership and ensuring familiarity with the new political institutions. This integrative role of the Bureau was intended to create unity of thought and purpose. Through a systematic programme of propaganda, the Bureau disseminated information aimed at alerting the people to put up their defence against political manipulation.

Furthermore, the B.A.A. provided channels for communication between the people and their leaders. It created a sense of belonging and involvement of African countries and their peoples in its business. Through the B.A.A. Nkrumah became the unquestionable spokesman for the great pan-African dream of freedom and independence. This explains why Nkrumah and Ghana made common cause with the people of

French Guinea, when they voted for independence in 1958 and against membership in the Gaule's Fifth Republic. ³⁹

This was a great move that had great significance for the British Commonwealth as to cause Prime Minister Macmillian to indicate that White Hall was watching Nkrumah's closer association moves with Guinea with keen interest.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

CHAPTER FIVE

GUIDE TO THE ARCHIVES OF THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRSINTRODUCTION

This is an archival guide of a special kind. First, it is incorporated into a non-archival study as a special chapter. Secondly, it is the first guide to the surviving documentary source material to the erstwhile Bureau of African Affairs in the Kwame Nkrumah Administration. Obviously then, this is not a general guide to the entire contents of an archival repository.

It is designed to inform potential users of the existence, character and availability of the material and its possible value to them. Its preparation involved the work of organising, inventorying, classifying and cataloguing the records. The hope has been that it might, at least, serve to indicate to the investigator something of the probability of his finding material of interest to him in the collection.

The documents of the B.A.A. known to be in existence are preserved in two main locations in Accra, Ghana:

- (1) The National Archives of Ghana, Repository 3
- (2) Research Library on African Affairs, formerly called Padmore Library, at the basement of the main Library building.

This guide, therefore, covers the documents located in these two key location areas - and have classification numbers indicative of these locations.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

According to the "Bureau of African Affairs Files of Correspondence Temporary Classification"¹ schedule discovered, the documents were held in the offices of the Bureau of African Affairs for its day-to-day business and working until the fall of the C. P. P. government of which the Bureau was a special department.

After the coup of 1966, and following the euphoria that was characteristic of the period, there was a nationwide assault on the organizational - structural apparatus of the Kwame Nkrumah regime. Statues were broken down while a number of documents, books, etc.,² were set ablaze. In any case, the files and other documents of the Bureau were impounded by the military authorities for examination.

A great deal of time was "spent to study and interpret the mass of vital documents found in the offices of Nkrumah and his hirelings".³ The documents confiscated consisted of "a large volume and wide diversity of material",⁴ so that long after the overthrow of Nkrumah, the new government of Ghana continued to "examine those sections of Nkrumah's files which deal with his support of dissidents, political movements, etc. in independent African states".⁵

After the study of the documents, a large portion of them were removed, some of which were used for propaganda against Nkrumah.⁶ During the process, the files, abandoned to the mercy of rough handling by soldiers, became terribly disorganised. With the settling of the dust later, they were left to

the mercy of the vagaries of natural elements and human depredation. This bad news reached the National Archival and Library Authorities who rushed to the scene some two years later to recover what was left of the Bureau's papers and related documents. Consequently, the National Archives recovered what they are holding today.⁷ The other section recovered by the Ghana Library Board were placed at the basement of the Research Library on African Affairs.⁸

PRELUDE TO THE GUIDE

THE RECORDS

In this work the records are entered under headings relative to their nature, and as in the case of the National Archives, with the list numbers by which they were brought to the Archives.⁹ That is, by the time the documents were sent to the Archives, their original arrangement had been altered absolutely for obvious reasons.

The trend in the records at the National Archives continues in the files of the Research Library on African Affairs with certain major exceptions:

1. They were not covered by any list.
2. Most of them, in particular the volumes, bear no registry numbers or codes.
3. The presence of unnumbered large bulks of newspaper clippings and telegrams.
4. The quality and quantity of the records were not known by their custodian.

This work has addressed all these problems. The arrangement and allocation of records in this guide, however, are in the light of the archival principle of the original intellectual order, which is followed to the letter by the National Archives of Ghana.

GENERAL REMARKS

The documents in the files and volumes constitute a unique collection of valuable source material for independent evaluation of the activities of the Bureau of African Affairs, and also contain useful information on various aspects of the history of the African liberation policy. They are made up of records dating far back to the early 1950s, representing the days before the establishment of Padmore's office, to the last days of J. K. Barden's directorship of the Bureau. Documents such as floats, application letters, circulars, invitations, letters of transfer, appointments, etc., which for all their usefulness to individuals are scarcely essential for the purpose of a general guide have been included in our arrangement since the entire collections of the B. A. A. papers are 'Special Collections'.¹⁰

The most interesting feature of the Bureau's records relate in several aspects more to the concerns of Kwame Nkrumah than anyone else. These relate not only to African liberation, but to socio-economic, political, cultural and related issues at the local level. In going through the files, one finds documents relating to the districts and regions in Ghana, chieftaincy affairs, development projects, non-governmental organisations,

central government administrative institutions, private commercial organisations, sports and games, as well as dossiers on all manner of people. All these are documents of special interest for the light they throw on the general history of the records or on outstanding persons and events in Ghana.

But, at the face level, one might get confused if the Bureau is considered in terms of the belief of Kofi Ameko as mainly concerned with external African issues.¹¹ In any case, one final explanation has to be made to allay any confusion. It is important for us not to isolate Nkrumah's domestic policies from his African affairs programme, of which Ghana also constituted a part. It must be recalled that on the eve of Ghana's independence, it was made clear that developments in Ghana must be seen within a wider continental perspective. An example will suffice here. In a speech on the launching of Nkrumah's book, Consciencism, Sam Ikoku, from Nigeria, said that the social contention of consciencism in Ghana and Africa can be said to be the evolution of a body of principles which, by guiding the thinking and actions of all Africans, will establish a common range of behaviour which will become the foundation of social cohesion in Ghana and Africa.¹²

In addition, it must be pointed out that archives are records either created or received by an agency in the course of its activity or functions. As such, Nkrumah's personal or related records among the Bureau's papers were consequential to his personal interest in general, and his involvement in particular in the activities of the Bureau. From the foregoing, it can reasonably be assumed that it is not a sheer coincidence that a large majority of the files and the documents in them relate to Ghana and Nkrumah.

ARRANGEMENT OF RECORDS

The B. A. A. records are arranged in groups according to the several functions, organisations or peoples and activities from which they emanated. The groups are indicated by code letters.

For each record group or series, or of each important institution or person that appears in this guide, there is a brief introductory statement which deals principally with the history and functions of the agency or may contain general information on the records.

The description of the records group, which is arranged after the introductory statement on the basis of chronology or other logical consideration, provides information on such

points as the type of subject matter and chronological coverage. Whether the information is included in the introductory statement in the description of record group, or in both, neither the history of the agency nor statement of its functions is intended to be exhaustive, rather both are brief expositions to aid the reader in understanding the character of the records in determining what information of value they are likely to contain.

CODING

Although the files are arranged in groups, each file is indicated by code letters followed by accession numbers in a much flexible manner to make retrieval easy. For instance, in the National Archives of Ghana, the Bureau of African Affairs records have been designated as Special Collection. Special Collections refer to documents of a special nature, importance and provenance, be they private or public, and because of the circumstances by which they found their way to the archives. The documents of the B. A. A. are significant in this respect, and also by the nature of their contents. They have within the series documents touching on general as well as specific and peculiar topics; they are a mixture of private, semi-private, quasi-official and official papers. As such, they have been assigned a unique code of SC/BAA to reflect the Group and Series. The collections at the Archives have retained the original list numbering when they were first transferred there.

The records at the Research Library on African Affairs have been given code numbers for the first time by the process of this study with the Research Library as its custodian in mind. Thus we have BAA/RLAA: Bureau of African Affairs as the originators, Research Library as its present custodian and followed by their itemised and other numbers. This will enable a searcher to identify material required at both the group and individual levels. The BAA/RLAA reflect the Group and the Series at the Library.

CLASSIFICATION

The records are arranged in 'groups' according to the department or source from which they emanated and each group is divided into classes, each class corresponding to a function or some aspect of the work which produced the record, usually on a chronological, topographical or alphabetical basis,¹³ in serially numbered units or pieces which may correspond to files or volumes and are stored in bundles, boxes or folders.

In the records, as in the case of the miscellaneous,¹⁴ or even in the files and volumes generally,¹⁵ a class may be a collection of documents brought together for convenience of reference or storage as a result of their chequered history. A class may contain very few records or several hundreds of records.

THE LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT OF THE RECORDS

The great bulk of records are in English. But as Africa is a multi-lingual continent, some of the documents are written in French, Spanish, Portuguese, Amharic, Arabic, etc. These are, however, very few indeed, and some of the texts are accompanied by English translation. There are also sizeable numbers of newspapers and journals in Arabic, French and Portuguese - mostly from those African countries which speak Languages.

ACCESS TO THE RECORDS

Access to records in Ghana is governed by the National Archives Ordinance of 1955, and the National Archives Regulations of 1958.¹⁶

Ghana operates the 30-year rule: That is, in Ghana records are normally open to public inspection on the 1st January of the year after that in which they become 30 years old. In all probability, most of the records in this guide are open for inspection. Some records which are not open for inspection are included in this guide, either because they will soon be open, or so that their whereabouts are known and time is not wasted looking for them elsewhere. In any case, in this guide, we have been guided by the principles, rules and regulations pertaining to the National Archives of Ghana.

Within each group, the classes are listed in numerical order and the basic particulars of the group and class are set out as follows:

Name of Class; Group Code/Class Number; Number of pieces, and time span.¹⁷

The number of pieces means bulk or quantity within each group. The statement of the quantity expressed in the number of units or items (files or volumes) is given. The time span means period of coverage. The dates given for record groups are as accurate as it has been possible to make them, but in many cases because the records have not been completely studied, these dates represent merely approximations. This is especially true of the dates used for the Miscellaneous records groups and the records at the African Affairs Library in particular.

The time span and the quantity should give an idea of the amount of material. Some cross references have been given, but these are not exhaustive.

USE OF THE RECORDS

If the reader finds anything of interest to him in this guide, he will want to know how he can see or use the records. The documents open to inspection are made available in the Search Rooms of the Archives or Library mentioned above to holders of readers' tickets, or on permission. Application for such tickets must be supported by written recommendations of a responsible person to whom the applicant is known personally.

Temporary permits, valid for short periods only, are granted, without recommendations, at the discretion of the officials.

When the records desired have been selected, a call-slip is filled up for them and they are brought to the investigator in the Search Room or Reading Room in which he is working. Requests for service may also be made by telephone or by mail.

It should be remembered that the Papers of the B. A. A. in their entirety deal with almost everything, and all the classes should always be consulted, particularly the Miscellaneous Papers, Letters with African and European Countries, Private and State Organisations, etc. It is useful to remember that the title of a piece does not always describe everything contained therein; certain unassuming files may contain documents of great interest.

Following are the explanations of some of the archival terms used in this section:

Record: Anything that is kept because of the information it contains.

Bureau of African Affairs Record: Any record which has been created or received by the Bureau or any of its departments.

Records Group: Are records which deal with a whole range of activities put together and arranged under one subject, such as the Prime Minister's Office or Social Services.

Record Class: A group of records with the same value which are identifiable by the same description.

Record Series: Is a group of similar records maintained in the same alphabetical order, chronological or other or registered as part of the same sequence.

As has been pointed out, this is the first general guide to the materials of the Bureau of African Affairs in the National Archives of Ghana and the Research Library on African Affairs. As a non-archival project, it was necessary that the contents of the guide should be presented as concisely as possible. Yet with all its faults, the guide should be able to provide not only a useful *conspectus* of a large part of the records of the institution under study, but also a reasonably adequate descriptions of the more important ones for the benefit of archivists and non-archivists alike.

THE GUIDE

AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Ghana's African policy was governed by the principle of Pan-Africanism which aimed at achieving:

- (i) the total liberation of the entire African continent from colonial rule;
- (ii) political union of African independent states and emphasised the urgency of African union.

To these ends practical steps were taken in Ghana for the specific purpose of handling African affairs separately and as a distinct policy from Ghana's policy towards the outside world.

GENERAL FILES

BAA/RLAA/1-36, 1059; 37 files

SC/BAA/65, 251, 322, 357, 369, 413, 417, 477, 700: 9 files

24/1/55/21/1/66

The documents in these groups relate to several African issues which include Freedom Fighters, the colour question and the anti-colonial campaign. Conspicuous among them are the original working papers and correspondences of Padmore, the Bureau of African Affairs and its plan, and the African Affairs Committee. Others are documents on border problems, accounts, telegrams, reports and publications on Africa. They reflect both the history of the campaign for African liberation and the involvement of several top African personalities such as Dr. W. E. B. Dubois and George Padmore on matters such as South Africa, Congo, Rhodesia, etc.

There are also important documents relating to the Ghana-Togo border, requests for political assylum in Ghana, Minutes and other notes on the Ghana Police. Additionally, there are newspaper clippings from other countries.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA

The idea of an encyclopaedia Africana originated in 1909 with the late Afro-American scholar and Pan-Africanist, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. In 1962 the plan for the encyclopaedia was worked out in Accra with the purpose to set out the true history of Africa. It was envisaged to become the principal reference

for all engaged in African Studies. With it, it was hoped that no one would dare to write or print statements to prejudice relations among the peoples of the African continent. The focus throughout would be Africa, and the encyclopaedia would cover the entire African continent and its off-shore islands, including Madagascar.

SC/BAA/373, 378, 422; 3 files.

3/10/60 - 11/12/66.

The files contain papers pertaining to the preliminary arrangements for the establishment of a secretariat for the programme. Included are the correspondences, minutes, reports and recommendations. The notes prepared by Dr. Dubois, the originator of the idea are extant.

ACCOUNTS AND FINANCIAL MATTERS

The independence of Ghana brought responsibilities. To meet these responsibilities, efforts were made to mobilize both financial and human resources to finance projects and programmes that might contribute to the development and integration of Ghana and Africa as a whole. It was, therefore, necessary for the Bureau to keep track of these efforts, and to maintain an effective accounting system to justify the huge sums of monies committed to its operations.

SC/BAA/131, 162, 163, 179, 190, 205, 274, 293, 297, 345, 346, 483,

485; 13 files

BAA/RLAA/247 - 317; 71 files: 24/10/53 - 1/1/66.

The accounting records are located at the Research Library on African Affairs. They are made up of loose sheets and other documents of the central office of B. A. A. They include statements of accounts, invoices, receipts, petty cash records, vouchers, income tax receipts, etc.

The financial documents at the National Archives relate chiefly to financial matters of the state from pre-independence to independent Ghana. They consist of papers which deal with some of the principal activities of the government to raise funds. These relate to requests for foreign investments, Agricultural Loan Board, Cocoa Marketing Board and Cocoa Price, Finance Company, Currency, Taxation and Income Tax. Several correspondence, papers, as well as reports are also available in these files.

ADMINISTRATIVE RECORDS

STAFF FILES

SC/BAA/25, 29 - 32; 5 files

BAA/RLAA/44 - 246; 223 files

29/9/59 - 15/2/66.

These files consist of papers relating to the following categories of B. A. A. Staff:

1. Staff of Local Origin
2. Nationals of other African countries
some of whom were refugees.
3. Freedom Fighters and representatives of political parties from both independent and dependent countries attached to the Bureau.

EMPLOYMENT

BAA/RLAA/318-331: 14 files; 1959 - 1963

These contain letters and papers which relate to employment, applications for travel documents and jobs, interviews, and conditions of service for both Junior and Senior staff.

CIRCULARS AND SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCES

BAA/RLAA/367 - 387; 21 files; 1958-1966.

These relate to several aspects of the Bureau's work and cover many subjects in regard to African and other International Issues. Documents covering accounts and other areas of administration may also be found.

POLICY FILES

BAA/RLAA/388 - 442, 1004 - 1005: 57 files/Vols.
1958-1964

These consist of records accumulated as a result of its attempt to document both international and local events as they affect the African revolution. Included in these files and volumes are documents relating to famous trials, the Ideological Institute, Security, Press Conferences, Reports, Commentaries, etc.

Among the most important events covered are speeches and newspaper clippings of May Days and Freedom Days celebrations; the Death of Mr. Patrice Lumumba (Congo Prime Minister), Mr. Dag Hammerskjold (U. N. Secretary-General), W. E. B. Dubois and President Kennedy (U.S.A.) are also recorded.

The papers also cover several aspects of the Bureau's activities.

PUBLICATIONS

BAA/RLAA/937 - 949: 11 files, 1960-1964.

These consist of general correspondences and information files in connection with the Bureau's own publications and newspapers. These files cover a wide range of publications which include the Spark, African Chronicle, the Freedom Fighters, etc.

SPECIAL FILES

BAA/957 - 987: 31 files/Vol.,

1959 - 1965.

The records described as 'Special' consist of papers which deal with specific matters such as Freedom Fighters, Intelligence Branch, National Assembly, Sports, Guerrilla Warfare, Cartoons, Military matters, Who is Who, Atomic Tests, Afro-American problems and Padmore's Press Cuttings.

See also B. A. A./RLAA/1009-1011.

AFRICAN UNITY

Nkrumah's Administration sought to achieve the political liberation and unification of Africans as the pre-condition for the development of Ghana and the African continent. It was said that if Africa were to utilise its potentially immense resources in its own interests, then the continent ought to be liberated and integrated into a single political union with a central

authority. It was part of B. A. A.'s responsibility to monitor as well as to contribute to the enhancement and the achievement of this goal. In this connection, the following documents naturally accumulated.

BAA/RLAA/443 - 447; 5 volumes

1960 following.

These contain reports, telegrams, press releases, correspondences, messages and speeches. The bulk of the materials in these volumes, however, are newspaper clippings of commentaries, programmes, distortions and problems as well as achievements of African unity. There are cuttings from local as well as major newspapers all over the world.

POLITICAL PARTIES, ORGANISATIONS AND MOVEMENTS IN AFRICA

The relationship of the Bureau of African Affairs to political parties, organisations and movements was that of a channel through which propaganda and material aid were given to such groups in Africa as well as freedom fighters.

BAA/RLAA/526 - 547: 22 files; 1953-1966.

These include correspondences, reports, memoranda, bulletins, telegrams speeches, press releases. Of particular interest are the responses of the parties and movements to the liberation calls. They also give insight into the activities of these groups.

CONFERENCES

Conferences were a dominant means of diplomatic communication right from the first stage of the development of Ghana's African policy. From the days of Padmore's Office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs, to the last days of the first Republic, conferences remained very important, as the relative impacts of the meetings were crucial to the African liberation. For example, Nkrumah believed that the West could be persuaded at international conferences to give up their colonies and further encourage Africans to take up positive action to achieve their liberation. These conferences succeeded in assembling huge gatherings of African leaders, representative of almost all the freedom movements in Africa and delegates from organisations of people of African descent throughout the world.

SC/BAA/6, 68, 70, 104, 110, 136, 137, 168, 171, 194, 197, 215,
259, 364, 387, 399, 400, 421, 428, 461, 462, 466,
492, 497; 24 files.

BAA/RLAA/448 - 488^{A-F}, 1060;

47 files: 3/2/57 - 5/6/65.

These groups of files relate to international conferences in which African nations and peoples participated. Most of them were held on the African continent. A large majority of them were held in Ghana.

Apart from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference and Conference on Law of the Sea, all the conferences were concerned with Pan-Africanism, African unity and liberation. Included in these classes are documents relating to West African Prime Ministers Conference, Conference of Independent African States, All African Peoples Conference, Afro-Asian Peoples Conference, O. A. U. Conferences, etc. Also available are policy documents, newspaper clippings, press statements, accounts and names of participants.

After independence it was realised that Africa could be central in world affairs, but that it might as well become marginal if its position was the pursuit of narrow nationalism. Efforts in Ghana, therefore, sought that Africa contributed in important ways to a saner global society by efforts to keep Africa a nuclear free zone. Its significance lay in Nkrumah's assertion of Africa's right to contribute to the evolution of human dignity.

BAA/RLAA/511 - 522, 1124 - 1130: 22 file/Vols.

1961 - 1964

Included in this class are materials relating to world issues such as Nuclear Test, World Without Bomb, Sino-Indian Border question. There are also telegrams, reports and newspaper clippings on international affairs.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS (RELATIONS WITH)

One of the channels utilised in the campaign for African freedom and unity were the international organisation including the United Nations and the Commonwealth in order to achieve African objectives in cooperation with the world as a whole. This was done to enlarge Africa's freedom and involvement in services to the wider world community. Through international organisations Africa also sought the support and cooperation of the world powers who sympathised with her position on African freedom. It was, therefore, important for the Bureau of African Affairs to maintain positive relationships with international organisations in order to be abreast with major developments taking place in their sphere of operation.

GENERAL

SC/BAA/98, 108, 122, 208, 218, 385, 420, 421, 468: 9 files.

BAA/RLAA/548 - 559: 12 files: 24/11/53-18/2/66.

This class of records contains papers relating to the O. A. U., International Trade Union Organisations, the World Bank, F. A. O., G. A. T. T., E. C. A., as well as the U. N. O. and other international agencies. Included also are telegrams, press releases, reports, memoranda, speeches and messages. See also BAA/RLAA/498-510.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (RELATIONS WITH)

Ghana's active participation in the U. N. O. activities led to her being elected to the Security Council in 1962. Nkrumah believed in the U. N. O. as the only organisation in which the many problems of the world would have a chance of finding reasonable solution. Consequently, the B. A. A. had to maintain a working connection with the U. N. O. and Ghana's representative at the U. N.

BAA/RLAA/489 - 510: 21 file/Vols.; 1961-1966.

The files and volumes contain papers which throw light on the involvement of the Bureau as a monitoring organ of U. N. sanctions and decisions that affected Africa, either adversely or favourably. They include news bulletin clippings, reports, telegrams, etc., to and from the U. N. See also BAA/RLAA/548-559.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

SC/BAA/86, 98, 102, 121, 122, 149, 168, 187, 203, 209, 211, 214, 218, 229, 240, 255, 259 - 262, 269, 272B, 308 - 309, 315, 323, 388, - 389, 465; 29 files.

BAA/560 - 611: 52 files: 3/9/55 - 11/8/66.

These papers deal mainly with Ghana's foreign policy in general and her relations with non-African heads of state and government relating to world trade, economy, politics, and world peace.

The papers cover both small and powerful countries of the world - for example, Haiti, Japan, U.S.S.R., U. S. A., Israel, Cyprus, Malaysia, Australia and Goa. Of much interest are the telegrams, messages, reports and newspaper clippings. All the countries of the world are included.

VISITS OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

BAA/RLAA/988 - 997: 10 files: 1958-1962.

The documents classified Visits of Heads of state and government consist principally of files relating to the visits of Queen Elizabeth, Presidents Tito, Senghor and Nehru to Ghana and of Dr. Nkrumah's visits to India and Russia.

See SC/BAA/67 for Royal Visits to Ghana.

AMBASSADORS' REPORTS FROM NON-AFRICAN COUNTRIES

SC/BAA/74, 101, 138, 154, 200, 221, 222, 238, 266, 270, 283, 295,
302, 305, 319, 323, 351, 375, 381, 395, 463, 474, 491.
24 files; 2/12/57-18/2/66.

These groups constitute a distinctive collections of systematic documentation representing reports from Ghana's Embassies and High Commissions around the world. They are a useful collection on Ghana's foreign policy from a diplomatic stand-point.

REPORTS ON AFRICAN COUNTRIES

SC/BAA/71, 111, 129, 133, 139, 142, 216, 226, 229, 230, 237, 254,
 258, 292, 300, 325, 330, 336, 339, 363, 365, 379, 394,
 - 397, 408, 412, 415, 419, 424, 427, 432, 433, 437,
 454, 458, 460, 469, 473, 478, 493, 698: 46 files.

BAA/RLAA/612 - 653; 916, 917, 654-938; 1057 - 1058: 330 files/
 vols.

17/3/58 - 12/2/66.

The papers in these files consist mainly of reports, messages, correspondences, etc. The information they contain reflects the relative importance Ghana attached to the African liberation question. They also give clear indications of Ghana's relationship with other African states as well as her African and foreign policies within the context of African unity.

CORRESPONDENCES WITH AFRICAN LEADERS

Notes exchanged between Nkrumah and other African leaders found their way to the Director of the Bureau of African Affairs. They thus constitute a unique collection of documents within the Bureau's archives. These show clearly the special relationship which existed between Nkrumah and other African heads of government. They also show how their common aspirations as Africans with common problems, including fighting against colonialism and neo-colonialism, brought them together inspite of their mutual differences.

SC/BAA/95, 228, 231, 307, 311, 314, 374, 382, 384, 386, 405,
 407, 409, 418, 423, 425, 430, 437, 439, 440-454:
 35 files.

15/10/54 - 20/1/66.

The files comprise mainly of correspondences with people like Dr. Hastings Banda (Malawi), Ben Bella (Algeria), Dr. Nyerere and other African leaders of the period. These differ from the Reports from African countries because they are letters written by African Heads of state and governments to Nkrumah. Several important documents can also be found.

FOREIGN DIGNITARIES

Nkrumah corresponded extensively with a number of foreign dignitaries and academics who were sympathetic to the African cause. These were also turned over to the Bureau of African Affairs. From these records we notice that some of them worked hard to enhance the African cause from their foreign bases, and informed Nkrumah about these. Some acted as emissaries. They thus submitted extensive reports on events and progress of the African cause. Several of them visited and worked for Ghana.

SC/BAA/78, 81, 83, 84, 112, 132, 174, 196, 204, 235, 257, 271,
 294, 316A, 326, 341, 414, 420, 455: 19 files

2/7/58 - 18/2/66.

The listed files are made up of letters, reports and enquiries. They demonstrate the degree of support the liberation struggle got from some foreigners outside Africa. Among

them were Paul Robeson, Professor Arthur Lewis, Dr. Lawrence Forster, Fenner Brockway, etc.

Refer to SC/BAA/24ff for addition information.

(ix) FOREIGNERS IN CLOSEST WORKING RELATIONS
WITH NKRUMAH AND THE BUREAU

SC/BAA/24, 26A-B, 27, 33, 37, 144, 155, 242, 296, 355,

402: 12 files

27/1/64 - 3/10/65.

The files contain documents which relate to certain foreign personalities who identified themselves totally with Ghana's mission to liberate Africa and worked in close collaboration with the Ghanaian authorities. Included are files of Genoveva Marais (South African), Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brian, Vice-Chancellor, U. G. Geoffrey Bing, Mrs. Sheilla Dubois, Flight Captain Hanna Reitsch, Dr. W. E. B. Dubois. They are mainly letters and reports. Refer to Foreign Dignitaries: SC/BAA/78ff. Some of them lived, worked and died in Ghana.

INDIVIDUAL GHANAIAN PERSONALITIES

SC/BAA/22 - 39, 99, 173, 263, 227, 381, 354, 371, 456; 29 files

25/5/55 - 15/2/65.

These files contain materials which relate to important Ghanaian politicians in the first Republic such as Ako Adjei, Kofi Baako, Quaison Sackey, Tawia Adamafio, etc. Within these files can be found interesting documents for social and political studies.

DEI-ANANG PAPERS

Dr. Michael Dei-Anang was the Secretary to the Governor-General of Ghana from 1957-1959, a Principal Secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1959-1961, Ambassador Special Duties, and Head of the African Affairs Secretariat until 1966. At the time of the 1966 Coup, he was one of the officials in the President's entourage to Hanoi.

SC/BAA/9 - 21; 19 files; 1961-1964.

These are a collection of private, semi-official and official documents which accrued during the tenure of Dei-Anang for the period. How these came to be among the Bureau's archives is not known. They, however, include a wide range of documents which are not unconnected with African liberation, and relate to correspondences with foreign affairs officials, ministers of state, diplomatic and Consular officials and ambassadors. These are documents on Egypt, Middle East, Addis Ababa and Ceylon. Others include reactions of African governments to a union government of Africa, a list of Freedom Fighters, the Congo crisis, Ghana-Togo Border draft protests, foreign mission matters, telegrams, reports and memoranda.

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND RELATED ACTIVITIESCENTRAL GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION

SC/BAA/65, 120, 186, 213, 219, 223, 246, 248, 267, 299,
335, 353, 356, 380, 401, 410, 431, 481, 482, 484, 487:
21 files: 23/7/54 - 26/3/65.

These files comprise of records which relate to several aspects of the development of government administration in Ghana. Included are papers which deal with subjects such as the Civil Service, Ministers and Ministerial Secretaries, visitors to the State House, Staff matters, National Economic Planning, Correspondences to and from the Prime Ministers Office. Others are declaration of Assets by government officials, Daily Notes to the Prime Minister and others.

THE CONVENTION PEOPLES PARTY

The CPP was formed by Kwame Nkrumah on 12th June 1949 with the aim of securing full self-government for the chiefs and people of the Gold Coast. The party won all elections against all other opposition parties, and

so ran the country from 1951 through to independence in 1957 until 1966.

SC/BAA/66, 117, 124, 146, 150, 324, 340, 362: 9 files

BAA/RLAA/1002 - 1003: 2 files

18/8/55 - 23/12/65.

The papers in this series relate to the organisation of the CPP. Included are the speeches of the founder, Nkrumah. The bulk of the papers are made up of reports, working papers, security matters, party congresses.

Others are related to Asante CPP Refugees, Rumours. The National Association of Socialist Students, (N.A.S.S.O). CPP study group, Central Committee, Press Cutting and others.

INITIAL POLITICAL CHANGES IN GHANA

After independence Ghana was bound to maintain political and cultural links with London. Later the process for political disengagements from colonial linkage was accelerated and the British monarch gradually ceased to exercise political sovereignty over Ghana.

SC/BAA/67, 77, 100, 125, 126, 167, 192, 241, 243, 245, 256,

272B, 285, 289, 290, 301, 301, 303, 327, 328, 348,

494: 22 files

21/3/53 - 6/6/64.

The records comprise of documents relating to instrument of appointment of the P.M., Plobisoits in Ghana, Ghana's

independence celebrations, Governor-General of Ghana, the Royal visit to Ghana (see also BAA/RLAA/988 - 997) and the Prime Minister's visit to the USA and Canada.

The documents show the trend followed by Ghana's rapid move from colonialism to an independent sovereign state.

Available are Nkrumah's earliest foreign policy speeches, Ghana's new constitution, document on National Liberation Movement, and the Duke of Edingburgh's visit to Ghana.

INTELLIGENCE AND POLICE WORK

SC/BAA/107, 282, 317, 342, 349, 477

6 files 5/12/55 - 5/4/66

Refer also to Special file BAA/RLAA/957 - 987.

The groups consist of correspondences, memoranda and reports. Others pertain to coup attempt to overthrow the Prime Minister in 1959, Ga Shifimo Kpee membership, Captain Awhaitey, Police Uniform for coup, Ghana Police Force, Legal Education, Chief Justice and appointments of the Justice of the Supreme and Appeal Courts.

There are interesting materials on the Gold Coast Elections, Africa and the Middle East.

These comprise records which have something to do with infra-structural and mineral resources, development projects, etc.

They concern areas such as Tema Harbour, Television, Fuel and Power, Iron and Steel Works, Bridges, Bauxite and related matters.

PUBLIC BOARDS AND CORPORATIONS

The text of the main thesis gives a full coverage of Public Boards and Corporations.

SC/BAA/127, 130, 134, 148, 153, 174, 186, 191, 193, 195, 201, 249,
252, 255, 310, 350, 352: 17 files

29/1/55 - 9/2/66.

Included in this group are series of correspondences between the Boards and Corporations and Nkrumah in particular. There are also general working papers, reports, memoranda and related documents. Among the organisations the records cover are Ghana Airways, Ghana News Agency, Ghana Atomic Energy Commission, Kumasi Municipal Council, Library Board, Arts Council, Housing Corporation, Hotels, Volta River Authority, Tema Development Corporation and a host of others.

The documents reflect not only the history of the development of Boards and Corporations, but also the social and political significance of the Boards and Corporations in Ghana.

EDUCATIONAL AND HEALTH FACILITIES

In Ghana, the Nkrumah Administration sought to lay a solid economic infrastructure for future development. Nkrumah's main concern was to base political power on the broad-masses, and

above all to distribute basic social amenities to a large section of the population and for the benefit of the rest of Africa. To this end, health and educational services were made free in Ghana. Hospitals, schools and colleges, universities and other institutions of higher learning were established throughout the country.

EDUCATIONAL

KWAME NKRUMAH UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

This university started life as the Kumasi College of Technology by the Ordinance of October 6, 1951. Following the Report of the Universities' Commission of 1960, the K. N. U. S. T. was established by an Act of Parliament in August 1961, and officially inaugurated on Wednesday 29th November 1961. The university awarded its own degrees in 1964. Following the overthrow of Nkrumah in 1966, it became known as the University of Science and Technology.

SC/BAA/1-5; 89, 93, 118 and 123: 9 files

21/1/59 - 23/1/65.

This group of records deals mainly with the establishment of the university. The files contain agenda for University Council meetings, accounts and statistical data of the university, the structure of its departments, and notes by R. P. Baffour, the first Vice-Chancellor of the University. Other documents include the constitution and rules of the Board of Governors and the opening of the Independence Hall.

SC/BAA/118 relate specifically to University College Council, University Reform, Vice-Chancellors and Scholarships.

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

The University of Ghana was inaugurated in November 1961. It began life as the University College of the Gold Coast at Achimota in 1948 with a special relationship with the University of London until it achieved full University status with powers to award its own degrees.

BAA/459; 1 file; 8/4/1964-10/8/1965.

This file contains records which deal with the policy and administration of schemes relating to the provision of higher education. Most of the papers relate to correspondence between Dr. Connor Cruise O'Brien, the then Vice-Chancellor and Nkrumah as well as other academics. Others relate to seminars, articles, grants, courses, press releases and the position of modern languages in adult education.

OTHER INSTITUTIONS FOR HIGHER LEARNINGGHANA ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

It was inaugurated on 27th November, 1959 by Prince Philip, the Duke of Edinburgh, in the Great Hall of the University of Ghana, Legon. The objects of the Academy are to promote the study, the extension and dissemination of knowledge of all the sciences of learning. The government of the Academy is vested in an elected Council consisting of a Chairman, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who are known as the Principal Officers, together with six ordinary members.

SC/BAA73 and 373: 2 files; 28/1/60-11/12/65

These files contain documents which cover the scientific activities of the Academy. They include papers which emphasize the position of the natural sciences in a developing country, reports of its work and those of the Encyclopaedia Africana.

NATIONAL THEATRE

A scheme for a national theatre and amphitheatre was prepared. The site was chosen near a focal feature and park land area near the Children's Park in Accra to provide recreational facilities for the public. Work is now going apace, and the project is being undertaken with the assistance of the Chinese government.

SC/BB/170: 1 file (undated)

This file contains press releases relating to the functions and the constitution of the proposed National Theatre.

GHANA LAW SCHOOL

SC/BAA/247; 1 file; 1958-1961.

The papers in this folio include draft proposals for a law school in Accra, the prospectus for the school and a statement to the press by the Board of Local Education. Included are letters and other related documents.

ACHIMOTA SCHOOL

SC/BAA/343; 1 file, 8/11/58-24/8/62.

The papers in this file relate to Achimota farm land, an address delivered by Mr. Chapman, Principal, and a receipt issued to Dr. Nkrumah.

KWAME NKRUMAH COLLEGE

SC/BAA/93: 1 file.

This was one of the Secondary Schools named after Nkrumah. The file contains documents relating to the Constitution and rules of the Board of Governors of the Kwame Nkrumah College, Parts 1-IV.

NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL

It was created in 1959, under the powers provided by the Research Act, 1959. The 1959 Act was repealed and the National Research Council reconstituted under the Statutory Corporations Act.

At the time of independence there were numerous research activities taking place, but these were in no way coordinated. It was apparent, therefore, that a body was needed to be set up with an adequate provision of funds to coordinate research in Ghana to avoid duplication. It was to initiate further research work which would be of value in the rapid development of the newly independent Ghana.

Nkrumah at the time assumed the dual role of Minister responsible for Research and the Chairman of the National Research Council.

SC/BAA/252; 2 files.

The files contain documents from different sources, including the Ministry of Information, Publishing Houses, Ghana's Embassies abroad, The Ghana Library Board and the Enterprises Secretariat.

NATIONAL MUSEUM

The first Museum in Ghana was started by Achimota School in early 1930. The collections were housed in the main school building and covered in wide range of subjects but were mostly given over to the ethnography and archaeology of West Africa and the Gold Coast.

After the end of the Second World War, a Commission headed by Mr. H. J. Braunholts, of the British Museum, recommended that a National Museum be set up, and in 1951 the Government voted funds to the University College of Ghana to start the Museum, which remained under its control until 1957. The Achimota Museum collections were passed over to the new Museum which was housed in the Department of Archaeology of the University College, Legon.

In 1957 the Ghana Museum and Monuments Board Ordinance was passed and the control of the Museum was handed^{over} to the Board. New permanent buildings were put up on Barnes Road, Accra, and were opened by the Dukes of Kent on 5th March, 1957.

SC/BAA/329: 1 file 9/8/56 - 6/11/57.

This class contains memoranda on the state of the National Museum, records of discussions on the above topic with Nkrumah and a scheme for the expansion of the National Museum.

GHANA MEDICAL SCHOOL

The Ghana Medical School was established in 1964 as an autonomous institution in special relation with the University of Ghana. Under this scheme, all the members of the academic staff of the school are honorary members of the staff of the University of Ghana, and the students of the school receive the degrees of the

University of Ghana. The Ghana Medical School is now fully integrated with the University of Ghana as a faculty or school of the University.

SC/BAA/76: 7/2/64; 1 file

These records are concerned with the planning considerations of a Medical School necessary to provide a system of medical training locally. It includes Ghana Medical School progress report.

GHANA NAUTICAL COLLEGE

This is an educational institution for training Ghanaians to take up appointments in the Ghana Merchant Navy.

SC/BAA/97

11/10/1958-25/9/59, 1 file.

This file contains correspondence and Progress Report on the Ghana Nautical College.

MEDICAL FACULTY

The medical faculty of the University of Ghana Medical School at the Korle-Bu Teaching Hospital has the following departments: Anaesthetics, Anatomy, Bio-chemistry, Child Care, Pharmacology, Preventive and Social Medicine, Surgery, etc.

SC/BAA/143 20/4/59-8/7/59.

This is made up of papers relating to efforts made by Nkrumah to secure external funding for the establishment of a medical faculty in Ghana.

HEALTH FACILITIESHOSPITALS

SC/BAA/7, 8, 92, 158, 217: 7 files;

8/3/60-5/1/66.

The documents cover some of the most important hospitals in Ghana. These include the Tetteh Quarshie Memorial Hospital, Mampong, the Military and Korle-Bu hospitals in Accra.

The documents are made of papers of the Management Trustees and Management Committees of these hospitals. Included are documents which cover equipments, extension proposals, reports and problems facing the hospitals.

WOMEN

Nkrumah's confidence in African women and in their ability to contribute to the African liberation struggle was well known. In 1943 while addressing the Association of African ^{Women and} students in North America, he stressed the important role African and the youth in Africa could play in the African struggle. Back in Ghana, Nkrumah ingegrated women into all spheres of life. He ordered Tawia Adamafio to organise Ghana women and form them into one great organisation. Following this, the National Council of Women was born in Ghana.

SC/BAA/126 and 152: 2 files.

These are made of papers which give evidence of the involvement of women in Ghanaian politics - as parliamentarians. They show the efforts that went into the search for suitable women from the regions as C.P.P.'s women candidates for parliament. Other documents relate to resolutions passed by women groups in Ghana.

STUDENTS AND SCHOLARSHIPS

SC/BAA/28, 159, 276: 3 files.

Free educational facilities were extended to African students to study in Ghana and other foreign countries. The files in this record series consist of reports on Ghanaian students in local secondary schools and Ghanaian students in the United Kingdom and Ireland. Included are a memo on African area studies and programme of New York University to the Prime Minister.

For scholarships for students from other African countries in Ghana see files relating to Freedom Fighters, Miscellaneous, Special Files.

BAA/RLAA/1012 - 1056 and files relating to African countries.

DISTRICT AND REGIONAL REPORTS FROM COMMISSIONERS

These reports from the District and Regional Commissioners accessioned as part of the Bureau's holdings demonstrate significantly that the B. A. A. was not concerned only with external African issues at the expense of domestic issues, as has been claimed in certain quarters. In order to monitor events locally, the Bureau maintained a systematic network for the collection of reports from the districts and the regions through the district and regional offices.

SC/BAA/106, 135, 140, 156, 157, 265, 268, 279, 280, 284, 318, 368:
12 files; 5/8/50 - 27/8/65.

These consist of monthly routine reports to the central government passed on to the Bureau.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITIESCOMMERCIAL ORGANISATIONS

The presence of documents relating to commercial organisations and companies operating in Ghana should not be seen as a curious phenomenon. After independence, the economic policy of Ghana remained very much as it was before independence, a policy of free trade or laissez-faire. There were, therefore old expatriate firms like John Holt, U.T.C., U.A.C., etc., which were later joined by others. This policy attracted foreign capital, some of which were used for certain development projects - like the Volta River project. Subsequently, change of policy, including the anti-colonial and imperialist campaigns in Ghana, required that the activities of the foreign commercial organisations be monitored by the government through the eyes and ears of the B. A. A., and their activities curtailed if there was a cause for that action.

SC/BAA/63, 64, 80, 85, 189, 207, 220, 232, 312, 313, 333, 337:

12 files, 9/3/53 - 13/10/65.

The files contain documents which relate to socio-political and economic concerns of the new, independent country. They include publications on African liberation generally. Others are correspondences between the organisations and Nkrumah; speeches, telegrams, reports and other interesting letters.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

SC/BAA/72, 94, 119, 145, 178, 193, 202, 210, 239, 244, 286, 288,
 321, 331, 332, 334, 429, 496, 507, 566, 698, 699;
 22 files.

BAA/RLAA/950 - 956; 7 files; 19/5/55 - 18/2/66.

The records in these series cover wide areas which include Christian, Muslim and Farmers Councils, T.U.C. and Boys' Scouts, Sports and other associations.

They also contain papers which relate to All African Trade Union, Arts Council, South African revolts and the C.A.U.

TRADITIONAL AND CHIEFTAINCY AFFAIRS

SC/BAA/105, 115, 140, 151, 292, 306, 347, 370, 480; 9 files
 23/9/54 - 26/10/64.

The records here consist of reports, cabinet decisions and other papers relating to chieftaincy affairs. Areas covered by them include Brong Ahafo, Ashanti, Cape Coast, the Nsuem Stool, Aburi, Ga-Manche's Palace, Nzema, etc.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO NKRUMAH'S BOOKS AND OTHER THINGS

Kwame Nkrumah published about fourteen books and made several speeches. He was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1961 and other prizes later. He also had a wide range of interests which he was able to combine effectively with his official duties.

SC/BAA/69, 75, 90, 91, 96, 103, 113, 141, 160, 161, 172, 184,
234, 246, 275, 291, 358, 360, 383, 416, 435, 495:

23 files: 30/1/50 - 5/5/65.

Refer to BAA/RLAA/988 - 997

The records relate to Nkrumah's books, such as Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism and his Autobiography, Papers on the Congo, the Lenin Peace Prize and speeches.

Others relate to presidential household, watches, the Nkrumah Trust Fund, Dogs, clothes, as well as honours and other awards.

MISCELLANEOUS/MIXED UP LETTERS OF KWAME NKUMAH
AND THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS

A class of records labelled 'Miscellaneous' is at once usually a confession of the custodians defeat and an alluring prospect for a properly curious student. The collections in these files offer a stimulus to the searcher while retaining archival respectability: for although no classes any where can possibly be more miscellaneous in content, they are a distinct archival group born of past administrative action.

In the field of African political, legal and diplomatic history, there are the letters of Nkrumah himself. Few of the major political problems of the world during his tenure failed to engage his attention. In the future, historians studying such issues will find increasing opportunities for research in the following files. For students of economic, industrial and social

development, material exists in this class over a long period of continuous change in social structures of the world and in the concomitant function relationships between governments, politicians and workers.

Resulting in the main from the creation of the Nkrumah Administration, the archives accruing from their activities have begun to constitute a substantial store of the raw material of contemporary history.

Within this broad classification, it will be noticed that the range of activities of the administration which created the records extend into one or more of the categories than that to which they have here been assigned. While the interest and operations of the producers of the documents were world wide, most of them showed special concern for Africa and the oppressed people.

LETTERS MIXED UP

SC/BAA/499, 500-509: Sets 1-10: (11 files). 24/2/56 - 22/7/65

These letters relate to various subjects on Africa, International affairs and local matters.

PERSONAL LETTERS TO NKURUMAH

SC/BAA/61, 387)A - B) Vol. 1-2. 13/4/56 - 12/1/66: 3 files

These files contain letters addressed to Kwame Nkrumah and Prime Minister marked personal - from several sources.

MISCELLANEOUS

SC/BAA/403 - 406, 510 - 516: Sets 1 - 7, 8/1/50 - 3/9/66 (11 files).

These are files which contain very useful information of both international and local significance. They are records of general administrative correspondence of Nkrumah and the B.A.A. accumulated as a result of their work. They include reports, Drug trafficking and Memoranda and other administrative documents, scholarships for students from other African countries.

TRIALS

BAA/RLAA/998 - 1001: 4 files. 1962 - 1963.

These consist of the most part newspaper clippings and other information on trials of Henry Djaba and treason trials in Ghana following the Kulungugu bomb attack and others.

DEATHS

BAA/RLAA/1004 - 1005: 2 files: 1963 - 1964.

These consist mostly of volumes of newspaper clippings on the death of Dr. W.E.B. Dubois and President Kennedy of the United States.

SPEECHES OF HEADS OF STATE

BAA/RLAA/1006 - 1008: 3 files; 1960 - 1963.

AFRO-AMERICANS

BAA/RLAA/1009 - 1011: 3 files; 1956 - 1963.

These include documents and press cuttings on Afro-Americans and Negro problems in general and on racial discrimination. Refer to BAA/RLAA/937 - 949.

PRESS CLIPPINGS

Ideally, a newspaper reports the doings and goings on of the government to the people and expresses the wishes and desires of the people to the government. The press, if not deliberately silenced, speaks with no muted voice; the undercurrents which officials in any situation conceal may bubble openly in the newspapers. That the press has been a potent instrument in the nationalist awakening in Africa has amply been confirmed by the Bureau in its attempt to build a coherent and systematic collection of press clippings. These newspaper clippings undoubtedly give articulation to the expressions of the demand for African emancipation and unity. Some of the cuttings of both the local and the foreign press give clear hint to the

vicious press warfare that ensued between the government controlled press in Ghana and the freer western and other African press including that of Nigeria.

The study of it would give appreciable insight into the African thinking about African liberation and international Pan-Africanism.

THE DIRECTORS NEWSPAPER CUTTINGS

BAA/RLAA/37 - 43, 119: 8 volumes
1964 - 1966.

NEWS ON GHANA

BAA/RLAA/10062 - 1084: 23 vols.
1960 - 1966

GHANAIAN TIMES

BAA/RLAA/1085 - 1095: 11 vols.
1961 - 1965

GRAPHIC

BAA/RLAA/1096 - 1099: 4 vols.
1960 - 1966

EDITORIALS

BAA/RLAA/1100 - 1106: 7 vols.

These are editorials on Ghana, Africa, African unity and the liberation struggle. The editorials come from a wide variety of newspapers in Ghana, Africa and other parts of the world.

REUTERS

BAA/RLAA/1107 - 1109: 3 vols.

1961 - 1963

These are news reports on Ghana, Africa in general and on issues related to African liberation and unity.

EVENING NEWS (GHANA)

BAA/RLAA/1110 - 1111: 2 vols.

1962 - 1963

DAILY EXPRESS

BAA/RLAA/1112: 1 vol.; 1962

ASHANTI PIONEER

BAA/RLAA/1113 - 1114: 2 vols.

1960 - 1963

AFRICAN CHRONICLER

BAA/RLAA/1115: 1 vol., 1963.

GHANA-GUINEA-MALI-TOGO NEWS

BAA/RLAA/1116 - 1118: 3 vols.

1960 - 1963

NEWS CUTTING ON GHANA YOUNG PIONEERS

BAA/RLAA/1120: 1 vol. 1963 - 1965

GHANA REFUGEES - GHANA-NIGERIA NEWS

BAA RLAA 1121 - 1123: 3 vols.

1963.

MISCELLANEOUS CLIPPINGS

SC/BAA/693 - 697: 5 files

These are made up of cuttings from (1) the Daily Herald, Daily Mirror and Financial times on Nkrumah and the new Republic of Ghana, (2) On the situation in Rhodesia, (3) On interview of Dr. Makonnen in New York (4) On international issues, reports on Sugar and Slaves, South Africa and Black Magic Symbols on the Royal Estate, etc. (5) Press cuttings on MacMillan's Tour of Ghana. Included are letters relating to Ghana and British Guiana.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

BAA/RLAA/1124 - 1130: 7 vols.

1961 - 1964

These consist of news items on Africa and Ghana from the U. K., France, East Africa, Burindi and other countries. The news relate to social problems, African unity and other related issues.

194

CONCLUSION

In this study we have presented the origins, evolution, organisation and the main activities of the Bureau of African Affairs, and in a nutshell, touched on its responses to the question of African liberation and unity. In this conclusion we would like to repeat certain points made earlier in order to keep what we have done in perspective.

For over ten years, the Bureau had continued at the heart of initiatives in Africa, continuously reshaping its programmes in response to popular demands in the development processes and to changes in the climate of African relations and needs, with particular reference to decolonisation and the unity of African people, as Africans defined them.

We began by the examination of Africa's historic background and attempted to locate the motivations for the establishment of the Bureau within the rich historic background of our ancient continent.

In Chapter 2, it was noted that, from a modest beginning as the small office of the Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs, the Bureau came to be one of the most authoritative and best known organizations in the world concerned with carrying out the Pan-African liberation struggle in Africa. It was shown that the idea of the Bureau was not unconnected with Mkrumah's long stay abroad, and his connections with Padmore, Dr. Ras T. Makonnen, Dr. W.E.B. Dubois, etc. The outcome of the

Manchester Congress of 1945 also proved to be a crucial factor in the introduction of the Bureau idea into Ghana.

In that chapter much attention was focussed on the Bureau as the brain child of Nkrumah and George Padmore, two persons whose opposition to colonialism in Africa forced them to encourage the creation of organizations both within the colonies and on Pan-African basis for the extension of the anti-colonial campaign to which they gave their personal attention.

Chapter three stressed the basis for the concern of those who initiated the Bureau, and showed that to a great extent its growth and performance mirrored the hopes and aspirations of its founders, as well as of the entire African and even the colonial world.

In Chapter 4, the administrative structures upon which the Bureau functioned were fully described, and these provided a sense of (1) what the Bureau's core programmes were, and (2) a series of vital responses to liberation developments and the need for information about and understanding of the issues of African Liberation. It was shown that a great deal of friction existed with regard to relations with the local public administration and independent African states.

Chapter five made an appraisal of the archives of the Bureau of African Affairs as the surviving relics of that institution.

A large majority of people agree that the Bureau recorded remarkable achievements. However, two schools of thought emerged regarding the Bureau's claim to represent the aspirations of all Africans. Based on our interviews, we summarise below the positions of the opponents and supporters of the Bureau idea.

The opponents argue that, in the final analysis, the Bureau experiment was too radical, utopian, impractical, expensive and counter-productive. And they make the following points in support of their view.

1. Nkrumah used the Bureau to plot against independent states, with a view to replacing their leaders with people who had been trained in Ghana in methods of revolution.
2. The Bureau was charged with the responsibility for secret operations towards the achievement of continental government in Africa, to be headed by Nkrumah.
3. After an attempt on Nkrumah's life in August, 1962 the Bureau prepared detailed plans for spying on the citizens of Ghana.
4. Huge sums of state funds that were not subject to any audit or examination were spent without anyone, except a few secretaries, knowing the purposes and objects of the expenses.

5. The Bureau employed foreign nationals at great cost to the country for no justifiable reasons.
6. In the long run the activities of the B.A.A. affected the psychology of the African leadership in such a way that most of them became deeply disenchanted with the Ghanaian path to African liberation and unity. Gradually, mutual suspicion gave way to fundamental conflicts of interests which culminated in the betrayal of the calls to work and act together to make the Pan-African dream a possibility.

In contrast to the opponents, the pro-Nkrumah Bureauists believe that, although Nkrumah was not always right in every particular aspect of his African drive, the curtailment of the Bureau's activities has been the main cause of the 'unfinished' African revolution. They make the following points in support of their position.

1. Most African countries, though formally independent, have not been able to rid themselves of foreign domination, especially in the key and strategic sectors of the economy.
2. The Bureau idea was the answer to the kind of African leadership which tended to ignore the people in the organisation and implementation of policies and programmes.
3. The relationship that the B.A.A. established and the conferences that it attended or summoned, were opportunities to affirm the personality of Africa, her realities, her aspirations and her will to make positive contributions towards the coming of a better world.

4. Since the collapse of the attempts through the B.A.A. in enhancing the establishment of an African High Command failed, that prospect has never been realised; but without an African High Command, Africa stands completely exposed to external aggression.
5. The Bureau's objective of popularising Africa and African Studies outside the confines of Africa was in keeping with Africa's quest for justice, peace, and equality in the world. For Africa's credibility will continue to be low as long as the outside world remained ignorant about her.
6. Time and again, in the run-up to independence, Ghana's independence was seen within a wider continental and global perspectives, and this was the role the Bureau was created to play.
7. The B.A.A. was conceived in terms sanctioned by the Manchester Congress and given time it would have developed branches throughout Africa and other parts of the world, which would have served as those being operated by Britain, the U.S.A., U.S.S.R. etc. today in other countries. An international Bureau of African Affairs would have served as an impartial instrument for information and views from Africa rather than a propaganda tool of any particular government.

That there would be a division of opinion about what the Bureau stood for is natural. We hope that this study offers the reader some basis for evaluating the Bureau

idea for himself or herself. Nonetheless, it would amount some what to a shirking of duty on our part if we failed to attempt an evaluation of the Bureau.

What is significant about the Bureau is that it succeeded in concretizing and institutionalizing the Pan-African ideal on African soil, and helped in no small way towards the formation of the O. A. U.

It is interesting to note that where conflict arose with regard to the manner of the Bureau's operations, it came mostly from independent African states where formal colonial rule had been defeated. This in itself indicates that, by and large, the Bureau and its activities were acceptable and useful to Africans struggling to free themselves from colonial rule. What was problematic was the Bureau's responses to what it perceived as reactionary policies and fundamental contradictions among African leaders that worked against its pan-African ideals.

Very often the activities of the Bureau led to the establishment of several contacts both at the inter-state level and with international organisations. This was done to the affirmation of Africa's human and historic personality which meant for Africa improved relationships, growing authority, and effective participation in world affairs.

Ultimately, the significance of the work of the B.A.A. lies in its links with the struggle of Africans for human dignity, freedom, recognition of the community of

interest and the necessity for mutual assistance, and cooperation between oppressed people's wherever they could be found. All this was fully in accord with the resolution of the All African Peoples Conference in Accra in December 1958 which stated that leaders of political parties in Africa gathered in Accra 'are irrevocably resolved to wage a final assault upon the denial of freedom, liberty and fundamental human rights of Africa'. The Conference charged that a permanent secretariat be established in Accra with the following objects:-

- a. To promote understanding and unity among peoples of Africa.
- b. To accelerate the Liberation of Africa from Imperialism and Colonialism
- c. To mobilize world opinion against the denial of political rights and human rights to Africans.
- d. To develop the feeling of one community among the peoples of Africa with the object of the emergent of a United States of Africa.

These were the ideals which critically influenced the establishment of the Bureau of African Affairs as the front-line organisation in the liberation struggle.

Now, if it is accepted that the rise of nationalism in Africa in the Mid - 20th century was one of the most important developments in Africa, then it is also true to say that the establishment of the B.A.A. in Ghana, to provide material and moral assistance to those working and sometimes fighting to bring independence and dignity to Africans, is

not only part of that momentous period, but one of the noblest campaigns of our time.

The documents of the B.A.A. are still with us and continue to bear the unique ideas and objectives of its founders. It is our belief that a more encompassing study of the Bureau's papers would reveal more elements about this intriguing organisation. In any case, the archives of the Bureau are a commemorative testimony to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah as a man of thought who believed that ideas should find physical institutional expression.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

Lincoln University

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY
CHESTER COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA

VAIL MEMORIAL LIBRARY

November 1, 1944

11/2/44
Harding

Mr. Mohamed S Shmed
5633 W. Warren Street
Detroit, Michigan.

Dear Mr. Shmed:

This is to introduce myself to you in absentia. It is the second best thing for me to do right now. In so doing I want to say that at present I am a professor at this University. I started teaching here a few months ago. But to the real point at issue: Mrs. Tanda Bennett met me in Philadelphia with a letter of yours written from Detroit. We talked about your projected plan. I read your letter several times. Tanda knew that that has been my dream - a dream which I have had in mind as a first step toward West African National Unity and Independence.

Yes, fellow African, I agree with you one hundred per cent and shall do everything in my power to see to the materialization of that project. Liberia has been, to me, the hope of West Africa and we must make it the headquarters of a future United West Africa. A West African ship line owned and operated by Africans will be an unprecedented inspiration to all Africans. I have so much to say that I cannot say them now, reserving all till I see you in person. West must start on the project right away; and this is the time.

What about our arranging to meet at Tanda's in Brooklyn, New York, one week-end? We could draft and lay the plan definitely for the venture. If we decide on the day of meeting, I hope you will not fail to come with Mrs. Scott.

Write me fully about the project. I have many other things to put before you.

Let me hear from you very soon.

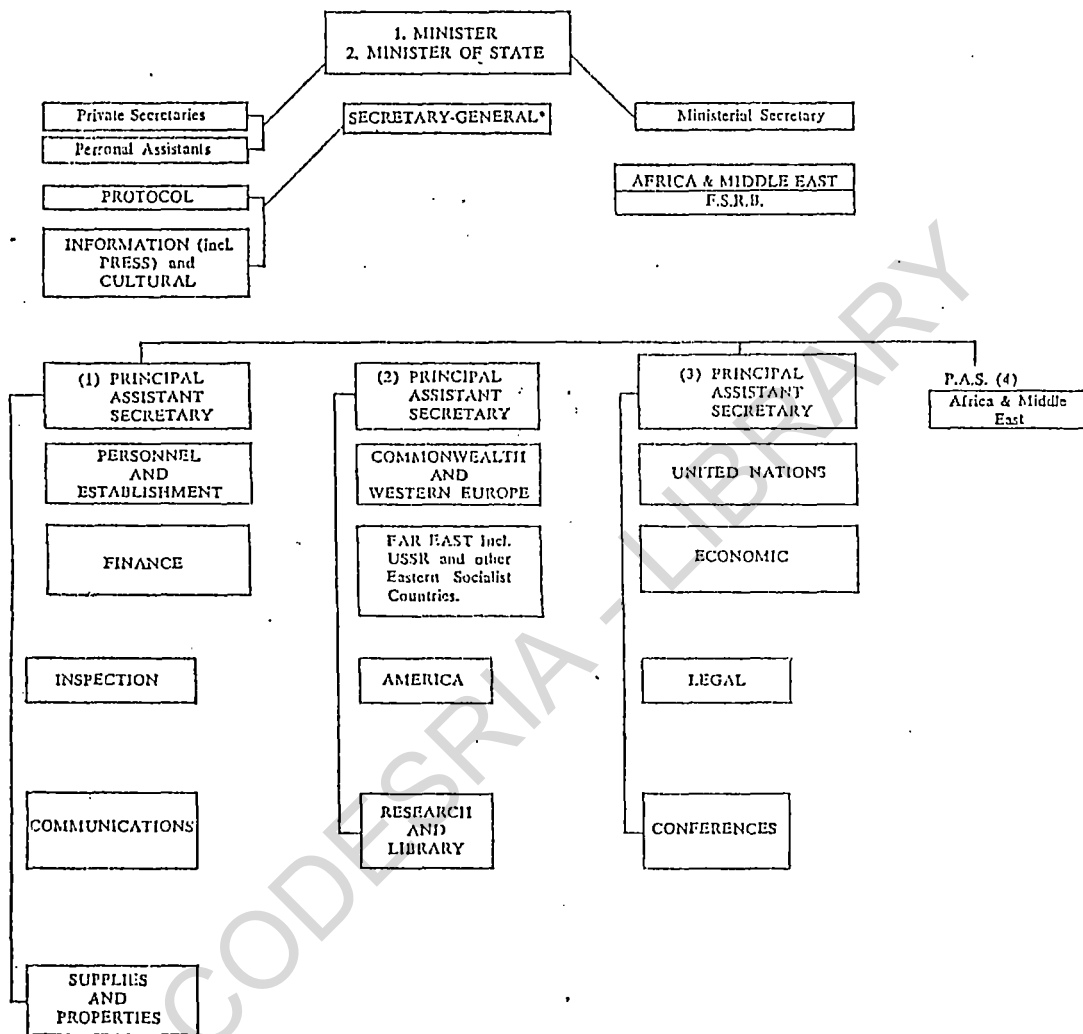
Yours Africanly,

Francis N. Nkrumah

Francis N. Nkrumah

APPENDIX A (1)

ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1961-1966



SOURCE: *Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, "Conference of Ghana Envoys, January 1962."

* The office of Secretary-General existed only briefly; by late 1961 it was renamed "Principal Secretary," after Michael Dei-Anang moved to Flagstaff House.

FROM S. W. Thompson, Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966

PRINCETON, 1969 (p 444).

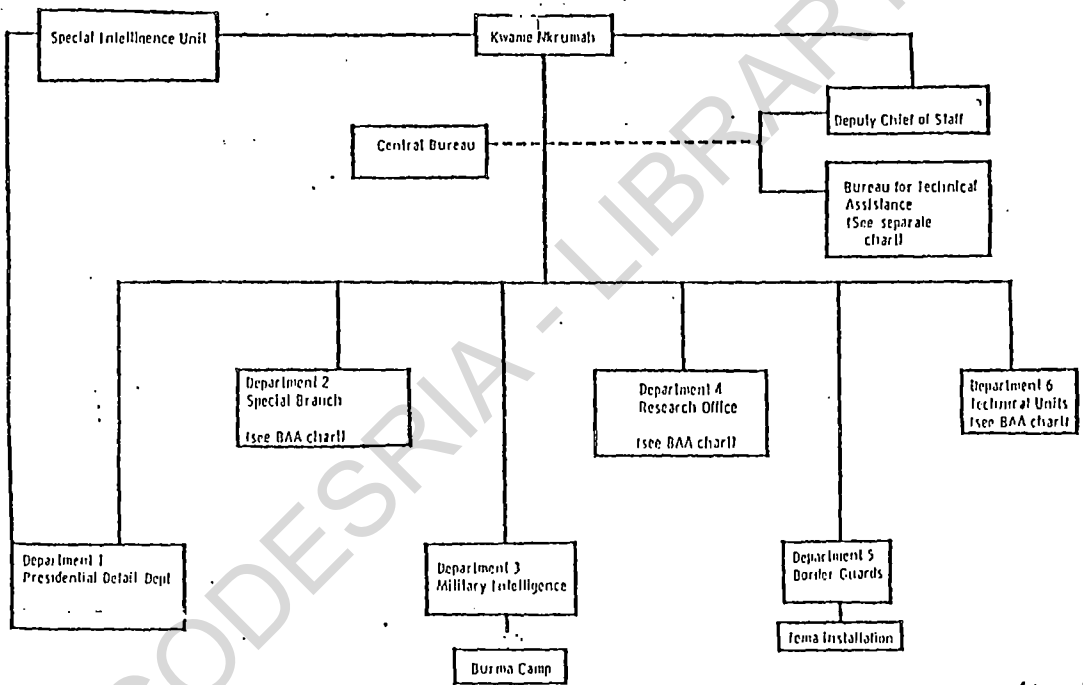
APPENDIX B.

BK - RELATIONS WITH ORGANISATIONS FROM OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES

- BKA - African National Congress, South Africa - (A.N.C.)
- " B - Zimbabwe African People's Union, Rhodesia - (ZAPU)
- " C - Zimbabwe African National Union, " - (ZANU)
- " D - Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)
- " E - South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO)
- " F - Ngwane National Liberation Congress, Swaziland (NNLC)
- " G - Basutoland Congress Party
- " H - Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO)
- " I - United National Independence Party, Northern Rhodesia (UNIP)
- " J - Congo Union for African Liberation
- " K - Committee for the Liberation of Sao Tome and Principe (CLSTP)
- " L -
- " M -
- " N -
- " O -
- " P -
- " Q -
- " R -
- " S -
- " T -
- " U -
- " V -
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- " X -
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APPENDIX C

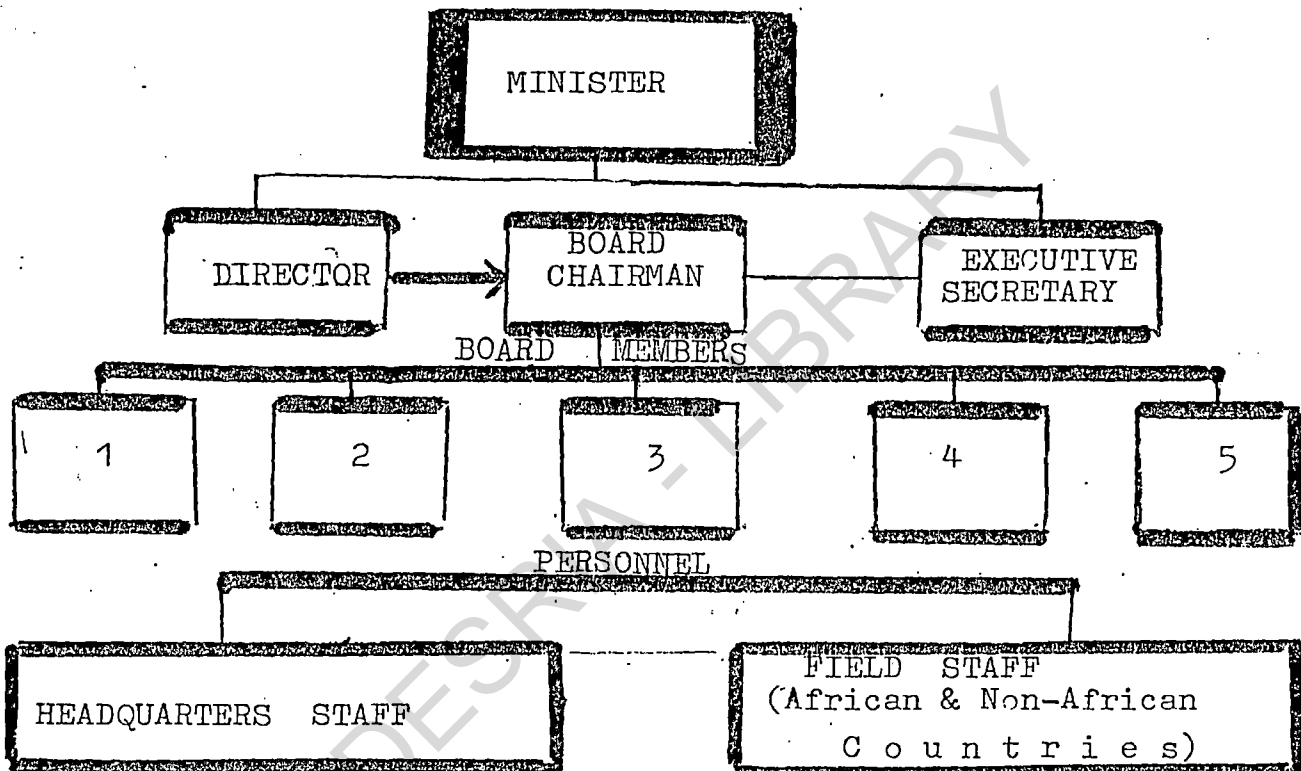
BAA IN NATIONAL SECURITY SERVICE



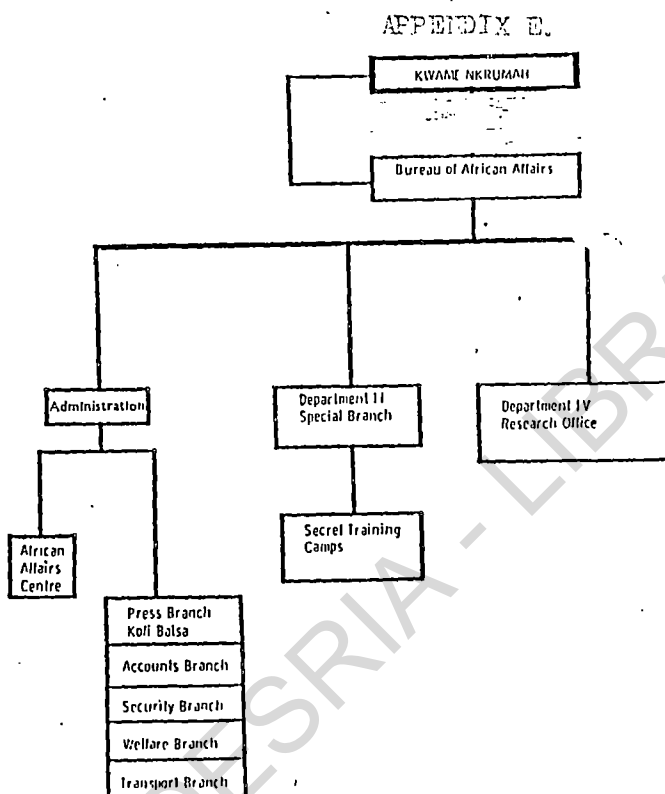
FROM MINISTRY OF INFORMATION PUBLICATION, ACCRA 1966-7 (P VI).

APPENDIX D.

ORGANISATION OF THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS



APPENDIX E



FUNCTIONAL AND OPERATIONAL SERVICES OF THE
 BAA. (ADAPTED FROM MINISTRY OF INFORMATION
 PUBLICATION, ACCRA, 1966-1967, SEE NKRUMAH'S
 SUBVERSION IN AFRICA, PAGE VII./NKRUMAH SES ACTIVITES
 SUBVERSIVES EN AFRIQUE, PAGE VIII).

Mandela: The grim story of our struggle since 1950

At the outset I wish to place on record our sincere appreciation of the relentless efforts made by the Independent African States and national movements in Africa



and other parts of the world, to help the African people in South Africa in their just



tions against South Africa, has served to highlight most effectively the despotic structure of power that rules South Africa, and has given tremendous inspiration on the liberation movement in our country. It is particularly gratifying to note that Independent African States are enforcing diplomatic and economic sanctions against South Africa.

We also thank all those States that have given asylum and assistance to South African refugees of all shades of political opinion and beliefs. The warm affection with which South African Freedom-Fighters are received by democratic countries all over the world, and the hospitality so frequently showered upon us by governments and political organisations has made it possible for some of our people to escape persecution by the South African Government, to travel freely from country to country, and from continent to continent to canvas our point of view and to rally support for our cause.

We are indeed extremely grateful for this spontaneous demonstration of solidarity and support, and sincerely hope that each and every one of us will prove worthy of the trust and confidence the world has in us.

We believe that our main duty now is to work out concrete plans to speed up the struggle for the liberation of those territories that are still under alien rule. In most of these territories the imperialist forces have been considerably weakened and are unable to resist the demand for freedom and independence—thanks to the powerful blows delivered by the freedom movements.

by NELSON

Mandela of the South African National Congress

Although the national movements must remain alert and vigilant against all forms of imperialist intrigue and deception, there can be no doubt that imperialism is in full retreat and the attainment of independence by many of these countries has become an almost accomplished fact.

Elsewhere, notably in South Africa, the liberation movement faces formidable difficulties and the struggle is likely to be long, complicated, hard and bitter, requiring maximum unity of the national movement inside the country, and calling for level and earnest thinking on the part of its leaders, for skilful planning and intensive organisation.

South Africa is known throughout the world as a country where the most fierce forms of colour discrimination

* (Continued on Page 8)

MANDELA: THE GRIM STORY

(Contd. from Page 5)

are practised, and where the peaceful struggles of the African people for freedom are violently suppressed. It is a country torn from top to bottom by fierce racial strife and conflict and where the blood of African patriots frequently flows.

Almost every African household in South Africa knows about the massacre of our people at Bullhoek in the Queenstown district when detachments of the army and police, armed with artillery machineguns and rifles opened fire on unarmed Africans, killing 163 persons, wounding 129, during which 95 people were arrested simply because they refused to move from a piece of land on which they lived.

Almost every African family remembers a similar massacre of our African brothers in South West Africa when the South African Government assembled aeroplanes, heavy machineguns, artillery and rifles, killing 100 people and mutilating scores of others, merely because the people concerned refused to pay tax.

On May 1, 1950, 18 Africans were shot dead by the police in Johannesburg whilst striking peacefully for higher wages. The massacre at Sharpeville in March, 1950 is a matter of common knowledge and is still fresh in our minds. According to a statement made in Parliament by C. R. Swart, then Minister of Justice, between May 1948 and March 1954, 104 Africans were killed and 248 wounded by the police in the course of political demonstrations.

By the middle of June 1960, these figures had risen to well over 300 killed and 500 wounded. Naked force and violence is the weapon openly used by the South African Government to beat down the struggles of the African people and to suppress their aspirations.

APPENDIX F(ii).

Mandela: The grim story of our struggle since 1950

by Nelson Mandela of the South African National Congress.

THE repressive policies of the South African Government are reflected not only in the number of those African martyrs who perished from guns and bullets, but in the merciless persecution of all political leaders and in the total repression of political opposition. Persecution of political leaders and suppression of political organisations became ever more violent under the Nationalist Party Government.

From 1952 the Government used its legal powers to launch a full scale attack on leaders of the African National Congress. Many of its prominent

as we meet here today, martial law prevails throughout the territory of the Transkei, an area of 16,000 square miles with an African population nearly 2,500,000. The Government stubbornly refuses to publish the names and number of persons detained. But it is estimated that close on 1,000 Africans are presently languishing in jail in this area alone. Amongst these are to be found teachers, lawyers, doctors, clerks, workers from the towns, peasants from the country and other freedom fighters.

In this same area and during the last six months more than 30 Africans have been sentenced to death by white judicial officers, hostile to our aspirations, for offences arising out of political demonstrations.

On August 26 last year, the South African Government even openly defied the British Government when its police

the Government. In 1957, there was considerable, mass unrest and disturbances in the country districts of Zeeres Sekhukhuni and Rustenburg.

In all these areas there was widespread dissatisfaction with Government policy and there were revolts against the pass laws, the poll tax, and Government-inspired tribal authorities. Instead of meeting the legitimate political demands of the masses of the people and redressing their grievances the Government reacted by banning the ANC in all these districts.

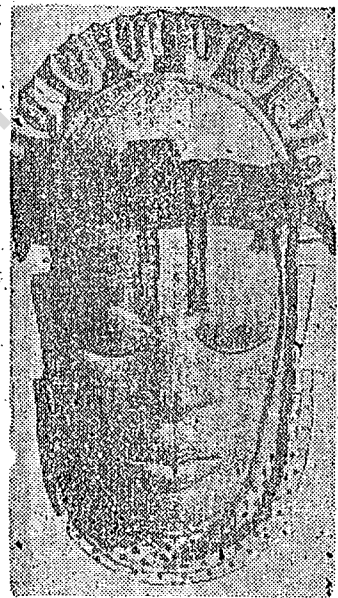
In April 1960 the Government went further and completely outlawed both the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress.

By resorting to these drastic methods the Government had hoped to silence all opposition to its harsh policies and to remove all threats to the privileged position of the whites in the country. It had hoped for days of perfect peace and comfort for white South Africa, free from revolt and revolution.

have adopted this declaration as their own and South Africa is today a land of turmoil and conflict.

In May last year a general strike was called. In the history of our country no strike has ever been organised under such formidable difficulties and dangers.

The odds against us were tremendous. Our organisations were outlawed.



Special legislation had been rushed through Parliament empowering the Government to round up its political opponents and to detain them without trial. One week before the strike, 10,000 Africans were arrested and kept in jail until after the strike. All meetings were banned throughout the country and our field workers were trailed and hounded by members of the security branch. General mobilisation was ordered throughout the country and every available white man and woman was put under arms.



members were ordered by the Government to resign permanently from it and never again participate in its activities. Others were prohibited from attending gatherings for specified periods ranging up to five years. Many were confined to certain districts, banished from their homes and families and even deported from the country.

In December 1956, Chief A. J. Lutuli, President General of the ANC, was arrested together with 155 other freedom fighters and charged with treason. The trial which then followed is unprecedented in the history of the country, both in its magnitude and duration. It dragged on for over four years and drained our resources to the limit. In March 1960, after the murderous killing of about 70 Africans in Sharpeville, a state of emergency was declared and close on 20,000 people were detained without trial. Even

crossed into the neighbouring British Protectorate of Basutoland and kidnapped Anderson Ganyile, one of the country's rising freedom stars, who led the Pondo people's memorable struggle against apartheid tribal rule.

Apart from these specific instances there are numerous other South African patriots, known and unknown, who have sacrificed in various ways on the altar of African freedom.

Freedom Fighters

This is but a brief and sketchy outline of the momentous struggle of the freedom fighters in our country, of the sacrifice they have made and of the price that is being paid at the present moment by those who keep the freedom flag flying.

For years, our political organisations have been subjected to vicious attack by

Freedom And Happiness

It believed that through its strong-arm measures it could achieve what white South Africa has failed to accomplish during the last fifty years, namely, to compel Africans to accept the position that in our country, freedom and happiness are the preserve of the white man.

But uneasy lies the head that wears the crown of white supremacy in South Africa. The banning and confinement of leaders, banishment and deportations, imprisonment and even death has never deterred South African patriots.

The very same day it was outlawed, the ANC issued a public statement announcing that it would definitely defy the Government's ban and carry out operations from underground.

The people of South Africa

OSAGYEFO WITH S. AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Picture at the end of discussions shows Mr Pottlako Leballo, acting President of the Pan Africanist Congress and Mr Mahomo, member on Dr Nkrumah's left. On his right are Peter Molotsi, executive member of Congress and A. K. Barden, Chairman of the Bureau of African Affairs.

PART I: ANNUAL BUDGETARY ESTIMATES

	MEA-MFA	Af. Aff. Sec.	Min. of Defence	Contingency Fund	B.A.A. ⁶	Intell./Research
57-58	\$1,530,000 ⁺		[included in MEA 57-58]			
58-59	\$3,420,000 ⁺		\$ 9,350,000	[\$280,000] ⁺	[\$33,000] ⁺	[\$140,000] ⁺
59-60	\$4,780,000 ⁺		\$11,300,000	[\$280,000] ⁺	\$42,500 ¹	[\$140,000] ⁺
60-61	\$5,300,000 ⁺		\$12,600,000	[\$518,000] ⁺	\$57,800 ¹	
61-62 ²	\$6,480,000 ⁺	\$1,320,000 [*]	\$42,000,000	\$1,400,000 ¹	[\$215,000] [*]	
62-63	\$5,980,000	\$3,060,000 [*]	\$40,600,000	\$3,060,000 ¹	[\$448,000] [*]	
63-64	\$6,780,000 ⁺	\$2,880,000 [*]	\$39,700,000	\$4,200,000	[\$307,000] [*]	[\$568,000] ⁺
65 ³	\$5,040,000	\$3,550,000 [*]	\$47,000,000	\$2,800,000 ¹	[\$307,000] ^{*6}	\$5,180,000 ⁴

SOURCE: Statistics are taken from *The Annual Estimates*, Government Printer, Accra. Bracketed figures are included in the budget of the heading denoted by a similar mark (* or +). Conversion to dollars is made at the then official rate of £G1=\$2.80, and rounded to the nearest thousand. Figures include supplementary estimates but, after 1961, these were passed with such frequency that it is not clear if all appropriations are included, making the figures given conservative in all probability. Information published in *Ghana*, "Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa," 1966, suggest that figures given for the Bureau of African Affairs are very conservative, but it is likely that additional moneys indicated in that publication are in fact from the presidential contingency fund.

¹ Budgeted under the President's Office account. African Affairs Secretariat Funds also are in this account but under the larger heading of "The President," and, unlike those in the contingency fund, were audited.

² This includes supplements for three extra months, due to a change in the fiscal year.

³ In 1965 the fiscal year was made to coincide with the calendar year.

⁴ \$568,000 of this sum is for the MEA Research Office and is included in the MEA budget given. The remainder is for presidential "special services."

⁵ "Nkrumah's subversion in Africa," page 34, indicates that \$580,000 (C497,210) was budgeted for the "Special African Service" for 1966, implying that this East German established intelligence adjunct of the BAA spent considerable sums in 1965.

⁶ Includes appropriations for the African Affairs Centre.

From S. W. Thompson *Ghana's Foreign Policy from 1957-1966*,

Princeton, 1979. (pp. 44).

Bureau of African Affairs,
P. O. Box M.24,
Accra, Ghana.

Ref. BAA/AS/9

3rd October, 1962.

Dear Mr. Onana,

See Page 28

Your letter of 3rd August, 1962, enquiring about the possibility of getting a job in Ghana and asking for information about Scholarships, has reached me.

2. I have always welcomed such enquiries from brothers and sisters in sister African States and regarded their aspirations as very important factors in our struggle for the total emancipation of Africa. I have spared no effort to help in whatever way I can.

3. Your letter dealt on two issues; the first is the possibility of getting a job in Ghana with your qualifications which make you suitable in your field of work. The Bureau mainly concerns itself with political issues and leaves the other fields to the organisations who have responsibility over them. You will, in this regard, be advised to direct your request for employment to the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, P. O. Box M.84, Accra, Ghana.

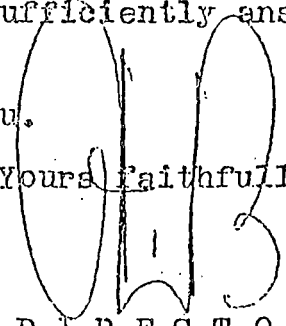
4. On the issue of scholarship, I would likewise advise you to apply to the Scholarship Secretariat, Ministry of Education, P. O. Box M.45, Accra, Ghana, which will furnish you with the necessary information you require.

5. Hitherto, the Bureau had its own Scholarship Scheme for the exclusive awards to the youth of sister African states, but a recent change of policy by the Government of Ghana has necessitated the handing over of its scheme to the Secretariat.

6. I hope the above sufficiently answers the queries in your letter.

Best regards to you.

Yours faithfully,



DIRECTOR

MR. ETIENNE ARTHUR ONANA,
C/O. MR. MARTIN TABI,
P.W.D. STORES,
VICTORIA,
W. CAMEROONS.

COPY/

Bureau of Central African
Affairs on Juridical and
Fiscal Consultations

Bangui, 18th November, 1963.

P.O. Box 488,
C.C.P. Bangui 43.73
R.C. Bangui 500 B

A.M.F.Gandji Ko Bokassi

Bangui, Central African
Republic

To The President of the Association
of Freedom Fighters,
Accra.

No.178-63/CACJFC/AGKB./-

BY AIR

REGISTERED WITH THE ADVICE
OF DELIVERY.

Mr. President & Dear African Brother,

It is with great pleasure that I learned on the Radio Bangui of the Central African Republic in Bangui, the news on the formation since long ago in the Republic of Ghana in Accra, of your Association of Freedom Fighters for the liberation of the African Continent and for the struggle against Western colonialism and neo-colonialism and their servants, chiefs of African states. This is a work which I esteem uniquely useful in view of our national African interests for the Black Continent.

Thus I have the honour to entreat you to be kind enough to consider me as one of the staunch members of your Association of Freedom Fighters.

I shall be grateful if you will send me, through your Secretary, some copies of the statutes, as well as all your publications and documentations, which I propose to distribute to my friends.

Please accept, Mr. President and Dear African brother, the expression of my distinguished sentiments.

(Sgd) A. Gandji Ko Bokassi

Former President of the Bangui Section of
the League of Rights of Man and of Citizen-
ship.

Former Secretary of the Bangui Section
of the Socialist Party, S.F.I.O.

TELEPHONE 1531
UMHLALI

Lady Jackson

" REDWOODS,"
COMPENSATION.

NATAL

26th. October, 1957.

Dr. Nkrumah,
Christianborg Castle,
GHANA.

Dear Dr. Nkrumah,

May I presume to write to you and make an appeal that you will show a little patience towards South Africa and allow us time to try and work out a way of life that will be satisfactory to all.

I am only a housewife on a Natal sugar estate but have lived among, worked with and loved our Zulus, Pondos, Shangaans and other indigenous population all my life. Please realize that every well thinking person in South Africa has the welfare of our Africans at heart.

Personally, I am not a Nationalist but what we call here an English-speaking South African with United Party leanings. In many respects I agree with the Nationalist Party policies but certainly not with all. I would need to sit and talk to you many hours to explain my reasoning. It may seem strange to you that I do not entirely disagree with the actions of the Nationalists but, on the other hand, I privately believe that they sometimes realize they are too extreme ~~but~~ their pride stops them renouncing any of their views.

Let me say how much I admire you and all you are doing for your people. May you have the strength and the will to carry on and may you have loyal support! I hope you will not consider me presumptuous in saying this.

I believe in the beauty of life and the dignity of the individual. A labourer in the fields brings a greater contribution to the purpose of life than many a sloth in the city. I believe that here in South Africa we will eventually work out a method of living that will enable us all to be happy together.

On our estate my husband and I have to deal with many diverse tribes and nationalities among the Indians

TELEPHONE 1531
UMHLAI

" REDWOODS,"

COMPENSATION,
NATAL.

2.

and Africans. We are compelled to treat them as if they are our children as their minds are not developed sufficiently for them to look after themselves. That will come in time. They look to us for guidance and trust us. Whether we like it or not we are bound here by ties of love as well as those of economy. Of course you may call us the proleteriat but without the capitalist where would the worker be. However, this is a theme that mankind will always argue over and I do not propose to enlarge on it.

The biggest needs in the world to-day are tolerance and patience and we certainly need these two attributes in South Africa. It is very hard for our Africans to step from the pastoral and nomad era straight up to the high tempo of our present civilization. The Indian with his quick business sense is liable to exploit the plodding, honest African and we, as white people, try to mediate and keep a balanced course. I must admit there are many white people who are both ignorant and irresponsible and who do not help the thinking people in their efforts to help the African along his difficult road but we believe that in the end all will come right.

To us it is amazing that, in a matter of under fifty years, our Africans have learned to drive cars, to be doctors and nurses, to learn many trades and even become seamen. Truly the African is a most adaptable person. His greatest asset is his sense of humour and his sunny disposition. However, if the world keeps on telling him he is unhappy and oppressed he will certainly begin to believe it. I certainly don't think he is when I hear and see other countries ideas of freedom! Where else could a man work for only six months of the year and then spend the rest of the time sitting in the sun, watching his wife work and his cattle grazing? No country's economy can stand up to such a situation. We must all be workers and taxpayers if there is to be progress and if we are to compete with other nations in the commercial world. No one can demand free hospitalization and education unless he has made a contribution towards the cost of these services. Again, if people wish to live under

TELEPHONE 1531
JMHLALI

" REDWOODS,"

COMPENSATION,

NATAL.

3.

the benefits of an ordered, Christian standard of living they must conform to the rules. Our Africans must learn that they cannot co-habit indiscriminately and bring myriads of poor, homeless, unwanted illegitimate children into the world. The white races had to learn these lessons the hard way. Perhaps we can help the African to reach our standard without suffering as our forbears did in past ages.

One day I would like to visit your country and see for myself all that you are doing. May I wish you success in all your endeavours for the good of your motherland.

Yours sincerely,

Jocelyn Hulett.

(Mrs. W. H. Hulett.)

CODESRIA LIBRARY

APPENDIX L

A NOTE ON ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY

Administrative History deals with the study of the machinery of government over the course of time in any country. That is, it deals with how the various records creating agencies or institutions have evolved and functioned. It is not very easy to define and limit the frontiers of administrative history as can be done in other branches of history like Economic History, Diplomatic History, Legal History, etc. The reason is that the term administration is vague and imprecise. It does not have a clear-cut meaning as law, diplomacy or economy. It has as many as fifteen definitions (see Andrew Dunsire: Survey of Administration: The Word and Science) However for the purpose of this study, the concept of administration may 'imply political institutions and political process, or it may imply bureaucratic institutions and bureaucratic process'.

There was a strong tendency for some historians in the past to equate administration with a particular group, the Central Government Civil Service. Administrative History was, therefore, seen by some people as under this group, hence scholars have concentrated on Civil Service Bureaucracy, and have neglected the other sectors of Bureaucracy. Administration consists of a variety of institutions and tasks. All these were not carried out by only the Civil Service. Our problem has been that we know very

little about how administrative institutions (in Ghana) have evolved and functioned, and we also know very little about the implementing process.

The year 1951 to 1966 in Ghanaian historiography have been dealt with adequately by historians, but if this is true of traditional history, it is not truer of administrative history. Where the machinery of central government has come up for treatment only casual references are made to the evolution and working of the instrument, say the Executive, Legislature and the Judiciary.

Administrative History should essentially be a detailed process and not just a borrowed picture of the machinery of government. It is a process of detailed transactions in which records are produced. Therefore, in its simplest terms administrative history may be described as that discipline which includes the study of the political institutions of government, institutions of law making and all the bureaucratic institutions (both private and public) which deal with the implementation of policies.

In every country institutions which deal with implementation of policies have grown over time. It must be realised, however, that changes have taken place in the policy making areas of authorities, but the institutions that have to do with the implementation have their roots in the past and have developed overtime or have even ceased to exist hence the need for their

study that takes account of the records they accumulated in the course of their day to day business, and which tell their own story.

For any study in administrative history to be meaningful it must, obviously, be accompanied by one form or other some descriptive device like a guide, descriptive list, catalogue, etc.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

APPENDIX M

NOTE ON GUIDES

A guide is a comprehensive 'finding aid' and a significant tool in reference and research to a uniquely important source of historical information. It is, therefore, a descriptive device generally recognised as the best introduction for students or researchers intending to use records in a particular records office. In order to make the contents of an archival repository quickly known to researchers, a guide should be prepared based on summary examination of the documents. This is necessary because the proper exploitation of contemporary records and archives can bring practical benefits to society.

If a guide to documentary material is to do what its name imply, to guide a searcher to records relevant to his enquiry, it should be schematised in some way as we have attempted here.

Description

In the description of recorded material, archive practices generally treat each item in the context in which it was created. The archivist treats all the records as a unity, and describes them in their proper organic relations, and only notes in passing that they are physically separate: The reason for this is that the archivist wishes to preserve his documents in the original order. The archivist, unlike the librarian, uses external evidence such as corporate or government structure to determine the proper arrangement and description of records.

The Research Library on African Affairs, sometimes called the George Padmore Memorial Library, was created by the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, former President of Ghana in June 1961. He conceived it immediately after the death of George Padmore, his intimate friend and adviser on African Affairs. Padmore's work in the field of the Pan-African movement is internationally known. To build a library as a memorial to him is doubtless a fitting tribute to the cause for which he worked assiduously to the end of his life.

George Padmore whose real name was Malcolm Ivan Meredith Nurse was born in Arouca District, Tacarigua, Trinidad, probably in the year 1902. His father was a local school master, James Hubert Alfonso Nurse and his mother was Anna Susanna Symister of Antigua. He took on the name George Padmore when he was a student in the United States to cover himself against the Ku Klux Klan at a time when it was not safe for people of African descent in America to espouse loudly the cause of racial equality or to expose the injustices of colonial and racial discrimination.

He settled later in London where he became actively involved in matters and movements for Pan Africanism and colonial emancipation.

Padmore always liked to work in his library among Blue Books, reports of commissions and press clippings. His one vice was buying books. He had a large collection of books on Africa and European colonialism around the world.

He and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah became friends in 1945 when the well known West Indian writer and freedom fighter C. L. R. James gave a letter of introduction to Nkrumah for Padmore on the occasion of the former leaving the United States for Britain after studying in America for ten years.

Padmore and Nkrumah were instantly attracted to each other; they felt like brothers and a collaboration of 14 years began. Soon after Padmore seemed to have transferred his hopes for a United Africa from other African leaders to Nkrumah.

In their later years of intense collaboration and struggle for Africa's emancipation and unity Padmore had an influence on Nkrumah and was also a source of help to him. But it was however Nkrumah's own genius that inspired and waged the fight for the political, economic and spiritual freedom of Africa.

Later, after independence in 1957, he moved from London to Ghana where he became an adviser to Prime Minister Nkrumah on African Affairs. He was sent to many African countries in the first months of 1958 to prepare for the April meeting of the Heads of independent African states, the first ever of such a conference on the continent.

In Accra Padmore was courted by the representatives of all sorts of special interests and with an office, books, money and an efficient staff he enjoyed pursuing his dedication for African emancipation and unification.

He accompanied Dr. Nkrumah in April and May 1959 on the Prime Minister's state visit to the newly independent state of Guinea. Later he attended the All-African People's Organisation Conference held in Cairo in June, 1959. In July 1959 he accompanied Dr. Nkrumah to the village of Saniquellie in Liberia for the meeting of Heads of State of Liberia, Guinea and Ghana. There Padmore went down with dysentery.

In September 1959 he was flown to London for an old liver trouble from which he died.

About 200 people attended the funeral service held at the Golders Green crematorium on Monday September 28 and his ashes were flown to Ghana at Dr. Nkrumah the Prime Minister's request. They were interred at Christiansborg Castle on October 4 when in his tribute, Dr. Nkrumah said:—

"When I first met George Padmore in London some 15 years ago we both realised from the very beginning that we thought along the same lines and talked the same language. There existed between us that rare affinity which one searches for so long but seldom finds in another human being. We became friends at the moment of our first meeting and our friendship developed into that indescribable relationship that exists between two brothers"

What many discerning Ghanaians who knew Padmore saw clearly in him were his worldly wisdom and his enormous memory of books. His published books were—

Africa: Britain's Third Empire—Dobson, London,
Africa and World Peace.—Secker and Warburg,
Gold Coast Revolution—Dobson,
How Britain Rules Africa:—Wishart Books,
How Russia Transformed Her Colonial Empire—Dobson

1961 itself was a very important milestone in the history of Ghana, and indeed of Africa, for great events of major political and social significance were taking place throughout the entire continent. Most African states had become independent or were on the verge of doing so. The concept of African Unity was beginning to emerge as a reality, however distant. There was a cultural revival and the African had suddenly grown very tall.

The Research Library was symbolic of what was happening and it was designed to play an important role in furthering the aims of the struggle.

The objectives of the library were clearly spelt out in the opening address delivered by President Nkrumah as follows:—

“There is indeed an urgent need for a centre of research into the life of the peoples of the African continent to which the student can turn for current information and historical narratives in this period of tremendous change and political upheaval.” In another portion of his speech, he stated:

“There is widespread misunderstanding and ignorance about the newly-developing independent nations of Africa. We are often misrepresented either because our critics do not take the trouble to check the facts or because they rely upon outdated and biased information. The speed of change, both social and political, in modern Africa is a challenge to those who attempt to interpret its meaning through the printed and the spoken word. A research library on African Affairs can provide a focal point for African studies where facts, statistics and reliable comment can readily be obtained.”

The President believed in libraries as instruments for social, economic and cultural development and for making information readily available to all the people. Some of the remarkable expansion in our libraries took place about this time. He believed in “the desirability of developing in our society the power of intelligent reading; as the progress and prosperity of our society will be largely determined by the quality of knowledge.”

Almost simultaneously with the building of the Research Library, were the establishment of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana which also started an Africana Library, and the development of the Africana section of the Balme Library, the University's central library.

From then onwards these libraries have in their various ways co-operatively worked in disseminating information about Africa not only in Ghana, but also throughout the world. It is also used by potential writers for writing material suitable for African audiences and readers.

There is, necessarily, co-operation with other Africana libraries in the country in order to pool library resources. Undue duplication should be avoided, to ensure that very expensive publications are not acquired by all libraries. Union lists of certain types of material are kept, so that each library is aware of their existence in other libraries.

A building extension designed to increase the capacity of the library from 20,000 to 50,000 volumes has recently been completed. There is still room for future expansion to enable the library to spread out of its cramped quarters, and also to facilitate the development of more modern services.

Modern societies have become very complex thus making it crucial for policy and decision makers, research workers, inventors, in fact

to Ghana's credit that since these examples were set, many more libraries of this nature now exist throughout Africa, Europe and North America.

The Research Library started with a modest collection of 1000 books, brought over from the Accra Central Library in 1961. Since then the stock has grown steadily at the rate of about 1000 books a year, and now it stands at roughly 17,000 volumes. The library has in addition a large stock of pamphlets and other unpublished material which are original sources of research material. There is also a good collection of backruns of newspapers and periodicals on microfilm to support our research facilities.

Some notable collections in the library include part of George Padmore's personal library, material collected from the now defunct Bureau of African Affairs, and very valuable and rare books on Ghana and West Africa.

A distinctive Ghana collection has been built up over the years, and more material of various kinds are being added to it. Complete sets of Ghana government publications, Ghanaian newspapers and periodicals, and those written by Ghanaians are systematically being collected. The library is proud of its extensive and growing stock of publications in Ghanaian Languages. Ultimately it is the aim to develop it as the biggest collection on Ghana throughout the whole world, and that any scholar or student doing research into any aspect of Ghanaian life will have to come this country.

This function is usually performed by National libraries throughout the world. Examples of these libraries are the British Museum Library, the Library of Congress in Washington, the Lenin State Library in Moscow, and the Nigerian National Library in Lagos. The Research Library was planned as a nucleus which should grow gradually into a fully-fledged National Library in the very near future.

Services to its patrons and clients are organised through certain facilities and procedures. First of all, reading rooms for study

all people to be constantly informed of new dimensions of knowledge. Information on all aspects of life—new inventions, new discoveries, new agreements, decisions, is being turned out at such a rate and volume that it is difficult for any one human being to keep abreast with all these developments.

We cannot over-emphasize the fact that libraries such as our Research Library should be developed to collect and select what is relevant for those who need them, otherwise resources will be wasted on duplication and by going over ground already explored by others in the field.

We also owe it as a national duty to preserve our records, our cultural heritage in printed books, unpublished manuscript, tape, and films for succeeding generations. It is in this regard also that services of the Research Library are indispensable.

APPENDIX O

NOTE ON AND RECOMMENDATION FOR ULTIMATE
PRESERVATION OF VALUABLE HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

All that men do today and record in any form, written, mechanical or electronic constitute the archives of tomorrow and what they did yesterday are the archives of today. The records of men and women as private individuals or as much as members of society, whether through the structures of central and local government, or business, schools, Universities, Churches, Clubs etc., form just as important as a part of the information resources of that society.

All records are thus a collective memory of society. Failure to pay attention to the preservation of older ones will lead to the 'atrophy of our our heritage as human beings and withering of the roots through which society draws its spiritual nourishment'. Therefore, with a bit of exaggeration but also with a great deal truth, that:

1. It is the editing and publishing of historical documents and others like them that makes them generally available to mankind.
2. Not all of the records of our past should be published by use of printing press, of course, but carefully selected materials should be published by the use of microphotography or other photography processes, the computer or other electronic data processes.

3. And there are many documents, of course, that should continue to exist only as a unique manuscript items.

It is being recommended that there should be some sort of a programme for the publication of selected B.A.A. documents that, individually or as groups are of such value - economic, historical legal and cultural - as to justify the cost of assembling, editing and publishing them.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

My Ref No. SS.1/iii/17

Ministry of Education,
P.O. Box M.45,
Accra.

28th February, 1966.

PHOTOGRAPHS AND PLAQUES OF KWAME NKRUMAH

It is expected that by now Heads of institutions will have taken appropriate action already to remove from their Schools/colleges photographs of the former President and plaques bearing his name. Such photographs and plaques should be destroyed immediately if that has not already been done.

2. A few schools, both private and public, are known to have been named after the former President. Such schools/colleges should be re-named immediately after the place where they are located. For example:-

- (i) Kwame Nkrumah Secondary School, Axim, should be re-named Axim Secondary School.
- (ii) Kwame Nkrumah Secondary School, Kumasi, should be re-named Kumasi High School.
- (iii) President's College, Navrongo, should be re-named Navrongo Secondary School.

3. Any contravention of the above instructions should be reported immediately to the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Education, Accra.

(Sgd). D. A. BROWN
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY

ALL REGIONAL EDUCATION OFFICER.
HEADS OF ALL SECONDARY SCHOOLS AND TRAINING COLLEGES.
PRINCIPAL EDUCATION OFFICER(CURRICULAR & COURSES) SALTPOND.
ALL GENERAL MANAGERS, EDUCATIONAL UNITS.

Copies to: All District Education Officers.

Ref. No. EP.2245/233

Ministry of Education,
Post Office Box M-45,
Accra.

10th December, 1966.

PROHIBITED TEXTBOOKS

Further to my circular No. EP.2245/215, I further instruct that all textbooks which make glorified references to Kwame Nkrumah, the deposed President should be withdrawn.

Already, by a directive of the National Liberation Council, Elementary History for Schools Book 1 by F.K. Buah has been withdrawn. There may be others like Kan Me Hwo Book Reader Six. These too should be withdrawn.

3. Where teachers are not sure which books are prohibited they should make enquiries to the District and Regional Education Officers who may consult the Chief Education Officer.

4.. The Textbooks Committee is being asked to remove all books which make references to Nkrumah from the list of Prescribed books.

SGD. (J.W.L. MILLS)
CHIEF EDUCATION OFFICER

ALL REGIONAL EDUCATION OFFICERS:
ALL DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICERS.
ALL GENERAL MANAGERS.
ALL HEADS OF TRAINING COLLEGES.
ALL HEADS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS.
THE PRINCIPAL EDUCATION OFFICER (CURRICULA & COURSES)
SECRETARY, TEXTBOOKS COMMITTEE,
C/O. THE PRINCIPAL EDUCATION OFFICER,
SALTPOND.

23rd March, 1990.

The Director,
Inst. of African Studies,
Legon.

Sir,

BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS PAPERS AT THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS
LIBRARY - JOSEPH J.T. MENSAH

As part of my M.Phil. Programme in this Institute, I have to prepare a descriptive Guide to the Archives of the Bureau of African Affairs.

Part of the Records of the Bureau are kept at the National Archives, and the other part are being kept at African Affairs Library.

At the beginning of my research, I went there and I was told there are no such records except some news paper clippings. These were not of any help to my work. The Assistants were not ready to assist.

Then came Mr. Geward, a Dutch student who was affiliated to the Institute of African Studies. Upon the instruction of Mr. K.B. Asante, Geward was given full access to the real Document Files of the Bureau of African Affairs - for his research needs. He confirmed the existence of these records - which are made up of very useful research materials. He even showed me some photo-copies of such materials.

Now I have completed work on the Archives of the Bureau at the National Archives. In order to make my work complete, I need to have access to those papers which are kept in the cellar of the Library.

My Thesis topic is THE BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS in Kwame Nkrumah Administration from 1951-1966 with a descriptive guide to its archives.

I have completed the main chapters of my Thesis. What I need now is access to the rest of the original papers of the Bureau.

Information has it that the Library Authorities most often refuse access to those records because of the conditions in which they are. This means that, the Papers are no doubt there.

I, therefore, appeal to you to use your good offices to get the Librarian to allow me to use those records. I am an Archivist by profession and appreciate the problem of the Library Authorities. For this reason I have asked for six months extension to work on those records. As an Archivist, at the end of my work, I would have been able to bring order out of the disorder in those records. They should not, therefore, have any fears. I am a Ghanaian and I look upon it as service to Ghana.

Thank you.

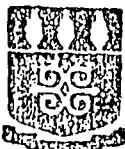
Yours faithfully,



Joseph J.T. Mensah

APPENDIX S

INSTITUTE OF AFRICAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
LEGON - GHANA



TELEPHONE LEGON 75381

Our Ref.....

Your Ref.....

29th March, 1990

Mr. K.B. Asante,
PMDG Secretary for
Education,
Ministry for Education,
Accra.

Dear Mr. Asante,

JOSEPH T. MENSAH: ACCESS TO BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS
PAPERS AT THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS LIBRARY

I forward herewith an attached letter from Mr. J.T. Mensah, a student who would like access to what appear to be confidential papers at the African Affairs Library.

It appears that his Thesis would be incomplete without an examination of the papers, and I should be grateful for your permission for him to see the papers.

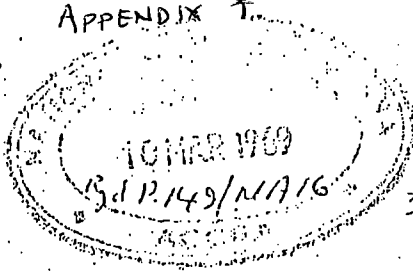
Sincerely yours,

Kwame Arhin
Kwame Arhin
DIRECTOR

Director

*Institute of African Studies
University of Ghana
Legon, Ghana*

Attached



3rd March, 1969.

PUBLIC ACCESS TO OFFICIAL RECORDS

An increasing number of requests is being steadily made to Government Departments and public organisations for official documents to be made available to research students from university institutions of Ghana and overseas, as well as to members of the public. Every assistance should be given to bona fide applicants, in particular those supported by reputable organisations, to have access to published official records subject to paragraphs 2 - 5 below.

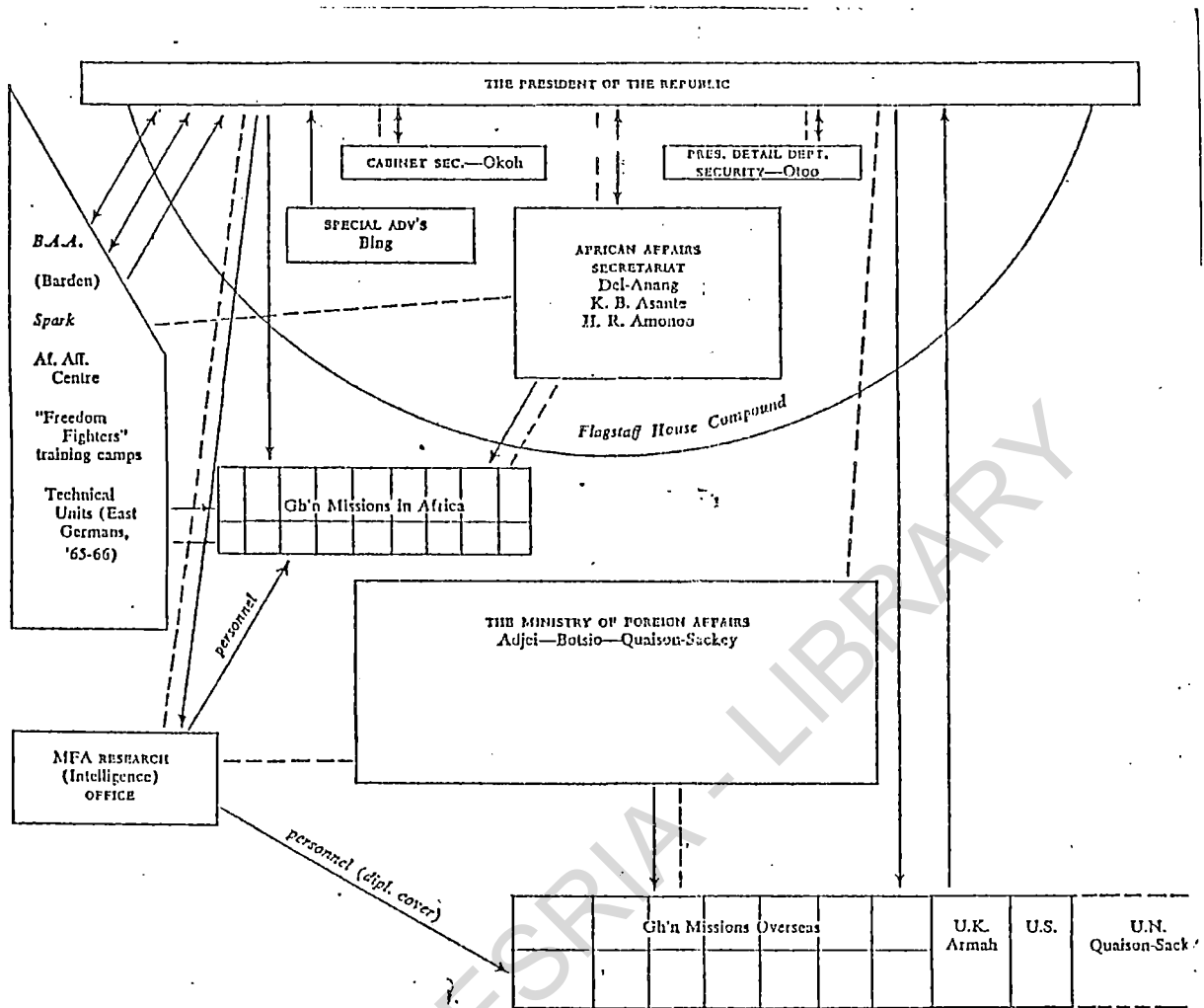
2. The records which should be made readily available include press releases, public statements which set out Government policies, current statistics which are due to be published, and monographs. In general such records contain descriptive and factual statements or expositions which, if released, do not cause any embarrassment to any person or damage to the public interest.

3. Until recently, research workers and members of the public, in accordance with international practice, were not normally given access to official files and records unless these were 50 years old. One reason for this practice is that some of these documents may contain controversial policies formulated by, or on the advice of, persons still living, who may properly take exception to public exposure of views which they had expressed in confidence. Furthermore, there may be security implications, which may not be readily apparent, in making such papers publicly available, the subsequent disclosure of the contents of which may operate against the national interest. Moreover, such records are, in general, too close to the events to which they relate to enable a proper historical assessment to be made of their value.

4. The Government, after due consideration, has reached the conclusion that the 50-year-period is too long and is placing difficulties in the way of important research efforts. It has accordingly been decided that the public may now have access to official records which are 30 years old, subject to the following exceptions :-

APPENDIX U.

THE RELATIVE POSITION OF THE B. A. A. IN NKRUMAH'S FOREIGN POLICY



Distance of boxes from President denotes relative influence in policy formulation
 Size of boxes denotes size and scope of office's activity vis-à-vis foreign policy
 Broken lines indicate institutional channels of authority
 Solid lines indicate effective power flows: arrows in direction of the President denote influence on Nkrumah; arrow in direction of component indicates President's ability to use it as effective instrument of his policies.

From S.W. Thompson, Ghana's Foreign Policy 1957-1966.

Princeton, 1979. p 448

- (a) records containing information about individuals, the disclosure of which would cause distress to living persons or their immediate descendants;
- (b) records containing information obtained under a pledge of confidentiality;
- (c) records containing exceptionally sensitive papers which affect the security of the State.

* The publication of the Public Archives (Amendment) Regulations, 1968 (L.I.579) gives effect to this decision.

5. All applications for permission to have access to official records, files, etc., should be directed to the Chief Archivist, Department of National Archives, P. O. Box 3056, Accra, who is the competent officer, in consultation with the authority which transferred a particular document to the public archives, for approving or refusing such applications, under the provisions of the Public Archives Regulations No.258 of 1958 made under the Public Archives Ordinance No.35 of 1955.

E.C. Quist-Therson
 SECRETARY TO THE NATIONAL
 LIBERATION COUNCIL
 (E.C. QUIST-THERSON)

ALL MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS

VICE-CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, LEGON.

VICE-CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY.

PRINCIPAL, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF CAPE COAST.

THE DEAN, GHANA MEDICAL SCHOOL.

ALL PUBLIC CORPORATIONS.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1962

ANTI-GHANA PLOTS WILL FAIL - IKOKU

Accra, Thursday

MR S. G. Ikoku, General Secretary of the Action Group of Nigeria declared here yesterday that the so-called treason trial in Nigeria was being given a definite anti-Ghana slant in order to bolster up the Balewa Government's long-standing propaganda war against Ghana and Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah.

Speaking to local and foreign press representatives, the General Secretary dismissed Dr Oladipo Maja's story that he was the "contact man" between Chief Awolowo and Osagyefo Dr Nkrumah as "the fairy tales of an imperialist agent."

"Contact Man"

He asked "how can a person who is not even a registered member of the Action Group and therefore cannot belong to its executive organs be used as 'contact man' between two

top African politicians on matters dealing with arms and military training?"

These tales by Dr Maja, he said, were yet another move in the Imperialist directed campaign of calumny and subversion against Ghana. The imperialists and their millions were deadly against Osagyefo, simple because Ghana was making a success of its policy of breaking out of the orbit of imperialism and colonialism.

Enemies of Ghana

Mr Ikoku said the enemies of Ghana were bent upon utting out the bright light of African liberation. For the failure of Ghana would enable imperialist circles to say that no African nation could move on without collaborating with imperialism.

In short, he said the anti-Ghana slant in the treason trial was part of the plot to stop or slow down African liberation in order to continue the colonialist exploitation of

all Africa.

Turning to other events at home, Mr Ikoku, who was introducing his booklet, "Nigeria for Nigerians" emphasised that the present government of the federation was an alliance of "all reactionary opportunist elements in Nigerian society backed by certain imperialist circles because it was prepared to defend the positions and interests of imperialism both in Nigeria and in all Africa.

But they of the Action Group have accepted the duty imposed on them by history. It is their fate to be in the line of the resistance of the Nigerian people against disguised colonialism, he said.

"At the moment we are under the hail of fire from the enemy. But we are prepared to pay the price fully conscious of the fact that out of this bitter struggle will emerge a new, a truly democratic, and a progressive Nigeria," Mr Ikoku added.

CHAPTER ONE

FOOTNOTES

1. AL Grassby, and Marji Hill, The Six Australian Battlefields, Angus and Robertson Publishers, N.S.W. (Australia), 1988, p.1
2. Ghana: An Official Handbook, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Accra, 1961, p.5.
3. Molefi Kete Asante and Abdulai S. Vendi (Ed.), Contemporary Black Thought, Sage Publications, London 1980 pp. 225 - 243.
4. Stephen Dzirasa, Political Thought of Kwame Nkrumah, Guinea Press Ltd., Accra, pp. 19 - 20.
5. A.K. Akyeampong, Historical Speeches and Writings on Ghana by Dr. J.B. Danquah, George Boakie Publications, Accra, 1966, p. 136.
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CHAPTER THREE

FOOTNOTES

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78. BAA/RLAA/892; See also Kwesi Krafona, The Pan-African Movement, Ghana's Contribution, Afroworld Publ. Co., London, 1986, p.42.
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93. See Guide: Files on Visits
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100. See Guide for Files on both Foreign and local dignitaries.

101. See Guide for files on Rhodesia.
102. See Guide for Files on Congo
103. See Guide for Files on the Central African Federation.
104. See Guide for File on Death of Lumumba
105. See Guide for File on Death of Dag Hammersjold.
106. See the place of the B.A.A. in National Security - Appendix C.
107. Interview: Ameko.
108. Ibid.
109. Ibid.
110. Ibid.
111. See Letter, of Barden to Nkrumah on Tawia Adamafio's Case. SC/BAA/357.
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113. Thompson op.cit. p.424.
114. Interview (North)
115. Ameko Interview
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118. Ameko, Interview
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CHAPTER FOUR

FOOTNOTES

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2. Ibid. See Appendix D: Organisation of the B.A.A. super-structure.
3. The Office was located on Maxwell Road, Accra. It now houses the National Commission on Culture. Interview with Mrs. Kwei, Librarian, Research Library on African Affairs, 18/9/90.
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5. Ibid. The scale was usually a higher level scale.
6. Kofi Batsa was the General Secretary of Pan-African Union of journalist. He was the head of the Bureau press, Head of the Research Section as well as the Editor-in-chief of the Spark Newspaper.
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8. A number of Action Group (Nigeria) members were attached to the Bureau in Accra. See Kofi Batsa, The Spark: Times Behind Me. From Kwame Nkrumah to Hilla Limann, Rex Collins, London, 1985, p. 4.
9. The personnel of this section performed security service for the state.

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12. Special collection of Newspaper clippings by the Bureau could be found at the Research Library on African Affairs See Guide.
13. See Guide for documents relating to local and International events such Deaths etc.
14. Anat Gromyko, Africa Today, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow, 1983, p.7.
15. See Arab Observer, No.178, November, 1963, Cairo, p.31 - 32.
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18. See Guide: Documents Relating to Nkrumah's Books. See also Report of the Commission of Enquiry, op.cit. pp.28 - 29.
19. Evening News, Wednesday November, 1962. See Appendix F: Earl Bertrand Russel, the World greatest living philosopher at the time also wrote for the Bureaus journal's. See Africa and the World, No.1 October, 1964 pp.9 - 10; Africa and the World, No.3, December, 1964, pp.20 -23.
20. See Appendix G.
21. According to Ameko, they were involved in rescue operations to save stranded freedom fighters in unfriendly territories. In 1964, Nkrumah provided a plane for the rescue of some Freedom Fighters trapped in Southern Africa.

22. Instrument of Incorporation, op.cit., pp.95 - 98
See Section viii. See also Appendix H: W.S. Thompson
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23. See Guide: Bureaus Account Files are intact. The following
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studies at all levels of Education in Ghana: See BAA/RLAA/587
(Swaziland students), BAA/RLAA/892 (Somali Students),
BAA/RLAA/1056, 1038, 1038^A and 1049 See Appendix I:
Explanation on Bureau Scholarships.
25. SC/BAA/357.
26. Ibid.
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West Coast/Rex Collings, London, 1982, p.96.
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29. Ibid p.127 - 129.
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Longmans, London 1957, p.191.
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a centre of subversion against other independent African
countries.

35. SC/BAA/357, N.A.G. See also the B.A.A. in the National Security Service, Appendix B (1)
36. SC/BAA/357, N.A.G.
37. Ibid.
38. Kwesi Krafona, op.cit pp. 37-42
39. Letter/Memoir from Barden to Nkrumah SC/BAA/
40. Barden, Address to African Envoys in Ghana, op cit, pp. 1-3
41. See Diagram of functional Organs of the Bureau and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Appendix 1 and vii.
42. Kofi Batsa op. cit. p. 15ff.
43. SC/BAA/357, N.A.G.
44. Interview; Mr. Theodore Ackeh
45. SC/BAA/357. N.A.G
46. Interview Ameko
47. Ibid
48. Interview; Mr. Ayerha
49. SC/BAA/357
50. Interview; Ackeh
51. SC/BAA/357, N.A.G.
52. SC/BAA/357
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Interview; A.B. Ajinbarough.
57. Kwesi Krafona, op.cit. pp.42-43.

58. A.B. Akiyemi, Foreign Policy and Federalism, University Press, Ibadan, 1974 pp.81 - 93.
59. Ghanaian Times 11th February 1962 N.A.G.
60. Ghanaian Times, 26th January 1962, Akiyemi, op. cit. p.91, See also Ghanaian Times, 17th February 1964.
61. Kofi Batsa, op. cit. p.4, Akiyemi, Ibid., pp.91 - 92
62. Kwesi Krafona, op.cit., pp.42 -43
63. SC/BAA/357 N.A.G.
64. BAA/RLAA/650 Appendix J.
65. SC/BAA/357 N.A.G.
66. Interview North
67. Interview North
68. W.S. Thompson, op.cit. p.222
69. Interview: Ako Adjei: See also The Road Ahead, Presidential Address to National Assembly, April 18, 1961, GP/A.1651/30,000/4/60-61, Accra, p.5
70. Interview: Kofi Ameko.
71. Ibid. See also The Road Ahead, op.cit., p.3
72. Interview: John Tettegah
73. Michael Dei-Anang op.cit., p.4.
74. Ibid. pp.1 - 4.
75. Michael Dei-Anang, Ghana Resurgent, Waterville, Accra, 1974, p.13.
76. Extract from a Speech by Dr. Shamuyarina on Ghana's 32nd Independent Anniversary Celebration Ceremony, Zimbabwe, Harare, 6th March 1988, quoted by John Tettegah in an interview.

77. SC/BAA/357.
78. The B.A.A. assisted to C.P.P. in the achievement of the objective expressed by Mr. K.A. Gbedemah, a Finance Minister in the C.P.P. government: The Mirror, 24th February 1990., Accra.
79. Daily Times of Nigeria, 22nd August 1961.
80. See Guide: Records Group classified Conferences:
81. Akinyemi, op.cit. pp.81-85: See also File on All Nigerian People's Conference.
82. Ibid.
83. Bardens Memo to Nkrumah
84. Sam Nujoma live in Accra during State Visit, G.B.C. T.V., 19th June 1989.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. See Nkrumah's Deception of Africa.
88. Ibid.
89. Kwesi Krafona, Pan African Movement: Ghana's Contribution, Afroworld Publ. Co., London, 1986, p.37.

CHAPTER 5

FOOT NOTES

1. Bureau of African Affairs - Files of correspondence Temporary Classification found.
2. See Appendix P and Q. These circulars created the confusion.
3. N. L. C. Publication: Nkrumah's Deception of Africa, Ministry of Inf., Accra, 1966-67.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. They have been accessioned as special collections (SC), BAA (Bureau of African Affairs) Papers.
8. Until this project was undertaken, the documents, at this location were uncatalogued/classified.
9. Brenda Swann: Maureen Turnbull, Public Record Office: Records of Interest to Social Scientists, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London 11971, p.3.
10. Since all documents relating to very very important historical personalities and or institutions are considered useful to researchers, they are to be left intact.
11. Kofi Ameko was emphatic on this point during our interview.
12. Sam Ikoku was one of the early young assistants of Kwame Nkrumah. See Kwesi Krafona (Ed.), Organisation of African Unity, Afro World Publ. Co., London, p.10. See also Launching of "Consciencism" Speeches, Government Printer, Accra, 1974. pp.33-43
13. In the preparation of this guide the following works on Guides were consulted.

1. Guide to the Material in the United States Archives, U.S. Printing Office Washington, 1940.
2. Guide to the contents of the Public Records Office (P.R.O) vol. 1., Legal Records etc., Her Majesty's Office, London 1963.
3. Guide to Records of Interest to Social Scientists 1919-1939 introduction by Brenda Swann Ph.D., and Maureen Turnbull, B.A., Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1971.
14. Miscellanea are 'artificial'; i.e. they represent assemblages of documents brought together, for convenience of storage or reference after transfer to a repository. See contents of P.R.O. op. cit. p.3.
15. Preparation of Records for Transfer (Revised) A Guide to Departmental Record Officers, Public Records Office, London, 1964, p.15.
Records indicated volumes in our collection are made up of paper loosely bound up. They are therefore Tied round both ways with twine.
16. Supplement to Gazette No. 101, 17th December 1955 p. 247-250 and Supplement to Gazette No. 70, 16th August, 1958.
17. See Appendix T.
18. Swann Brenda: Maureen Turnbull op cit p.5
19. See Appendix R and S: Limited time factor.

The following works were also useful to the preparation of this guide:

20. Dantzig, Albert Van: The Dutch and the Guinea Coast 1674-1742: A collection of Documents from the General State Archives at the Hague, Accra, 1978.
21. Pino, Akotia Timothy, : A guide to the Judicial and Legal Records in the National Archives of Ghana 1826-1965, D.L.A.S., Legon, 1981.
22. Reindorf J. Guide to the Materials relating to Ghana in the Danish National Archives, Oslo, 1980.

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2. Nkrumah Kwame, Africa's Glorious Past., Ghana Information Service, Accra 1960.
3. Instrument of Incorporation. Accra, 1960-61
4. Parliamentary Debates (Ghana) Official Report: First Series vol.16. Accra, 1959.
5. Cabinet Minutes: January - December 1959, Copy 14, Item 4, Accra, 1959.
6. Cabinet Minutes, January - December, Accra, 1960.
7. Ghana Executive Instrument 1960 - 1961, Accra 1962 - 1963.
8. National Liberation Council Publication, Nkrumahs Subversion of Africa, Ministry of Information, Accra, 1967.
9. N.L.C. Publication, Nkrumah's Deception of Africa, Accra, 1966.
10. Essuman Johnson: Report to 19th Ordinary Session of the O. A. U. Co-ordinating Committee on Assistance to Refugees, Accra, 1989.
11. Report of the Commission of Enquiry on Publicity Secretariat, Ghana Information Services, Accra, 1966.
12. Ghana Year Book, Accra, 1966.
13. B. C. Eghan, Ghana's Public Administration System Under Nkrumah, Seminar Paper, I. A. S. Legon, 1985
14. Supplement to Gazette No. 101, 17th December 1955 pp. 247 - 250.
15. Supplement to Gazette No. 70, 16th August 1958, pp. 360 - 371.
16. Launching of "Consciencism"; Speeches delivered at the Launching of Osagyefos book consciencism at Legon, 2nd April 1964, Government Printer, Accra, 1964.

SPEECHES OF MKRUMAH, MINISTRY
OF INFORMATION, ACCRA.

1.	Sessional Address	1960
2.	Address to National Assembly on African Affairs	1960
3.	Conference of Positive Action and Security	1960
4.	State Opening of Parliament	1961
5.	Death of Patrice Lumumba	1961
6.	Address: Guide to the Party	1962
7.	Volta River Project	1962
8.	Opening of British Science Exhibition	1962
9.	Osagefo in Kumasi	1962
10.	Sessional Address	1962
11.	Africa's Glorious Past	1962
12.	Our Civic Duty	1963
13.	Torch Bearers	1963
14.	Some Aspects of Socialism	
15.	Messages of Good Will	1962/63
16.	Call to Businessmen	1963
17.	The Role of our Universities	1963
18.	A New Africa	1963
19.	Revive Our Virtues	1963
20.	United We Stand	1963
21.	Sessional Address	1963
22.	Blue Print of Our Goal	1964
23.	Africa Liberation Day	1964

24.	Symbol of Goodwill and Friendship	1964
25.	Quest for United Africa	1964
26.	Peace and Progress	1964
27.	Ghana's Atomic Reactor	1964
28.	Christmas and New Year Messages	1964
29.	Nkrumah and the African Revolution	1964
30.	Sessional Address	1965
31.	A Year of Decision for Africa	1965
32.	True Freedom for All	1965
33.	The Task Ahead	1965
34.	Sessional Address	1965
35.	China and the United Nations	1965
36.	The Cocoa Situation	1965
37.	New Africa	1965
38.	Significant Landmark	1965
39.	Call For Action in Rhodesia	1965
40.	The Great Tasks Ahead	1966
41.	Sessional Address	1966.

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3. Evening News, November 1953, Accra (N.A.G)
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6. Ghanaian Times 26th January 1962 (N.A.G.)
7. Daily Times of Nigeria, 22nd August 1961 (Research Library on African Affairs).
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13. Radio Ghana External Service Programmes, Accra, 1965.
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3. Sc 21/4/6
4. Sc 21/1/88
5. Sc 21/1/80
6. Sc/BAA/165
7. Sc/BAA/156
8. Sc/BAA/140, 151, 480
9. Sc/BAA/357
10. Sc/BAA/503
11. (Boxes of Files accessioned B. A. A.
(Boxes of Files accessioned Ex-Presidents Office Files.

(B) RESEARCH LIBRARY ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS, ACCRA

1. BAA/RLAA/213
2. BAA/RLAA/892
3. BAA/RLAA/998-1001
4. BAA/RLAA/202, 247, 302, 305.
5. BAA/RLAA/887, 892, 1038, 1049.
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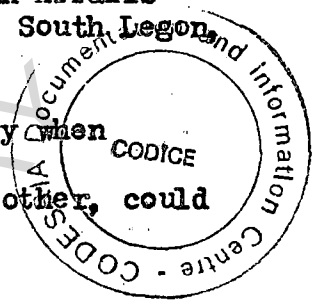
INTERVIEWS

1. Ackah, David: Theodore (b 1910) Registrars of Cooperative Societies in Ghana 1961-1964 Managing Director, Diamond Marketing Corporation 1963-1968 Interviewed at his Accra residence on 25th April, 1989.
2. Adjei Ako, One of the legendary 'Big 6' of the late 1940 Gold Coast politics and the Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time the B.A.A. was established. He is known for his refusal to grant interviews. I was fortunate to get him at National Archives on the 2nd November 1989. The interview was brief because he was in a hurry. After declining my suggestion to go to his house for an interview, he promised to come back to the archives, but he had since not come back.
3. Amegartcher Andrew: Presently the Acting Copy Right Administrator of Ghana. From 1961-1983 he served in various capacities as Press Attache, Ghana Embassy Mali, Information Officer, Ghana Embassy Paris and Director of Information, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (resp.) Interviewed at his Switch Back Road Residence in Accra on 7th May 1989.
4. Ameko Kofi Michael, a Trade Unionist, one time Executive Secretary of the B.A.A., and later as an ambassador. He is now a Special Assistant at the Office of the PNDC. Interviewed in his Office at the Castle Osu, 17th October 1989, Accra.
5. Akita Jeremiah, First Government Archivist 1948-1975, Head of Department of Library and Archival Studies Legon (retired 1987). Interviewed at his Accra residence on the 28th April 1989.
6. Ajinbarough, A.B.: Statistical Services, Bolgatanga. Interviewed at his residence.
7. Aujena J: Former Civil Servant, now Farmer. Interviewed on his farm compound near a Bolgatanga suburb.
8. Mr. Haizel, E.A.: Former Lecturer and Head of Institute of Adult Education, now the Executive Secretary, National Commission on Democracy. Interviewed at the loggia, Mensah Sarbah Hall on 13th September 1989.
9. Kwei (Mrs): The Librarian, Research Library on African Affairs interviewed at her Office on 18th September 1990.

10. Pino Akotia Timothy, Department of Library and Archival Studies, Legon. (Lecturer)
Interviewed at the loggia, Mensah Sarbah Hall, January 1990. Confirmed the existence of some of the B.A.A. files at the Research Library on African Affairs.

11. Gewald, J.B: An affiliate Student of the Institute of African Studies from the State University, Leiden, Netherlands - He conducted research at the Research Library on African Affairs
Interviewed at the I.A.S. Chalet, South Legon, University of Ghana, Accra.

The following responded favourably when approached but for one reason or other, could not grant interview:



12. Asante K.B.: Current Secretary of the Ministry of Education. Worked for a long time at the African Affairs Secretariat during the Nkrumah episode. When I contacted him at his office - he was about travelling to New York. He, however, directed me to Mr. Bosomtwi Sam who I could not trace.

13. Mr. Kojo Botsio: Informed me he was busy and was travelling to London for medical treatment.

14. Yakubu Dramani: Deputy Judicial Secretary directed me to Mr. Andrew Amegartcher.