

Southern African Liberation Movements in Nkrumah's Ghana

Matteo Grilli

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Summary and Keywords

The first sub-Saharan colony to obtain independence in 1957, Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana offered shelter and aid to liberation movements from all over the continent. Between 1957 and 1966, hundreds of political activists, refugees, and leaders were hosted in the country. The Ghanaian government offered them financial and political assistance and also provided military training for those involved in armed struggles. As one of the key figures of pan-Africanism, Kwame Nkrumah (1909–1972) actively campaigned for African unity while supporting the independence struggles of African liberation movements. A crucial goal for Nkrumah's government was to influence African nationalist parties ideologically in order to create a coalition of pan-Africanist movements through which to give birth to the United States of Africa. This political work served to spread Nkrumaism, the ideology crafted by Nkrumah with the aid of the Trinidadian pan-Africanist George Padmore (1903–1959), from Ghana to the rest of the continent.

Nkrumah considered the assistance to Southern African liberation movements crucial, especially when, after 1960, the front of African liberation shifted increasingly toward the south. Activists and political refugees from Angola, Mozambique, Nyasaland (Malawi), Northern Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Swaziland (eSwatini), Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana), South West Africa (Namibia), and South Africa visited and resided in Ghana between 1957 and 1966, using Accra as one of their headquarters for their independence struggles. There, many liberation movements could intermingle, create synergies, exchange ideas, and absorb the knowledge that Ghana could offer. The impact of Nkrumah's influence was often profound and, even if no liberation movement defined itself as Nkrumaist, many adopted and adapted solutions taken from Nkrumah's Ghana.

Keywords: Kwame Nkrumah, liberation movements, African nationalism, Bureau of African Affairs, military training, Southern Africa

Southern African Nationalists in the Gold Coast

The ideology which Nkrumah developed, aided and strongly influenced until 1959 by George Padmore, was a synthesis of African nationalism, nonalignment, socialism, pan-Africanism, and nonviolence (at least until 1960). This would be known from 1960 on as “Nkrumaism.”¹ After establishing the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949, Nkrumah led the party to win the first elections in the colony (1951). During his tenure as prime minister of the Gold Coast (1951–1957), aided by Padmore, he began to set up the basis of the foreign policy of the future independent country of Ghana. Nkrumah and Padmore also spread the gospel of the “Gold Coast Revolution” to the rest of the continent through speeches and publications, hoping to create a following that could reinforce the pan-Africanist ranks when the time of fighting for a political union would be ripe.²

After the Gold Coast elections of 1951, the eyes of Southern African nationalists turned toward Nkrumah and his political experiment. In the years between 1951 and 1957, a few Southern African nationalists visited the Gold Coast for short- or long-term stays, strengthening the political contacts of the CPP with liberation movements in the region. For instance, antiapartheid activist and member of the Liberal Party of South Africa, Patrick Duncan, visited the Gold Coast in 1956.³ Nkrumah also corresponded with antiapartheid activist Reverend Michael Scott (1907–1983) who, in 1952, asked Nkrumah to voice the grievances of South West Africans at the United Nations.⁴ Similarly, also in 1952, the African National Congress (ANC) requested Nkrumah to protest against racial discrimination in South Africa with the United Kingdom.⁵ As the chaplain general of the ANC wrote to Nkrumah in 1955, “the whole of your struggle [...] has been keenly followed by us all oppressed people of this country [...] your struggles have been and are stimulant, not to us only on the Southernly point of your continent but throughout the length and breadth of it.”⁶

In the 1950s, Nkrumah and Padmore were also a key influence on the ANC's “Africanists,” who—led by Robert Sobukwe (1924–1978)—would go on to establish the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in 1959. In line with the Africanists, both Padmore and Nkrumah opposed the influence of communism on African liberation movements. In his book *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* (1956), Padmore warned the ANC of the dangers of being controlled or manipulated by the South African Communist Party. This was consistent with the position of the Africanist movement within the party.⁷ Despite his break with organized communism, Padmore never disavowed Marxism, as he thought it could be used as a weapon for African liberation movements. According to Padmore, newly liberated African nations ought to follow a socialist, though nonaligned model. He and Nkrumah also strongly opposed white rule in Africa, including the ostensibly “multiracial” experiments which were being carried out in a number of colonies at the time. Similar to the Africanists of the ANC, Padmore and Nkrumah also promoted pan-Africanism, envisioning

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an African nationalism extended to the whole continent. This explains why Sobukwe wrote that

Nkrumah was tremendously important to us. He was the first leader of an African state, a modern African state. Just at this time you had Welensky attacking Banda, saying he couldn't even run a municipal office. We were always being reminded that Ethiopia and Liberia were the least developed countries in Africa, because Africans were incapable of doing anything for themselves without European guidance. There was a constant degradation of our people in this way, and naturally we in South Africa were affected psychologically by this. Then Nkrumah came and showed that Africans could run a "modern" state, not like Ethiopia or Liberia. Anything Nkrumah said naturally seemed like the ultimate wisdom. Our real gospel actually was George Padmore's book, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?*. We got this when it first came out [...] A few copies (or one?) was passed around till it was dog-eared. It was "compulsory reading" for the Africanists. No other book was comparable in influence.⁸

As a matter of fact, Sobukwe mentioned Padmore's book in his opening speech at the inaugural conference of the PAC in April 1959.⁹

Nkrumah and Padmore also had a strong influence on the founder and leader of the Basutoland African Congress (BAC, established in 1952 and later renamed the Basutoland Congress Party), Ntsu Mokhehle (1918-1999), who was himself an Africanist like Sobukwe and a former member of the anticolonialist and pan-Africanist Basotho organization Lekhotla la Bafo. Following an initial alliance with the chiefs of Basutoland, Mokhehle's BAC-BCP espoused an antitraditional attitude and the slogan "Self-Government Now!" The fact that Nkrumah's CPP campaigned on an identical platform in the same years attests to the strong influence that his movement was already exerting in the region.¹⁰ Even *Mohlabani*, the political journal that Mokhehle inaugurated alongside B. M. Khaketla, sought explicitly to "emulate Nkrumah's *Accra Evening News*."¹¹

Meanwhile, the future president (and dictator) of Malawi, Hastings Banda, had moved to the Gold Coast, where he resided between 1951 and 1958 working as a medical doctor. The close relationship between Nkrumah and Banda is demonstrated by their regular correspondence. Banda showed a deep interest in Gold Coast politics.¹² Similarly, Nkrumah followed with deep concern the struggles of south-central African nationalists against the settler-dominated Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (also known as the Central African Federation, CAF). By 1958, Nkrumah was considered "anti-Welensky," and he often exchanged bitter comments with the CAF's prime minister through the press.¹³

With Ghana's independence (March 6, 1957) approaching, Banda made it clear to Nkrumah that this crucial event was bound to have a huge impact on liberation struggles everywhere else in the continent. On February 8, 1956, he wrote to the Gold Coast leader: "my heart is in the success of your effort. If you succeed, the whole of Africa is redeem[ed]. [...] If you fail, the whole Africa is doomed, and doomed for centuries."¹⁴ The same message was repeated less than three months later: "the birth of a truly indepen-

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dent Ghana cannot fail to arouse deep emotions of joy among all Africans no matter what tribes or where they live."¹⁵ Insofar as his own region of the continent was concerned, Banda explained that "the Great 6th of March means even more to us in central Africa than perhaps it does to the people here, who seem to take it for granted. [...] European settlers in East and Central Africa [...] fear its success because of political repercussion in East and Central Africa, particularly in Nyasaland and Uganda. [...] delegates from East and Central Africa [...] think a great deal of your work and of the Great Day. To us it means the beginning of great things on our great continent."¹⁶ One long-term consequence of Banda's close connection with Nkrumah in the 1950s was that the Nyasaland African Congress, the party of which Banda became president in 1958, would be closely modeled on the example of the CPP.

Ghana's independence celebrations themselves offered Nkrumah and Padmore the chance to create new contacts with political activists and leaders from other African countries and to strengthen old contacts. While Padmore gathered his contacts to Accra for the celebrations, Banda offered Nkrumah his views on whom to invite among the nationalists of Central and Southern Africa.¹⁷ Ultimately, nationalists from South Africa, Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, and Northern Rhodesia were invited to the ceremony. Michael Scott, too, was present. South African journalists, including *Drum's*, also followed the event.¹⁸

From Ghana's Independence to the All African People's Conference (1957-1958)

Nkrumah immediately turned Ghana into a safe haven for liberation movements in order to free the continent from colonialism and white rule. Nkrumah would provide freedom fighters with financial resources, asylum, and training for their struggles. The final goal of Nkrumah's pan-African policy was to create a network of parties that would embrace Nkrumah's pan-Africanist principles and follow the example set by the CPP and its successful independence struggle. In particular, in Nkrumah's vision, the new nations had to be freed by a mass nationalist movement capable of defending them from tribalism as well as colonialism and neocolonialism. Such a movement had to adopt Positive Action and "nonviolent constitutional discussion(s)" as weapons for the struggle, unless circumstances made violence necessary.¹⁹ Finally, any nationalist party following Nkrumah's ideology had to adopt a stance of "Positive Non-Alignment."

Freedom fighters hosted in Ghana were provided with political training. They were invited at CPP rallies and political gatherings. The Ghanaians also introduced their guests to the functioning of the different wings that made up the CPP and to such other organizations as the Builders Brigade, established in March 1957, and the Ghana Young Pioneers, established in June 1960. The final goal for Nkrumah was to export his ideas, as well as Ghanaian political and organizational models to the rest of the continent.

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In December 1957, George Padmore began his work as “Adviser to the Prime Minister on African Affairs,” with his own office and staff. This office, later renamed the Bureau of African Affairs, would become the most important pan-African institution of Nkrumah's Ghana. Its aim was to support liberation movements by offering funds, shelter, and political support.²⁰ One of its immediate tasks was the staging of two pan-African conferences in Ghana during 1958. The first conference organized by Padmore's office was the Conference of Independent African States (CIAS) in April 1958, a chance for independent countries to discuss common policies, African liberation (including the use of violence), and African unity.

The second conference of 1958—the All-African People Conference (AAPC)—proved to be an important moment for liberation movements throughout the continent, especially in Southern Africa. A gathering of all the leading liberation movements in the continent, the AAPC, organized by Padmore's office and the CPP, was meant to discuss common strategies and to try to draw up a plan for African unity. It was also the first chance for Ghana to offer its territory as a shelter for political asylum seeker from dependent territories under colonial or settler regimes. The list of guests featured: 167 members representing sixty-two nationalist parties or trade unions; sixty delegates from fraternal countries or organizations; and eighty observers from all over the world. Southern African delegates included: Ntsu Mokhehle, Kenneth Kaunda, Harry Nkumbula, Hastings Banda, and M. K. Kanyama Chiume, Es'kia Mphahlele, Mary-Louise Hooper, Alfred Hutchinson (who had just arrived in Accra in exile from South Africa and joined the ANC delegation), Jordan Ngubane, Cynthia and Patrick Duncan, Joshua Nkomo, Paul Mushonga, and Michael Scott.²¹ Holden Roberto was also present at the conference, under the name Rui Ventura.

The struggle against white settler regimes, colonialism, and apartheid featured prominently in the discussions of the conference as well as in its resolutions. The AAPC was crucially important for the two South African delegations of the ANC and the Liberal Party, as the South African question was discussed at length, resolutions against apartheid approved, and a boycott against the National Party regime planned. Mphahlele gave a speech as the leader of the ANC delegation. According to his own account, “As I tell the story of the women's travails and struggles several people wipe tears from their eyes and many more are visibly outraged.”²² Mphahlele also underlined the importance given to the question of racial discrimination in Southern Africa: “Condemnation of South Africa's racial policy has come from Ghana, Nigeria, Ethiopia, East and Central Africa. A pamphlet has been passed round giving an account of the ghastly conditions in which Africans live in Angola, and a message has sneaked out of the country to the conference.”²³ Finally, Mphahlele recounted the fact that South Africans began singing freedom songs at the end of the conference, a fact that was also reported on Ghanaian news.²⁴ As the same Mphahlele would write in his foreword to Hutchinson's *Road to Ghana*, “thinking back to that 1958 event in Accra, one's mind cannot but relive the momentous atmosphere.”²⁵

Even the Liberal Party celebrated the importance of the conference. Patrick Duncan wrote on January 24, 1959 that “the conference was of tremendous importance. It has irrevocably influenced African history [...] it has shown to the world and all Africans that

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Africans matter and they already have power.”²⁶ After paying a tribute to Nkrumah and Padmore, Duncan also praised the conference for its call to non-racialism and nonviolence, two crucial themes for the liberals.²⁷ In reality, as noted by Gewald and Ahlman, Franz Fanon's speech at the AAPC had openly challenged the nonviolent tone of the conference, concretely influencing liberation movements (and Ghana) on the use of armed struggle afterwards.²⁸

The conference also had a strong impact on liberation movements in other parts of Southern Africa. One such example is the BCP. In December 1958, while on his way back from London, where he had acted as observer during the constitutional talks for Basutoland, Mokhehle stopped over at the AAPC. There, according to Mphanya, he “discovered that the things he brought with him from the ANC and from Lekhotla la Bafo, Nkrumah, influenced by George Padmore, was also talking about. Like Nkrumah and Padmore, Mokhehle also advocated Pan-Africanism and showed how it could be advanced.”²⁹ In his speech at the AAPC, Mokhehle talked at length about the fight against colonialism and imperialism and stated: “it is the tools of domination and exploitation that this Conference has to create means to destroy. This Conference has to set up organisational machinery that: will be strong enough to power liberatory struggles throughout Africa.”³⁰ An organization named after the conference was indeed created and Mokhehle himself became a member of its steering committee.³¹ Mokhehle's speech at the AAPC also had a strong impact in Basutoland, where the BCP gained in strength and in international recognition.³² From then on, the links between Ghana and the BCP became profound.³³ In the following years, Mokhehle sent many BCP members in Ghana to be trained in ideology and administration. As a result of this close relationship, the BCP was modeled after Nkrumah's CPP.³⁴

After the AAPC: The First Political Refugees in Ghana (1959)

The conference was the chance for Ghana to inaugurate a new hostel for freedom fighters and political refugees from the continent, the African Affairs Centre (AAC).³⁵ During the AAPC, “unofficial meetings” between Ghanaians and freedom fighters from all over Africa were held at the AAC to deal with “practical questions of liberation.”³⁶ Holden Roberto became one of the first political refugees hosted at the Centre. Kenneth Kaunda also stayed in Ghana after the conference to “learn the finer points of the nationalist struggle.”³⁷ Indeed, according to Nkumbula, at the AAPC, Padmore and Nkrumah had shifted their preference from him to Kaunda.³⁸ The fact that the constitution of Kaunda's new party included excerpts of the resolutions of the AAPC bears out the importance of the conference for liberation movements in Northern Rhodesia.³⁹ In the following years, Kaunda's United National Independence Party (UNIP) became very close to Nkrumah's positions and UNIP party members were sent to Ghana for ideological training. After leaving Ghana in July 1958, Banda became one of Nkrumah's most vocal supporters. Not only was the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) modeled on the CPP, but the party also

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received £10,000 from Ghana in April 1959, in the immediate aftermath of a visit to Accra by Chiume.⁴⁰ By 1960, a Ghanaian report could state that, “[Banda] has modeled his party on the organizational techniques he acquired from the Convention People’s Party in Ghana.”⁴¹ The Malawi Young Pioneers were also modeled after the Ghanaian counterparts.

In South Africa, Nkrumah initially backed the ANC. However, after the split of the Africanists and the formation of the pan-Africanist Congress in April 1959, Padmore’s office began to support both the new formation and the ANC, waiting for one of the two to emerge as the most popular South African liberation movement. As explained by Nkrumah to ANC’s refugee Hutchinson during a meeting in Accra, “one never knew which of the two could bring about independence.”⁴² Therefore, since 1959, Nkrumah pushed the two parties to join forces into a united front. In 1959, Oliver Tambo visited Accra, where he met Nkrumah to discuss a common platform between the PAC and ANC.⁴³ Yet, the pro-PAC “party” in Ghana became stronger and stronger while the PAC itself openly broadcast its symbolical links and ideological affinity with Ghana.⁴⁴ The PAC Manifesto envisaged the creation of a continental government, “from Cape to Cairo and from Madagascar to Morocco,” and mentioned the need for the “development of the African Personality,” one of Nkrumah’s core concepts.⁴⁵ The party flag depicted a map of Africa with a gold star shining from Accra. Finally, the motto of the PAC was “Serve, Suffer and Sacrifice,” the same as that of “The Circle,” the pan-Africanist group established by Nkrumah, Padmore, and Kojo Botsio (1916–2001) in 1945.⁴⁶

Nkrumah’s pan-Africanist message also had a strong influence in Southern Rhodesia. In 1959, the Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, the future cofounder of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU), published the influential book *African Nationalism*. In it, Nkrumah’s words and ideas featured prominently.⁴⁷ At the time, Joshua Nkomo was still Padmore’s main political contact and ally in Southern Rhodesia. Starting from 1959, Ghana supported students linked to Nkomo’s Southern Rhodesia African National Congress and then the National Democratic Party (NDP), along with other students from Northern Rhodesia and other Southern African territories.⁴⁸

While offering scholarships, Ghana also began to shelter refugees from different colonial territories. By May 1959, the first group of refugees had arrived. They included individuals from Angola and Nyasaland.⁴⁹ These freedom fighters were hosted at the AAC, where thirteen houses were built and a common hall set up to organize political gatherings and ideological courses.⁵⁰ The first offices of representation of African liberation movements were also opened in Accra at this time. From these offices, the nationalist parties could promote their struggle and could reach wide audiences within and outside the continent.

After Padmore’s death (September 23, 1959), his office was renamed the Bureau of African Affairs (BAA). The new acting director, A. K. Barden, soon became one of the most powerful and shady figures in Ghana, as he had total control over the relationships with African liberation movements. The new BAA tightened up security when welcoming refugees from African territories, as several spies had been spotted during 1959.⁵¹ A

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screening committee was established for this purpose. The credentials of political asylum seekers were investigated with the help of the different delegations of nationalist parties represented in Accra. For instance, the "South African group" at the AAC was requested to screen the applications of South African freedom fighters requesting shelter in Accra in February 1960.⁵² The BAA also used new instruments of intelligence and sent Ghanaian agents to the front lines of liberation struggles, especially in Southern Africa. Political attachés controlled by Barden were assigned to different Ghanaian missions in Africa. In Ghana, the CPP began to request the presence of freedom fighters hosted at the AAC at rallies and political gatherings. In 1960, the BAA also launched a magazine publishing articles by Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian freedom fighters. The *Voice of Africa* was distributed free of charge throughout Africa.

Sharpeville and the South African Refugee Emergency (1960)

In April 1960, the BAA organized the Positive Action Conference for Peace and Security in Africa (PAPSA). At the PAPSA, Nkrumah promoted once more nonviolent "Positive Action" and openly condemned apartheid, colonialism, and settler regimes. A specific resolution was devoted to Angola. In the same period, Ghana began to implement a boycott against South Africa.⁵³

Immediately before the conference, the anti-pass campaign launched by the PAC in South Africa led to the famous Sharpeville massacre (March 21, 1960). This event and the consequent banning of the ANC and PAC opened the gate to a new wave of refugees from South Africa to Ghana. The massacre, along with the outbreak of the Congo crisis (July 1960), also radically changed Nkrumah's vision on the use of armed struggle.⁵⁴

Just one day before the Sharpeville massacre, PAC leader Peter Molotsi had already left South Africa to open an office in Accra. Upon his arrival, he described Ghana as the "Mecca of pan-Africanism."⁵⁵ Molotsi, who became the first PAC representative in Accra, was soon joined by other PAC members, including a group headed by Philip Kgosana, the man who had led the famous march from Langa to Cape Town on March 30, 1960.⁵⁶ After the ban, even the ANC sent a representative, Tension Makiwane, to Accra. In April, with the backing of Nkrumah, the ANC and the PAC agreed to join forces in the South African United Front (SAUF), which also included the South West African National Union (SWANU) and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC). From April 1960 to March 1962, the SAUF represented both the PAC and the ANC in Accra.

According to South African intelligence, which kept track of the movements of the refugees from South Africa to Ghana, at least eighty-six PAC and ANC members reached Accra during 1960.⁵⁷ A telling 1960 incident involving ANC member Joe Manong is mentioned in the same source. After complaining about having to wear a "castoff," Manong was apparently given twenty-one days to leave Ghana.⁵⁸ This could be an indication that the relationship between Ghanaians and ANC members of the SAUF—which would pre-

cipitate in early 1962—was problematic from the very outset. It is worth noting that, while officially backing the SAUF as a whole, the BAA had an open and clear preference toward the PAC, due mainly to Barden's ideological affinity with Molotsi's party. On June 29, 1960, Barden wrote to George M. Houser (1916–2015) stating that “recent events have proved that the PAC is the more formidable [of the two parties].”⁵⁹ For their part, the PAC openly praised Ghana's support in 1960, which, according to Raboroko, was their most important source of help.⁶⁰

During 1960, the BAA not only provided shelter to political refugees, but also dealt with the applications of Southern African freedom fighters for scholarships in Ghana, or issued flight tickets for Southern African nationalists in need.⁶¹ Barden himself visited Southern Africa in May–June 1960, conveying “Nkrumah's directives, medical supplies, and anti-colonial documents to freedom fighters.”⁶² He also strengthened alliances with local liberation movements in the High Commission Territories, namely, the Basutoland Congress Party, the Swaziland Progressive Party (SPP), and the Bechuanaland People's Party (BPP). Meshu Mohau Mokitimi, a member of the youth league of the BCP, was invited by Barden to Ghana to take part in the celebration of the establishment of the Republic (July 1, 1960) and to visit the country in order to bring back “a true picture, a socio-political picture of Ghana.” High-ranking leaders of nationalist parties, indeed, “never [saw] the real Ghana. [...] when it comes to touring and meeting the ordinary Ghanaians they [were] restricted.”⁶³ For this reason, Barden often invited youth leaguers to Ghana. While in Ghana, Mokitimi explicitly asked to be living with a Ghanaian family so as to have a real pan-African experience. During his stay, he also met with Nkrumah himself, together with Robert Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo, and three Guinean nationals.⁶⁴ After coming back to Basutoland, he was instructed by Mokhehle to address other youth leaguers of the BCP on what he had learnt in Ghana.⁶⁵

The Life of Freedom Fighters at the Bureau in 1961

By the beginning of 1961, most of the leading Southern African liberation movements had an office in Accra. Between June 28th and July 4th 1961, a Conference of Leaders of Nationalist Organisations of Dependent African States was held at the newly established Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute (KNII). All the Southern African parties in attendance were allied to Ghana or had a strong relationship with Accra, with the possible exception of Roberto's União dos Povos de Angola (UPA).⁶⁶ The conference represented a turning point for Ghana's support to armed struggle, as preparations to create the first training camp started immediately afterward.⁶⁷ During the conference, Ghanaians decided also to start organizing ideological courses for freedom fighters at the KNII.⁶⁸ The first course was, indeed, organized a few months later, in November. There were seventy-six students, all of them members of parties represented in Accra (UNIP, SPP, UPA, União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique—UDENAMO, BPP, NDP, and BCP).⁶⁹ The theoretical part of the course consisted of lectures on nationalism, propaganda, Positive Action,

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the functioning of trade unions, local government and administration, pan-Africanism, the African Personality, and constitutional conferences. The CPP was promoted as the model nationalist party and the Ghanaian Trade Union Congress (TUC) and the Ghana-led pan-Africanist All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) as the model trade unions. The practical part included visits to CPP headquarters, TUC, Young Pioneers, Builders Brigade, National Council of Ghana Women, and the Farmers Council.⁷⁰ The students were also invited to participate in CPP rallies. Finally, the most important figures of the Ghanaian state and the party gave lectures on various aspects of ideology and administration.

Even before the first course for freedom fighters at the KNII was organized, the BAA had been offering training to African nationalists at the African Affairs Centre, at the Bureau itself, and had been organizing tours of Ghanaian organizations. UNIP member Francis Kaunda, who stayed at the BAA between May 1961 and the beginning of 1962, has the following to say on the life of freedom fighters at the BAA, including the lectures they attended:

At the Bureau, there were representatives of SWAPO from South West Africa, from Bechuanaland, the Bechuanaland People's [Party], from Nyasaland, the Malawi Congress Party, from Zambia, the United National Independence Party, [from] Angola, the MPLA ... Eduardo Dos Santos, he was there. I remember I found Nelson Mandela [...] Eduardo Mondlane from Mozambique, Amilcar Cabral from Guinea-Bissau was also in that dormitory. Sam Nujoma [...] there were intermingling, discussing and even in the dining room there would be talking [about] politics [...] By bringing people together [the Bureau] wanted to integrate, knowing that these would be the future leaders in the various countries. [The Bureau wanted them] to network [...] Why those freedom fighters were there? It was for them to interact. [...] To know each other well. [...] they used to have lecturers coming to talk to them. There were people talking to them even from the University of Ghana. People like prof. Phillips, [...] [and others like] Makonnen, Du Bois [...] [They were taught] pan-Africanism.

[The Bureau taught] strategy from CPP [...] Young Pioneers. [...] I don't remember going around outside, in the country. But I do remember rallies. For example, there was a rally in Kumasi. They were putting you on a bus to go to that rally to see how they organized things.⁷¹

As a result of the work of the Bureau, the KNII, and other Ghanaian organizations, several parties were drawn closer to Nkrumah's ideology and adopted many strategies and tactics from Ghanaian organizations. One such example is Kaunda's UNIP, which developed along the lines of the CPP, adopting or adapting strategies, symbols, slogans, organizational techniques, and so on from the Ghanaian party.⁷² References to the basic principles of Nkrumaism, such as the fight against tribalism and regionalism, abound in the correspondence between the UNIP office in Accra and Kenneth Kaunda back in Northern Rhodesia.⁷³

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Another example is the Bechuanaland People's Party. Since 1960, the Bureau invited BPP members to be trained in Ghana and provided the party with an office in Accra. In order to symbolize its link to Ghana, the BPP adopted a party flag with three horizontal stripes in the ANC colors and the Ghanaian black star in the middle.⁷⁴ The BAA also worked toward adapting the political structure of the BPP to mirror that of the CPP. The "BPP's proposed programme for the year 1963/64"—kept among the BAA papers—was in many ways based on the CPP model.⁷⁵ The party was provided with specific wings very similar to those of the CPP. Moreover, its program included Positive Action as the main instrument for achieving independence. Finally, the BPP's "tactics" included various passages from the 1950 CPP constitution.

A few nationalists were also employed by the Bureau. This was the case, for instance, for one of PAC's key figures, Peter Raboroko, who was appointed as "research writer" at the BAA on May 5, 1961.⁷⁶ Until his resignation on June 22, 1962, Raboroko worked at the BAA as a researcher, associate editor of *Voice of Africa*, and "general factotum." In this latter capacity, his activities included "drafting statements and messages for the Bureau of African Affairs as well as giving literary and political guidance to inexperienced party representatives." Raboroko also prepared research reference notes for Nkrumah himself and worked for the external broadcasting system of Radio Ghana.⁷⁷

The Bureau completely revolutionized *Voice of Africa* in 1961 and included more and more articles written by leaders of liberation movements or their representatives in Accra.⁷⁸ With regard to Radio Ghana, the external broadcasting system began to work in October 1961. Nationalist parties in Accra were provided with dedicated spaces, including a "Freedom Fighters' Programme." Raboroko worked for this program as both editor and broadcaster.⁷⁹ In a later interview, Peter Molotsi highlighted the importance of the radio for the PAC:

In the years I was in Ghana [1960-1963] I saw the PAC grow in stature. We operated a radio station there, so we could communicate with a wide variety of people in Africa and beyond. We had links with the agencies that distributed news to the world; we were being heard all over the world. We even managed to send messages to South Africa. Some people used to hear the messages here on the broadcasting station. But the regime here jammed up the broadcasts and when they did that we operated from Cairo as well.⁸⁰

The PAC was not the only party that took advantage of the services of Radio Ghana. In early 1962, Portuguese authorities intercepted and reported on several broadcastings of Radio Ghana concerning Angola and the struggle for freedom in the Portuguese empire. These, for example, included the speech of the Ghanaian representative at the UN against Portuguese colonialism in Angola.⁸¹ On January 19, 1962, the Portuguese intercepted a broadcast entitled "Angola and Africa, Angola Was Never Part of Portugal," which included several harsh comments against the Portuguese, defined as "Hitler's beasts." The speaker also praised the idea of a united front between UPA and MPLA.⁸²

Problems and Work with the Bureau (1962-1963)

The relationship between the Bureau and the liberation movements was not always idyllic. It is worth noting, for instance, that Raboroko left the BAA after a bitter confrontation with Barden over the quality of his work.⁸³ If the problems with Raboroko were personal, those with the ANC were more systemic. Barden broke with the South African party, first by expelling Makiwane from Ghana in December 1961 and then by preventing Mandela from meeting with Nkrumah in early 1962. Behind the acrimonious break—which would last until Barden was fired from the Bureau in mid-1965—was the preference given by Barden's Bureau to the PAC.⁸⁴

Also in 1962, trainees of the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) who took part in the first military training course in Ghana were reported to be complaining about camp conditions and “started singing insulting songs against the President Osagyefo.”⁸⁵ While this incident was soon solved, the problem of the language barrier for the Portuguese-speaking Angolans in Ghana remained. For instance, as underlined by Kwame Wiafe, an ex-student of the KNII (renamed Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Economics and Political Science [KNIEPS] in 1962), the Angolans were essentially the only students having a problem with the language at the Institute, since only English-speaking and French-speaking freedom fighters were being lectured to in their respective languages.⁸⁶

The complaints of ANC and MPLA members against the Bureau were not isolated. Even the UNIP representative in Accra, Humphrey Mulemba, harshly criticized the Bureau when reporting back to Kenneth Kaunda in 1963. Mulemba accused Barden of treating liberation movements with “paternalism,” of acting “undiplomatically,” and of being “unfriendly” toward some of them.⁸⁷ Similar attacks against Barden were also made by Hyam Basner in his diary. The South African ex-senator and anti-apartheid activist had arrived in Ghana in January 1962 despite the warnings received by ANC members after Makiwane had been expelled. According to his own account:

According to them [ANC members], Nkrumah was not really interested in the liberation of South Africa, and left everything to Barden, who was a crude, ignorant and unintelligent careerist intent on filling the Bureau with refugees willing to help him to steal funds whilst presenting false reports to the President of the great accomplishments of the Bureau.⁸⁸

In his diary, Basner—who stayed in Ghana until 1966—never supported the accusations against Nkrumah. Yet, he soon had to agree with the criticisms against Barden when he witnessed an incident involving a South African spy who had not been detected by the Bureau during the July 1962 Freedom Fighters' Conference in Accra. Basner wrote in his diary that Barden “constituted a menace to freedom fighters in particular and to Nkrumah's Pan-African policies in general.”⁸⁹ According to Basner, many freedom fighters complained with Nkrumah about the BAA after the Conference. Allegedly, Nkrumah was reassured by the political refugees at the BAA about the quality of Barden's work. However,

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again according to Basner, it was Barden himself who had intimidated them and told them what to say to Nkrumah.⁹⁰

Yet, despite all the criticisms against the Bureau, Southern African liberation movements, except for the ANC, kept working in Accra in 1962 and 1963, even if Ghana's prestige was being eroded day by day. Requests of political asylum kept coming from South African, Angolan, and Mozambican freedom fighters.⁹¹ The PAC requested and obtained funds to organize a conference in Accra from January 19 to January 21, 1962.⁹²

UDENAMO also obtained funds to participate in the PAFMECA conference of January 18, 1962.⁹³ ZAPU's representative in Accra asked Ghana to deliver a message to the UN in early 1962.⁹⁴ Meanwhile, parties like the BCP kept working from Accra both to spread political messages through the Ghanaian media and to organize training for Basotho students in Ghana.

During 1963, a new party from Swaziland, the Ngwane National Liberatory Congress (NNLC), emerged as one of Nkrumah's closest ally in Southern Africa. The NNLC shared a progressive political outlook with the BCP and the BPP. It was established in early 1963 as a breakaway from the Swazi Progressive Party (SPP), which had been sponsored by Ghana up until then. Nkrumah immediately sided with the new party and invited its founder, Ambrose Zwane, to the OAU founding conference at Addis Ababa as an observer.⁹⁵ This, according to Alvit T. Dlamini, a former member of the Youth League of the NNLC and the current president of the party, took place after Zwane had visited Ghana to explain the reasons for the split to Nkrumah and demonstrate the adherence of the new party to the ideas of the Osagyefo as well as their willingness to send NNLC militants to the Ideological Institute.⁹⁶ The NNLC, much like the BCP and the BPP, developed as a socialist, pan-Africanist, and nonaligned party. It also came very close to the position of the PAC. The NNLC members trained at the Kwame Nkrumah Institute, Dlamini recalls, came back to Swaziland with "the pan-Africanist ideology and the idea that democracy must be substantial democracy. That is: it must benefit the people materially." According to Dlamini, NNLC members trained at the KNII thought that "the ideology of Nkrumah was much better than the Freedom Charter of South Africa."⁹⁷

Crucially, freedom fighters hosted in Ghana were also used by the Ghanaian government and the Bureau as political weapons for strengthening Nkrumah's consensus both in Ghana and in Africa. For instance, the Bureau organized a march of freedom fighters on August 17, 1962 to protest against the assassination attempt suffered by Nkrumah at Kulungugu on the 11th of the same month. BPP and UNIP both attended the march and Francis Kaunda spoke on behalf of his party against the bomb attack.⁹⁸

Southern African Students and Activists in Ghana (1964-1965)

By 1964, the Southern African parties represented in Accra were the following: BCP, UNIP, BPP, PAC, ZANU, MPLA, UDENAMO, SWAPO, and NNLC.⁹⁹ Each one was granted an office and accommodations and allowances for the respective representative, his staff, and those housed at the African Affairs Centre as political refugees.¹⁰⁰ The Bureau constantly pushed these parties to coordinate their political activities. One example is a message sent to the secretary general of the OAU by the representatives of NNLC, PAC, ZANU, BCP, and MPLA in Ghana to ask for a clear solution to the Congo situation (defined as “neocolonialist aggression”) in December 1964.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the Bureau, along with AAC, also promoted common activities in Accra. For example, in April 1964, the AAC announced the intention of creating a band of freedom fighters in Accra.¹⁰² Songs performed by freedom fighters hosted in the country were often broadcast by Radio Ghana.¹⁰³ Another example of a joint activity sponsored by the Bureau was a vigil for “Nelson Mandela and other nationalist leaders in South Africa” held on June 11, 1964 at the AAC. Songs by Basotho students were performed during this vigil. Elias Ntloedibe, by then the PAC representative in Accra, gave an address along with Barden and Ofori-Bah, Barden’s deputy at the BAA.¹⁰⁴

Between 1964 and 1966, Ghana kept providing high-profile members of liberation movements with training at the KNIEPS. Representatives of the nationalist parties from other offices, such as London, Dar es-Salaam, or Cairo, were invited to the annual “new year school” held in Accra at the Institute of Public Education.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the BAA coordinated secretarial and administrative training for members of the same parties. This training was provided by the Trade Union Congress or by the government. Most of the trainees in this case were young women. The first reference to female secretarial students in Ghana dates to 1963, when four BCP members were sent to Accra to be trained.¹⁰⁶ By 1964, women from BPP, BCP, NNLC, ZANU, and ZAPU were reported being in Ghana.¹⁰⁷ These students were also involved in social activities in Accra. For instance, in December 1964, “the Swazi girls” then at the government secretarial school were invited to a function held by the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.¹⁰⁸ During the same month, female students of PAC, ZANU, NNLC, and BCP were invited to attend a Chinese acrobatic display in Accra.¹⁰⁹ Notably, the BAA paid close attention to the security of the female students in Accra, issuing specific orders on this matter.¹¹⁰

Meanwhile, young activists of the liberation movements were sent for training at the Ghana Young Pioneers.¹¹¹ Ghanaian institutions of higher education or secondary schools also granted scholarships to African students. Between 1964 and 1966, students from Angola, South Africa, Zambia, Southern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, South West Africa, Swaziland, and Mozambique obtained scholarships to study in Ghana.¹¹² All students had to be backed by a liberation movement recognized by the BAA. Nationalist parties were considered accountable for the students’ behavior while in Ghana. African students were often involved in political activities, and they had to report on their activities and progresses to

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the offices of their respective parties. A case in point were ZANU students. Between 1964 and 1965, the party representative in Ghana, Stanley Garikayi Parirewa, constantly received letters from ZANU students. The latter informed Parirewa about their studies, their activities outside the classrooms, and their problems and needs. The students requested news and literature about Zimbabwe from Parirewa as well as materials from allied parties, such as the PAC.¹¹³ Parirewa also organized on behalf of the students applications for scholarships in countries like Poland, or passages to other ZANU offices, such as the one in Dar es-Salaam.¹¹⁴ The party representative was also in constant contact with other ZANU students abroad (e.g., in Israel and the United States).¹¹⁵ Also, he exchanged information with other ZANU offices, such as Malawi's.¹¹⁶

During the same period, Parirewa also entertained a close correspondence with Sally Mugabe, the Ghanaian wife of the ZANU leader. Most of the letters deal with personal matters, including Sally's requests to have news about her husband, held in prison in Southern Rhodesia at that time.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, Ms. Mugabe suggested to organize a march against Ian Smith in Accra.¹¹⁸ She also wrote to Parirewa about an article she authored for the Ghanaian political weekly *The Spark*. This proves her involvement with the political activities of ZANU in Ghana and, more generally, her work for African liberation movements.¹¹⁹

Sally Mugabe's involvement with *The Spark* was not an exception. Members of the liberation movements in Accra authored articles in all the publications linked to the BAA, including *The Spark*, *Voice of Africa*, *Freedom Fighter*, and *The Pan-Africanist Review*. The PAC was particularly active in Ghana both in producing its own press and in publishing articles in Ghanaian magazines and newspapers. PAC representative in Accra Elias Ntloedibe was also editor of the radio program "Freedom Fighters." Between 1964 and 1965, he authored a series of broadcasts on the situation in South Africa.¹²⁰ Other broadcasts included overviews on the situation of other Southern African territories, such as Mozambique.¹²¹

Military Training and the Coup

The exiles who were not deemed sufficiently qualified to undergo study or training in Ghana were sent to military camps.¹²² Since 1961, courses in guerrilla warfare had become increasingly important in Ghana due to a shift in Nkrumah's policy toward the use of armed resistance in anti-colonial and anti-apartheid struggles.¹²³ Most of the trainees were coming from Southern Africa. For instance, the course held at Half-Assini between January and April 1965 included many PAC, SWAPO, and ZANU trainees. Common to the accounts of the members of these three parties who took the course is the fact that Ghanaian instructors were not considered up to the challenge, whereas the arrival of Chinese instructors increased notably the quality of the training. Indeed, according to the account of seventeen ZANU members trained in Ghana and later captured in Rhodesia, when they arrived at Half-Hassini in early 1965, they discovered that the previous ZANU group had been "discontented with the course and with the food," so much so that they

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had “gone on strike.” Only with the arrival of the Chinese instructors did “the course proper” commence.¹²⁴ On their part, the Ghanaians had instead lamented the lack of “discipline and behaviour” of the ZANU trainees. The course at Half Assini included training with submachine guns, light machine guns, rifles, mortars, pistols, and other types of weapons. The Chinese instructors also lectured the trainees on the “history of the Chinese People’s Party[sic]” and “fundamental thinking in guiding revolutionary armed struggle, basic principles of building people’s revolutionary army, strategic and tactical principles of guerrilla warfare.”¹²⁵ Interestingly, according to the ZANU trainees, “these lectures consisted mainly of Communist propaganda” and most of the recruits “refrained from attending.”¹²⁶

Between 1964 and 1965, while their members were being trained in the camps, the liberation movements represented in Ghana were involved in a series of events organized by the BAA or the government. A “Conference of All Political Parties of Africa” was organized by the BAA in October 1964. The presidents of the following parties were invited at the conference and flight tickets were issued for them: Bechuanaland Democratic Party (BDP), SWAPO, NNLC, SPP, MPLA, BPP, SWANU, BCP, ANC, ZANU, and PAC.¹²⁷ All the parties that had an office in Ghana were invited for a private meeting with Nkrumah prior to the conference, in September.¹²⁸ In 1965, a seminar of youth leaders of the World Federation of Democratic Youth was held in Ghana. Youth leaguers of the parties in Ghana were invited to attend, for instance, BCP’s.¹²⁹ In May of 1965, the Afro-Asian People’s Solidarity Conference (AAPSO) was held in Ghana.

Just after this gathering, Barden was removed as director of the BAA, which was primarily due to the growing discontent with him in African liberation movements’ circles, both in Ghana and abroad. The first and most important consequence of this event was the reopening of the relationships between the BAA and the nationalist parties previously ostracized by Barden, namely, the ANC and the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (FRELIMO).¹³⁰ In September 1965, the ANC reopened its office in Accra.¹³¹ This said, the new BAA under Ofori-Bah did not radically change its attitude toward liberation movements in Accra. For instance, at the October 1965 OAU summit in Accra, the BAA thoroughly controlled both the movements and the statements made by the nationalist parties represented in Accra who had been invited.¹³²

Suspicion and distrust were not only limited to the relationship between liberation movements and the BAA. For instance, a PAC correspondence reveals that some members were distrustful toward Parirewa and the ZANU. Also, the same correspondence highlights that the South African special branch had spies in Ghana.¹³³ This information was indeed correct. The South African defense force had received accounts of the activities of the PAC in Ghana, including statements made by Potlako Leballo against Nkrumah’s foreign policy in early 1965.¹³⁴

These statements also reveal the limitations of Nkrumah’s political influence in Southern Africa. According to Leballo, the Osagyefo’s quest for African unity appeared fascinating and desirable but premature. Indeed, he did not deem it the main priority in the prevail-

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ing context of harsh confrontation with the apartheid regime. Many other freedom fighters from Southern Africa agreed with Leballo. For Nkrumah, the struggle for African unity was as important as that against colonialism, settler regimes, and apartheid. Instead, Southern African liberation movements, especially those involved in the armed struggle, were unwilling to dedicate their energies and resources to the quest for continental unification to the detriment of their quest for liberation. Moreover, Southern African freedom fighters had suffered Barden's attempts to control their parties and they harshly criticised BAA's subversive activities among independent African states.¹³⁵

When the coup abruptly brought Nkrumah's government to an end on February 24, 1966, there were still many liberation movements represented in Accra, despite all the problems they had experienced. At the time of the coup, the Southern African parties represented in Accra were the PAC, BCP, NNLC, National Unity Democratic Organization (NUDO), MPLA, All-African Convention Unity Movement of South Africa, ANC, COREMO, BPP, and ZANU.¹³⁶ A total of 136 African nationalists were hosted at the AAC, most of whom were from Southern Africa.¹³⁷

A few nationalist leaders were caught by surprise by the coup and were arrested by the military authorities. This is what happened, for instance, to Hyam Basner and Potlako Leballo. The former would comment in his diary that Nkrumah's "downfall was tragic for Ghana and Africa. It will make his personality the theme of much future African literature, and his downfall a significant milestone in African history."¹³⁸ And he added that the coup had destroyed the "Mecca of the African freedom-fighters."¹³⁹

Nkrumah's Influence in Southern Africa

Nkrumah and Southern African freedom fighters had different visions regarding the strategies, objectives, and priorities of the liberation struggle. Nevertheless, Nkrumah's pan-African policy and the spreading of Nkrumaism left an enduring imprint on several Southern African nationalist parties and countries. The influence of Nkrumah's pan-Africanism on the PAC was especially strong, as evidenced by the PAC's symbols, slogans, and ideology. But many other liberation movements in Southern Africa recognized and continued to recognize the links with Nkrumah's pan-Africanist and socialist ideology. Cases in point are Kenneth Kaunda's UNIP, Ntsu Mokhehle's BCP, Mpho and Motsete's BPP, and Ambrose Zwane's NNLC.¹⁴⁰ In later decades, Robert Mugabe (ZANU) and Sam Nujoma (SWAPO) would also be very vocal about Nkrumah's contribution to the liberation struggle. Mugabe and Nujoma, who had both been hosted in Ghana, not only praised Nkrumah for his practical help, but also included him among their main sources of ideological influence.¹⁴¹ Nkrumaism influenced these and other organizations in the rest of Africa. Although none of these parties ever defined themselves as "Nkrumaist," they all adopted and adapted organizational techniques borrowed from Nkrumah's Ghana and were strongly inspired by Nkrumah's ideology. Those parties that came to power after independence also took inspiration by political and organizational models they had acquired in Ghana.

Discussion of the Literature

The role of Nkrumah's Ghana in the African liberation struggle has been thoroughly debated by scholars. The classic study on this subject is Scott Thompson's *Ghana's Foreign Policy* (1969). Although impressive for the volume of information provided to the reader, this study has evident flaws. First, while the author drew on oral testimonies to compensate for the lack of written primary sources, he used them largely uncritically. Second, the Cold War ideological confrontation as well as Thompson's personal political beliefs strongly inform the contents of the study, which has a strong anti-Nkrumah bias.¹⁴² Much new information was provided by the memories of retired diplomats. Quarm's *Diplomatic Servant* (1995) and *Diplomatic Offensive* (1997) offered an insight into the birth and development of the foreign service under Nkrumah as well as the ways in which Ghana's pan-African foreign policy was put into practice.¹⁴³ Besides offering an account of their authors' personal diplomatic experiences, both Kwesi Armah's *Peace without Power* (2004) and Michael Dei-Anang's *The Administration of Ghana's Foreign Relations* (1975) are studies of Ghana's foreign policy under Nkrumah.¹⁴⁴ In the past twenty years, since the onset of the 21st century, other scholars have begun examining new and unexplored aspects of Nkrumah's foreign policy, making ample use of important new materials that have become available. Frank Gerits' work explores the crucial role played by Nkrumah's Ghana in the Cold War and, more specifically, in what the author terms the "Ideological Scramble for Africa."¹⁴⁵ The relationship between Nkrumah's Ghana and the key protagonists of the Cold War has also been addressed by authors like Nwaubani, Iandolo, and Landricina.¹⁴⁶

With regard to the role played by Ghana in Southern Africa, one of the main questions discussed by scholars in the past decade, since the 2010s, has been Nkrumah's position on the use of violence in the liberation struggle in the region. Ama Biney and Jeffrey Ahlman have analyzed Nkrumah's involvement in the anti-apartheid struggle.¹⁴⁷ In his article, Ahlman has argued that the presence of Southern African freedom fighters in Ghana challenged Nkrumah's faith in a Ghanaian model of decolonization, thus leading to a radicalization of Nkrumah's foreign policy. In two seminal articles, Ahlman and Jean Allman have also discussed Nkrumah's approach to violence and nonviolence, including in relation to Southern Africa. According to Ahlman, Franz Fanon's speech at the AAPC and his presence in Ghana afterward had a relevant impact on Nkrumah's position on the use of violence in the liberation struggle. While describing Ghana's involvement in anti-nuclear demonstrations, Allman has also discussed Nkrumah's approach toward violence.¹⁴⁸ Matteo Grilli has explored the role of Nkrumah's Ghana in the armed struggle in Southern Africa, providing details on the life of Southern African nationalists in Ghanaian training camps. In his article, Grilli contended that Nkrumah's shift from Positive Action to armed struggle was a "gradual shift." He also argued that neither Nkrumah nor Padmore were dogmatic pacifists.¹⁴⁹

Grilli's article, "Nkrumah's Ghana and the Armed Struggle in Southern Africa (1961–1966)," also described how Nkrumah's leadership gained recognition in Southern Africa between 1951 and 1963 and how it subsequently lost much of its appeal in the region.

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This theme is further developed in Matteo Grilli's *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*. This book examines Ghana's pan-African foreign policy during Nkrumah's rule, investigating how Ghanaians sought to influence the ideologies of African liberation movements through the Bureau of African Affairs, the African Affairs Centre, and the Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute. The book demonstrates that, although virtually no liberation movement followed the precepts of Nkrumaism to the letter, many adapted the principles and organizational methods learned in Ghana to their own struggles.

The literature produced by Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians who were involved with the government and its agencies at that time is vast.¹⁵⁰ More rare are the written accounts of freedom fighters who spent time in Ghana as political refugees.¹⁵¹ Until recently, much of the information on the life of Southern African nationalists in Nkrumah's Ghana originated from very biased sources, that is, two booklets prepared by the National Liberation Council in 1966 to discredit Nkrumah's government, thereby justifying the coup. These booklets are *Nkrumah's Subversion in Africa* and *Nkrumah's Deception of Africa*.¹⁵²

Primary Sources

After the coup of 1966, much of the materials pertaining to African liberation movements in Ghana were either destroyed or seized by military authorities. It was only in the 1980s that the papers of the BAA re-emerged and became available to scholars.¹⁵³ This collection, although incomplete, is the most important one with regard to the topic under discussion. The documents of the collection—held at the George Padmore Research Library on Africa Affairs, in Accra—cover a wide range of subjects: from the political activities of nationalist parties in Ghana to their movements in and out of the country; from financial matters concerning the parties to correspondence between the liberation movements and different institutions in Ghana. This precious collection is by far the most important source to reconstruct the history of freedom fighters in Ghana. Other than this, documents about the presence of Southern African nationalists in Ghana can also be found in the Accra section of the Public Records and Archive Administration Department of Ghana (former National Archives of Ghana), where the few papers of the Bureau, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the African Affairs Secretariat which survived the coup are kept; the papers of the British Foreign Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Information Research Department, and the Cabinet (including the Joint Intelligence Committee and other bodies) in the National Archives at Kew Gardens, London; The Institute of Commonwealth Studies (London); the archives of the United National Independence Party of Zambia kept in digital form at the British Library; the National Archives of Zambia (Lusaka); the Commonwealth and African Collections of the Bodleian Library (Oxford); the Historical Papers kept at the University of the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg); the Liberation Movements Archives of the University of Fort Hare (Alice, South Africa); the Mayibuye Archives at the University of Western Cape (Cape Town); the National Archives of South Africa (Pretoria); the South African Defense Force archives (Pretoria); the Historical Diplomatic Archive of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Portugal (Lisbon); The Archive of National Defence (Lisbon), The National Archive of Torre do Tombo (Lisbon); the Kwame Nkrumah papers and the Dabu Gizenga papers at the Moorland-Spangarn Centre of

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Notes:

(1.) Nkrumaism can be found spelled with or without an h before "ism." This article uses the second form, as it was the most common in Nkrumah's time.

(2.) George Padmore, *The Gold Coast Revolution* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1953); George Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1956); Kwame Nkrumah, *Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah* (Edinburgh, UK: Thomas Nelson, 1957); and *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism: Ghana's Pan-African Foreign Policy in the Age of Decolonization* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 62–64.

(3.) Public Records and Archives Administration Department—Accra (PRAAD), RG/17/1/5f, letter from Patrick Duncan to Nkrumah, August 11, 1956.

(4.) The National Archives of the UK (TNA), Dominions Office (DO), 35/3827, telegram from Sir C. Arden Clarke (Governor General of the Gold Coast) to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, March 10, 1952; "Gold Coast Premier Warns U.N.," *Observer*, March 9, 1952; see also PRAAD, RG/17/1/5b, letter from Michael Scott to Nkrumah, April 15, 1957.

(5.) TNA, DO 35/5084, "Notes Setting Out the Views of the Ministers in the Gold Coast on the Policy of the Present Government of South Africa for the Information of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom," undated and attached to letter from Arden-Clarke to Lyttleton, November 10, 1952.

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- (6.) PRAAD, RG/17/1/5d, letter from Reverend J. J. Skomolo to Nkrumah, November 18, 1955.
- (7.) Padmore, *Pan-Africanism or Communism?* 289–338.
- (8.) Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand, Cullen Library (HPRA), A2422 Interviews Gerhart, box 2, *Robert Sobukwe, Interviewed by Gail M. Gerhart in Kimberley*, August 8 and 9, 1970, 20.
- (9.) Elias L. Ntoedibe, *Here Is a Tree: Political Biography of Robert Mangaliso Sobukwe* (Mogoditshane, Botswana: Century-Turn, 1995), 114.
- (10.) L. B. B. J. Machobane, *Government and Change in Lesotho 1800–1966* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1990), 253–254.
- (11.) “Nkrumah, The Liberator!,” *Mohlabani* 3, no. 10 (June 1957): 10.
- (12.) PRAAD, RG/17/1/5g, letter from Banda to Nkrumah, February 8, 1956; PRAAD, RG/17/1/5g, letter from Nkrumah to Banda, February 22, 1956.
- (13.) Matteo Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism: Ghana's Pan-African Foreign Policy in the Age of Decolonization* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 93–94 and 97–99.
- (14.) PRAAD, RG/17/1/5g, letter from Banda to Nkrumah, February 8, 1956.
- (15.) PRAAD, RG/17/1/5g, letter from Banda to Nkrumah, April 21, 1956.
- (16.) PRAAD, RG/17/1/5g, letter from Banda to Nkrumah, January 21, 1957.
- (17.) PRAAD, RG/17/1/5g, letter from Banda to Nkrumah, January 21, 1957.
- (18.) Russell W. Howe, “Gold Coast into Ghana,” *The Phylon Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1957): 155–161
- (19.) Moorland-Spingarn Research Centre, Howard University (MSRC), Kwame Nkrumah Papers (KNP), series J, b. 154–41, f.14, letter from Padmore to Nkrumah, January 19, 1956.
- (20.) Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*, 65–85.
- (21.) Alfred Hutchinson, *Road to Ghana* (New York: John Day, 1960); PRAAD, ADM 16/1/11, “List of Official Delegates” as part of AAPC, News Bulletin of the All African People's Conference, issued by the Permanent Secretariat.
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- (65.) Interview with Meshu Mohanu Mokitimi by Grilli, Maseru, Lesotho, September 28, 2017.
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- (81.) See, for instance, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático—Lisbon (AHD), GNP/RNP/0469/05067, Reprodução do Noticiário de Radio Ghana, Emissao das 15.15 em 30/1/62; Reprodução do Noticiário de Radio Ghana, Emissao das 17.30 horas em/62.
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- (86.) Interview with Kwame Wiafe with Matteo Grilli, Accra, Ghana, July 26, 2019.
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- (88.) Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London (ICS) 881–10, 465–466 [basn/2/40-41].
- (89.) ICS, Basn/2/190 (old referencing), quote in Biney, “Ghana's Contribution,” 89.
- (90.) ICS, Basn/2/193 (old referencing), referred to by Biney, “Ghana's Contribution,” 90.
- (91.) Requests of Asylum dating to 1962 and 1963 are included in the file GPRL, BAA/RLAA/22.
- (92.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/302, letter from Peter Molotsi to Barden, January 18, 1962.
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- (94.) PRAAD/RG/17/1/267, letter from Principal Secretary of the African Affairs Secretariat to Barden, April 9, 1962.
- (95.) Interview with Alvit T. Dlamini by Grilli, Manzini, Swaziland, October 22, 2017.
- (96.) Interview with Dlamini, October 22, 2017.
- (97.) Interview with Dlamini, October 22, 2017.
- (98.) GPRL, uncatalogued file, speeches delivered on the occasion of the freedom fighters' demonstration at Accra on August 17, 1962; interview with Kaunda, October 9, 2017.
- (99.) NNLC and ZANU had substituted, respectively, SPP and ZAPU in the preferences of the Bureau.
- (100.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/363, “Monthly Allowance—August 1964.”

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- (101.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/358, letter from representatives of PAC, ZANU, BCP, and NNLC to Barden, December 10, 1964.
- (102.) "Saxophone Gift for Freedom Fighters," *Ghanaian Times*, April 29, 1964.
- (103.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/335, letter from Executive Secretary of BAA to representatives of nationalist movements, October 5, 1964.
- (104.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/335, "Vigil at African Affairs Centre for Nelson Mandela and Other Nationalist Leaders in South Africa," June 11, 1964.
- (105.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/358, letter from representatives of PAC, ZANU, BCP, and NNLC to Barden, December 10, 1964.
- (106.) See, for instance, GPRL, BAA/RLAA/393, letter from Molapo Qhobela to Barden, April 5, 1963.
- (107.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/470, "Passages Booked for African Students for the Purpose of Having Special and Secretarial Training in Ghana, August-December 1964."
- (108.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/336, A.R. Khoza to the Executive Secretary of the BAA, December 24, 1964; M. K. Akude to "the Swazi Girls," December 22, 1964.
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- (110.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/335, circular of the BAA, "Collection of Female Students from Mr. Amoah's House," June 8, 1964.
- (111.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/393, letter from Molapo Qhobela to Barden, April 5, 1963.
- (112.) Information on the nationality of these students is taken from the files BAA/363, BAA/364, and BAA/547a.
- (113.) See, for instance, GPRL, BAA/358, letter from ZANU student at Cape Coast to Parirewa, November 12, 1964.; BAA/358, letter from ZANU student at Cape Coast to Parirewa, October 31, 1964.
- (114.) GPRL, BAA/358, letter from Parirewa to Polish Embassy, October 20, 1964; GPRL, BAA/358, letter from Parirewa to Executive Secretary (BAA?), December 11, 1964.
- (115.) GRPL, BAA/RLAA/358, letter from Morris Chironda to Parirewa, February 4, 1965.
- (116.) Many letters dating 1965 to and from the ZANU office in Malawi in BAA/358.
- (117.) The letters are all included in the file BAA/358.
- (118.) BAA/358, letter from Sally Mugabe to Parirewa, October 20, 1964.

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- (119.) See BAA/358, letter from Sally Mugabe to Parirewa, February 8, 1965; letter from Sally Mugabe to Parirewa, March 6, 1965; letter from Sally Mugabe to Parirewa, April 2, 1965.
- (120.) See, for instance, GPRL/BAA/RLAA/984, "Extension of the Notorious Sabotage Act of South Africa," by Elias Ntloedibe, broadcast for the first time on February 19, 1964.
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- (122.) Helao Shityuwete, *Never Follow the Wolf* (London: Kliptown Books, 1990), 97.
- (123.) Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana and the Armed struggle."
- (124.) Arquivo de Defesa Nacional—Lisbon (AND), Secretariado-Geral da defesa Nacional (SGDN), Sc. 02, Repartição (informações), sr. 221, "Rhodesian African Nationalists (ZANU faction) Para-Military Training in Ghana," part 1, 2-3. For similar accounts by SWAPO and PAC members, see Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana and the Armed Struggle," 76-77.
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- (127.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/470, "Passages Booked for Freedom Fighters" (conference delegates), undated.
- (128.) GPRL, BAA/RLAA/32, letter from Ackumey to Barden, September 29, 1964.
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- (130.) Grilli, "Nkrumah's Ghana and the Armed Struggle," 79.
- (131.) See Biney, "Ghana's Contribution," 92-95; and "ANC Opens Its Office in Accra," *The Spark*, September 3, 1965.
- (132.) Grilli, *Nkrumaism and African Nationalism*, 328.
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Matteo Grilli

International Studies, University of the Free State