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**GHANA** *is born*  
*6th March 1957*

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*Newman Neame London for Ghana Information Services Accra*



*The Prime Minister, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, and Members of Parliament, immediately after the introduction of the historic motion of 3rd August 1956, requesting enactment by Her Majesty's Government of an Act of Independence (see page 23)*

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Africana Cases

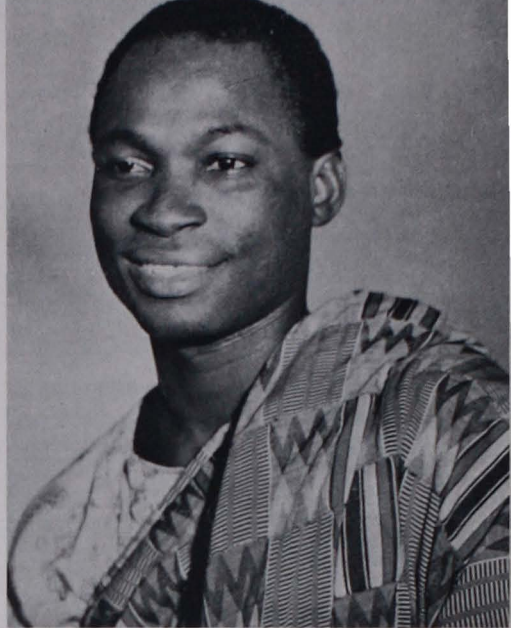
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## **FOREWORD**

*by the Hon Kofi Baako, MP  
Minister of Information and Broadcasting*



*Wednesday the 6th of March 1957 is so important a date in the history of Ghana that it has been decided to produce a souvenir of the events that took place in Ghana on and around that date.*

*Independence comes but once in a country's lifetime and I am very pleased to be able to introduce this publication, which has been produced by the Information Services Department of this Ministry, with the help of Newman Neame Limited and the author, Mr Lionel Birch.*

*I hope that it will be regarded as a worthy record of a great occasion.*

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading 'Kofi Baako'. The signature is stylized and written in cursive. A horizontal line is drawn underneath the signature.

Minister of Information and Broadcasting

Accra, Ghana

Ghana Information Services, on behalf of the Government of Ghana, wish to take this opportunity of acknowledging with most grateful thanks the very great help which they have received from a wide variety of sources both official and unofficial in the preparation of this souvenir book. In particular they wish to thank:

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who wrote the text

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who supervised the whole production

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for permission to reproduce the photograph used on page 68

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for permission to reproduce the photograph used on page 4

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for permission to reproduce the photograph  
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Those representatives of Ghana  
and overseas newspapers,  
who are quoted in the text of this book,  
for permission to reproduce the passages concerned

Captain M. Everard, CBE, RN (Retd),  
the Independence Celebrations Officer,  
and his many aides for all the help so freely given  
to those concerned with gathering material for this book

All photographs not individually acknowledged  
are by staff photographers of Ghana Information Services

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*The talking drums of  
Ghana have news for  
the world, this week*





## *The arrivals*



*The scene is Accra airport. The time is ten o'clock in the morning on Saturday, 2nd March 1957. The passenger is Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Kent, the special representative of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*



## *How the world gathered in Ghana*

---

They came from the four corners of Ghana, and from the ends of the earth. Thousands arrived by plane; hundreds by ship; tens of thousands by mammy-wagon. One arrived, unforgettably, by gun-boat.

In the week before Independence, they gathered in Accra—the Presidents and the Prime Ministers, the Ambassadors and the Governors, the captains and the Kings, the Chiefs and the people, the knowns and the unknowns.

There were official delegations from seventy-two different countries. There were 204 journalists, broadcasters, photographers and television men from twenty-five lands.

There were 108 official guests of the Prime Minister. Among these were politicians and educationalists, historians and youth-leaders, priests and doctors, musicians and land-ladies. Everyone who had contributed to the making of Ghana was invited. Nobody who had ever given the Gold Coast a lift along the road to Independence was forgotten.

Never in the history of human emancipation had so many contrasting and divergent men and women converged to honour a unique achievement.

When, on the blue and gold morning of Saturday, 2nd March, they all gathered at Accra Airport to await the coming of HRH the Duchess of Kent, the full range and variety of the assembly revealed itself.

The variety of their clothes suggested a World Tailors' and Weavers' Convention. The range of their voices and languages

suggested an over-flow debate in Babel. Their complexions were of all colours under the sun. But their object in coming here was one and the same—to salute the final translation of a British Colony into an independent Sovereign State.

Out of a clear sky, with scarcely a whisper of engines, and as punctually as Independence itself, the Duchess's plane appeared on the runway. Forward to greet her went the two men who had worked hardest to bring Ghana to birth—Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, the Governor, and Dr Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister.

To Her Royal Highness were then presented the commanders of the country's armed forces, the President of the West African Court of Appeal, the Chief Justice, the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, the Religious Leaders, the Cabinet Ministers, the Deputy Leader of the Opposition, and the leaders of Commonwealth Delegations.

It was not yet 10.30 am, and the bloom was still on the morning, when the Duchess of Kent stepped into her car and drove slowly out of the Airport, into a magical world of green and gold and scarlet bunting, and waving flags and laughing faces.

To the hundreds of thousands of smiling eyes along the road into Accra, the physical presence of Queen Elizabeth's special representative was the final and felicitous token that the peoples of the Gold Coast had now entered on the very last lap of their long, long road to Independence.



*To the sound of a Royal Salute of twenty-one guns, Her Royal Highness is welcomed by the Prime Minister, Dr Kwame Nkrumah, and by His Excellency the Governor, Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke*



*The Vice-President of the United States, Mr Richard M. Nixon, flies in, accompanied by twenty-three American journalists. He is welcomed by (from left to right) the Hon K. A. Gbedemah, Minister of Finance; the Hon Kojo Botsio, Minister of Trade and Labour; the Hon A. E. Inkumsah, Minister of Housing and the Hon B. Yeboah-Afari, Minister of Agriculture*

### ***The countries represented by delegations***

- COMMONWEALTH Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Gambia, India, Kenya, Malaya, Malta, New Zealand, Nigeria, Pakistan, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda, United Kingdom
- AFRICA Belgian Congo, Ethiopia, French Equatorial Africa, French Togoland, French West Africa, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Spanish Guinea, Sudan, Tunisia
- MIDDLE EAST Iran, Iraq, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey
- ASIA Afghanistan, Burma, China, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Philippines, Thailand
- EUROPE Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, USSR, Vatican City, Yugoslavia
- AMERICA Argentina, Chile, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Peru, United States of America



*The Honourable William R. Tolbert (right), Vice President of Liberia, arrives by air*



*The Right Honourable R. A. Butler, Lord Privy Seal and Home Secretary, is there to represent the United Kingdom*

### **... and some of the VIPs**

Dr Ralph Bunche, representing the Secretary-General of the United Nations; Marc Veillet-Lavallée, Secretary General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation; Dr F. C. Cambournac, Regional Director of Africa for the World Health Organisation; William Yalden-Thomson, Assistant Director-General of the International Labour Office; Paul-Marc Henry, Secretary-General of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa, South of the Sahara.

*Emil Majid Arslon, Minister of Health and Agriculture of the Lebanon, is greeted, like all other delegates, with a glass of champagne*





*Some of the twenty-seven photographers and twenty-three film cameramen who had come from overseas, with 124 writers, to report Ghana's independence celebrations to the World*

## **The Press of the World is there to photograph**

*They come from Japan*



*and from Nigeria*



*and from Malaya*





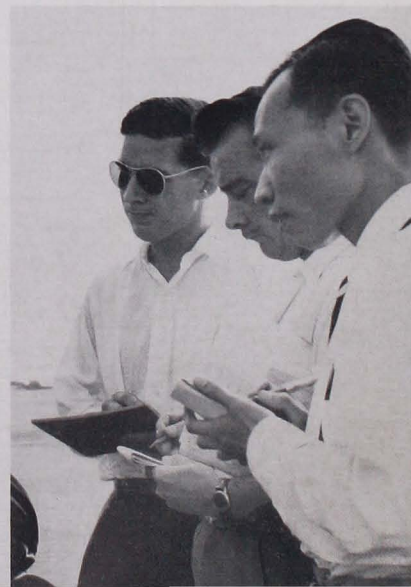
*The USSR is represented at the celebrations by Mr I. A. Benedictov, Minister of State Farms (left), and two other delegates. The United Nations are represented by Dr Ralph Bunche, here seen in conversation with the Prime Minister of Ghana, Dr Nkrumah*

## delegates of seventy-two countries

*and from China*

*and from Nyasaland*

*and the press is always waiting*





## The United Kingdom High Commissioner is welcomed

*A. Casely Hayford (centre), Minister of Communications, greeting on arrival Lord Rennell of Rodd, official representative of British Overseas Airways Corporation, and Lady Rennell*





LORD AND LADY HEMINGFORD

*The Prime Minister of Ghana was at one time a pupil of Lord Hemingford at Achimota College*



LADY BADEN-POWELL

*It was from the land which is now Ghana that her husband drew much inspiration*



MRS FLORENCE MANLEY  
AND DAUGHTER

*She had been the Prime Minister's landlady during his two years in London*

## **.. and friends of Ghana are not forgotten**



*The Rev Michael Scott, champion of the rights of the coloured peoples of South Africa, and Dr C. Belfield Clarke, a friend of the Prime Minister's London days*



**They come from all points of the compass. By car and train, and mammy-wagon, and from just around the corner on foot**







DR KWAME NKRUMAH'S RELEASE FROM PRISON, 1951

*Outside the walls of James Fort, Accra, one morning in 1951. Kwame Nkrumah is hoisted aloft on the shoulders of a triumphant crowd of Convention Peoples' Party supporters. Since February 1950, he has been imprisoned inside the Fort, for his part in the 'Positive Action' campaign of the previous month. During the last few days his CPP has won a sweeping victory in the general election of 1951 and, within the next few hours, he will be requested by the Governor, Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, to form the first Government of African Ministers in the Gold Coast*



## WHAT BROUGHT THE WORLD TO GHANA?

# *The story of the Gold Coast road to Independence*

It was independence that brought this multitude of illustrious persons to Ghana. But what brought independence itself to Ghana?

The story of the Gold Coast's journey to freedom is an epic one; and, for centuries, its

outcome seemed unpredictable.

The Portuguese traders who landed on the coast at Elmina during the late fifteenth century in search of gold, could not be expected to foresee the golden scenes of 6th March 1957. Nor could the slave traders of

DR KWAME NKRUMAH, WITH HIS CABINET MINISTERS, MARCH 1957

*Seated, left to right, the Hon A. E. Inkumsah (Housing); the Hon Kojo Botsio (Trade and Labour); the Hon Kwame Nkrumah (Prime Minister); the Hon K. A. Gbedemah (Finance); the Hon A. Casely Hayford (Communications); Standing left to right, are the Hon A. Ofori-Atta (Local Government); the Hon N. A. Welbeck (Works); the Hon B. Yeboah-Afari (Agriculture); the Hon J. H. Allassani (Health); the Hon J. B. Erzuah (Education); the Hon L. R. Abavana (Minister without Portfolio); the Hon Ako Adjei, (Interior); the Hon Krobo Edusei (Minister without Portfolio)*





*Fort St Jago at Elmina – the town where the first chapter of the Gold Coast's history was made. Portuguese traders landed here in 1471, and later it was from here that, right up till 1807, the slaves went West*

the eighteenth century, who shipped twenty million slaves from West Africa, be expected to believe that in less than three hundred years, the sons of the Gold Coast would be cabinet ministers not slaves.

But what is remarkable, and perhaps unique in the records of human emancipation, is that even as late as 1950-1, few would have dared to predict that a man who was at that time languishing inside one of His Majesty's prisons, would, within seven breathless years, be welcoming Her Majesty's special representative, in his capacity of Prime Minister of the first independent African State within the Commonwealth.

Yet this is not a political fairy-tale, fitted with a happy ending. This is history, with a happy ending which had to be fought for, and won. The struggle for independence had to be lived forwards by successive generations of the peoples of the Gold Coast. But the struggle can perhaps be best understood if it is traced backwards.

Independence came on 6th March 1957. The fact that this was to be the day of days had been learned by most of the population from a broadcast on 18th September 1956. On that day, the announcer read the despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the Governor of the Gold Coast. The message had been read, a few hours previously, to the Legislative Assembly by Dr Nkrumah, the Prime Minister.

*Her Majesty's Government will at the first available opportunity introduce into the United Kingdom Parliament a Bill to accord independence to the Gold Coast and, subject to Parliamentary approval, Her Majesty's Government intend that independence should come about on the 6th March 1957.*

The people's reaction to this epoch-making, matter-of-fact message was described by a writer in the magazine, *Drum*:  
*For a moment, until the words registered in people's minds, there was a deafening silence.*

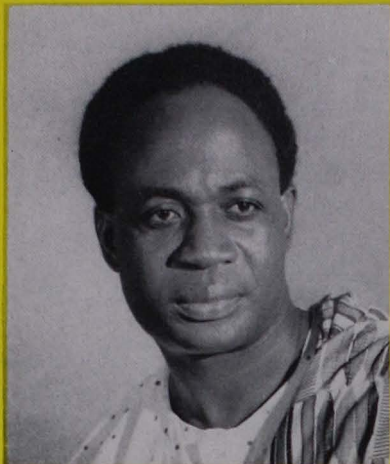
*Then came the earthquake of emotion that made the sea hesitate from breaking on the beach. That, some say, brought a rain of coconuts tumbling from the trees. That made the very lizards scurry for cover. That, some mothers will tell you, made their unborn babies kick with joy in their wombs . . .*

*They will tell you the cheers could be heard one hundred miles off. I doubt that. But, apart from the earthquake of 1939, it was without question the most giant explosion of natural or human noise that our ancient land had ever heard.*

The Colonial Secretary's despatch, which released this national ecstasy on 18th September 1956, was itself a direct answer to a formal and explicit request made by the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, some six weeks earlier, in a motion introduced by the Prime Minister, which requested, *Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, as soon as practicable this year, to procure the enactment by the United Kingdom Parliament of an Act to provide for the independence of the Gold Coast as a sovereign and independent State within the Commonwealth under the name of Ghana.*

The moral authority of the Gold Coast Government to make such a request had been re-confirmed by the elections which had been held the previous month, in July 1956. These had resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Convention Peoples' Party, which won all forty-four seats in the Colony area; eight out of twenty-one in Ashanti, where it was opposed by the National Liberation Movement (NLM) which secured twelve seats; eight out of thirteen in Trans-Volta Togoland; and eleven out of twenty-six in the Northern Territories, where the remaining seats were won by the Northern Peoples' Party. This gave the Government, with Dr Nkrumah as Prime Minister, the support of seventy-two out of 104 members of the Legislative Assembly.

These results underlined the popular



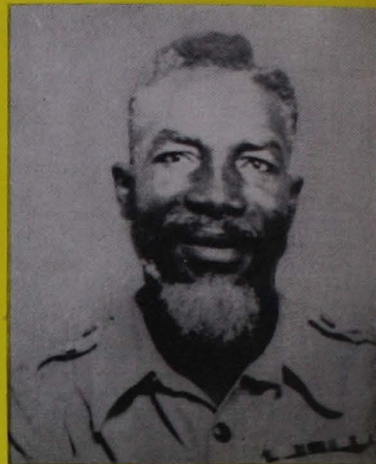
DR KWAME NKUMAH

*In the short span of just over nine years, between December 1947 and 6th March 1957, he achieved his dearest ambition – to lead his fellow countrymen to their successful goal of full Independence*



SIR CHARLES NOBLE ARDEN-CLARKE

*As Governor and Commander-in-Chief from 1949 onwards, he guided the Gold Coast's final steps to Independence. In March 1957, he became, to everyone's satisfaction, the first Governor-General of Ghana*



SERGEANT C. F. ADJETEY

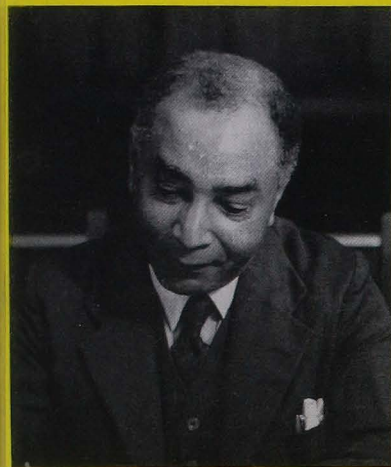
*His death on 28th February 1948 at the Christiansborg crossroads whilst leading a procession of ex-servicemen made him a national hero and helped to spark off the countrywide movement towards Independence*

verdict of the 1954 elections, which had introduced an all-African Assembly; and it proved once again that the verdict of the astonishing elections of 1951 had been due to no emotional or transitory whim on the part of the electorate.

During the 1951 elections Dr Nkrumah was still serving the prison sentence imposed on him for his part in the 'Positive Action' campaign of January 1950, and for promoting an 'illegal strike'. But, as a candidate *in absentia*, Dr Nkrumah obtained 22,780 votes from the 23,122 voters in Accra Central; and his party won thirty-four out of thirty-eight elective seats in the new Assembly.

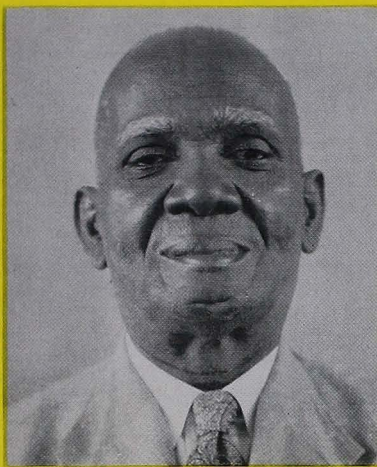
When the results of that election became known, the Governor, Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, took one of those decisions that are the very stuff of history: he summoned Dr Nkrumah straight from prison to Christiansborg Castle, where he proposed to him that he should form the first Government of African Ministers in the Gold Coast.

Then began the patient process of the healing of the wounds which had opened in 1948. On 28th February riots had broken out in Accra and two million pounds of damage had been done by looting – following an effective six weeks boycott of all imported goods and the death from police rifle fire at



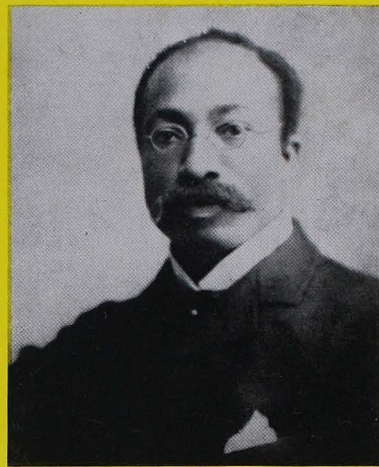
SIR HENLEY COUSSEY

*In 1949, he became Chairman of an all-African Commission, charged with the duty of working out a more progressive constitution for the Gold Coast. He recommended an enlarged legislature and a wider franchise*



GEORGE GRANT

*The elderly timber merchant who in 1947 conceived the idea of the United Gold Coast Convention as an instrument for stimulating national consciousness. He died in 1956 – the year before Independence.*



JOSEPH CASELY HAYFORD

*The lawyer and politician, who more than any other man in the Gold Coast in the 1920s, maintained the pressure for self-government, through the National Congress of British West Africa*

the Christiansborg cross-roads of Sergeant Adjetye who was leading a procession of ex-servicemen marching to Government House. As a result of the rioting, Dr Nkrumah and five of his associates had been removed to the Northern Territories.

Yet, out of all this anguish, some good came. Set up, as a result of the disturbances, a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of Mr Aiken Watson, recommended the forming of an All-African Commission to draft a more progressive constitution. Thanks to the work of the latter Commission, which was presided over by Mr Justice Coussey (Sir Henley Coussey), the Gold Coast

obtained a wider franchise, an enlarged legislature and a ministerial system of government.

Popular pressure for these forward steps had been stimulated by the return to the Gold Coast of Dr Kwame Nkrumah in 1947. He had been away for twelve years – ten of them spent at Lincoln University, USA, first as a student then as a lecturer. The last two years he had spent in London University, whence stories of his fanatical single-mindedness had seeped through to Accra.

As a consequence, Dr Nkrumah was invited to come back to the Gold Coast and help in organising the United Gold Coast





*Fort William at Anomabu – where some of those who will make the next few chapters of Ghana's history, meet at the Youth Centre. Here, in the rooms from which the slaves were shipped in the nineteenth century, young twentieth century Ghanaians hold courses in current affairs*

Convention, which was in process of being founded by the late George Alfred Grant – popularly known as 'Pa Grant'. To thirty-eight year old Nkrumah, this body soon appeared to be too intellectualised, too lacking in mass support, for the job in hand.

So, in June 1949, Nkrumah and his closest associates initiated the Convention Peoples' Party, with the conscious aim of mobilising the people and making the pace to independence. Nothing like this had ever

happened before in Africa. Throughout the war years and during the 1930s history had moved slowly in the Gold Coast.

During the 1920s, pressure for early self-government had been maintained by the West African National Congress, under the inspiration of Joseph Casely Hayford. Through the efforts of this Congress, the Gold Coast gained, in 1925, the right to have nine unofficial elected legislators in the Legislative Council.

During the years 1900-20 there was no important political activity. The administration was gradually built up; and Ashanti and the Northern Territories, which had been proclaimed British in 1901, were firmly integrated into the Gold Coast Colony.

The Gold Coast had been claimed as a British colony in 1850, six years after the signing, at Cape Coast in 1844, of the bond between Britain and the coastal chiefs, which introduced the principles of British law and justice.

The earlier history of Ghana is written all over the country's coast-line. You can read it in the line of forts which are strung, like a necklace of hedgehogs, along the sea-shore. These were the fortified terminals through which the early traders came in, and the slaves went out. The forts faced both ways – against poachers from the sea, and against

raiders from the hinterland.

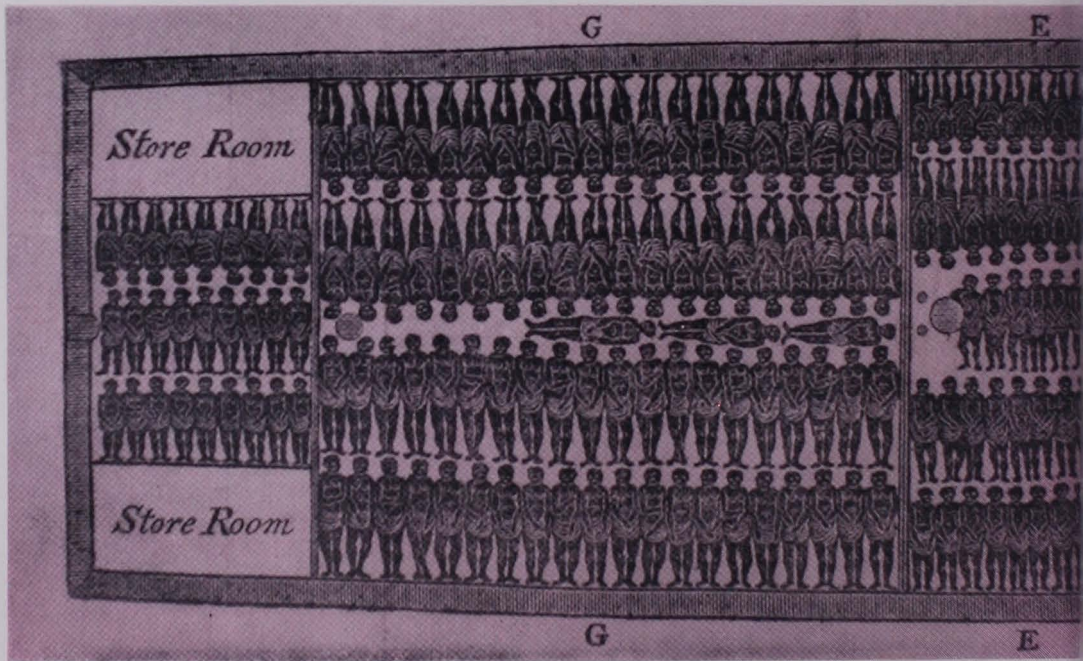
Elmina Castle is a history book in itself, and a slave market, male dungeons and female dungeons are living chapters in the cautionary story of all time.

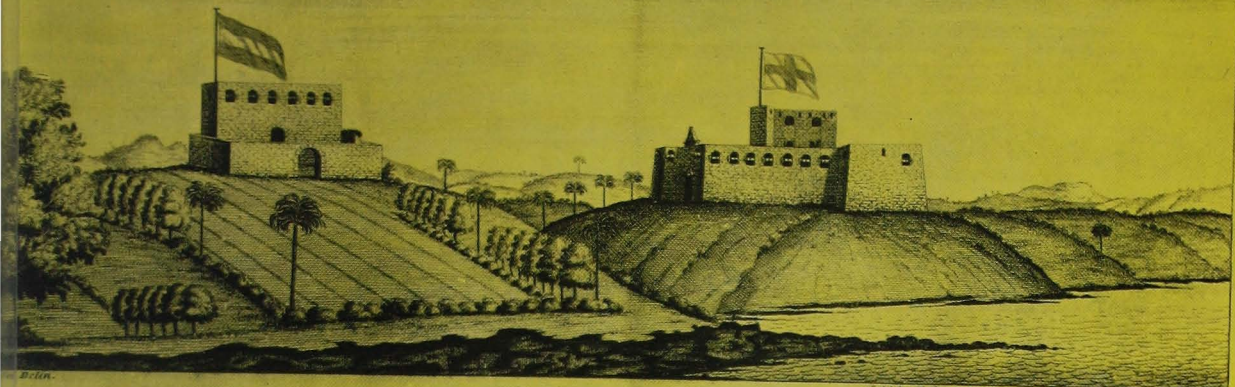
But time has marched on – and marched quickly to independence if you consider it was only in 1807 that the slave trade was 'deemed illegal' by the British Government.

So today, in the rooms where the slaves were sold in the fort at Anomabu, African members of the King George Youth Centre now hold lively symposiums on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency.

And, if you want to see at a glance how far the Gold Coast has travelled in the last 150 years, examine the drawing of the slave-ship 'seating-plan' below and then turn over to the next page and contrast the pictures of Ghana's Independence.

'Seating plan' of a slave-ship



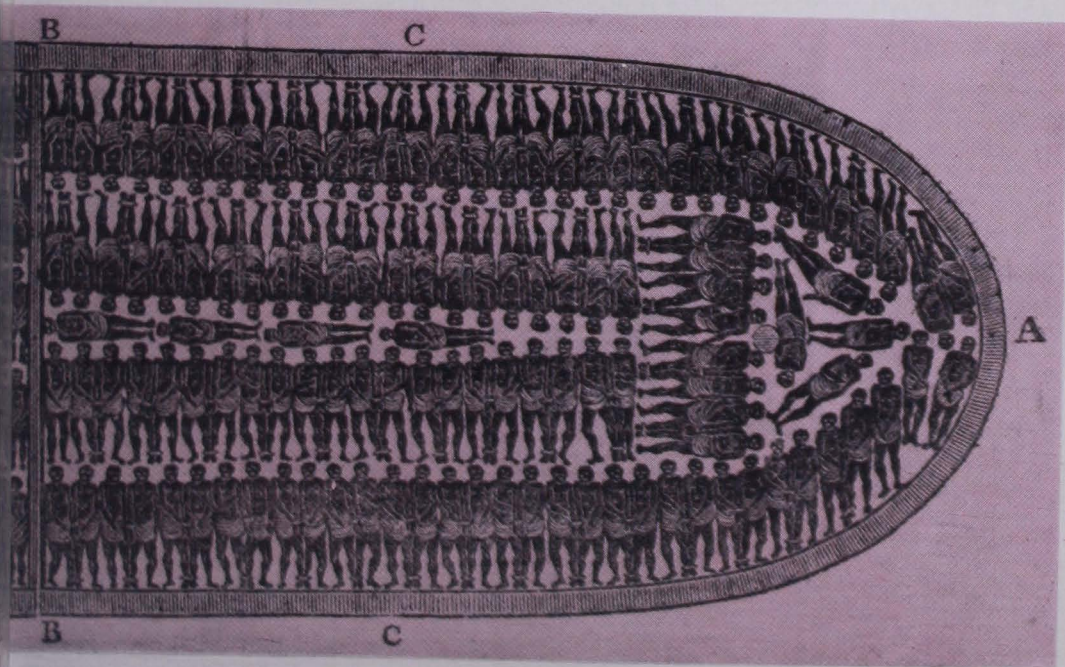


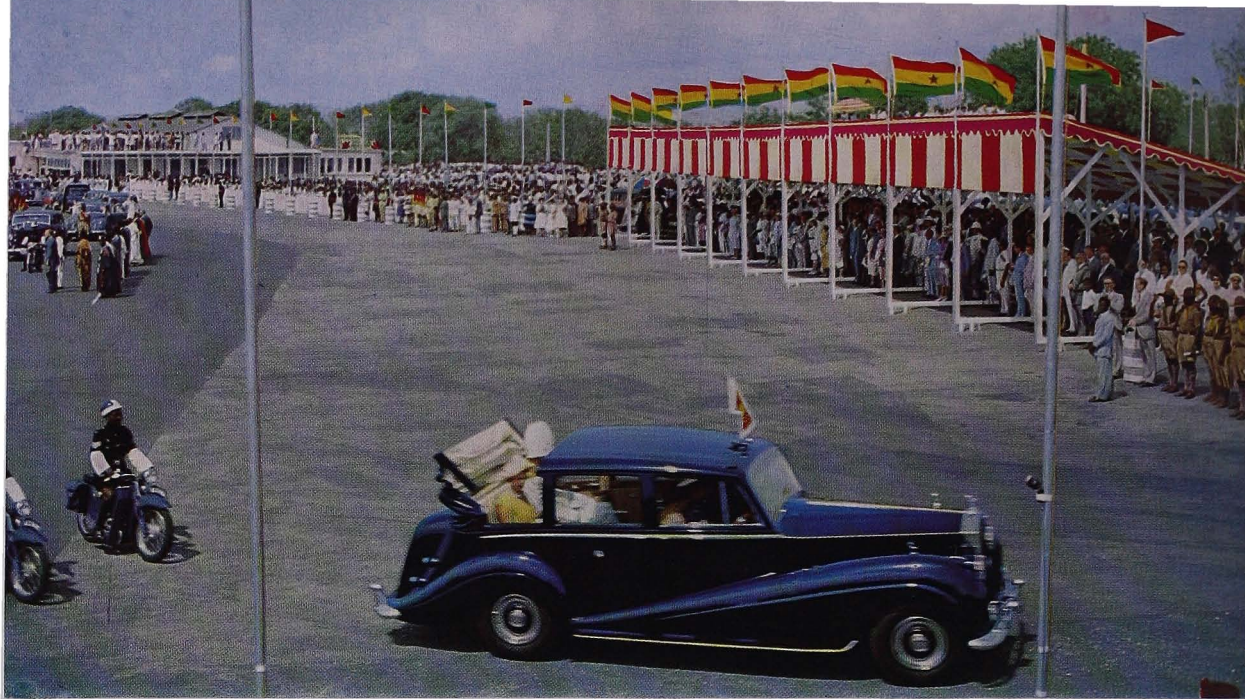
The South-west Prospect of the English, and Dutch Forts, at Secondee.

*Sold by J. Clark Engraver & Printseller in Grays Inn London*

SECONDEE lies between Dixcove, and Commenda, being within Gun-shot of a small Dutch Fort, as above. The Landing place here is very good. The Air much the same as at Cape-Coast. The inland Trade extraordinary Good especially for Slaves, and Elephants Teeth (provided the Natives are at Peace). Provisions here are not Scarce, especially Fish, whereof Mulletts & Oysters are very good & the Gardens Pleasant & Profitable.

Print of English and Dutch forts at Sekondi





*The ceremony of welcome at Accra airport on 2nd March 1957. Now, Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, begins her measured drive, through lanes of jubilant Ghanaians, to Accra*



## ***The week when freedom came***

The celebrations of independence week were designed to build up, through a series of memorable scenes, to the central drama of the State Opening of Parliament.

First, there was the scene along the route from the airport to Accra, on 2nd March, where the merry crowds, which included 40,000 schoolchildren, had assembled on the roadside before dawn, to welcome Her Majesty's special representative and to celebrate the third royal visit to the Gold

Coast of the last thirty-two years.

The previous royal visitors – the Prince of Wales and Princess Marie-Louise, in 1925 – had landed by surf-boat jerkily. Today, the Duchess of Kent landed smoothly out of a friendly sky, on to the airport of a Gold Coast where history itself had taken wings since 1925. The next scene was staged by the Accra Municipal Council and the Ga State Council, who had prepared a traditional welcome for Her Royal Highness.



*The Duchess of Kent arrives in the heart of Accra, where the Municipal Council and the Ga State Council have prepared a traditional welcome. The welcome begins with the traditional pouring of libations to the Almighty God and to the ancient gods of river, sea and lagoon*

A great silence of wonder fell upon the welcoming crowds as the Chief Priest of the Ga people poured libation to the Almighty God and to the ancient gods Nai (god of the sea), Sakumo Korlete (god of the River Sakumo) and Na Korle Aboyo (goddess of the Korle Lagoon) and spoke the words: *We welcome into our midst you, the Duchess of Kent, representative of our Queen, and all here with us today.*

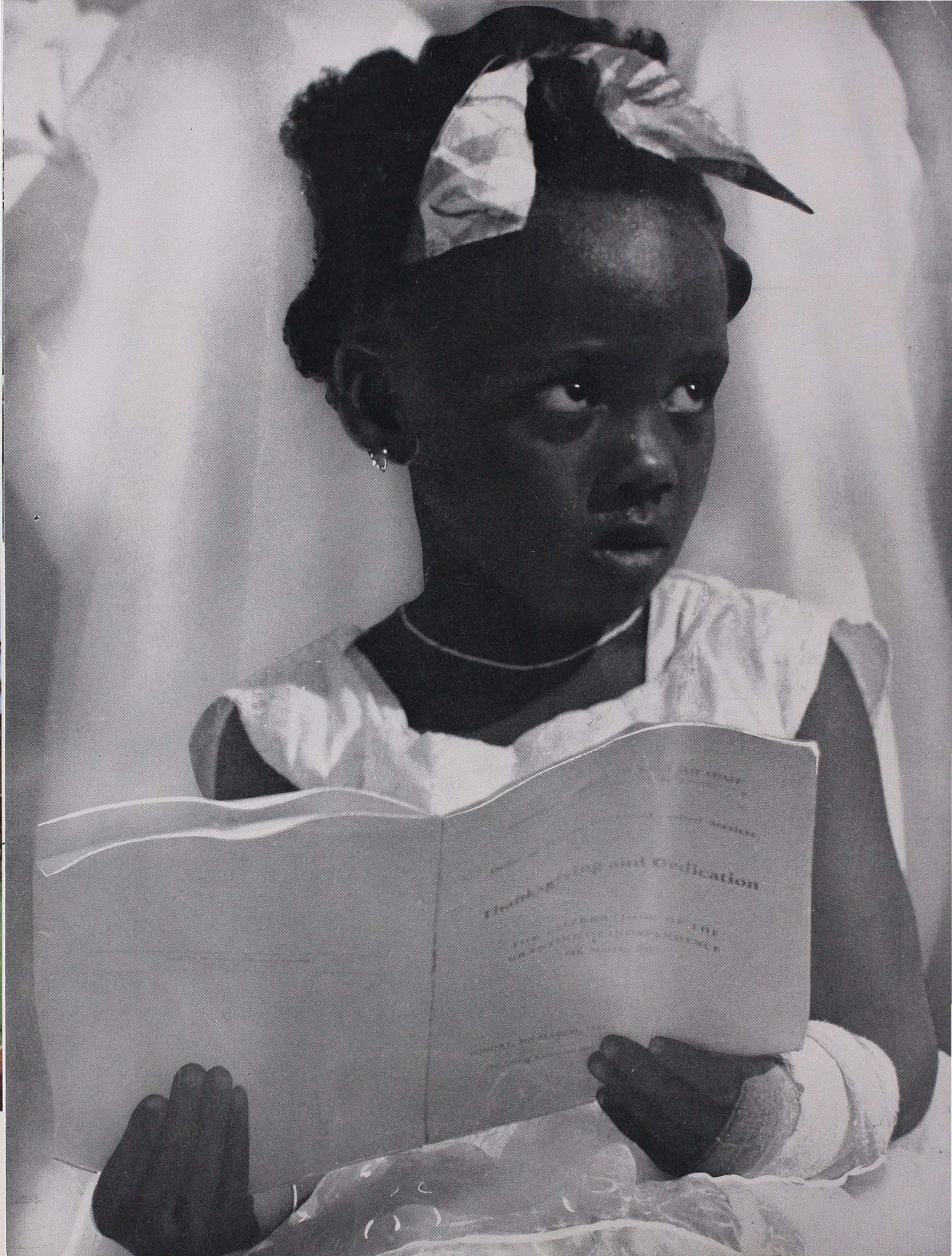
*We pray that God may give His blessing to your Royal Highness and to Nii Tackie Kome II, whose reign has seen this country's rise to fame and glory under the wise leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah.*

*May this come to pass.*

Then, turning to face the East, the priest uttered the concluding prayer,

*Chiefs and Councillors are presented.  
Oh! What a beautiful morning!*







*Choirs and congregations from many Christian denominations gathered for the open-air thanksgiving and dedication service in Accra on Sunday 3rd March*

*Here, in the broad expanse from Langma, south-west of Accra, through Obutu Apla to the Volta flowing past Ada, we assemble today for the purpose of this ceremony.*

*As we say this prayer, wishing well to all, do we also offer it for any evil-minded person who wishes harm to us in future?*

Sharp yelps of 'No! No! No!' from the attendants, followed by a prolonged cry of 'Shame', which was directed towards the 'any evil-minded person' in question.

Then the chiefs of the Ga State and the councillors of the Accra Municipal Council with their wives, were presented to Her Royal Highness by the Ga Mantse, the President of the Council. The crowd bubbled with amusement as the Duchess of Kent em-

barked on a conversation, in universal baby-language, with a councillor's nine-months-old son, who was securely lodged in the small of his mother's back.

After the Royal Salute, by the Royal Marines, the drums began to speak again, and the princely cavalcade, escorted by the Northern Territories' Constabulary, rolled on towards Christiansborg Castle.

The afternoon was given to the races. This is how Moses Danquah described the scene:

*There was glamour galore; there was elegance of fashion, there was the spirit of unrestrained appeal to the god of chance, without which race meetings lose their traditional appeal, and, above all, was the dignified poise and warm bonhomie of Her Royal Highness.*



*The Duchess of Kent accepts a bouquet from Audrey Plange at the World Premiere of the Ghana Film Unit's documentary, WORK IN PROGRESS*

*The Duchess was shown round the Ghana Museum by the Minister of Education, J. B. Erzuah and Mrs. Erzuah*

*Her Royal Highness grasped this opportunity to see something of Ghana's heritage of history and culture*





*Her Royal Highness pays a visit to Korle Bu Hospital, Accra. She is taken round the men's orthopaedic and surgical wards by Dr N. Q. Hesse, administrator of the hospital; and she makes several friends in the children's ward*

The next day was Sunday. At the massed religious service in Accra Sports Stadium, Her Royal Highness heard the Rev C. G. Baeta, Chairman of the Christian Council of Ghana, and Senior Lecturer in Theology, University College of Ghana, say:

*Particularly at this time we would remember, with humble thanksgiving, that noble army of missionaries of the Gospel who, in selfless devotion, penetrated the deepest recesses of our land and of the lives of its peoples, bringing in the light of God, the light by which now we live; the men and women who, by kindling the fire of education and true enlightenment at such an early stage in our history, secured once and for all that the vision of this day which we now celebrate, should never be lost . . .*

*I am convinced it is not merely because one more nation is coming into being that most of our honoured guests are with us here today. We are only a small nation. The real reason why they are here is to celebrate another triumph of the human spirit . . .*

*We are a nation born with a mission. The*

*point is so plain that nobody can miss it, and we rightly proclaim our acceptance of this assignment by planting in the middle of our national flag the lodestar of hope for all the black peoples of Africa. By the gifts which we have received, by the very fact of our own emergence, through God's grace, we know that we are invited, nay, challenged, to co-operate in God's work of redeeming His people in this continent today.*

*We are to demonstrate to our fellows, not with high words, but with the quality of our national life, that indeed it is a good and a necessary thing to be a free people, that in fact God has given black Africans also, as he has given everybody else, the capacity to attain the full stature of man, and means us to exercise it; that unless and until we have experienced the thrills and the travails of full and final responsibility for ourselves, under God, we have not tasted life as He intends adult human beings to know it . . .*

*But if, as the Rev C. G. Baeta emphasised, much remained to do, much also had been*



*As the crowds assemble for the Ceremony of National Welcome to Her Royal Highness, the stands of Accra Stadium shine out, brilliant with the red, green and gold insignia of Ghana*

*The traditional dancers*



*and pretty drummers*



done in recent years. And something of what had been done was witnessed, the same evening, by the Duchess of Kent, when she attended the Premiere of the Ghana Film Unit's new film *Work in Progress*. This, as the Hon Ako Adjei, the Minister of the Interior, explained, was a production designed to give a bird's-eye-view of developments in six different parts of Ghana, for the benefit of those who would not have the opportunity to go round the country themselves. It was preceded by a shorter documentary film, which gave a heartening picture of the way in which the villagers of Bamiri had set themselves to carve a better communal life for themselves out of the heart of the forests of Ashanti.

The following day, Monday, began with visits by the Duchess to Korle Bu Hospital and to the Accra Library, and rose to a

climax with the Ceremony of National Welcome in the Stadium.

There, Her Royal Highness inspected the last great parade of the Gold Coast military forces. Standing alone in her Land Rover, she drove slowly down the ranks, while the minutes ticked on towards Independence. Farewell, come the day after tomorrow, to the Gold Coast military forces! Long live the military forces of Ghana!

The historic inspection was over. After the precision drilling and the debonair marching of the Gold Coast Regiment, the spectators were suddenly whisked back into history with the apparition, in the centre of the stadium, of the traditional drummer and dancers. But no sooner had the drums begun to speak and the dancers to dance than three Valiant Jet bombers of the Royal Air Force and a flight of Neptune aircraft of the Royal

*The grand finale of the National Welcome. A thousand boys and girls, dressed in red, gold, green and black march past Her Royal Highness on the dais before they form the flag of Ghana*





*The Duchess of Kent, with the Governor at her side, receives Archbishop Knox, Apostolic delegate, Mombasa, and representative of the Pope, as he arrives at the Ambassador Hotel for the State Banquet*

Australian Air Force whirled the crowds back again into the slip-stream of the twentieth century.

The twentieth century was present in all its splendour at the State Banquet held at the Ambassador Hotel that same evening, where five hundred of the most distinguished citizens of Ghana and the world heard Her Majesty's representative tell how deeply moved she had been by the overwhelming warmth of her reception. They heard her speak, too, of her one regret:

*If I have felt any disappointment, it is because I have been unable to include visits to Ashanti, the Northern Territories, and Togoland.*

*These are regions I am sad to have missed, since they would have given me a fuller, wider, picture of your country as a whole.*

The morning of Tuesday 5th March, the beginning of the last full day before



*The Ambassador Hotel, built on the initiative of the Government, where most of the overseas delegates stayed during the celebrations*

*Addressing the five hundred distinguished guests assembled in the superb banqueting hall of the Ambassador Hotel, the Duchess tells of how deeply moved she has been by her reception at Accra, and of her regret at not being able to visit Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland*





*The Convocation at University College, Legon. Inside the dining hall of Third (now Commonwealth) Hall, the Duchess of Kent speaks of her enthusiasm for the ideals which the College has set before itself*

Independence. Now, the tempo of the ceremonies has quickened: the list of the Duchess's engagements reads breathlessly:

- 9.30 HRH arrives at University College for Convocation
- 10.10 HRH leaves for the Museum
- 10.35 HRH arrives at the Museum
- 10.50 HRH leaves
- 12.05 HRH arrives at the War Memorial
- 12.15 HRH arrives at the Supreme Court
- 1.00 HRH leaves the Supreme Court
- 4.00 HRH arrives at the Regatta
- 5.15 HRH leaves the Regatta
- 7.00 HRH arrives at the National Monument
- 7.15 HRH leaves

10.00 HRH arrives at the Speaker's Reception

10.35 HRH leaves the Speaker's Reception

Even for British royalty, who are accustomed to a sixty-hour week and are not unacquainted with 'overtime', this is a long day's work. But the Duchess looks as buoyant at the Speaker's Reception at ten o'clock in the evening as she has looked, in her crimson robes, in University College, before ten o'clock, where, addressing the Principal, David Balme, she said:

*I share your enthusiasm for the great adventure on which you are all engaged, and I am deeply impressed by the ideals which this University College has set before itself. Like Dr Aggrey's*

eagle, they soar high—and that is as it should be.

At the Supreme Court, the Duchess is welcomed by the Chief Justice, Sir Arku Korsah, in these words:

*As Ghana moves forward to a fuller membership of the Commonwealth, we regard your visit to this country as eloquent testimony that the friendship between Great Britain and this country will continue in fuller measure after the Independent State of Ghana is established.*

*We are deeply conscious of the obligations which devolve upon us as the guardians of the rights and liberties of the people of Ghana.*

*We, therefore, re-dedicate ourselves to the cause of Justice, and promise to observe, and strictly to enforce obedience to the Rule of Law in consonance with basic human rights, the surest safeguard of a free and independent people; thus the courts of this country will continue to guarantee the security, peace,*

*tranquility and happiness of the citizens of Ghana.*

To this, the Duchess replies:

*. . . The Rule of Law is vital to the freedom and orderly progress of any society; it is a mighty tree which shades and protects all those many lands which share the tradition of the English Bar, and I have no doubt that that tree, and those splendid traditions, will ever continue to flourish under your care.*

The solemnity of the day's ceremonies is punctuated, during the afternoon, by the roaring excitement of the regatta. The zest and gusto of the canoe-crews in the paddling races and the surf-boat races, and the effervescence of their supporters on the shore, leads up to an epoch-making occasion and to a total change of mood: the unveiling of the National Monument.

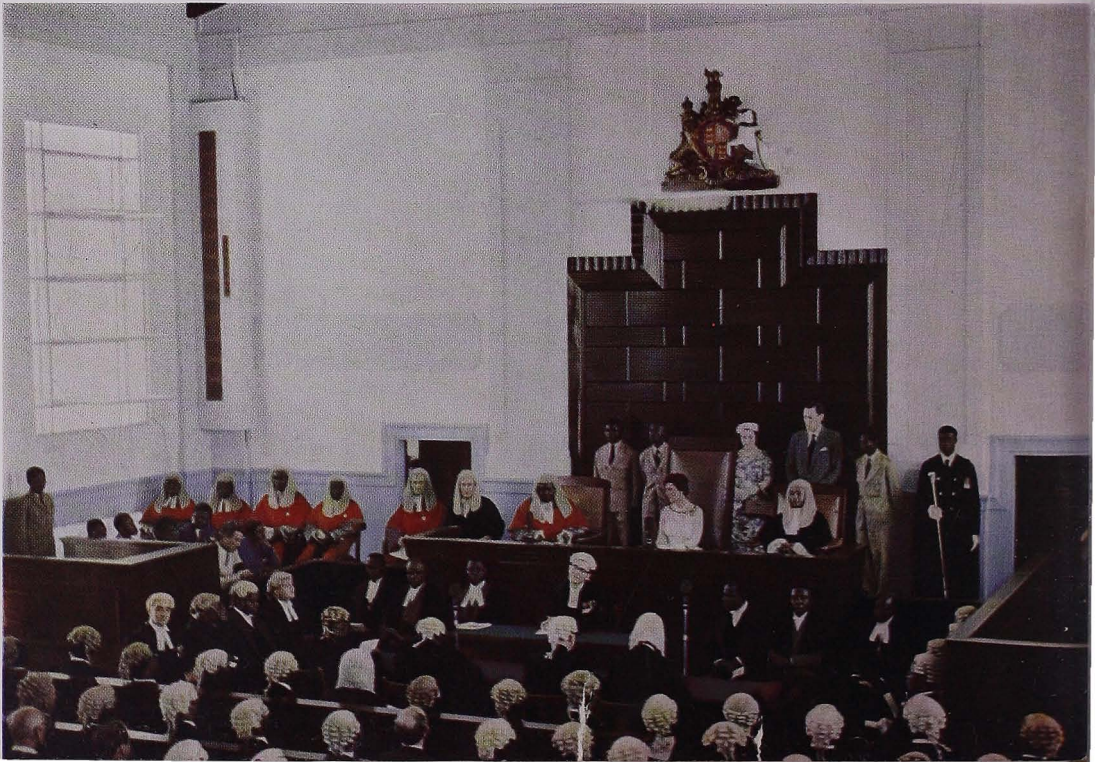
Here, near the spot at Christiansborg

*The Procession assembles for the Convocation*





*At the start of her visit to the Supreme Court, Her Royal Highness receives the Justices of Ghana. From left to right are Mr Justice Acolatse, Mr Justice Manyo-Plange, Mr Justice Windsor-Aubrey and the Chief Justice. Inside the Supreme Court, the Duchess is welcomed by an address from the Chief Justice, Sir Arku Korsah*





*Her Royal Highness and the Chief Justice*

*The Justices arrive for the opening of Parliament*





*On the day before Independence Day, the Duchess attends the Accra Regatta. Paddling races for canoes. Cocoa-loading and surf-boat races. A demonstration of shallow water-diving. And the band of the Royal Marines*

cross-roads which remains forever tender in the memory of all who worked and struggled for independence, the Duchess lights up the arch inscribed with the glittering words Freedom and Justice. She says:

*There are no more potent words in the English language than the words Freedom and Justice. Without freedom of thought, of speech, and of worship, Justice becomes meaningless; a soulless and tyrannical adjustment of difference, between a State and its subjects, or between one man and another.*

*Without a rational and impartial system of Justice, freedom can quickly become a license to pursue selfish interests without thought of God, of lawful authority, or of one's fellow-men.*

The arch glows out, strong and white and

simple, in the silent dusk. A child's voice in the hushed crowd breaks the silence: 'How many hours to Freedom?' In a resounding whisper, his mother's voice replies, 'Not very many, now.'

By way of confirmation, the sky suddenly blossoms into clusters of coloured flame – the Roman Candles of Independence.

As midnight approaches, the centre of gravity moves towards the Legislative Assembly. After the reception held by the Speaker, Sir Emmanuel Quist, the members gather in the chamber to assist in the ceremony of Prorogation, and to hear a major policy statement by the Prime Minister (see page 54):

*Mr Speaker, how solemn it is that we,*

*The finals of the Miss Ghana Competition are now decided. The crown goes to Miss Trans-Volta Togoland. Among her other prizes is a trip to England*



*The procession of floats attracted large crowds*





*The Independence Arch, sited near Christiansborg cross-roads, is unveiled and illuminated by the Duchess of Kent on the very eve of Independence*

*representatives of the people, are here tonight to witness the passing of the old days and the birth of the new days of freedom and independence.*

*For, within the space of a few minutes, our colonial association with Britain will disappear and our new association with the Commonwealth, based on absolute equality and friendship, will begin.*

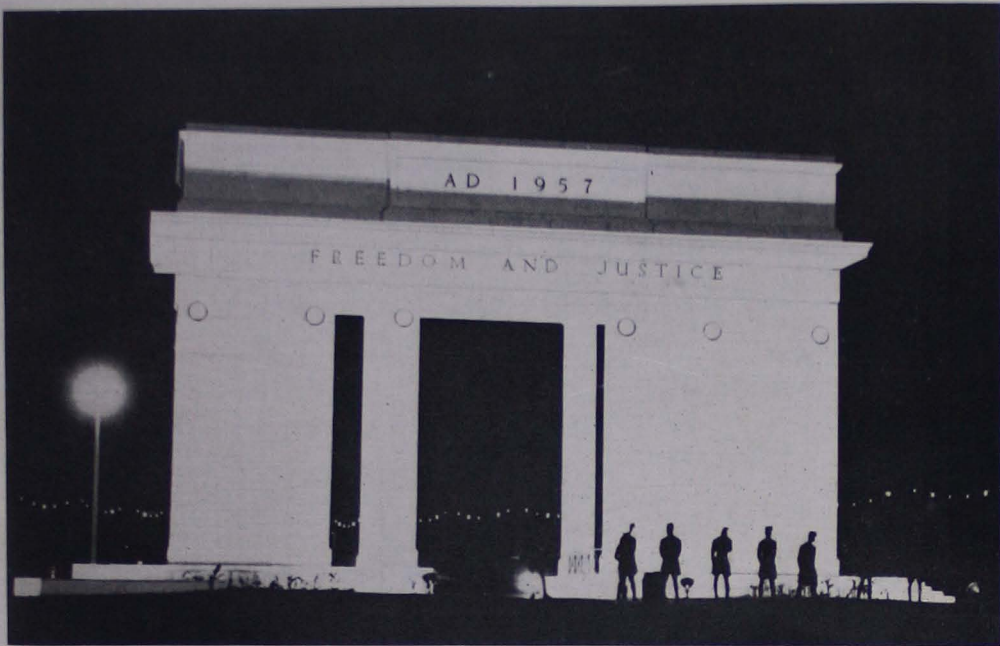
*Let us join with the poet to say Ring out the Old, Ring in the New . . .*

*Outside the Assembly building, the people of the Gold Coast are massing to hail the*

*moment when Ghana will be born.*

*Let the correspondent of the London Times describe the last scene inside the last Legislative Assembly:*

*The Prime Minister and some other Ministers were wearing Northern Territories smocks, the sign of the working man, and 'prison graduates' caps – such as are worn by convicts in the Gold Coast – with the letters P G embroidered in the front. Although this was the night of triumph for Dr Nkrumah and the Convention Peoples' Party, it was also so obviously a night*



*The proud inheritance  
of the citizen of tomorrow*



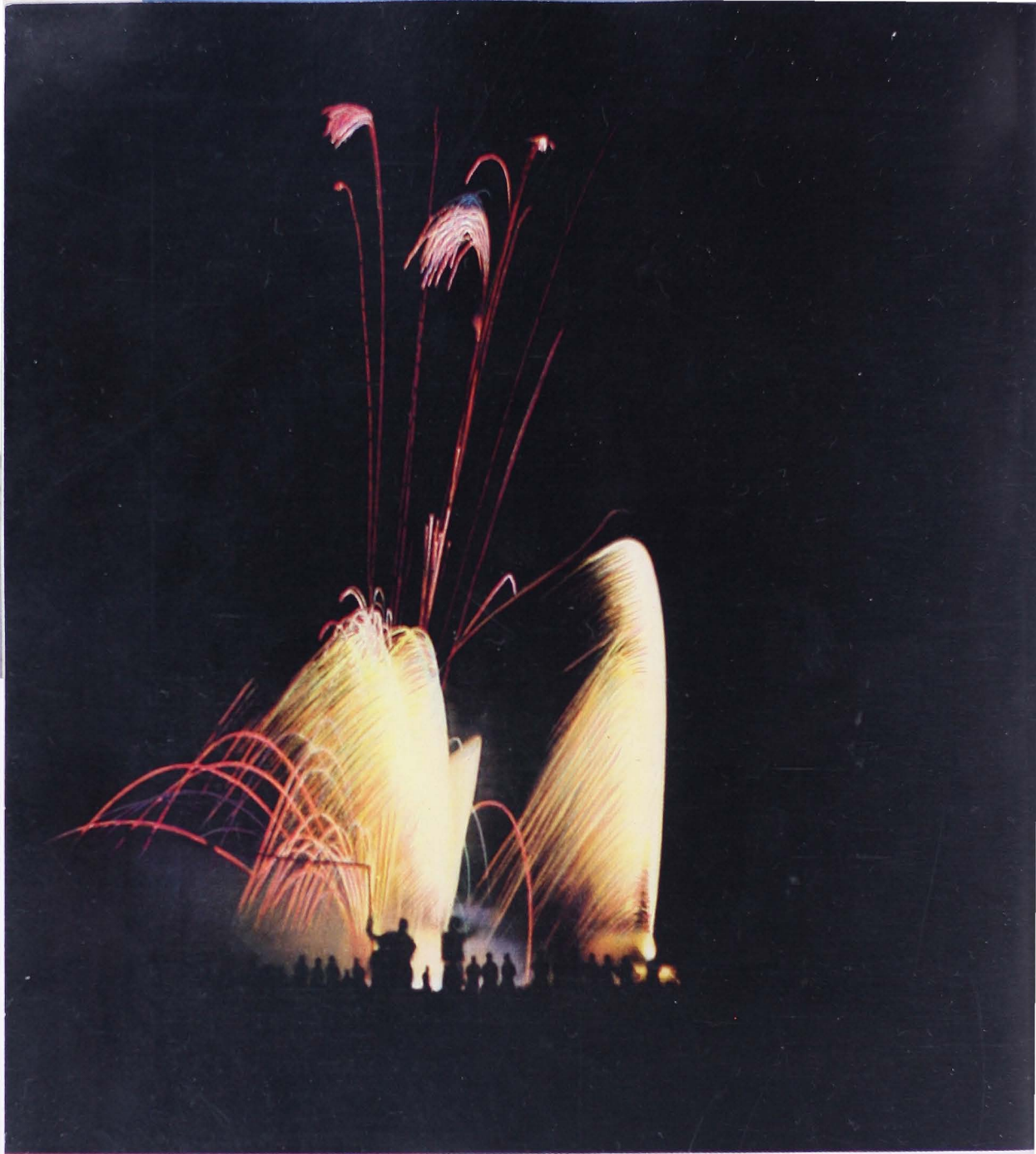
*of triumph for the whole country, that any attempt to treat it as a party occasion was bound to fail. After the prorogation, the Government supporters chaired the Prime Minister in such exuberant fashion that they nearly brained him on the lintel of the doorway.*

It is while the prorogation proceedings are still being concluded, and Members of the Assembly are still inside the building, that the midnight hour strikes. For the last time, the Union flag is lowered; and the red, gold, green and black flag of Ghana unfolds.

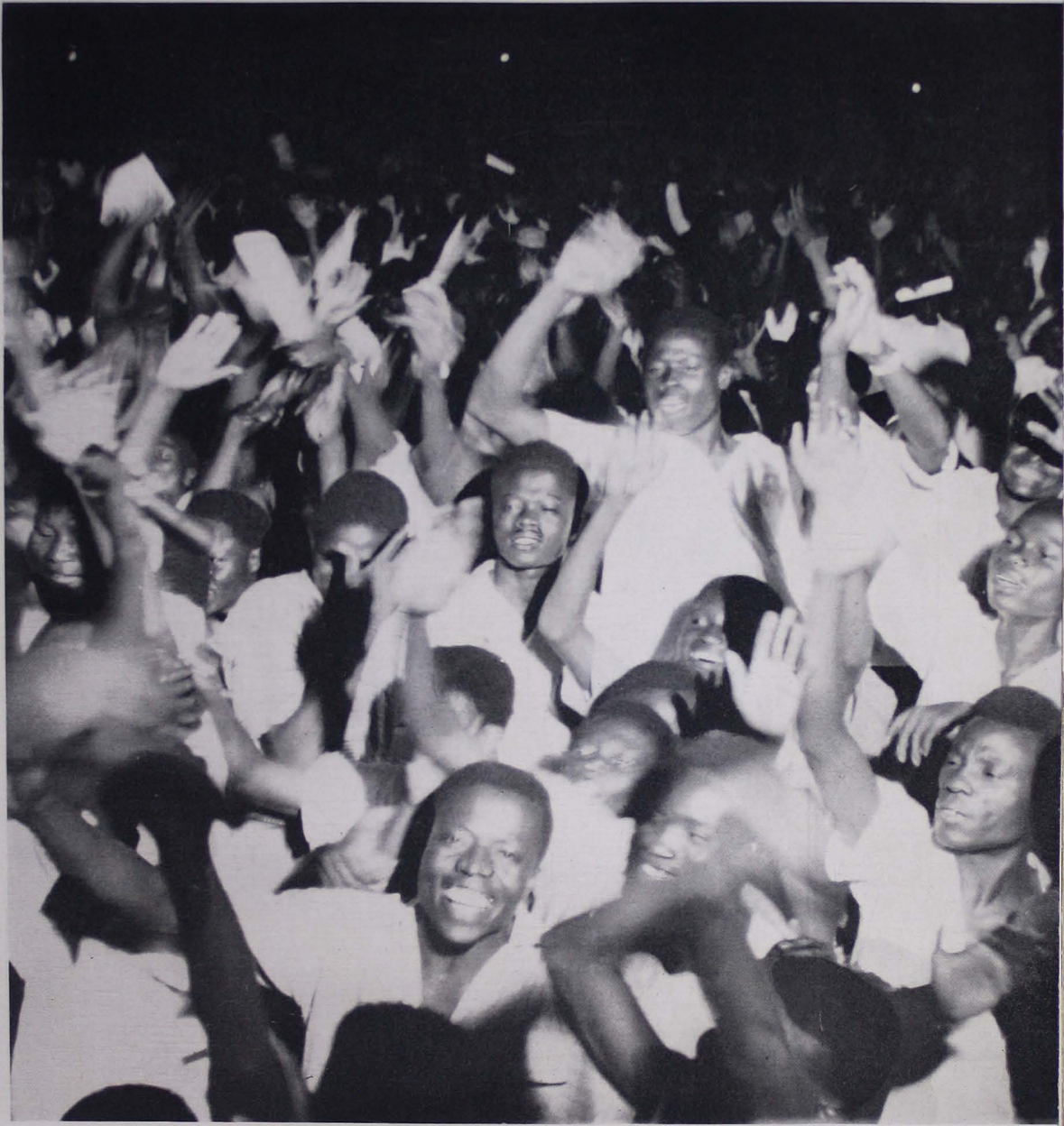
A new state is born. And a new nation's shout of triumph reaches towards the heavens. Out on the old Accra polo ground the crowds now await their Emancipator.

Flanked, on the rostrum, by his old comrades-in-the-struggle, K. A. Gbedemah, Kojo Botsio, A. Casely Hayford and Ako Adjei, Kwame Nkrumah speaks for Ghana. *At long last, the battle has ended. And thus Ghana, our beloved country, is free for ever.*

History is made this night.



*The fireworks of freedom*



*How many minutes to independence? Only a few seconds, now*



*' At last, the battle is ended. And Ghana, our beloved country, is free for ever !'  
Dr Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana, in a speech to the crowds on  
the old polo grounds in Accra, at five minutes past midnight on 6th March 1957*



*' . . . In consequence of this Act, my Government in the United Kingdom has ceased from today to have any authority in Ghana . . . ' Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, representing Her Majesty the Queen, at the State Opening of the First Parliament of Ghana, on 6th March 1957*



*The Speaker, Sir Emmanuel Quist, arrives*



*Chief Marealle from Tanganyika is there with his wife*

## **The scene outside Parliament House, 6th March**

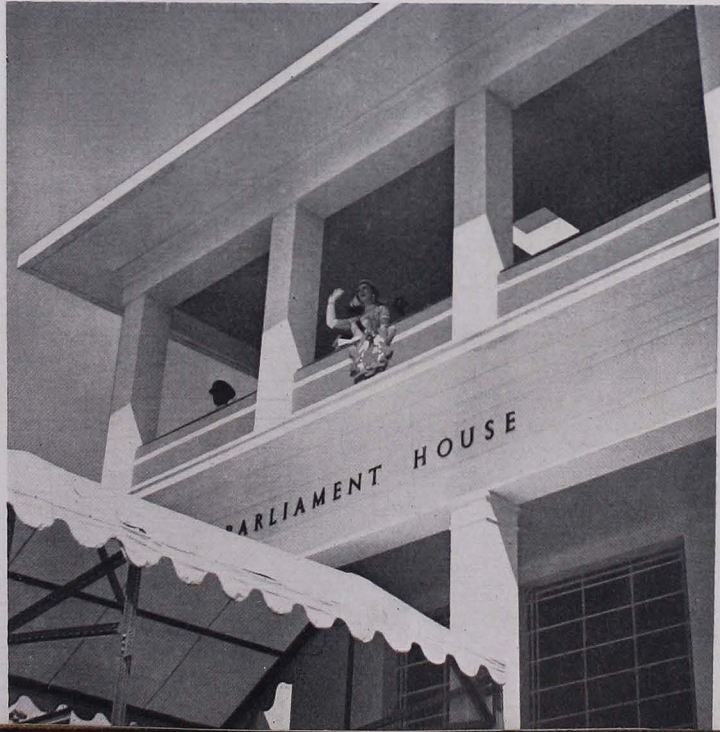
*The Ghana Regiment furnishes a guard of honour*





*The Prime Minister  
gives a  
cheery greeting  
on arrival*

*Afterwards the  
Duchess of Kent waves  
to the vast crowds  
from the balcony*





## The fingerposts of freedom

---

History had been made last night; but History does not halt in the morning.

These are some of the words that were spoken on Independence Day, during the First Session of the First Parliament of Ghana; words that could stand for ever as fingerposts pointing the way to Freedom.

These were the historic words spoken by Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Kent, on behalf of Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth: *On this day, one hundred and thirteen years ago a number of Chiefs in the Gold Coast entered into an Agreement to acknowledge the power and Jurisdiction of my predecessor, Her Late Majesty, Queen Victoria. Despite the fact that since the seventeenth century British power had been exercised in parts of the coastal area, this Agreement, known as the Bond of 1844, is usually regarded as the occasion when the formal relationship between the United Kingdom and the Gold Coast was first established.*

Now, one hundred and thirteen years later, on the anniversary of the signing of the Bond, the Gold Coast, under the name of Ghana, takes her place as a free, sovereign and independent country within the Commonwealth of Nations, recognised at the same time by all other member countries as herself a member of the Commonwealth.

Less than a month ago, I gave my Assent to the Ghana Independence Act, enacted by my Parliament in the United Kingdom. In consequence of this Act, my Government in the United Kingdom has ceased from today to

*have any authority in Ghana. Henceforward all powers previously exercised by my Government in the United Kingdom will be exercised by my Ministers in Ghana who will be responsible to the National Assembly of Ghana.*

The transfer of power had been accomplished. The Representative of the Queen who had ceded the power had now spoken. What of the representatives of those to whom the power had been transferred?

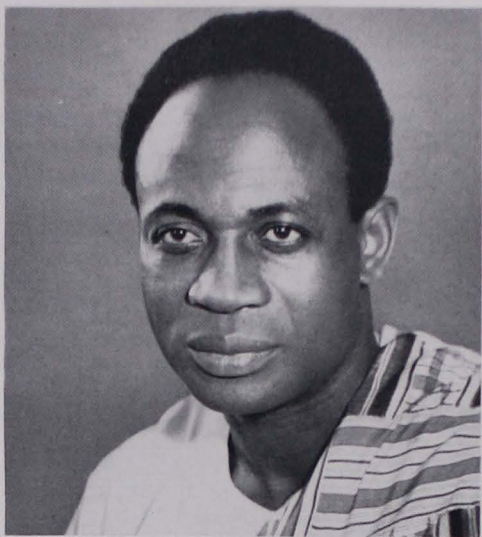
These were the words of the Prime Minister of Ghana:

*The achievement of freedom, sovereignty and independence is the product of the matter and spirit of our people. In the last resort we have only been able to become independent because we were economically, socially and politically able to create the conditions which made independence possible and any other status impossible.*

*We part from the former Imperial Power, Great Britain, with the warmest feelings of friendship and good will. This is because successive Governments in the United Kingdom recognised the realities of the situation in the Gold Coast, and adopted their policy accordingly. Thus, instead of that feeling of bitterness which is often born of a colonial struggle, we enter on our independence in association with Great Britain and with good relations unimpaired.*

*Independence is, however, only a milestone on our march to progress. Independence by itself would be useless if it did not lead to great material and cultural advances by our people.*

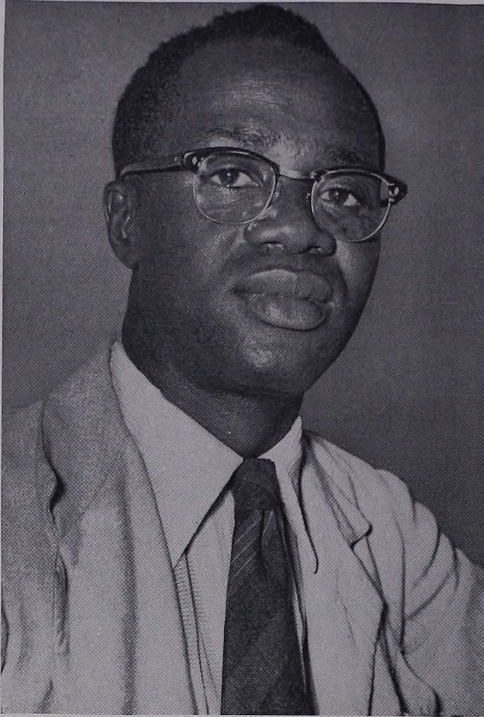
*Dr Kwame Nkrumah,  
Prime Minister of Ghana*



*BELOW RIGHT: Her Royal Highness the  
Duchess of Kent, who spoke on behalf of  
Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II at the  
opening of Ghana's First Parliament*

*Sir Emmanuel Quist, KT, OBE,  
Speaker of the Parliament of Ghana*





*Professor K. A. Busia, Leader of the Opposition*

*In pressing on with these advances we shall be doing more than merely benefiting Ghana. If we in Ghana can work out solutions to the problems which beset the tropics, we shall be making a contribution to Africa and to the world as a whole. By the knowledge and methods which we must develop, if we are ourselves to succeed, we shall aid very materially other territories and enable them the sooner to reach conditions under which they may become independent . . .*

*In striving to create a modern State dedicated to freedom and justice, we shall have many enemies to fight against. Our first task must therefore be to make certain that there is a strong and resolute public opinion which condemns, as anti-social, idleness and neglect; carelessness which destroys valuable crops or machinery, and corruption, which undermines*

*the basis of a sound commercial life . . .*

*By our actions the whole future of Africa must be affected. When I spoke in this House in regard to the Constitution, I began by quoting the words of a great English politician of the eighteenth century, Edmund Burke. He once said in another connection: 'We are on a conspicuous stage and the world marks our demeanour.'*

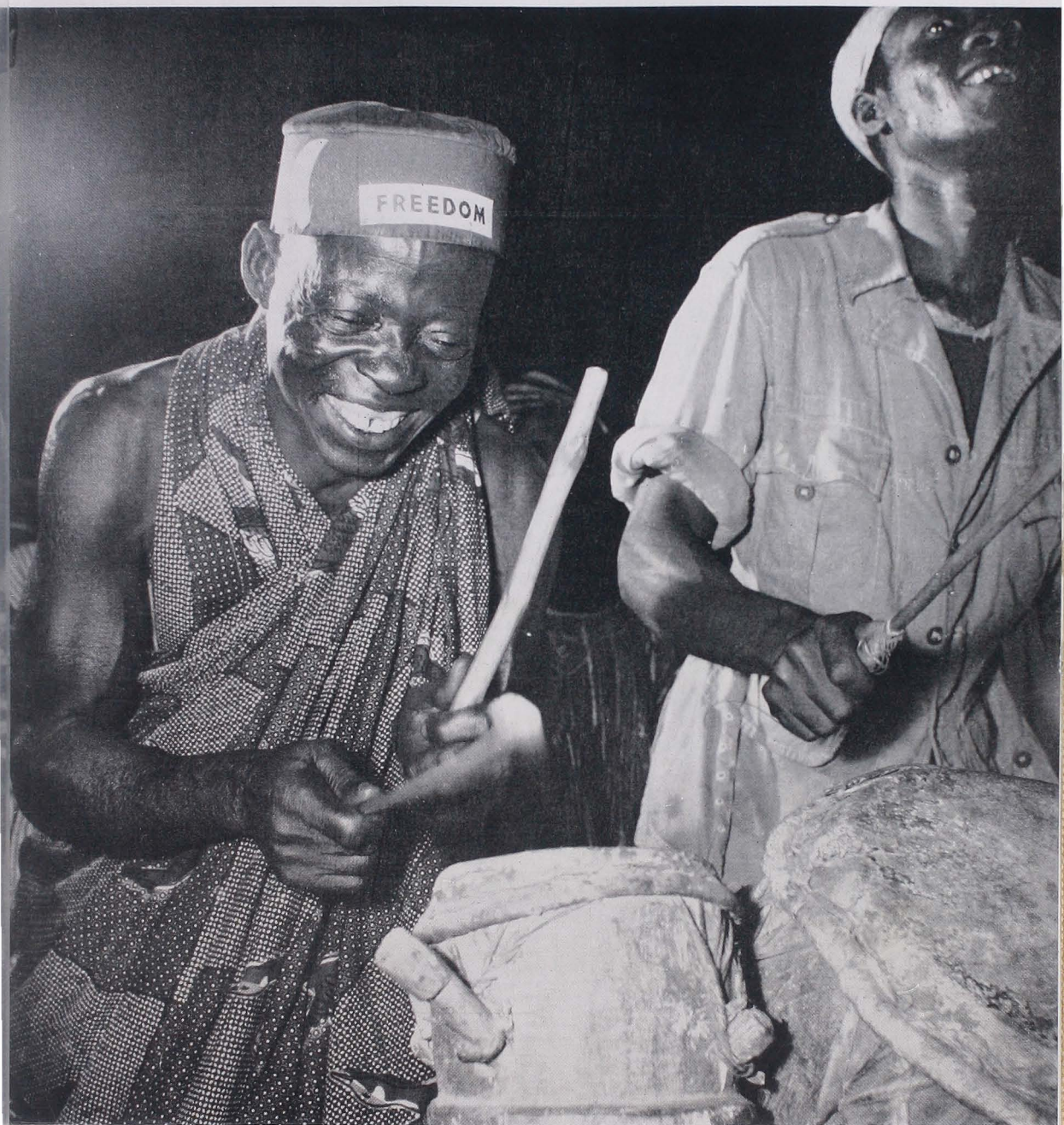
*These words are very true of Ghana today. I believe that this House and this country will be worthy of the responsibility history has entrusted to us, and that we will not disappoint those millions of people to whom our success or failure will mean so much.*

The words of the Prime Minister were followed by the words of the Leader of the Opposition, Professor K. A. Busia:

*. . . We may be permitted to observe that our admission to membership within the Commonwealth drives another nail into the coffin of the crude biological theories of racial superiority by which many have striven to justify the domination of one race by another. We become members of the international fraternity of the British Commonwealth on the basis of our common humanity.*

*We are aware that we owe this achievement to the people of Britain and other foreign countries, as well as to our own countrymen. We owe it to many from Britain and other foreign countries who, over the years, as civil servants, service men, missionaries, teachers, traders, and business men, served and taught us; as well as to many of our own countrymen, political leaders, Chiefs, farmers, workers, and citizens in all walks of life who, by what they learnt, and what they did, helped to lay our foundations, and give evidence of our fitness to govern ourselves. It is by the devoted day-to-day service of many ordinary and un-noticed citizens that a nation achieves greatness . . .*

*To the people of Britain, and to Her Gracious Majesty The Queen, we would say again, simply but with heartfelt sincerity, thank you; we are glad that our ties are to*



*All over Ghana, the drums talk and the crowds shout their happiness*



*The Prime Minister drives in triumph from the State Opening of Parliament*

*continue in the domain where human ties are most enduring: in the devotion and good will of the human heart freely given and reciprocated.*

Then, there were the words spoken on the same day a few minutes before the Opening of Parliament by Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke on the occasion of his swearing-in as Governor-General. Words that light up the fingerposts to freedom as they appear to one who has spent thirty-seven years in the British Colonial Service:

*The Colonial policy of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, so far as the man serving in the Colonies is concerned, has not only been constant through the years: it has been quite simple and straightforward. These were the instructions I received when I arrived in Northern Nigeria as a young Administrative Officer:*



*Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke,  
first Governor-General of Ghana*

*' Your job is to teach the people committed to your care to stand on their own feet and to run their own show within the rule of law . . . '*

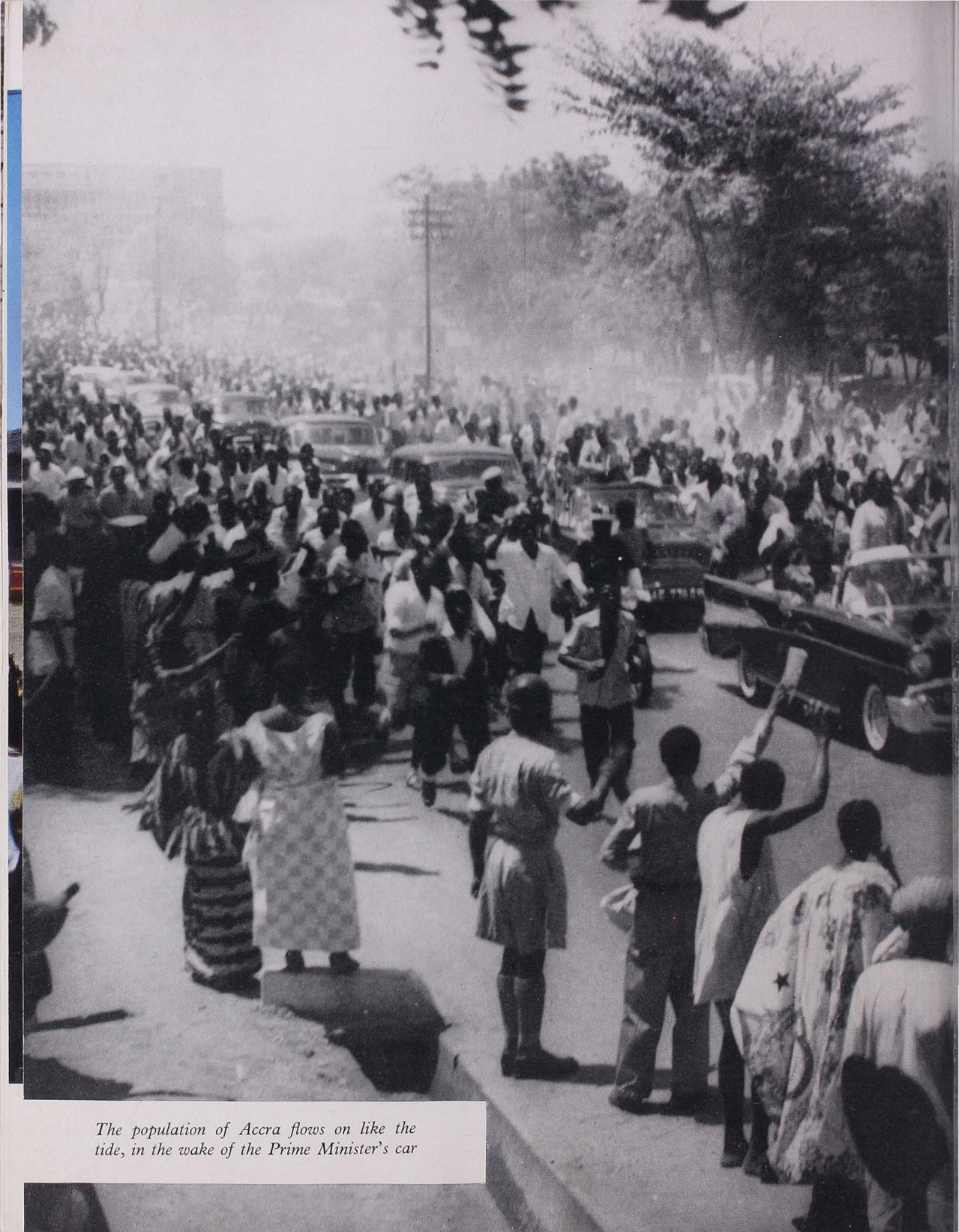
*I will not pretend that when I first joined the Colonial Service the achievement of this aim of British policy seemed likely to be realised during my term of service, or even during my life-time, but the world, particularly the colonial world, has moved far and fast since the first world war. Of the many forces that have been at work in this world, nationalism has been one of the most potent, though not always as happy in its effect on the contemporary scene as the outcome which we witness today.*

*Here, thanks to the statesmanship of the political leaders, particularly of the Prime Minister, the good sense and good will of the Chiefs and people, nationalism and colonialism have worked in partnership, a genuine partnership, animated by forbearance and mutual understanding, towards a common objective. Of her own free will, this country has chosen to remain with the British Commonwealth of Nations, and she has been welcomed as a member by all the other members. In so far as the birth of Ghana today is the natural outcome of British Colonialism, I am proud to be a British Colonialist.*

*I have faith in the future of Ghana. It is a faith broadly based on the character of her people. For nearly eight years I have lived in this country in day-to-day contact with the leaders of the people and with their representatives in all walks of life, and I have been deeply impressed by their qualities: their vitality, their generosity, their good humour, their independence of mind, their tolerance – perhaps above all the fundamental commonsense of the man of the farm and the man in the street . . .*

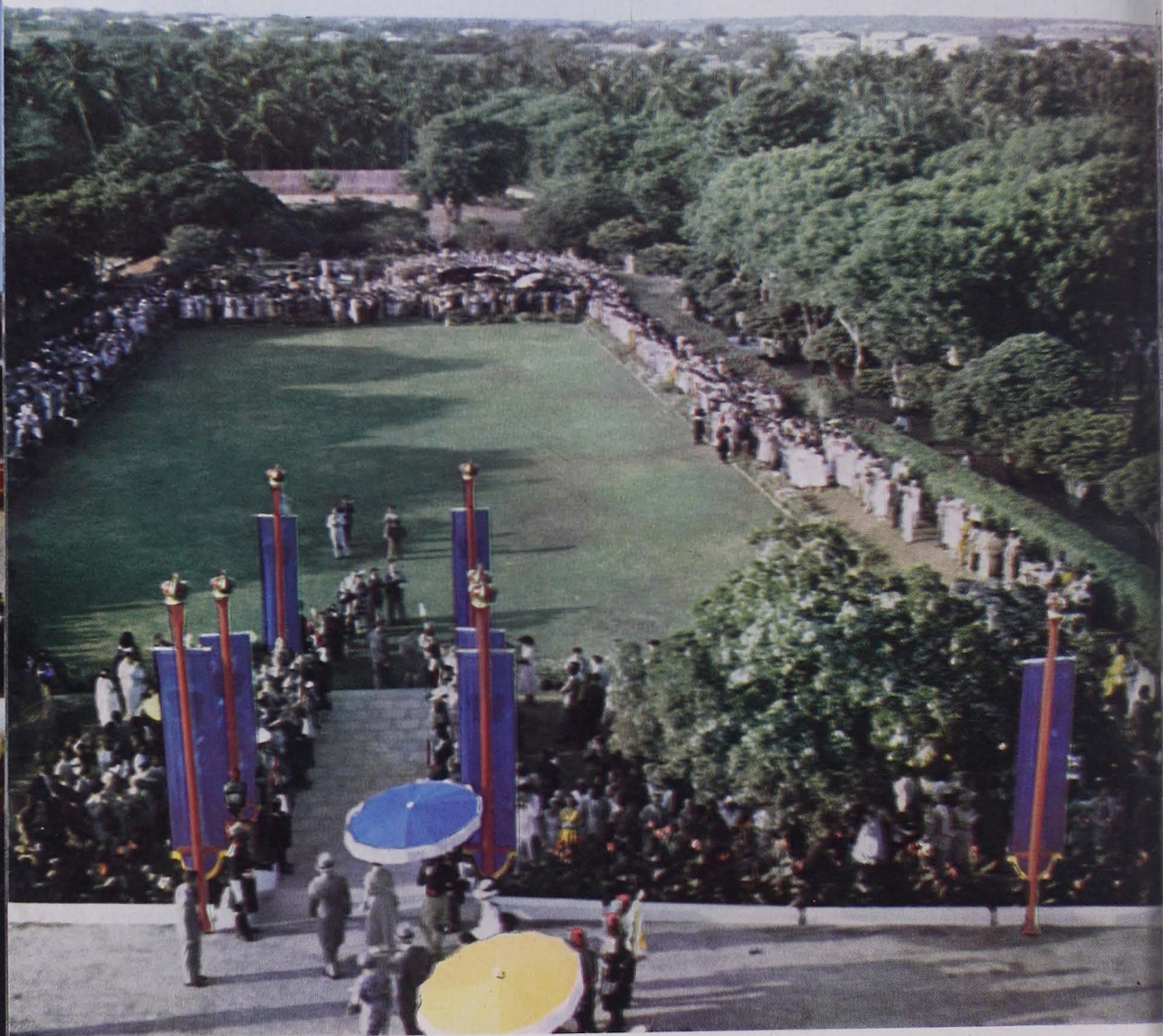
And finally, there were the words of a man in the street, overheard in the crowd on the old Accra polo ground, just after midnight on the night of 5th-6th March:

*We've been free for the past twenty minutes, and I'm telling you it's a wonderful feeling. We've just got to go right forward now!*



*The population of Accra flows on like the tide, in the wake of the Prime Minister's car*





*After the dust and ferment of the milling streets, the green shade of the Governor-General's garden party at Christiansborg Castle*



## *The ceremonies of the first days of Independence*

---

On 6th March, when the Gold Coast became Ghana, the Legislative Assembly became the National Assembly. A Colonial Legislature had turned into a Dominion Parliament.

The opening on that day of the first session of the first Parliament of Ghana was in accordance with traditional procedure.

*We have maintained the ceremonies which have marked the opening of this Parliament, the Prime Minister explained, because they are common to the countries of the Commonwealth and because they emphasise a common approach to the problems of democracy.*

Sir Charles Noble Arden-Clarke, who had ceased at midnight to be Governor of the Gold Coast, was sworn-in by the Chief Justice, as Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of Ghana. When the oath of allegiance had been sworn by Sir Charles, Mr Speaker entered the Chamber and took the Chair. The Proclamation summoning Parliament was read.

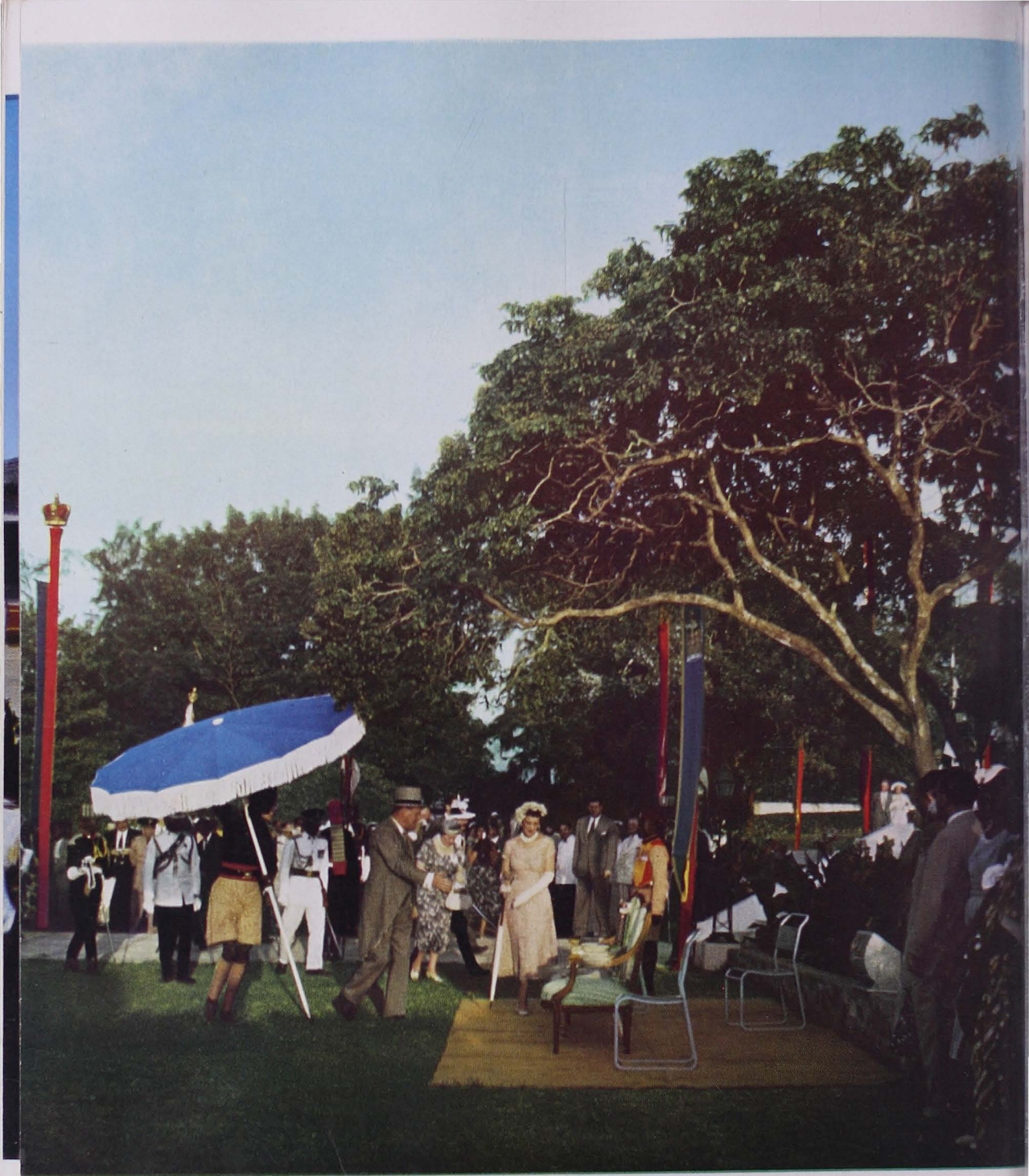
Then were read the two traditional prayers, beginning, *Oh Lord our Heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of Kings, Lord of Lords, the only ruler of Princes, who dost from Thy Throne behold all the dwellers upon earth . . . and, Almighty God, by Whom alone governments govern and courts decree justice, and from Whom alone cometh all counsel, wisdom, and understanding . . .*

The Speaker then moved towards the

main entrance, and Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, preceded by the Governor-General, entered the Chamber. As soon as she was seated, the Clerk of the Assembly read the Letters Patent under the Royal Sign Manual empowering her to open the first session of the First Parliament of Ghana.

Thereafter the Prime Minister handed to Her Royal Highness the Speech from the Throne, thereby demonstrating that the contents of the Speech were the responsibility of the government of Ghana; whereas the contents of the personal message from Queen Elizabeth which was delivered immediately afterwards by Her Royal Highness, was not the responsibility of the Cabinet, as was demonstrated by the fact that the text was handed to the Duchess by her private secretary.

Then followed, in due order, the reading and presenting, by the Speaker, of an illuminated address to Her Royal Highness; the presentation by Her Royal Highness to the Government of the constitutional instruments establishing the Constitution of Ghana; and, finally, after Her Royal Highness's withdrawal from the Chamber, the motion, moved by the Prime Minister and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, requesting that an address-in-reply to the Speech from the Throne be sent to Her Majesty the Queen.



*The Duchess arrives at the Governor-General's garden party*



*After all the formality of the State Opening, informality. After all the speeches, conversation*

If the proceedings inside the Parliament building on this historic occasion were formal and measured, there was nothing formal or measured about the jubilation which greeted the Duchess on her State Drive, or which carried the Prime Minister through the city on a tidal wave of joy.

After the austere solemnity of the morning's ceremony, the distinguished visitors from overseas and the representatives of the people from all over Ghana relaxed in the afternoon at the Governor-General's garden party.

In the evening, there was to be the state reception and ball; and there was to be a slight technical problem for the Prime Minister. Dr Nkrumah had mastered many techniques in his day; but he had scarcely ever had time to explore the technique of ballroom dancing. However, Mrs Lucille Armstrong, wife of the American musician



*The shadows lengthen, and evening comes to a historic day*

*Nightfall brings some of the world's most distinguished citizens to the State Reception and Ball*





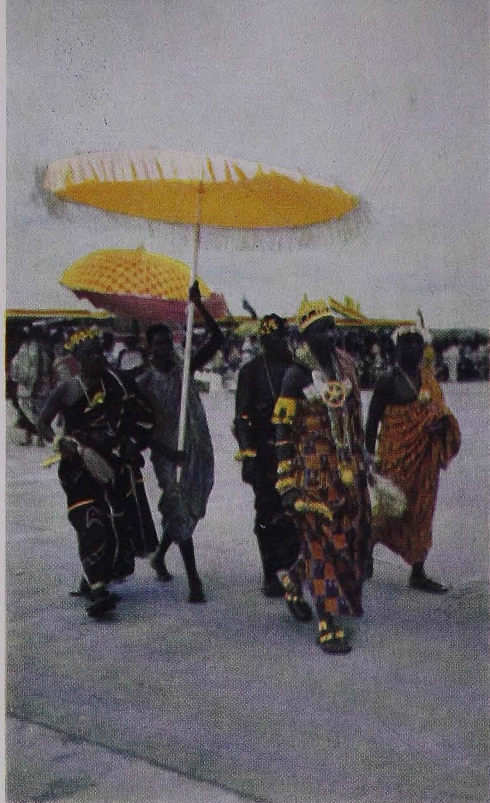
*And nightfall fills the night-clubs of Ghana with the citizens of a free country*



*Duchess and Prime Minister dance a fox-trot in the State House*



*Freedom Boy meets Freedom Girl, and dances in the night-club*



*The Chiefs and their families . . .*



*. . . arrive in all their splendour*

Louis Armstrong, came to the rescue, and gave the Prime Minister a half-hour lesson in the waltz and the quick-step. He learned quickly. And as John Redfern of the *Daily Express* (London) put it, 'The Duchess and the Prime Minister made a striking couple in the ballroom.'

Next morning, the Duchess attended a grand Durbar at Achimota – the great Gold Coast school of which the *Manchester Guardian* wrote in a leading article: *Ghana was born and nurtured on the playing fields of Achimota more surely than Waterloo was won on those of Eton. No men have deserved better the gratitude of this week's celebrants than Alexander Fraser and James Aggrey, re-*

*spectively first principal and vice-principal . . . at which Nkrumah himself and many more first drew the breath of finer air.*

On this morning, the Symbolic dancing and drumming at the Durbar gathering also testified to the Duchess the continuing loyalty and respect that the people, in the days of Ghana no less than in the old Gold Coast days, feel for their chiefs.

And now the time had come to say farewell. Six days earlier, Her Royal Highness had arrived in the Gold Coast. Today, she took leave of Ghana. In those six days, she had lived through, and helped to make the headlines of History. And a candle had been lit in Africa that would never be put out.



*... for the Achimota Durbar*

*... and to meet the Duchess*

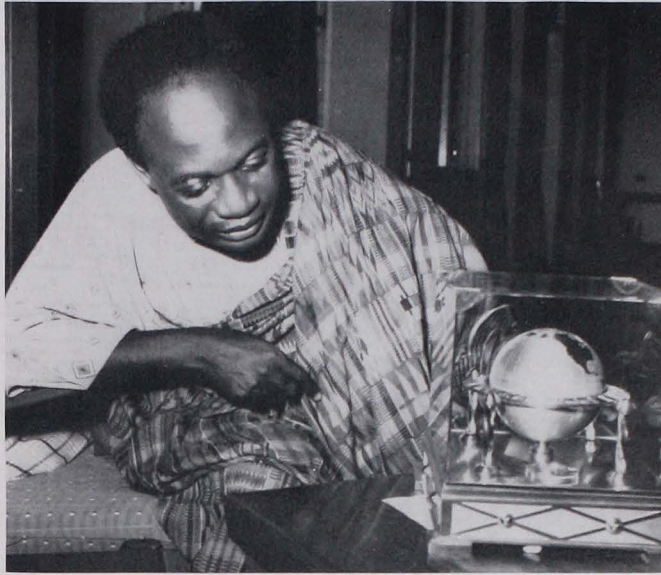




*Before the Farewell, the Duchess of Kent accepts a gift from Nene Annorkwei, Mantse of Prampram*



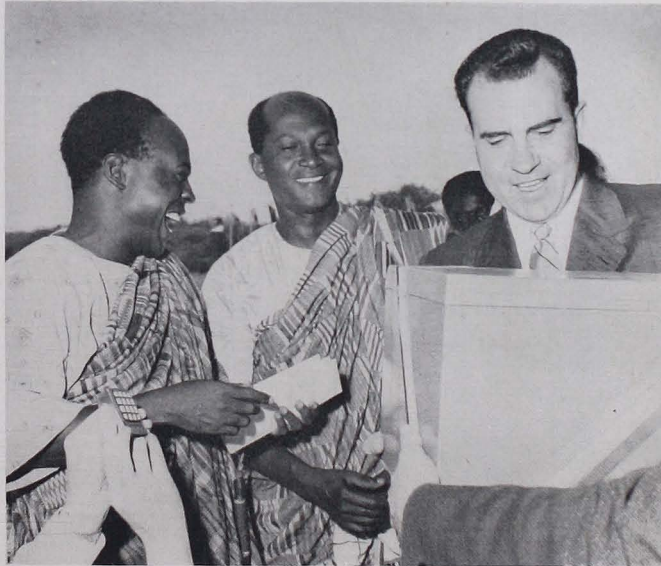
*To Ghana from Denmark*



*To Ghana from France*



*To Ghana from Burma*



*To Ghana from the United States*



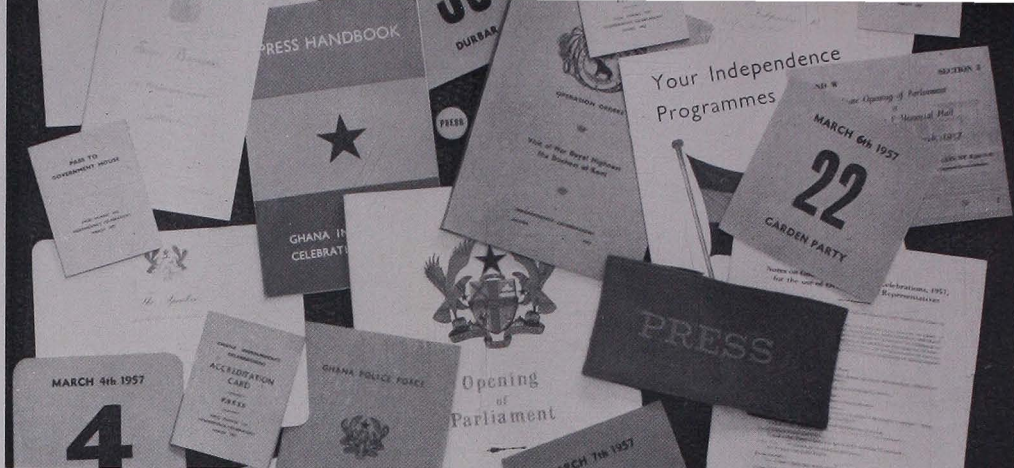
*After six tremendous days, during which they have both helped to make history, the Duchess and the Prime Minister bid each other goodbye*

*It was to the Gold Coast  
that she came last week.  
It is of Ghana  
that she takes her leave  
today at Accra airport*



*And the representatives of all Ghana wish her God-speed*





## *How the celebrations were organised*

If it had ever suddenly become necessary to organise the Coronation of a Queen of England in an English city the size of Plymouth, the problems would not have been more formidable than those confronting the organisers of the independence celebrations in Accra.

Accommodation, transport, traffic, security, orientation, decoration – each one of these near-vacuums had to be filled in a matter of months (in some cases, weeks) before the world could be lodged, for ten resounding days, in Ghana.

Members of the Ghana Government, who were in the best possible position to judge such things, took the view that independence only comes once; and they instructed their departments to go to town on it. Accordingly £600,000 was allocated to the Celebration

Fund, of which over £100,000 was earmarked for celebrating in the Regions.

The Independence Arch, the permanent and luminous centre-piece in the temporary transfiguration of Accra, cost just over £50,000 – a small price, one would say, for a monument that will stand for ever as a testament of freedom and justice. £30,000 worth of fireworks blossomed in the Ghana sky, and vanished in a night; but they will not vanish from the memory of the breathless millions who beheld them.

£40,000 – and a great deal of love – was expended on the decorations. Children, throughout the country, were endowed with £30,000 worth of souvenir beakers. A hundred and fifty cars, indispensable for the transport of visiting Government delegations and other guests, were bought.

But the cars in themselves would have been of little use to the delegates and official guests, without the two hundred undergraduate ADCs who were attached one to each of them to show them where to go; or without a patient and courteous police force to canalise the torrential traffic, and ensure that it was physically possible for them to get there.

And even all that would have been of little use, if the delegates and guests had had nowhere to lay their heads at the end of each long, tumultuous day. The accommodation problem was solved by the spontaneous co-operation of hundreds of Accra families and of the University College authorities – and also by the foresight of the Government, which had inspired and sponsored the build-

ing of the Ambassador Hotel, where most of the foreign Government delegations stayed.

In the course of Independence Week, it became clear that the Ambassador Hotel was something far more than a very first-class hotel. It was, among other things, an example of the best in contemporary architecture and interior decoration. It was a private product of public enterprise. It was also an act of faith in the national and international future of Ghana. Above all, it turned out to be a magnetic meeting-place, whose bar and restaurant and terraces were of such comfort and friendliness that even the representatives of the most sharply opposed political systems in the world must needs be hard put to it to feel unfriendly or uncomfortable with each other, when rubbing shoulders in such surroundings. Indeed, many visitors to the Ambassador had the impression that there was nowhere else on earth quite like it.

At the same time, the staff of the Ambassador Hotel might well have had the impression that there had never been an assembly of visitors quite like this assemblage.

Glance into the foyer of the hotel at any hour of the day or evening during Independence Week, and what would you have seen? In one corner of the foyer, Vice President Nixon, surrounded by a legion of American pressmen; and, on the fringe of the pressmen, a man who looks as if he might be an American, but turns out to be Mr Benedictov, the Soviet Minister of State Farms. Near to him, near Dr Cheddi Jagan from British Guiana, is R. A. Butler from the United Kingdom. Over by the Information desk, the delegate of the Union of South Africa is passing the time of day with the delegate of Liberia. And, just coming in at the door is Sir Alan Burns, former Governor of the Gold Coast.

Independence only comes once. 'Maybe,' says a Nigerian Journalist, surveying this pacific scene, 'maybe that's a pity.'

*A smiling police force, that took care of everything, from torrential traffic to straying children*





## ***How Ghana's Prime Minister met the press of the world***

There were more than a hundred of them at the Prime Minister's independence week press conference, representing newspapers and news agencies and broadcasting and television companies, whose very names indicate the global variety of this gathering. *The Times* (London) was there; and so was *Pravda* (Moscow); *Life Magazine* and the Hsinhua News Agency of China. The *Manchester Guardian* and the *Rand Daily*

*Mail*. The BBC and the NBC, Associated Press and British United Press. *Drum* and the *London Daily Mirror*. Reuters and the Agence France Presse. *The Liberian Age* (Monrovia) and the *Nigerian Catholic Herald* (Lagos). *The New Yorker* and Jamaica's *Daily Gleaner*.

The variety of the journalists was matched by the variety of the questions which they put to the Prime Minister; and the Prime

*The pressmen of the world had a hundred questions to put . . .*



Minister showed himself a master of diagnosing instantly the kind of questions that were put to him. So, every straight question got a straight answer. And the playful questions – whose playfulness more than once concealed a prickle – got a playful answer. Thus, in a pat and smiling reply to a playful-prickly question about the appointment of a Deputy Prime Minister, Dr Nkrumah said simply: ‘Do I look so old as to need a deputy?’

There were also some prickly – and not so playful – questions, put by French African journalists about French Togoland. The Prime Minister’s answer was direct and serious: Ghana would welcome French Togoland into Ghana, if that was what the people were proved to want; but Ghana would not surrender the former British Togoland for the sake of Togoland unity.

To a prickly question about Ashanti, the Prime Minister replied that a referendum would be held throughout the whole of the

Ashanti territory to decide whether a Brong region was wanted by the Ashanti people, or not.

To a question on Ghana’s relations with the Union of South Africa, the Prime Minister said that he looked forward to increasing trade, and perhaps technical co-operation, between the two countries; adding that he detested Apartheid ‘which does not conform with the principles of Christian ethics’, and if he had his way ‘it would be smashed’. But, ‘you cannot interfere in another country’s internal affairs.’

So, for more than an hour, the Prime Minister trod skilfully among the thorns and the bouquets that had been prepared for him. In the course of the conference, he had referred to Ghana’s position in international affairs as being that of a ‘small country with a big voice’. By the time they left the conference room, most of the international journalists present seemed freely persuaded to agree with him.

*... and Ghana’s Prime Minister had an appropriate answer to every one of them*





## *How the news was sent out to the world*

---

From 74 countries came 124 writers, 27 photographers, 23 film cameramen and 18 broadcasters to report Ghana's independence to the world.

By the time it was all over, the writers had cabled 290,000 words abroad. The London daily papers alone had given the Ghana story 3,000 column inches; and there was scarcely a provincial paper in Britain that had not given it a surprising amount of space. In the United States, which was represented in Ghana by no less than sixty-seven visiting reporters, there were some 30,000 column inches in nearly 150 newspapers. Ninety-nine pictures were radioed to Europe and North America; eighty-eight of these were used in one week by the London dailies. The broadcasters from overseas made direct broadcasts for radio programmes totalling another thirteen hours. And the writers made radio-telephone calls totalling yet another thirteen hours.

The independence of Ghana was covered by the world press as no other African event has ever been covered. Yet, only a couple of months before Independence Day, it had inevitably been impossible to predict how many pressmen would be coming, and from where, and for how long. It had been difficult to see where – with the Ambassador Hotel already bespoke – they were going to sleep.

And no channels so far existed that would be capable of carrying their likely load of words.

It was the authorities of the new University College at Legon, eight miles outside Accra, who came to the rescue in the matter of accommodation. The Master of Third (now Commonwealth) Hall agreed to turn his hall, which was still not yet completed, into a press hotel. And the builders were still in, some of the paint was not quite dry, and the last tiles were not yet in place, on the day when the first journalists from Scandinavia and Russia and Asia started to arrive and settle into the undergraduates' rooms.

Meanwhile, the Post Office, working night and day, had laid a fifty-two channel cable from the Cable and Wireless head office in Accra to the press hotel, eight miles away – all in the space of three weeks.

Cable and Wireless had brought eight operators from Britain to man their twenty-four hour service from the hotel, which was in direct and instantaneous radio contact with London. Their office had anticipated a peak of 20,000 words a day – but, on the eve of Independence day, the cable office at the press hotel alone handled another 15,000 words. The transmission delay never exceeded one hour. Veteran British and American journalists agreed that they had never experienced such efficient working,





*At Ada, at the mouth of the river Volta, the people dance the traditional Krama dance as a very special thanksgiving for Freedom*



## *This is the way that freedom comes*

---

This is how Freedom comes. And these are some of the ways in which, throughout the whole land of Ghana, Freedom is greeted.

It comes with the one minute of silence that stills the triumphant crowds on the old polo ground at Accra, after midnight has struck on the night of 5th-6th March.

It comes with the playing, for the first time, of the Ghana National Anthem – the song that future generations may come to think of as the *Marseillaise* of Africa.

It comes with the booming of 'dane guns' in the bush and with the tolling of church bells in the villages, and with the laughing shuffle of the high-life in the city streets.

It is greeted with great shouts of 'Free-dom!' from the starlit crowds swirling and smiling their way through Accra; with whispered words of thanksgiving from the families who have gathered indoors to keep this first night of Independence as a watch-night, a night of vigil, and to pour libations to the Almighty and to the gods of the lagoon and the sea for having been spared to see the sun rise upon a Free Ghana.

In Kumasi, capital of Ashanti, Independence is greeted with the ceremonial hoisting of the Ghana flag and a display by 6,000 schoolchildren in Prince of Wales Park, attended by Otumfuo the Asantehene, and seventy other Kumasi Chiefs.

In Tamale, capital of the Northern Territories, Independence is greeted with a religious service, and with tribal dancing, and with bonfires. It is greeted, also, with

innumerable competitions. Competitions for football, tennis and hockey. Competitions for the best decorated house, the best dressed horse, the best brass band, the cleanest compound, the fattest lady. And competitions to decide who can brew the best Pito beer.

In Trans-Volta Togoland, the Ghana flag is ceremoniously hoisted at Ho, Kete-Krachi, Jasikan and Kpandu.

At Cape Coast, on the eve of Independence, a crowd of thousands attend a watchnight service in Victoria Park; and a candle-light procession, more than a mile long, parades through the streets.

In Koforidua, and elsewhere in the Eastern Region, the people rejoice. But the celebrations of Ghana Independence are not confined to Ghana alone. The kente cloths are coming out all over Britain. In London, the Ghana Commissioner, T. Hutton-Mills, gives a jubilant independence party; and the United Kingdom Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, attends a Ghana banquet. In Manchester, Leeds, Newcastle, Birmingham, Hull, Cambridge, Leicester, Durham, Glasgow and Aberdeen, Ghanaians and their English and Scottish friends gather to celebrate the day of Freedom.

Everywhere that Ghanaians meet, from Aberdeen to Accra, there are echoes of the words spoken by the Government Agent at the village Durbar in Sogakofe, Trans-Volta Togoland, 'The fight is over! The battle won! Allelujah!'



*Throughout the Northern Territories, many arrived for the celebrations on horseback*



*All over Ghana – even at small village gatherings – the new flag was raised on Independence Day*

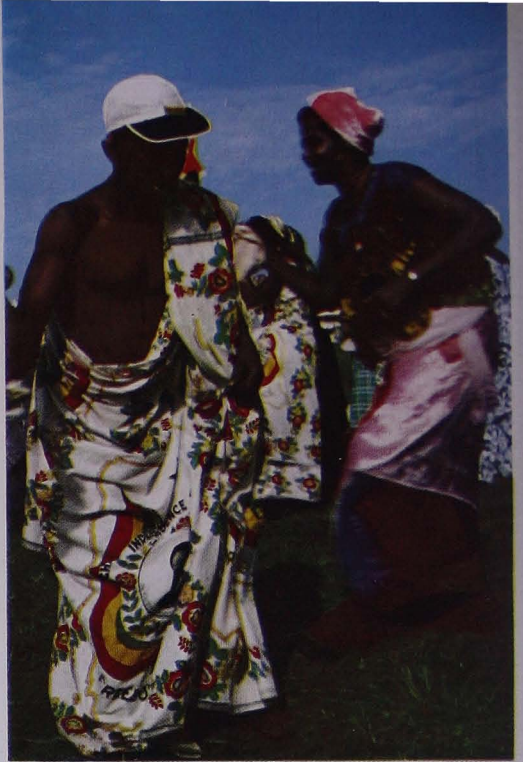
*After the tumult of independence week is over, the Governor-General and the Asantehene play a quiet game of golf*





*Sir Charles Arden-Clarke greets the Omanbene of Warsaw Frase State. For years, the chiefs have known him as Governor. Now they salute him as Governor-General*

*At Cape Coast, independence celebrations include an old-style hair-plaiting competition*



*Here the mascots of Number 6 Asaf Company dance in honour of the Governor-General during his post-independence tour of the regions*

*At Ho, the capital of Trans Volta Togoland, an independence durbar draws the crowds*



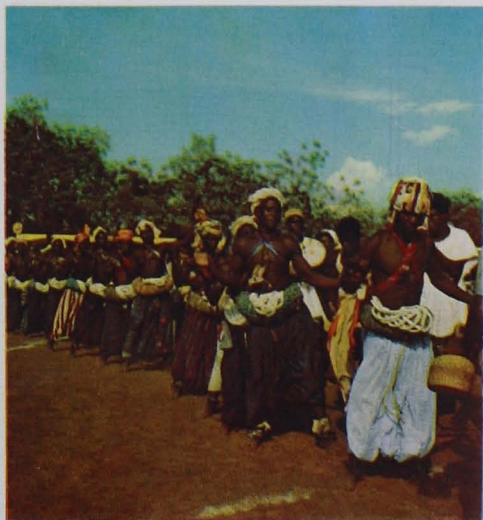


*The solemn ceremony at Cape Coast, as the flag of Ghana is hoisted*

*The Omanhene of Dutch Sekondi shakes hands with the Governor-General, at Takoradi*

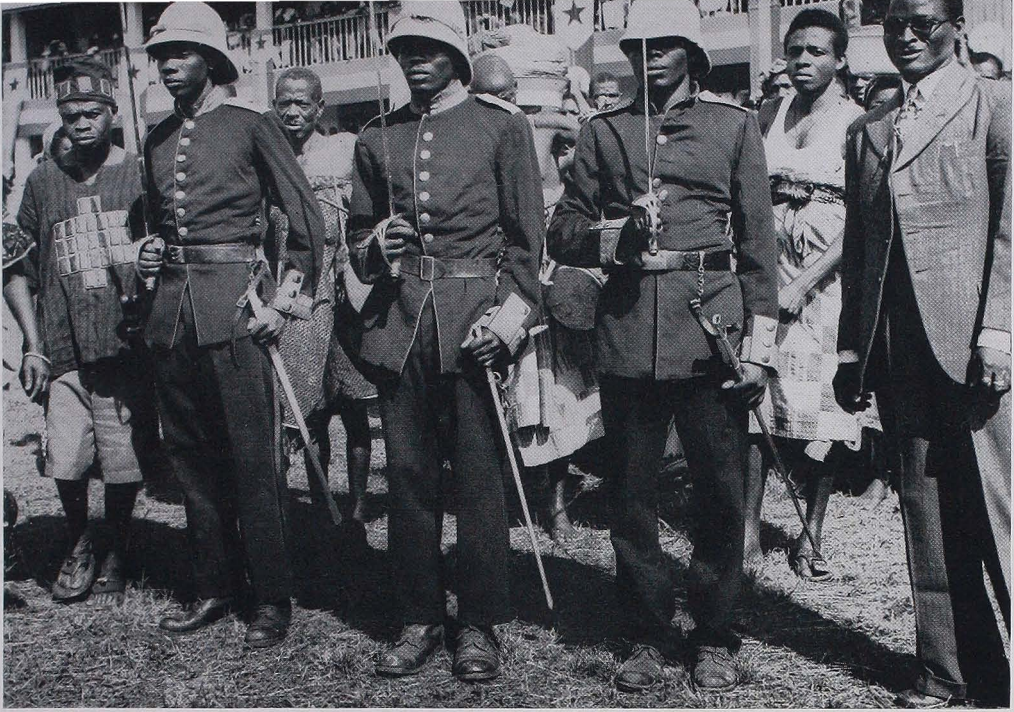


*A display of Trumas dancing, at Talikudi, in the Northern Territories*





*Independence is celebrated with gallons of palm wine*



*Independence is celebrated in a dozen different uniforms – these in Togoland, are old German ones*

*Independence is celebrated all over the world, including London, where T. Hutton-Mills, the acting High Commissioner for Ghana, gives an independence party*





*It was dancing, dancing, all the week . . .*

And everywhere there are echoes, too, of the Independence Day words spoken to his people by a Trans-Volta Togoland chief, Dake XI, the Togbe of Tsito, who works as a motor mechanic in his own garage: 'Today we are free. Today we are free.'

Finally, let the last word on the way that freedom came lie with the correspondents of two newspapers – one African, one British.

Here is the description written by the correspondent of the *Ghana Evening News*, the paper which served, throughout the whole of the last tumultuous decade, as the faithful and dedicated mouthpiece of the Convention People's Party:

*Jubilation ran riot! With the deafening din of exploding enthusiasm, and the universal exaltation of five million triumphant people,*

closed a hundred and thirteen years of imperialist domination.

Falling also at the same time was the curtain of oblivion over the barely commercial name given to the country in the hey-days of crest-fallen foreign plunder – 'Gold Coast'.

And here is a description of the mood of the seething crowds in the streets on the night of 5th-6th March, written by the *Manchester Guardian* correspondent, Naomi Mitchison:

*There was no fighting, no drunkenness; drums started up in the street, and there was orderly, happy dancing. I remember a hand in mine, dark eyes smiling, and the invitation 'Will you dance with us?' And, after the dancing, a policeman, also gently taking my hand, telling me of his happiness, and shepherding me back. And I remember the very soft hands of a small girl who held mine, while she looked up into my face and said, 'Freedom'.*

*By week's end, some had danced themselves to a standstill*





## The free paths to the future

After Independence what?

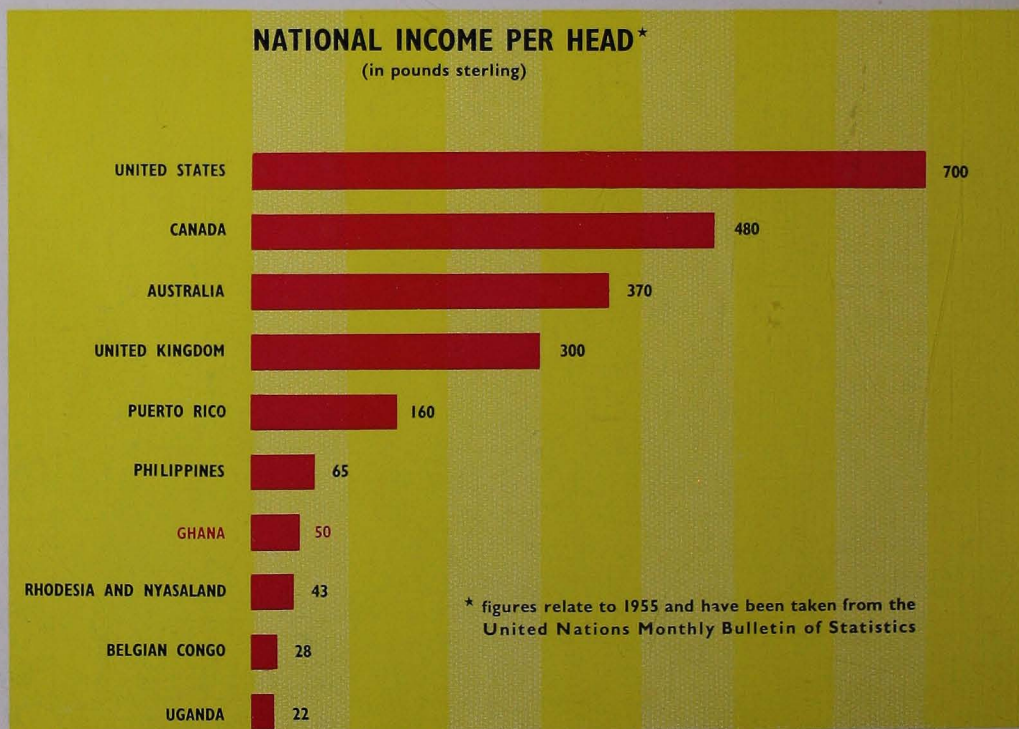
The political struggle was over: the decisive economic struggle had scarcely begun.

Even at the height of the celebrations, at the hour just before midnight on 5th March, when history itself was pausing, the Prime Minister took time off to look, and to speak, into the future.

The future has to start from the present;

and the present economic position of Ghana is indicated by the graph below, which shows the national income at £50 per head in Ghana to be low, compared with the national income in the United Kingdom, but high, compared with that of other countries in Africa.

There were certain favourable factors when Ghana assumed full responsibility for planning its own economic development





**MAIN PRODUCTS**

TIMBER	COPRA
COCOA	PALM OIL
COFFEE	MILLET & GUINEA CORN
MAIZE	SHEA NUTS
CATTLE	RICE
MANGANESE	BAUXITE
BANANAS	FISHING
YAMS	HIDES
GOLD	DIAMONDS

ROADS

RAILWAYS

AIRPORTS

G U L F O F G U I N E A

after Independence in March 1957.

The total public debt is £23 million and the overseas element at only £3 million is very small.

The present rate of investment is some fifteen per cent of the national income, of which two thirds is investment by Government and other public authorities directed into the development of roads, bridges and harbours, water supplies, power, schools, hospital services and other social services and productive enterprises.

Until 1956, Ghana had a substantial favourable balance of payments which led to considerable increases in the holdings of overseas balances. In 1956, although the

value of exports exceeded that of imports the balance of payments, which includes invisible transactions, was unfavourable. This change was, in the main, due to the reduced earnings from cocoa exports. It would seem that this unfavourable balance is likely to continue and export earnings or import saving enterprises are now of the greatest importance and are those which are receiving the earnest attention of Government.

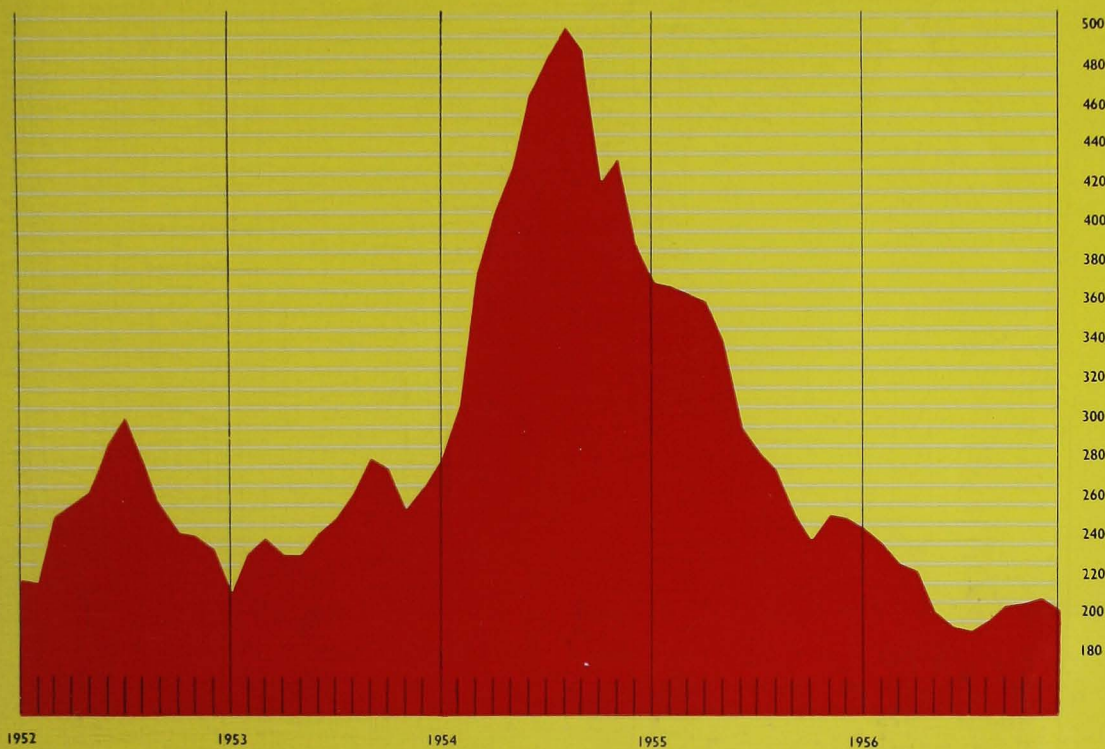
In spite of the efforts to diversify exports, Ghana still depends very much on the export earnings of cocoa, of which commodity Ghana is the largest single world supplier. This industry is the product of the initiative of Ghanaian farmers and it is upon the

*Cocoa, the key crop of Ghana, which yields the bulk of the country's revenue. More than 300,000 African small farmers work in the cocoa-producing industry, which, although entirely independent of foreign capital, is the largest in the world*



## COCOA PRICES\*

(in pounds sterling per ton)



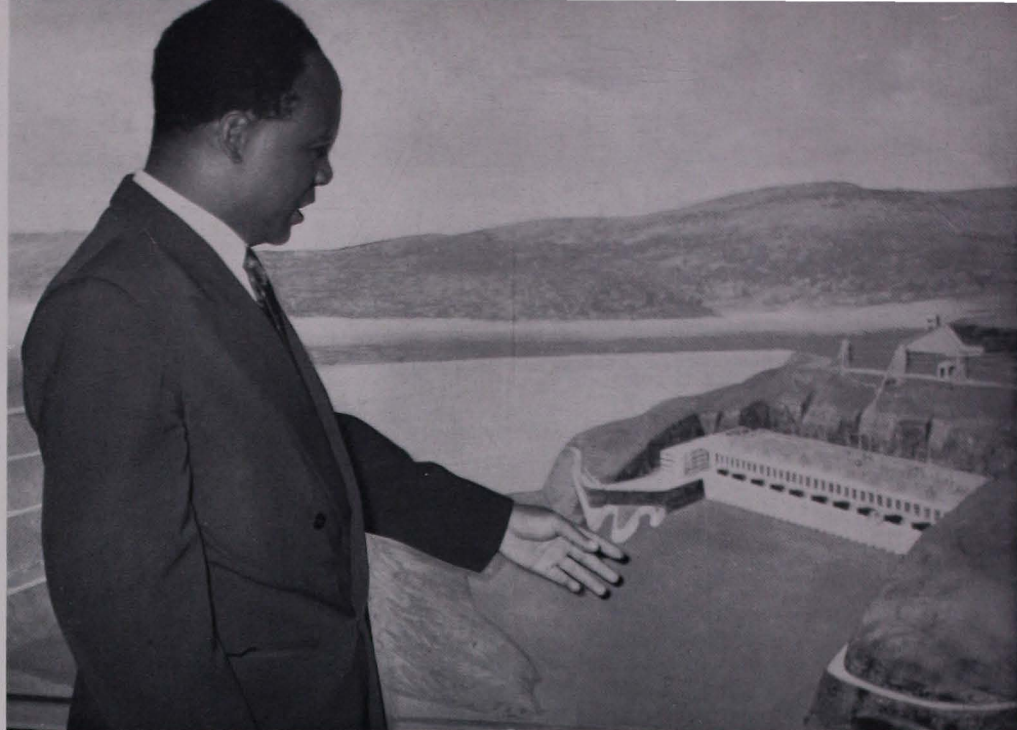
\* f.o.b. monthly average export price from Ghana

efforts of our own farming community that the country must continue to depend in the immediate future. In the period of the First Development Plan, the cocoa industry has provided most of the total amount of £130 million saved and set aside by Ghana itself for development.

The world market for cocoa is temperamental. Prices tend to vary widely, and it is very difficult to estimate prospective movements of these prices for reliable estimates to be made of the contribution which cocoa can

make in future years, for development purposes. This uncertainty cannot be limited to any great extent by action on the part of Ghana. The only prospect of diminishing the economic uncertainty which arises from too great dependence on a single crop is to develop other industries and give the economy greater resilience.

The most obvious possibility, and by far the most important one, is to combine the potential hydro-electric power of the River Volta and the large deposits of bauxite in



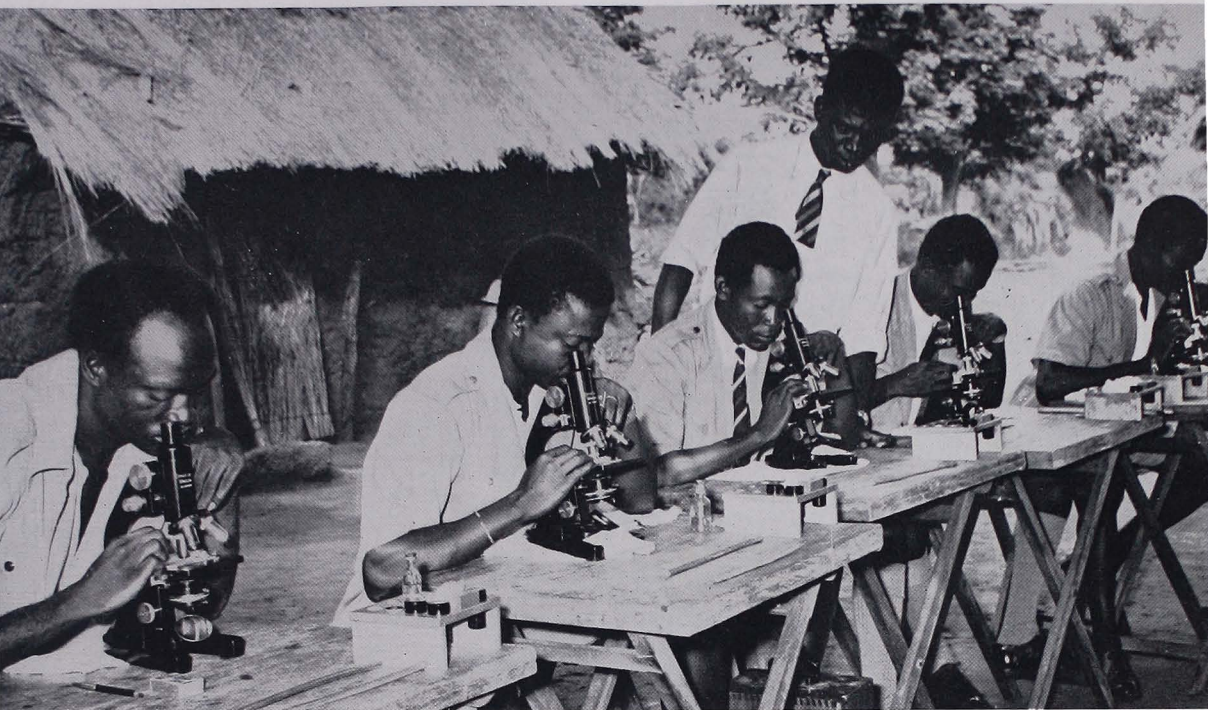
*'The Volta River Project', said the Prime Minister at his press conference, 'is my baby, and my ambition'. The project - which involves the exploitation of the country's bauxite-aluminium resources by means of a huge dam and hydro-electric power station - would cost some £231 million*

Ashanti for the manufacture of aluminium on a large scale. A great dam and lake, a major power station, a big aluminium plant and its associated town, bauxite mines and railways, and more traffic for the new port at Tema - all these would be a big step forward for Ghana. Besides the direct benefits of increased production and trade, the Volta River Project would give a stimulus to other developments.

The Preparatory Commission which examined the project in detail has pronounced it to be economically sound and technically feasible. The economic, social and health implications have been fully explored. For the business prospects, there is no doubt that in the onward march of the aluminium industry the new output from Ghana would be easily absorbed. The future of the project now rests with the people and Parliament of

Ghana, and with other parties who would be prepared to put money, skill and goodwill into it.

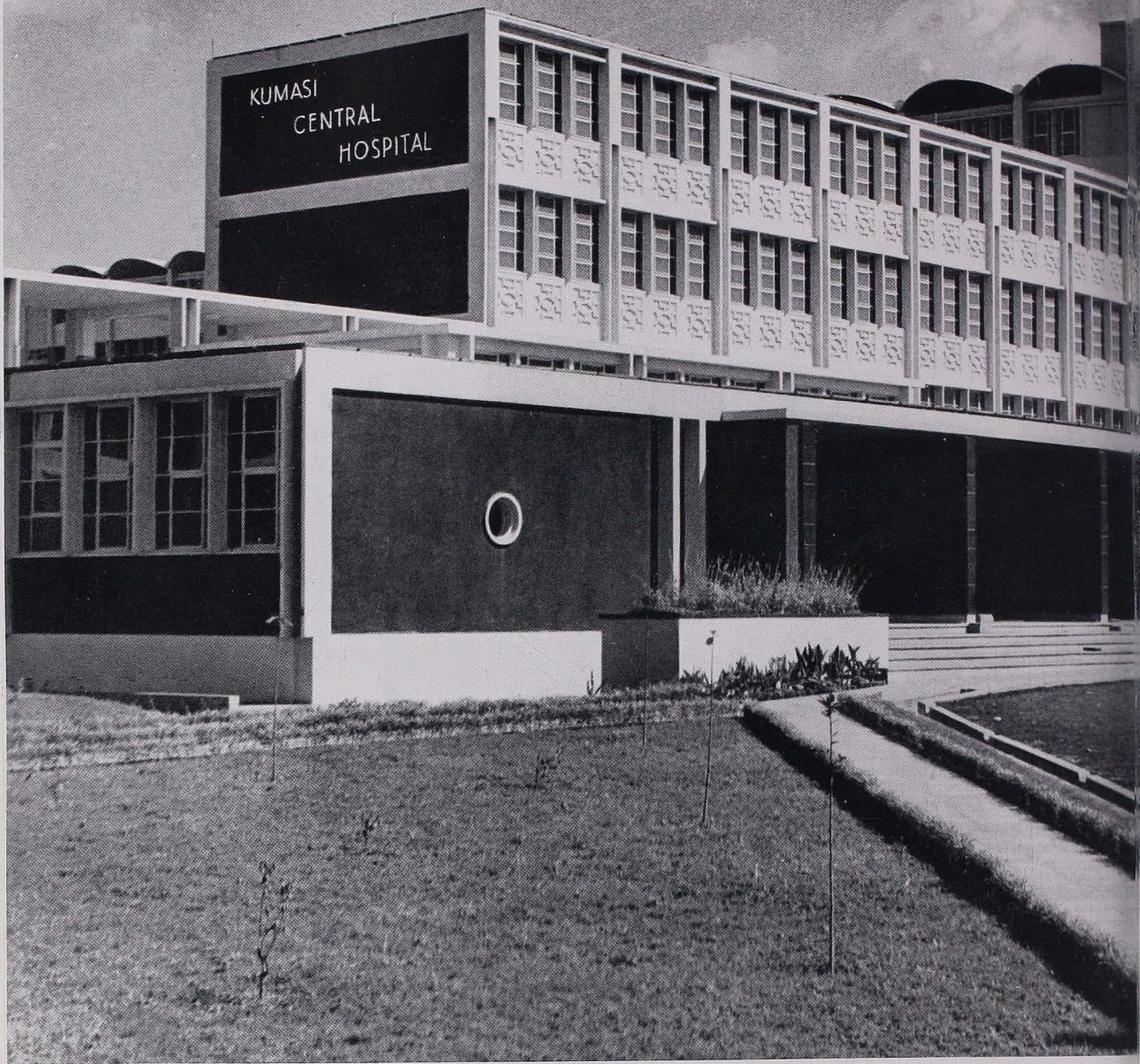
The amount of money needed for the Volta River Project is very large; in total for the ultimate development something of the order of £300 million would be needed. But it would not all be needed at once - construction to the first stage alone would take eight years, and in this period the annual expenditure would be only about £25 million. By the same token, however, the scheme could not make its contribution to Ghana's economic problems for a number of years, and in the meantime other development continues, though naturally limited to the most important and immediately useful works. To co-ordinate all aspects of development, the Government has set up a Development Commission.



*A medical field unit at work in a Ghana village. Health is part of a country's wealth; and it was the desperate shortage of doctors and hospitals that originally led to the creation of these units, which consist of groups of medical technicians, trained in the diagnosis of certain specific tropical diseases – such as yaws, sleeping-sickness, cerebro-spinal meningitis and leprosy*



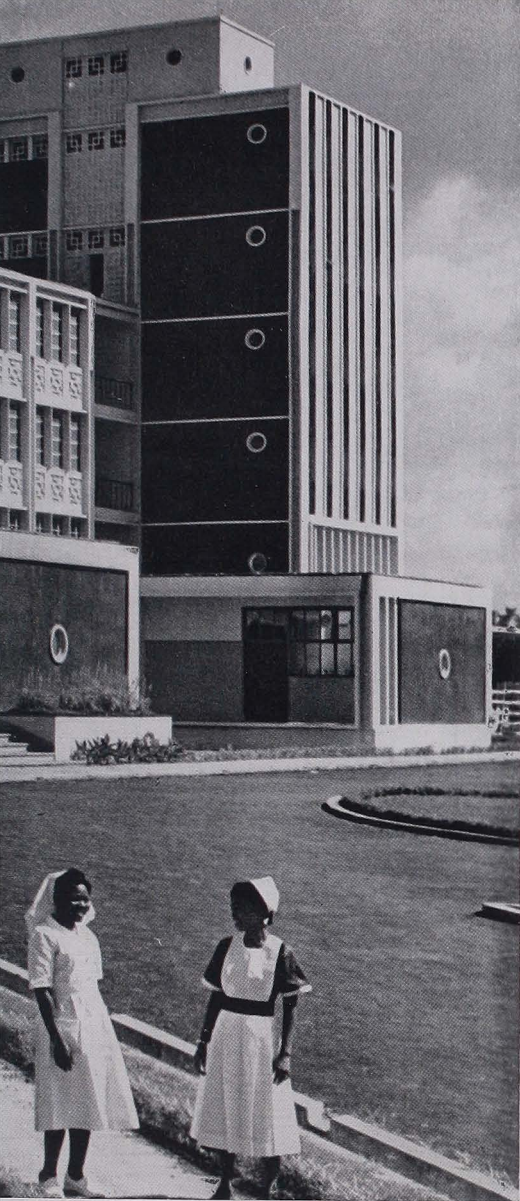
*Gold-mining – one of Ghana's valuable industries*



The Prime Minister summed up the future when he said: *the Government proposes that immediately after independence there shall be a period of financial and economic consolidation. During this period of consolidation we would avoid committing ourselves to any major project which might interfere with some other*

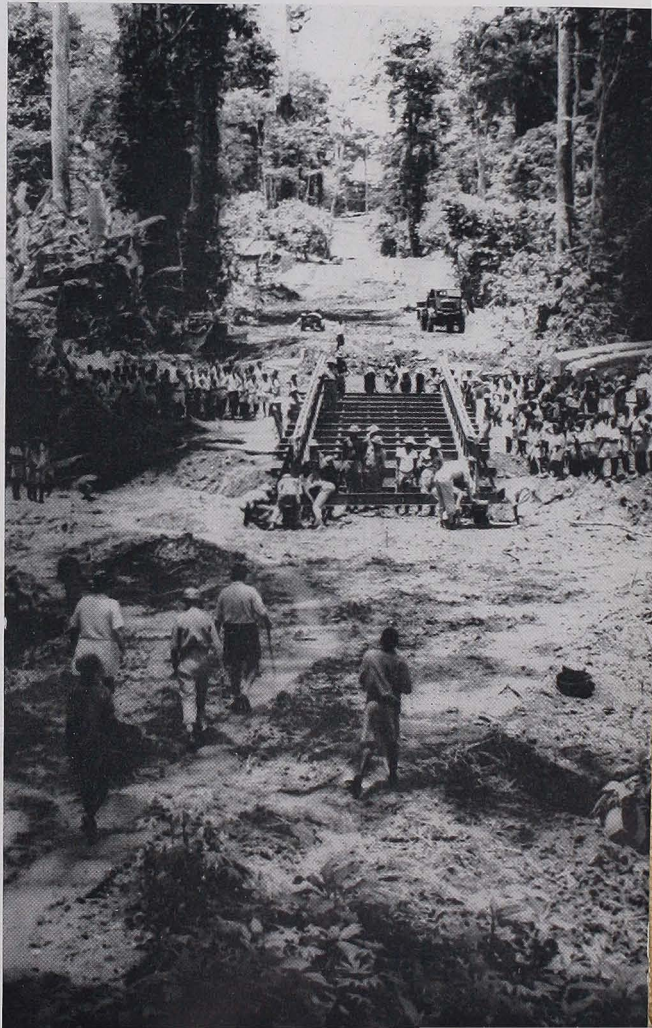
*form of development which, after a study of our situation, we might come to consider to be preferable in the national interest.*

The policy foreshadowed here is now being put into practice as Ghana's Consolidation Development Plan. The plan aims to keep the momentum of development, but to direct



*The magnificent new hospital at Kumasi is one of Ghana's answers to the challenge of chronic national ill-health. It also incorporates a Nurses' Training School with places for 300 girls*

*The need for roads is infinite. And infinite, it sometimes seems, is the forest through which the roads must be driven, if Ghana's agriculture and trade is to be fully developed*



it as far as possible to projects which pay off in themselves, or which save expense. Communications and the development of industry, of cocoa, and of agriculture generally, bulk large in the plan. Nevertheless, considerable sums will be spent on the social services of education, health and housing,

*The existing harbour at Takoradi, which was built in the 1920's, to cope with the post-war increase in trade, which had become altogether too heavy for the traditional surf-boats*

for these are not only desirable in themselves but also contribute in the long run to the nation's efficiency.

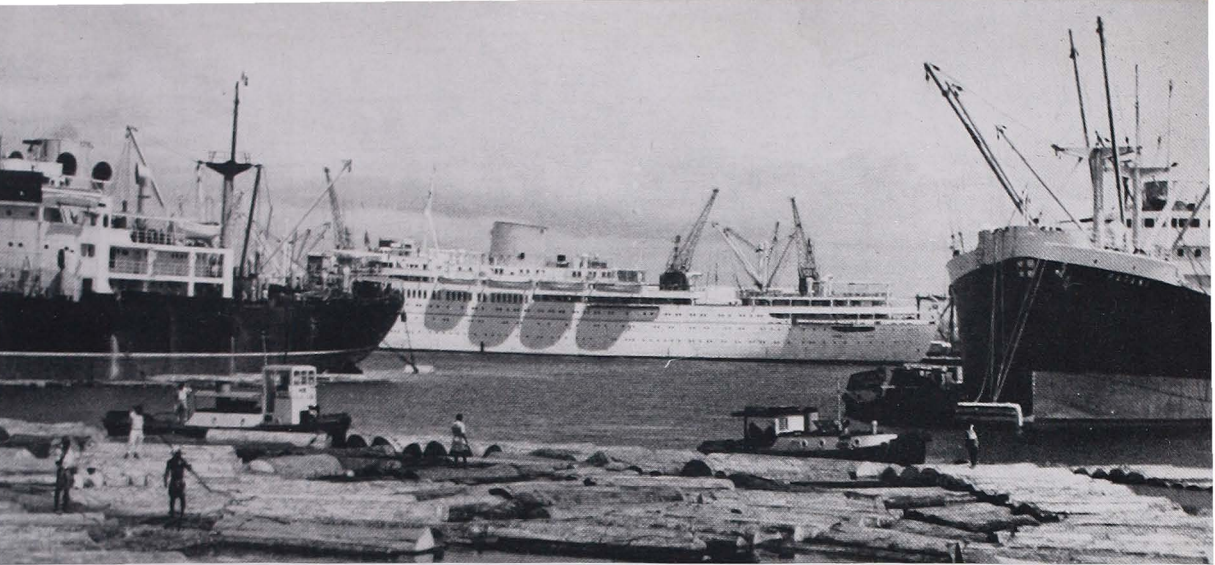
In a tropical country health has its special problems, but there are opportunities for making great improvements by relatively small expenditure on such things as clean water supply in the villages, control of mosquitoes (malaria) and of tsetse flies (sleeping sickness), and inoculation and vaccination. Most important is education in personal and communal hygiene. In this work Ghana's medical field units and its social welfare and community development have won international recognition as pioneers.

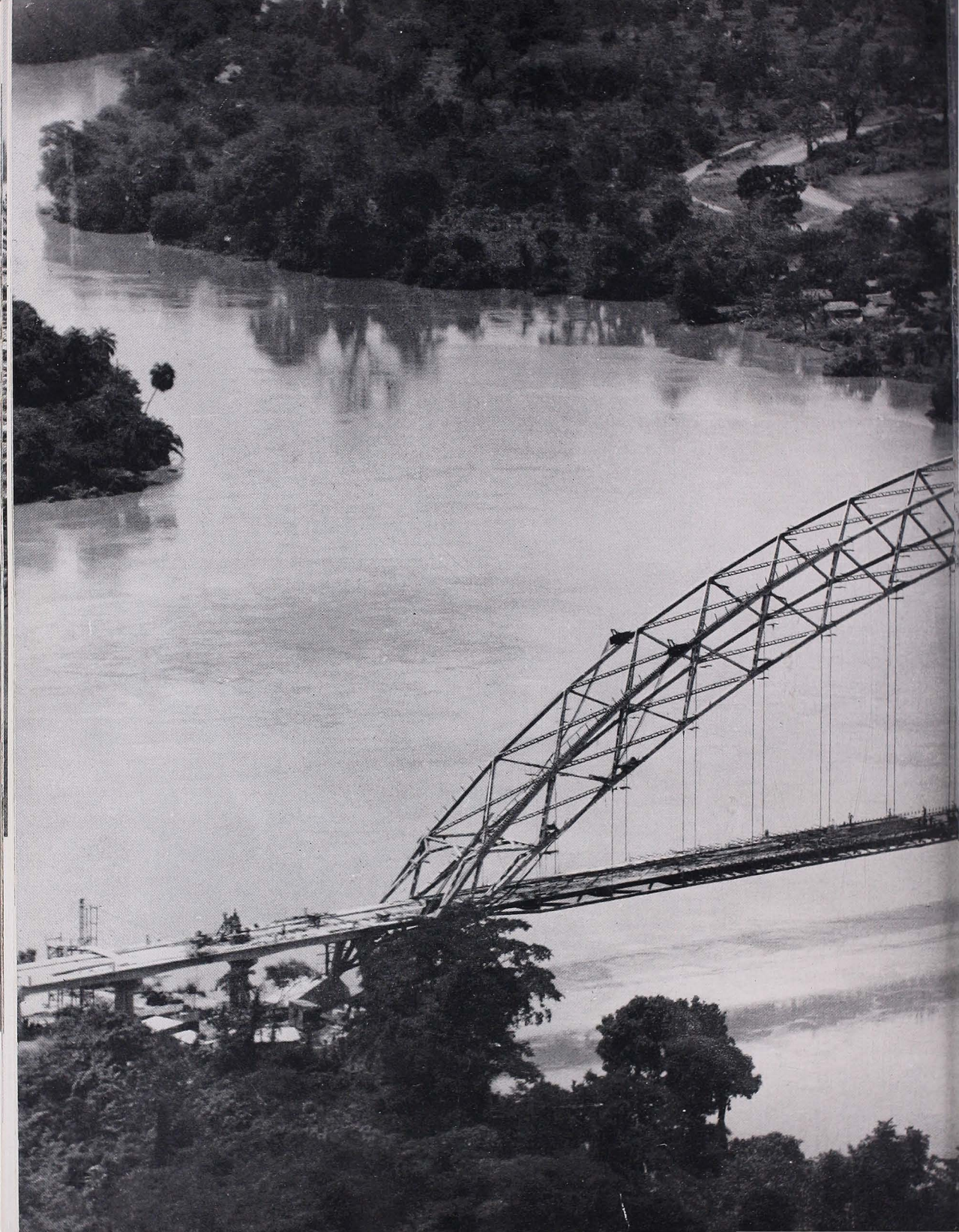
At the back of progress and development is research, not only in medicine but in many other fields. Ghana's contribution to tropical research is particularly in building and in cocoa. Indeed, the country has some natural advantages for research, as it offers a variety of climatic conditions ranging from the humid but breeze-cooled coast through the high rain forest to the hot semi-arid north.

In its new University College Ghana has laid the cornerstone of research, it has also gained much from the various inter-territorial research stations centred in the country. Researches will continue and be intensified at these stations though a new formula will be sought to bring their administration into line with Ghana's independent status.

*A diver goes down to prepare the ocean-floor for the new deep water harbour which is being built at Tema, sixteen miles east of Accra. If the Volta River project materialises, this harbour will be extended to handle the import of raw materials for the smelter, and the export of aluminium*









*The great bridge over the River Volta at Adomi, one of the biggest in Africa, was completed in 1956. It links two parts of the country which had hitherto only been accessible to each other by ferry. And it is a key piece in the construction of the new eastern highway which runs from Accra to Bawku*



*Queues of electors outside a polling station in Accra*

## **The Ghanaians who vote on Ghana's future**

*A chief votes in the Togoland plebiscite*

*All women over twenty-one have the vote*



## and the children to whom the future belongs

Basic primary education is free. Since the Government initiated its new education plan in 1951, enrolment in the primary classes has risen spectacularly from 154,360 in December, 1951, to 436,854 by February, 1956, and to approximately 455,563 by February, 1957. At the same time, Secondary and higher education facilities are being developed, so that the Africanisation of public life can be speeded up





*Less than three days after the birth of the new nation, the U.N. General Assembly approves the admission of Ghana as its eighty-first member: Major Seth Anthony takes his seat*

But the cycle of research, practical experiment and full-scale development is slow. Neither research nor development can be expected to produce spectacular overnight changes in Ghana's economy and any such expectation would be unfounded and unreal.

Nevertheless, Independence brought one over-riding and almost universal expectation which will not be disappointed: the expectation that every man and women in the country would have a limitless opportunity to serve an independent Ghana.

As the Prime Minister put it just before 6th March: *You remember our previous slogan was 'Self-Government Now', or simply*

*'S G Now'. Now it is 'Freedom'. Let the old slogan give us a new one, namely 'Serve Ghana Now'. Thus, if you are greeted with shouts of 'Freedom', the response should be 'Serve Ghana Now'.*

Within the nation-wide framework of service to Ghana, there will doubtless in the future be arguments and controversies as to what to do first and how best to do it.

About the methods of making the new nation there will be clashes of conscience and conflicts of conviction. And there will be political and parliamentary disagreements – some of them impassioned. Why not? It's a free country.

*'Our Foreign Policy shall be founded on three words . . .'*



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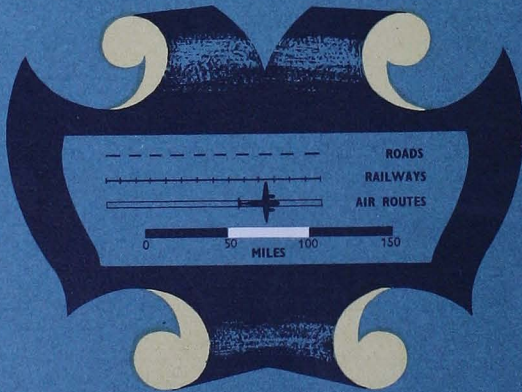
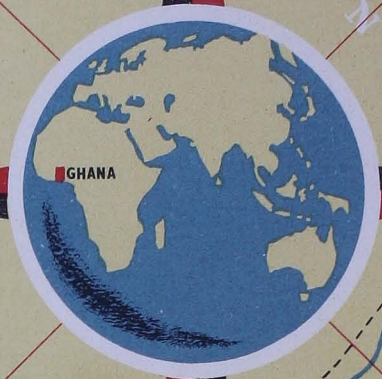
MONROVIA

Robertsfield

Sangwin

Harper

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# Ghana and West Africa

