

**Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner (1914-1994): An unrecognised
Ghanaian Pan-Africanist Par-Excellence**

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‘Robert Gardiner is a great son of Africa – and of the world. In his long and distinguished career he contributed in many ways – as an academic, as a writer, as a national and international civil servant and as a government Minister... As Robert Gardiner says, change must come and the solution lies in a society of free men – not in one group ‘freeing’ others....’No one can give equality; all that can be shared is respect.’ Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General, 1989.¹

ABSTRACT

Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner, a Fante born in Kumasi, became one of the most senior African officials at the UN. He was active in many organisations, in England while a student at Oxford and also during his visit to the USA, 1942-3. Then began his extraordinary career: he worked for the UN’s Trusteeship Council 1946-48; was Director of Extra-Mural Studies, University College of Ibadan 1949-53; Director of Social Welfare in the Gold Coast 1953-7; Head of the Civil Service on Independence. Dismissed by Nkrumah in 1959, he returned to work for the UN. He was appointed Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa in 1962 and also Officer-in-Charge of the UN’s Congo operations. He founded the African Development Bank. Gardiner returned to Ghana on his retirement from the UN in 1975 and was appointed Commissioner for Economic Planning by the Supreme Military Council in Ghana.

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¹ Ramphal, Shridath 1990 ‘Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner: an appreciation on his seventy-fifth birthday’, in James Pickett & Hans Singer (eds.), pp.1-3.

RÉSUMÉ

Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner, un Fante né à Kumasi, est devenu le plus haut fonctionnaire Africain à l'ONU. Il a été actif dans plusieurs organisations basées en Angleterre, pendant qu'il était étudiant à Oxford, et également aux États-Unis en 1942-3. Ensuite, sa carrière extraordinaire a commencé : de 1946 à 1948, il a travaillé pour le conseil de tutelle de l'ONU ; de 1949 à 1953, il était directeur de l'éducation permanente au collège universitaire d'Ibadan ; de 1953 à 1957, il était directeur du service d'assistance sociale en Gold Coast et chef de la fonction publique à l'indépendance. Congédié par Nkrumah en 1959, il est retourné travailler pour l'ONU. Il a été nommé secrétaire exécutif de la Commission Économique pour l'Afrique en 1962, et ensuite agent de l'ONU chargé des opérations au Congo. C'est lui qui fonda la Banque Africaine de Développement. À sa retraite de l'ONU, Gardiner retourna au Ghana en 1975 et il fut nommé commissaire de la planification économique par le conseil supérieur militaire au Ghana. Cet article n'est qu'une introduction sur les activités de Gardiner qui nécessitent des recherches plus approfondies.

Introduction

Much, much more research needs to be carried out on this truly remarkable man, Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner (1914 - 1994). After all, he was the first African to hold a very senior post at the United Nations, was a member of the pre- and post-independence Ghana governments and of many national and international organisations and he received many international honours. In a probably inadequate search I discovered a number of his publications. That some of these were reprinted reveals how important they were considered to be. Some questions I think should be researched:

1. How did Gardiner influence intellectuals/academics/governments?
2. How was he, an African, received by the 'diplomatic world' as a UN official?
3. Details of his relationship with the pre- and post-independence governments in Ghana.
4. Details of his relationship with Ralph Bunche and his treatment by the United Nations.

5. Was his relationship with members of the Gold Coast and then Ghana governments influenced by his family background and his international experiences?
6. His work for the UN, in the Congo, in Uganda and, of course, at the Economic Commission in Addis Ababa.
7. How was Gardiner affected by manipulations by all the major powers engaged in the Cold War during his years of activity, all wanting control of the newly independent countries and their raw materials and markets?

This article is but an introduction to this outstanding Ghanaian.

Gardiner's birth and family

Gardiner was born in Kumasi, the capital of the old kingdom of Asante, in the then British colony of the Gold Coast. 'My father's brother was the late paramount Chief of Abura, Gold Coast Colony', he wrote on his Oxford application forms. (Oxford files). 'My family stool is the Anomabu State... My mother's maiden name – Nancy Tarraine² Ferguson... My father's sister's son is K.A. Korsah, MBE³... Mr. Magnus Sampson,⁴ my mother's sister's son is the Secretary of the Central Provincial Council of Chiefs'. According to an un-named biographer for the Munzinger Archives, Gardiner's 'grandmother was the first African head teacher... and three of his great-uncles were Methodist preachers. His father, a merchant died when his son was two years old... His mother forwarded the

² I have not been able to find anyone by this name associated with the Gold Coast; the nearest is Col. Torraine, who was governor of the Cape Coast c.1800; he died in 1808. Owusu-Ansah in his *Historical Dictionary of Ghana* (2005) lists a George Torrane, President of the Council of Merchants at Cape Coast 1805-1807, trading in coffee and other crops, who 'collaborated with the Asantehene'.

³ Kobina Arku Korsah (1894-1967), born in Saltpond, became the first Chief Justice of independent Ghana; had been very active in Gold Coast politics from the 1920s. See *Encyclopaedia Africana*, pp.261-3; Doortmont, pp, 219-220. His father was Chief Robert Marmaduke Korsay, Tufuhin was a merchant and 'senior agent for the African & Eastern Trade Corporation' (*Pen Pictures*, p.280).

⁴ Magnus John Sampson (1900-1958) was the son of barrister Peter Sampson; he wrote a number of books, including *The Gold Coast Men of Affairs* (1937) and published J.E. Casely-Hayford's speeches in 1940 (*Encyclopaedia Africana* , pp.311-312).

trading company and contrived to send, all seven children – an eighth died young – on vocational training in England.⁵

When interviewed by the BBC prior to his giving the Reith Lectures in 1965, Gardiner told his questioner that he did not know ‘the origins of the name Gardiner. I am a Fante.’ (‘Frankly Speaking’)

How could a woman trader make enough money to send seven children for education in England? What was she trading in? Was she also from Anomabu? Why had her family, or why had she and Philip H.D. Gardiner moved to Kumasi? Were her ancestors, as well as those of Mr Gardiner, involved in the trade with Europeans from the 18th century, trading gold, ivory and slaves for guns, ammunition and textiles? Anomabu had become the primary port for the export of the enslaved in the 18th century.⁶ (Metcalf, 277-394; Akurang-Parry, pp.39-60). Kumasi also became a gathering point for the enslaved about to be walked to the coast for shipment; it had, of course, been a major trading city for many years, exporting mainly gold and kola northwards. In 1839, Thomas Freeman, a missionary of partly African ancestry, was in Kumasi, and reported that he ‘conducted services for his people and the few Fanti traders in the town’. Having been granted permission to walk around the town by the King, he noted that ‘among the merchandise were not merely articles of African produce and manufacture, but also Manchester cotton goods and silks, muslins and cutlery, brought up from the coast’. (Shumway; Sanders, pp.340-361) Were the Gardiners among the ‘Fanti’ traders?

It was through these early associations with the British and Dutch traders that many Gold Coasters acquired their wealth and early access to European education, as well as their European names. Of those Gardiner mentions as his relatives, the father of Magnus Sampson, the barrister Peter, was also born in Anomabu; Magnus first worked as a journalist, then in mining before going to London to train as a barrister.⁷

Presumably Gardiner’s mother was from the Ferguson family in Anomabu. George Ekem Ferguson (1864-1897) was born in Anomabu and became the first

⁵ <http://www.munzinger.de/search/portrait/Robert+K+A+Gardiner/0/9971.html>. This states that he was a student at the LSE, but there is no record of him there (Email correspondence with LSE Archives, August-September 2013). (The Munzinger archive is a German publishing and online information provider based in Ravensburg.)

⁶ Very interestingly, his biography is recounted in the Eugene (Oregon) *Register-Guard* of 6 January 1963 article, ‘UN Chief in Congo Knows Africa’. I asked this newspaper the reason behind this long article; the deputy managing editor replied that it was ‘written by the Associated Press as an element of wire service reporting on events in the Congo’.

⁷ I have not been able to discover the source of the origins of the name ‘Sampson’.

Senior African civil servant in the Gold Coast colony: a qualified surveyor, ‘with a small armed force [he was] sent to the Ashanti hinterland, where he diligently staked out the British claim on what was to become the “Northern Territories”’. (Dantzig, p.79) For once we know the source of his name: his grandfather was a Scottish medical officer on the Gold Coast, and his father was an agent for F. & A. Swanzy, who, in 1909 had opened a new store – ‘an imposing structure’ - in Kumasi, probably due to the increased trade in rubber. (Dorward, pp.61-77) The Fergusons were a ‘very elite, very anglicised family’ and Ferguson himself had a ‘strong belief in colonialism as an instrument for ‘civilising’ the inland peoples’. Ferguson was also known as ‘Ekow Atta’. (Ephson, pp.84-5; Doortmont, pp.219-220; Sampson, pp.81-92; Arhin, p.2)

Gardiner’s Education

The young Gardiner attended Adisadel College, Cape Coast, where he was the Head Prefect in 1934⁸. Gardiner stated in his application to Oxford that he had ‘joined the staff’ from 1935 till 1937, when he left for ‘Durham’ – that is, Fourah Bay in Freetown, then a college of Durham University.⁹ He ‘matriculated as an Arts student in Easter term 1937 and passed his first year Arts Exams in Easter term 1938’. He then left for England for enrolment at another of Durham’s colleges, King’s, in Newcastle for 1938-9.¹⁰ He enrolled at Selwyn College, Cambridge in 1938. At Selwyn he was elected president of the Junior Common Room, the forerunner of student unions.¹¹ He graduated in 1941 with a BA in

⁸ Founded by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1910 near Cape Coast, it was first called ‘SPG Grammar School’; in 1924 it was renamed the ‘St Nicholas Grammar School’. When it was relocated to its present site in early 1936 it was renamed Adisadel College. It was the second ‘high school’ in the Gold Coast; by 1935 it had about 200 boy pupils (http://www.adisadelonline.com/roa_chapter2.htm; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adisadel_College). Even in 1953 there were only 12 secondary schools in the Gold Coast colony. (*Ghana Year Book 1953*)

⁹ Pickett and Singer, pp.4-11, from which much of the information is taken, unless noted otherwise. Fourah Bay College was established by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1827 and was affiliated to the University of Durham in 1876.

¹⁰ Email from Dr Michael Stansfield, Archives and Special Collections, Durham University Library, 27/9/2013. Thank you!

¹¹ Most likely in the letter seeking financial support for Gardiner, Miss Perham states that ‘he is one of the most negro-looking Africans I have ever seen, to be elected as President of the J.C.R. is an astonishing tribute’. (Letter dated 17/5/41 to Mr Cox, in the Oxford

Archaeology and Anthropology. His tutor, Dr Driberg, had found him to be a 'man of remarkable industry and versatility... with an incisive logical mind'.

According to the Selwyn Calendar, Gardiner gives his home address as 'c/o T.W. Prickett, Esq., 35 Ferriby Road, Hessle, E. Yorks'. He continued to use this address when he moved to Oxford. Who was Mr Prickett? Mrs H. Clark of East Riding Archive has found the entry for Thomas William Prickett in the electoral registers for 1939 and 1945; his occupation is given as a shipbroker. How was he related to Robert Gardiner? Could he possibly have been one of the shipbrokers supplying ships to Swanzy & Co? ¹²

It is unclear if Gardiner had some sort of Nuffield scholarship in 1941. There was a Nuffield College Colonial Sub-Committee at whose meeting on 6 September 1951 Gardiner 'is referred to as a member of research staff....' On 15 October 1941 he and Miss H. Green are mentioned as giving 'valuable co-operation in the work' of Dr Fortes, who was researching in the Gold Coast. In a Report of Progress of the [Nuffield College Colonial] Research Scheme, no.2, 1941, it is stated that 'Mr Gardiner of the Gold Coast has decided to work for a higher degree upon a thesis chosen to fit into our scheme and will be coming shortly to New College to start work'.¹³

In December 1941 Gardiner was admitted as a post-graduate student by New College at Oxford University. His supervisor was Miss Perham, 'who did much to make Mr Gardiner's coming to Oxford possible'. In a letter from his Selwyn College supervisors to 'Miss Perham', we learn that she had been impressed by Gardiner when she interviewed him and had 'persuade[d] the Finance Board to grant him £150. His branch of study was Economics and Politics and his subject was "Political and Economic Structure of the Coastal Tribes of the Gold Coast (with special reference to the Fantes)".¹⁴

Gardiner withdrew in June 1942, for unrecorded reasons. Is it possible that Miss Perham had not been able to obtain funding for him? Or had he perhaps

Gardiner files, f.217). In another letter she states that 'The Colonial Office is at present corresponding with the Gold Coast about a scholarship to enable him to come.' (Perham to Mr Wickham Legg, 26 May 1941, Gardiner files, f.219). In a letter dated 14 June she states that 'I think we shall be able to help him financially...' (f.223).

¹² Email from Sarah Green, Selwyn College, 4/9/2013 – ie, he had used this address from the time of his arrival in the UK. Mrs H. Clark of East Riding Archive, email 19/9/2013. Thank you!

¹³ Information kindly sent by Clare Kavanagh, Librarian, Nuffield College, 3/10/2013. Thank you very much!

¹⁴ The outline for his research/dissertation, from the 'postgraduate student files', ref. FA10/2/13, has been sent to me by Ms Astill of Oxford University Archives. Thank you!

found academia frustrating? Or Miss Perham? That he was very critical of her is evident from a very long letter he sent her in July 1941, criticising her latest book *Africans and British Rule*. He explains his criticism: 'I am adopting this attitude because I want to work with you and feel we shall get better results if we make a thorough examination of our material...'.¹⁵ That as a student he should have dared to be so critical of a lecturer/supervisor – even if very polite – is remarkable.

The review of Perham's book by Dr W. Arthur Lewis, then teaching at the London School of Economics, in the September 1941 issue of *League of Coloured Peoples' News Notes*, was even more scathing. The long, outspoken review concludes with: 'the book's real purpose is propaganda for the British cause... [It] reeks of that self-conceit which is doing more than anything else to poison relations between the races'.

According to a note from Miss Perham in the Oxford student files, Gardiner had 'left Oxford in June 1942 and sailed for America, having given up his BLitt course'.¹⁶

David Paracka (p.125) and other authors state that Gardiner was also a student at the London School of Economics, but there is no record of him there. However, the LSE archivist warns that 'records may have been misplaced or damaged, or he may not have finished his course'.¹⁷

Political Activities, England and USA 1941-3

Somehow, despite being a student at Oxford, Gardiner found the time and money to become involved with the West African Students Union (WASU) in London. This was a hostel as well as a politically very active organisation, with interests in the students' home countries' independence as well as their welfare while studying in the UK. In 1941 Gardiner led the newly established Study Group at the Union: it met once a fortnight to fulfil the 'crucial role of training well-informed men who can transform the aspirations of our age into ideas and who could provide an African interpretation of events for the outside world'. Members

¹⁵ Rhodes House Library, MSS Perham 288/4, letter dated 22/7/1941. Thank you, Marion Lowman of the Rhodes House Library, for this reference.

¹⁶ Email correspondence with Sian Astill (n.14).

¹⁷ Emails from LSE Alumni Relations and LSE Archives, August and September 2013.

of Parliament and of the civil service participated in the Study Group meetings.¹⁸ (Adi, pp.101, 117)

Was it because of this involvement that Gardiner's mail was 'monitored' by the government? In a Colonial Office file marked SECRET there is a copy of a letter, dated 24 May 1942, from A.A. Kyerematen from Fourah Bay College to Gardiner. Kyerematen, a Gold Coaster at the College, asks Gardiner for advice on how they could support WASU's 'recent resolution asking for immediate self-government within five years of the end of the war'. Gardiner's response is not in the file. (n.18)

Gardiner was also making a name for himself in a wider circle. In March 1942, described as 'making a special study in connection with the Gold Coast Colony under the Nuffield College Colonial Research Scheme', he was invited to give a talk on 'West Africa and the War' for the Royal Institute of International Affairs. He begins by saying that 'the first misconception we have got to remove from our mind is that this is a white man's war'. He discusses the role of Africa and Africans in world affairs, Africa's military preparedness, and asks if the 'Empire is worth dying for'. He then describes colonial politics as the 'politics of frustration' and suggests that the Atlantic Charter should be the 'basis of a new world order'.¹⁹

Sometime between April and June 1942 the Royal African Society appointed Gardiner as a member of its International Institute of African Languages and Cultures.²⁰ He was also a member of the Church of England's Anglo-African Committee.²¹

By September 1942 Gardiner was in the USA, 'by arrangement with the Church Missionary Society', the Phelps-Stokes Fund noted, and agreed to co-operate 'in his American plans'. He was 'touring American schools in preparation for important administrative and educational services on the staff of Fourah Bay College'. In December 1942 Gardiner informed Ladipo Solanke, WASU's

¹⁸ TNA: CO536/56, 'WASU', which contains a report on the study group; *WASU Magazine*. May 1942: meetings were for a 'close and more scientific study of the political, economic, educational and social problems'.

¹⁹ On the Atlantic Charter, see Sherwood, 1996. I was sent a copy of the published speech by Ms Sue Carter, the Chatham House Librarian, in October 2013. Thank you so much!

²⁰ Email from Clare Kavanagh (n.13); *Jnl. of the Royal African Society*, 41/164, July 1942, p.204.

²¹ Church of England Records Centre: MC/AAC/2, Minutes of the Anglo-African Committee. The list of members for October 1943 notes that Gardiner 'is now in Sierra Leone'. I have not been able to discover when Gardiner was put on this Committee.

Secretary-General, that he had visited 15 colleges; by March 1943 he had visited 30, and had also given information to them about the work of WASU in the UK.²²

Gardiner became associated with the African Students Association of America (ASA) which had been founded in 1941. Representing WASU, he attended its second AGM in September 1942, at which Kwame (then 'Francis Nwia-Kofi') Nkrumah was elected its president. It was reported that Gardiner was there 'especially to discuss Africa and the ongoing war, and the problems faced by African students in the USA'.²³ According to an interview with Gardiner published in *West Africa* (19/6/1954), he was in the US on a 'Travelling Fellowship'.

Gardiner probably met Dr Ralph Bunche when he was invited to participate in the Phelps-Stokes Fund's Committee for the International Conference on Africa, to be held in 1943. Bunche was on this Committee and recommended Gardiner, as well as Nkrumah and Nnodu Okongwu of the African Students Association, to be invited to work with the Committee's 'foreign advisors'.²⁴

In November 1942 the ASA's Aggrey Memorial Committee, of which Gardiner and Ako Adjei were members, sent out invitations to the dedication of a monument in memory of 'Aggrey of Africa' at Livingstone College, Salisbury.²⁵ Gardiner must have been very pleased indeed, as Aggrey was from his family's hometown of Anomabu.

In 1942 Dr Ralph Bunche, then a lecturer at Howard University, was appointed as a 'Social Science Research Analyst, British Empire Section' by the newly set up intelligence division of the government, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Bunche was well acquainted with Nkrumah who was then a student at Lincoln University; he had written Bunche in March 1942 that 'the flag of West African

²² Schomburg Center: Phelps-Stokes Papers, 'A Brief Summary of Current Educational Activities, April 1943', p.4; University of Lagos: Ladipo Solanke Papers, Box 6: Gardiner to Solanke, 7/12/1942; Box 10: Gardiner to Solanke, 23/3/1943.

²³ Solanke Papers (n.22): Box 6, Gardiner to Solanke, 19/9/1942. See my forthcoming article on the ASA.

²⁴ Phelps-Stokes Papers (n.22), Box 32, file 6. When he was Director of Social Welfare in Accra in 1955, Gardiner asked the Fund for support for travel to New York in September 1955. The Fund visited Ghana in 1961. (Phelps-Stokes Papers (n.22), Box 58, file 12)

²⁵ Dr Kwegyir Aggrey had taught at Livingstone College for over 20 years and was appointed vice-principal of Achimota College on the Gold Coast in 1927. He died suddenly later that year on a visit to New York to see his family. See, e.g. Edwin W. Smith, *Aggrey of Africa*. London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1929.

nationalism must be unfurled now or never'.²⁶ Bunche had asked many members of the ASA to help him with the report he had to produce for the OSS on nationalist movements in West Africa.²⁷ In April 1943 Bunche asked permission to go to New York (the OSS was based in Washington) in order to interview Gardiner, 'the official representative of WASU... leaving soon for West Africa in order to organize an all-West African conference to be held in the Gold Coast next fall'. Had Gardiner shared the program he had proposed to Solanke with Bunche? In March 1943 Gardiner had written to Solanke that he would like to organise two conferences one for West African teachers and 'people interested in education', and then for West African 'public leaders'. The aim would be to 'see West Africa as a whole... assess effects of the war and post-war... and make views known'... Conference should be held either in Ghana or Nigeria.²⁸ I have found no evidence of these conferences being held, but then holding conferences during the War would have been well-nigh impossible.

Perhaps we should not find it remarkable that Gardiner had an article, 'African Opinion and World Peace' published in the winter 1943 issue of the *Negro Quarterly*. He again discusses the Atlantic Charter, and refutes what many imply, that Africans were not ready for independence. He describes the situations in the very diverse continent of Africa, the complex histories, the political activists and organisations, the work of the trade unions and youth movements. His conclusion gives a clear picture of what Africans were facing at that time:

The solution of African problems cannot be found in short term philanthropic plans... We cannot raise and maintain the standard of living in any country by charity... The wealth of any community will in the long run be determined by its natural resources as developed by capital and labor ... These and many other facts make it necessary to consult African opinion. African leaders have the first hand experience which no amount of study or sympathy can supply. They are not the ignorant, care-free, child-like peoples globe-trotters say they are. They alone know the yearnings and demands of their people for freedom. (p.359)

In the same year Gardiner married Jamaica-born Linda Edwards; they had three children.

²⁶ Schomburg Center: MG439, Ralph Bunche Papers, Box 2, 'Correspondence 1942-3': Nkrumah to Bunche, 12/3/1942.

²⁷ UCLA: MS.2051, Ralph Bunche Papers, Box 60, folder 1.

²⁸ Solanke Papers (n.22), Box 10, Gardiner to Solanke, 23/3/1943; Bunche Papers (n.27), Box 59, folder 12.

Work in Sierra Leone and Nigeria, 1943 - 1953

Returning to Africa in 1943, Gardiner taught Economics at Fourah Bay College's newly formed Commercial and Social Studies Department in Freetown.²⁹ In the interview published in *West Africa* mentioned above, he is reported as saying that he had been appointed to set up this Department. According to a Phelps-Stokes Fund document, he was to 'organise a Faculty of Commercial and Social Science with a good deal of practical field work related to community life in Africa'.³⁰

When asked by the BBC interviewers why he had gone to Sierra Leone and not the Gold Coast, Gardiner replied that it was 'not easy to get responsible posts in Ghana as all went to Europeans... so I preferred teaching at Fourah Bay'. (Cox-George, pp.3-5)

Following the recommendations of the Elliot Commission on Higher Education in Africa, in March 1947 the colonial government approved the establishment of a university in Ibadan. Called the 'University College, Ibadan', it was originally an independent external college of the University of London. The College took in its 'first batch of 104 students, (including two girls)', in January 1948 on a temporary site at the old army barracks and the General Hospital.³¹

In 1949, when Dr Mellanby, the Principal, offered Gardiner the post of Director of Extra-Mural Studies' at Ibadan, Gardiner accepted. The un-named *West Africa* reporter goes on to say that 'as a teacher he excelled: he has a remarkable capacity for 'drawing out' even the most timid student, while refusing to accept wooliness or half-truths from the self-confident. For popularity he cared not at all...'. (*West Africa*, 19/6/1954, p.557)

In January 1953 Gardiner was in Oshogbo to give a lecture, 'Citizenship in an emergent nation' at the Extra-Mural Residential Course there on 'Citizenship and Political Liberalism'. As the talk was printed as a pamphlet by the University of Ibadan, we can presume that it was Gardiner's department which had organised the course.

²⁹ The College was a Church Missionary Society institution, originally a secondary school; it was converted to university level in 1875 and affiliated to Durham University. On the College's history, see, eg. Paracka, 2003.

³⁰ Probably the draft of a letter to introduce Gardiner, dated 8 September 1942, Schomburg Center: Sc 001.891, Clippings File, 'Robert Gardiner'.

³¹ <http://digitaljournal.com/article/317347#ixzz2mPPf4FZP>

Work on the Gold Coast and Ghana 1953 -1959; 1975-1978 (?)

In 1953, probably attracted by the slowly succeeding struggle for independence, according to a report in *African Affairs*, Gardiner returned to the Gold Coast as the Director of Social Welfare and Community Development (October 1953, p.209). 'Though he came from outside the service, he was an obvious choice for this job which above all needs understanding of people's minds. His acceptance of a civil service job was a contribution to 'Africanisation'', the 'Correspondent' in the London journal *West Africa* noted. Gardiner wanted to increase schools and 'intends that there will be more and more vocational centres which will automatically grow into community centres with clinics, day nurseries and small post offices, which would in their turn become miniature citizens' advice bureaux'. (*West Africa*, 19/6/1954, p.557)

In 1955, for reasons unknown, the colonial government moved him to the newly set up Ministry of Housing as its Permanent Secretary, under the Minister for Housing, A.E. Inkumsah. At this time, according to historian David Rooney, Gardiner was seemingly quite close to Governor Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, who, Rooney thought, 'had the paramount influence on Nkrumah' prior to independence. (Rooney 1982, pp.148-9)³²

On independence Gardiner was appointed Head of 'Establishment Secretariat', that is, Head of the Ghana Civil Service. 'He set standards that were high but realistic. And when some who were under him complained that he was working them harder than the British had done, the reply was that independence needed more effort than being a colony. (Pickett & Singer, p.6)

Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of independent Ghana, dismissed Gardiner in 1959. Why? After all, Gardiner probably had more administrative experience than anyone else in the new government. Would Gardiner not co-operate with Nkrumah's move to the 'Left'? According to Rooney, Governor Arden-Clarke believed that prior to the granting of independence, the main concern of Nkrumah/the CPP had been 'independence to the exclusion of everything else'. However, once independence was gained, Nkrumah moved to the 'Left', maybe even to communism, some believed at the time. Did Gardiner feel he could not co-operate with a left-wing government? In another book Rooney reports that Gardiner 'said of Padmore that he only had one idea [socialism] and that was the wrong one'. (Rooney, 1982, pp.148-9 & 1988, p.170; Ayee, p. 291)

³² Nkrumah in his *Autobiography* (1957, p.204) confirms 'a real friendship' with the Governor. Nkrumah does not even mention Gardiner in this book.

Nkrumah was close friends with George Padmore, the then London-based left-wing pan-Africanist activist/writer.

However, historians Pickett and Singer take a somewhat different view: 'Robert Gardiner and Dr Nkrumah were men of very different vision and temperament. The insistence of the one on rigour and realism was bound to conflict with the untrammelled vision of the other.' Historian Samuel Misteli reports that 'observers attributed the clashes between the two leading figures to the differing temperaments of the sober, pragmatic Gardiner and the ambitious, idealistic Nkrumah'. (Pickett & Singer, p.6; Misteli, 2013)

But, if we are to trust Tawia Adamafio's recollections, then there might have been other reasons for Gardiner leaving Ghana. Adamafio reports that there were 'intrigues and jealousies, rumour mongering, deliberate name-smearing... incompetence and greed, bribery and corruption' within the CPP and the new government (Rooney, 1988, p.170). How was Gardiner, with a Cambridge degree, international experience, from a wealthy, 'very elite, very anglicised family', treated by his colleagues and his staff? And did he perhaps feel that he could not cope with these suggested developments within the government and the ruling party?

Gardiner returned to Ghana on his retirement from the UN in 1975. That year he was appointed Commissioner for Economic Planning by the Supreme Military Council in Ghana. In 1977 he was sent to Nairobi 'in an attempt to improve relations between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda' as there was much unrest due to the financial collapse of the commonly owned East African Airways.³³ (*Times*, 22/2/1977, p.6)

For three years from 1974 he served as a consultant to the just-established Centre for Development Studies at the University of Cape Coast. For an unknown period Gardiner was Chair of the Council of the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi. (Pickett & Singer, p.6)

United Nations official 1946-1948, 1959-1975

In 1946 Gardiner had been recruited by Ralph Bunche, now the Director of the Trusteeship Division of the UN, as a specialist on 'research and analysis' for

³³ I have not been able to find any accounts of why Gardiner resigned from this post in 1978.

information from 'Trust' territories.³⁴ Constance Cummings-John, who was to become the first woman mayor of Freetown, was a student in the USA in 1946 and recalls that Gardiner was the only person in the Trusteeship department who 'helped us... Once he said to me, 'Constance I feel so bad. When I go around and see all the other nations, Liberia is the only one that is black. Nehru and other former colonials represent Africans in the UN. How I wish the time would come when Africans told their story themselves.' (La Ray Denzer, pp.69-70)

The un-named person who interviewed Gardiner for *West Africa* (19/6/1954) reports that 'Dr Bunche personally chose Gardiner to be a member of the Special Palestine Commission staff... a tribute to his work those three years as Area Specialist (West Africa)'.

Of course, many were very critical of the Trusteeship Council: one such was the editor of *African Affairs*, who argued that as the 'UNO has a number of able men on its permanent staff, who may allow this unpromising engine to work; they include Robert Kweku Gardiner of the Gold Coast...'. (April 1947, p.62) Was it the politics of the UN that persuaded Gardiner to leave after such a brief stint? It is reported that Ralph Bunche advised him not to commit himself to the UN without further experience elsewhere. (Pickett & Singer, p.5) But it is also possible that Gardiner and Bunche did not co-operate well: Constance Cummings-John also noted that Bunche 'always refused to help us'. (La Ray Denzer, p.69; Urquhart, pp.341, 357-8)

After his dismissal by Nkrumah, Gardiner returned to work for the UN: based in Addis Ababa he was appointed as Deputy Executive Secretary of the newly established Economic Commission for Africa (ECA). This had been formed by the UN in 1958 'as one of its five regional commissions, with a mandate for the economic and social development of its member States, the fostering of intra-regional integration, and the promotion of international cooperation for Africa's development'.³⁵

After serving as consultant to the UN chief of Operations from August to November 1960 Gardiner returned to Addis Ababa. In March 1961 he was in the Congo for four months before being moved to the UN HQ as Director of the Public

³⁴ A very long email discussion with the UN elicited no information on Gardiner. But I was welcome to search the Trusteeship Department files held in New York, I was told. There had been much discussion at the UN regarding the notion of 'trusteeship' for the colonies taken from the Axis powers at the end of WWII.

³⁵ <http://www.uneca.org/pages/overview>; see Misteli, who points out the opposition by the colonial powers to the formation of the ECA. (His forthcoming dissertation is on the formation of the ECA.)

Administration of the Department of Economic Affairs, and as Congo adviser to the new UN Secretary-General, U Thant. In January 1962 he was promoted as the ECA's Executive Secretary and *simultaneously* appointed as Officer-in-Charge of the UN's Congo operations, a post he held till May 1963. (*The Times*, 27/1/1962, p.8 & 18/3/1961; Pickett & Singer, p.6; Misteli).

Gardiner's task in the Congo was immense. It is impossible here to even outline the situation in this Belgian colony which gained its 'independence' in 1960. Chaos reigned after the murder (with Western support) of the elected Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba in 1961. (Marchal; De Witte) There was not only what used to be called 'tribal conflict', but massive involvement and manipulations by Belgium, the USA³⁶, Britain and the USSR, all wanting access to raw materials on *their* terms, and the West intent on preventing communism spreading in Africa (Devlin; O. Boateng). It is estimated that at least 100,000 were killed in the ongoing fighting, with military equipment provided by the various powers, both overtly and covertly. Dag Hammarskjöld the UN's Secretary-General tried to negotiate a resolution, but he too died, a few months after Lumumba, on 18 September 1961. Was he killed? And by whom?³⁷

On 21 February 1961 the UN Security Council adopted resolution 161, which authorised 'all appropriate measures' to 'prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including ... the use of force, if necessary, in the last resort'. Gardiner's task was immeasurable, especially as the CIA covertly financed and armed some of the political parties and parliamentarians. How free was the UN – and hence Gardiner – in its attempt to find solutions to the disputes enhanced/encouraged by outside intervention? Not very, according to historian Stephen Weissman: the United Nations was dependent 'upon American economic, political, logistical and administrative support', he maintains. (Weissman; Lefever)

The history of the military contingents working under the UN banner is also too complex to detail here. Major General Alexander, leading the Ghana

³⁶ USA interest in Africa increased hugely after WWII as it needed access to Africa's raw materials (on its own terms) and wanted to prevent the spread of communism to the colonies struggling for independence. An important early book on this is American Assembly, *The United States and Africa*, New York: Columbia University 1958; from a left-wing perspective, see e.g. Stewart Smith, *US Neocolonialism in Africa*: Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974.

³⁷ From the recent research by Susan Williams and the revelations of CIA manipulations, I don't think the crash of the plane on which he had just embarked in the Congo was accidental. (*Who Killed Hammarskjöld?* London: Hurst, 2011)

contingent, did not think highly of the UN's activities, but had praise for Gardiner: 'the heroic efforts made by many individuals working for the United Nations should [not] be disparaged... Robert Gardiner [was one of] the gallant and dedicated men who have done what they think is right, irrespective of whether London, Washington or Moscow agrees...' (Alexander, pp.78, 83)

Why Gardiner was moved from Congo is not known. Within a few weeks of Ralph Bunche visiting the Congo in October 1962 to 'review the state of its relations' with two new local governments, Gardiner was reported as leaving for New York 'for consultation with secretariat officials'. (*Times*, 19/12/1962, p.8) However, there might be some clues in this interview in Leopoldville by Robin Mannoock for the Associated Press. Gardiner is reported

to have threatened to resign if the UN bows to pressure and agrees to another decision-delaying round of talks with Tshombe... The 48-year old UN head-man in the Congo has two sides. It's Gardiner the African rather than Gardiner the international civil servant who can politick with the best of the Congolese when they start playing politics. He has shown an understanding of the endless rounds of talk that precede any major decision in Africa... But one of Gardiner's basic beliefs about his job is that he is a civil servant of the world with a mission.

When he first took over in the Congo, he got rid right away of a clique inside UN headquarters in Leopoldville that he thought showed more interest in furthering the policies of their own countries than those of the world organization. Some critics say he shows at times more of the temperament of an international bureaucrat than an international civil servant.

During his term he played a key role in bringing together the [key figures] in the central government in talks that snagged and in the formulation of the [UN] plan to reunite the Congo. (*Eugene Register-Guard*, 6/1/1963, p.1)

On 20 April 1963 the London *Times* reported that on May 1 'Mr Robert Gardiner of Ghana will revert to the Economic Commission for Africa as its executive secretary' (p.8). He held this position until his retirement in 1975. His major concern was to find ways of fostering economic development – both on a regional and a continent-wide basis. He hoped to achieve this by fostering agricultural developments, economic co-operation and improving transport and communication as well as health and education in rural areas. A self-appointed task was to ensure the Africanisation of the ECA. (Ramphal, pp.xii-xiii and;

Pickett & Singer, pp.1-3) He hoped to achieve this via the African Development Bank, whose establishment was approved at the 'African Summit conference' held in Addis Ababa in May 1963.³⁸ This was the founding conference of the Organisation of African Unity, but the Bank was to be established by the ECA.³⁹ His successful work was recognised by the UN, as according to the London *Times* of 24 September 1971, he was among those being considered as a successor to Secretary-General U Thant, who was to retire in December.

Gardiner was not appointed to the most senior post in the UN, but the following year another important and very difficult task was allocated to him: on 4 August of that year, the President of Uganda, Idi Amin, ordered the country's Indian and Pakistani minority populations to leave. Those who had not left within the 90 days allotted for their departure were to be put in 'refugee' camps prior to deportation. Gardiner was sent out by the UN to see if he could persuade Amin to change his mind – and to attempt to stop the slaughter of Indians and Pakistanis by Ugandans, in whom Amin had stirred up already existing racial prejudices. (*Times*, 15/9/1972, p.13 & 26/10/1972.; 27/10/1972, p.6) There were between 70,000 and 80,000 Asians living there, many the descendants of workers imported by Britain to build the railways; about 23,000 held Ugandan citizenship. Gardiner failed: expulsions continued and the fate of many thousands is unknown.

Does Gardiner being moved from one post to another by the UN, and holding two posts simultaneously indicate inadequacies, or lack of commitment to African issues within the UN? It is also important to recognise that the ECA's mandate was 'limited to research and advisory functions'. (*Times*, 27/1/1962, p.8 & 18/3/1961; Pickett & Singer, p.6; Misteli) However, we must also accept that inevitably there was rivalry (and conflict?) between the Organisation of African Unity, formed in 1963, and the ECA. (E.A. Boateng)

International activities, 1950 - 1975

Gardiner must have spent some time in England working with Helen Judd of the LSE on their book, which was published in 1954. They argued that people had to

³⁸ Gardiner had been working on this with a committee of nine Africans. (*Times*, 13/8/1963, p.7)

³⁹ I have not been able to find any analyses on the relationship between the ECA and the OAU. Relationships within the OAU were often split between the 'Monrovia' and 'Casablanca' groups and the French and English speakers. That Cold War manipulations might have been involved in these splits is indicated by many writers.

accept new obligations as ‘old kinship provision’ disintegrated under the ‘disruptive impact of economic development... Material progress for some must be matched with social progress for all’. Oxford University Press issued an enlarged, second edition in 1959; the authors stated that their ‘conclusions in essence remain the same... The initiatives in the emergent countries rest with the inhabitants themselves. They can no longer get by by demanding education for citizenship. They must learn by the practice of citizenship to meet their own needs’. (Judd & Gardiner, 1959)⁴⁰

In 1957 the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government in Britain invited Gardiner to contribute to their conference, ‘The problem of Parliamentary Government in West Africa’. The three day conference was addressed ‘by many distinguished speakers’. Gardiner, then a Gold Coast government official, spoke on the relationship between political parties and the governments of West Africa. He argued

that there is such a great diversity of peoples and dialects... political leaders had stressed the need for the solidarity of African peoples and the significance of values embodied in traditional civilizations ... Attempts to develop Pan-Africanism movements have failed on account of language difficulties and differences in background, but primarily because some delegates to All-African conferences were either handpicked by administering powers to frustrate plans, or were not permitted to attend meetings. Is Pan-Africanism incompatible with membership of either the British Commonwealth for the French Union? The answer to this will determine the degree of radicalism of political parties now jostling for positions in their new-found freedom.⁴¹

In December 1962 Gardiner was a speaker at the Phelps-Stokes Fund’s fiftieth anniversary dinner held in New York. His talk was entitled ‘...Of Judgement and Wisdom’. This is his concluding remark:

If technical ability is not to be abused then the world of scholarship must have an ethos of its own which will enable the spirit of the twentieth century to be not merely that of mechanical skills but one of judgement and wisdom in the widest sense. ... It is in the mutual interest of all

⁴⁰ We must note that Linda Gardiner is acknowledged ‘for her patient correction of the text’.

⁴¹ Email from Marion Lowman, Bodleian Library, Oxford, 27/9/2013; Rhodes House: Mss Perham, Box 267/, report of conference, 15-16 September 1957.

mankind to bequeath...to future generations an environment which will make it possible for them to grow out of short-sighted selfishness which has so far created social and international tension and now threatens us with a total annihilation of all races.’⁴²

In November and December of that year Gardiner gave the BBC’s six Reith Lectures on ‘A World of Peoples’. *The Times* noted that he was the first African to be asked to give these lectures – an annual event since 1948. The BBC Head of Talks thought that Gardiner would ‘have a real impact of current thinking’. Gardiner explored the myths which purport to explain racial differences and the problems of economic inequality, and of race relations. *The Times* ended its report on the first lecture with ‘Mr Gardiner suggested that “perhaps the best way to look at race prejudice is to regard it as an epidemic and to issue periodic warnings so that those who have not been affected can seek means of inoculating themselves against it”’. (*Times*, 5/3/1965, p.14; 18/5/1965. p.6; 8/11/1965, p.14; 29/11/1965, p.15; 15/11/1965, p.15; 22/11/1965, p.6; 6/12/1965, p.14; 13/12/1965, p.5).

The relationship of Gardiner with the British government needs much further investigation. It was reported in *The Times* that the British Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Overseas Development, hosted a ‘luncheon’ for Gardiner in March 1965. There are no files in the National Archives related to this meeting. In 1967 Gardiner was back in London, attending a luncheon given in his honour by the Minister of Overseas Development, Sir Andrew Cohen. He was coming for ‘5-6 days’, noted a Foreign & Commonwealth Office official, C. M. Le Quesne, who advised that ‘he has an important role to play in Africa and his views particularly on relations between African states and on the right way for Africans to treat South Africa are particularly hard headed and sensible’. (Misteli) He was expected in London again in July 1968 on what was called a ‘restricted visit’. A Foreign & Commonwealth Office official noted that ‘we’ve been at pains to maintain cordial relations with the Economic Commission for Africa’. Referring to requests for aid, the official wrote that they were ‘chary of giving such assistance bi-laterally’.⁴³

Did Gardiner meet with the two Harvard professors, Martin Kilson and Rupert Emerson, the president of the African Studies Association, who were planning a book on the ‘political awakening of Africa’? It ‘attempts to let the African leaders

⁴² Clippings File (n.30).

⁴³ TNA: FCO61/432, file USF1/3/2, 26/7/68.

and intellectuals speak for themselves' by making selections from already published works by, for example, Kwame Nkrumah, Félix Eboué, Gabriel d'Arboussier, Nelson Mandela, Julius Nyerere and Nnamdi Azikiwe. In their introduction to Section 3, 'Policies and methods of African political parties', the editors explain why they had asked Gardiner to make the selection. 'His occasional writings reflect the best in African political thought', the editors argue, and 'he is a man of intellectual calibre and erudition', who is 'sensitive to the complexity of African political evolution.' Gardiner's, 'Citizenship and political liberalism', a version of his 1953 lecture at Oshogbo, Nigeria, begins this section. 'We are making history', Gardiner wrote,

In a world dominated by power politics and injustice...In a world bitterly divided by prejudices...we have risen in spite of malicious misconceptions. We, the people of Africa have had all the odds against us....Our self-government or independence will mean nothing to mankind if it does not enable us to set some moral example to the rest of the world...

During the last years of his work for the UN (1970-75), Gardiner was much involved around the world. He was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Council on World Tensions, the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Ghana, the Third World Foundation, and the UN Development Planning Committee. He served as the Chairman of the Commonwealth Foundation from 1970 to 1973. When appointed he was honoured by two luncheons, one given by the government, the other by the Director of the Foundation (*Times*, 3/6/1970, p.12 & 6/6/1970, p.10). Gardiner also served as trustee or board member for many international institutes, such as the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation and International Institute for Tropical Agriculture and the Third World Prize Selection Committee. He was a sponsor of the Minority Rights Group in London (*Times*, 2/5/1975, p.7).

In September 1974 he was the main speaker at the session on 'Peace education in relation to the world' at the Conference of the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction. He spoke on 'Issues facing mankind' expounding on the role of education in achieving 'justice and social progress [which] are twin aspects of peace...' It is a very long paper – takes up 43 pages in the published volume on the Conference (Haavelsrud, c.1974). In 1977 the report of a UNESCO Meeting of Experts on Education printed an excerpt from his speech, which thus reveals considerable appreciation of Gardiner's analysis:

in the challenging tasks of building the mansion of peace... the task of education is to develop a global patriotism, to inspire commitment to a larger world community; and to teach behavioural skills that can imagine, analyse and evaluate future possibilities and probabilities, or in short, the strategies of survival.⁴⁴

The report of this Conference states that Gardiner is ‘now working on social administration and development, tropical agronomy, peace research and economics in different places ...’ (Haavelsrud, ‘About the authors’)

Recognition by universities, 1965-1977

Gardiner’s work, especially in the Congo, was recognised around the world by universities, which awarded him honorary degrees and visiting professorships.

In 1965 Selwyn College elected him to an honorary Fellowship. According to the College Calendar, ‘Mr Gardiner's outstanding service with the United Nations in the Congo crisis was one of the bright spots in that murky and troubled situation’.⁴⁵

In 1966 Gardiner is reported as heading for Oxford as a ‘guest speaker’ at the ‘first seminar on international development’, to be led by the Minister for Overseas Development. (*Times*, 24/2/1966, p.14) In May he was at Bristol University where he was awarded the Doctor of Laws (LLD) degree. I asked Cheryl McKeon Slater, Deputy Head of Public and Ceremonial Events, if there was any indication as to why he was thus honoured. She replied: ‘although there is nothing to say why he was selected for an honorary degree, our archivist commented: ‘Thinking of contexts it is just after the Bristol Bus Boycott of 1963 which Bristol University students were involved in. This was a period of racial tension in the City and it may have been that the University was honoring someone who worked across such divides — but this is just speculation on our part.’ The ‘speculation’ is borne out by Professor Gifford introducing Gardiner as ‘that rarity, a man without prejudice himself who can yet understand prejudice very well’. In the Congo, which was ‘in chaos’ when Gardiner arrived, ‘he was

⁴⁴<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0002/000251/025131eb/pdf>: UNESCO Meeting of Experts, Paris, 1977, p.13.

⁴⁵ Email correspondence with Sarah Green, Development Assistant, Selwyn College, August/September 2013. Thank you!

firm and resolute, more than once intervening personally to avert danger... superlatively skilled in administration, and, where necessary, quite unorthodox.... What he achieved was the triumph of one man's authority over lawlessness... Gardiner is not interested in power or self-aggrandisement...'⁴⁶

May was a busy month for Gardiner. On an unknown day he was in Norwich, at the University of East Anglia, to receive a 'Doctor of Civil Law' degree for his work in the Congo: 'he played a dramatic role in the Congo crisis when, as Dag Hammarskjold's special representative, he brought about the reconstitution of the Government after the death of Lumumba. He is now Executive Secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa.'⁴⁷

At the end of the month he was in Uppsala in Sweden to receive yet another honorary degree, awarded for his 'great contribution to the building and establishing of the new African society'.⁴⁸

In September 1968 Gardiner was in Nairobi at the 'Congregation for the conferment of an honorary degree upon Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner and the conferment of other Degrees and awards by his Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta'. Sadly, though the Principal's speech is available on line, he does not mention Gardiner.⁴⁹ The following year Gardiner was back in the USA to receive an honorary Doctor of Laws degree at the University of Tuskegee, where he was also the 'Spring Commencement Speaker'.⁵⁰ In the same year the University of Bradford in England also 'conferred' an Honorary Doctor of Science degree on him on December 6.⁵¹

The other universities which granted Gardiner honorary degrees, but on which I have not been able to find confirmation/information are: Ibadan in 1967, East Africa in 1968, Sierra Leone in 1969 and Addis Ababa at an unknown date.

From 1970 till 1975 he was the first David Livingstone Visiting Professor at the University of Strathclyde, which was in the process of setting up an Institute of

⁴⁶ University of Bristol, Minutes of Council 1965-5, Ceremony 19 May 1966, p.7, kindly sent to me by the Cheryl McKeon Slater, Deputy Head of Public and Ceremonial Events, September 2013. Thank you!

⁴⁷ My thanks to Bridget Gillies, UEA Archivist, correspondence, 11/12 December 2013.

⁴⁸ Email correspondence with Johan Sjoberg, Uppsala University, September, 2013. Thank you!

⁴⁹ <http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/handle/11295/57563?show=full>

⁵⁰ Email from Archival Assistant at Tuskegee, 12/12/2013.

⁵¹ Email correspondence with M.J. Martin, Alumni Office, University of Bradford, September/December 2013. Thank you! Unfortunately the speeches given at the ceremony are not readily available.

Development Studies.⁵² His 1971 lectures given in that capacity were reported in detail in *The Times* on 3 June 1971 (p.14). Gardiner spoke on the limits imposed by thinking about ‘development’ in Africa by Africans, as their only experience was of the Western world, especially the countries of their colonial masters.

The mistake we have made so far has been to superimpose techniques, ideas and practices without making an attempt to examine local conditions or win the co-operation of local peoples... The process of modernization requires that modern ideas take indigenous roots.⁵³

The University ‘conferred the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon Professor Gardiner on 13 April 1973’, Dr Cameron of the Archives informed me. At the ceremony, James Pickett, Director of Overseas Development at the University noted and outlined Gardiner’s

distinguished career... [at the UN] his optimism, his infectious capacity for spontaneous humour, his concern for humanity, and his powerful talent for diplomacy have served him and the world well... He has brought African governments and the wider UN system to an increasing appreciation of the importance of combining professional competence with political concern, in a way that preserves the integrity of the former and achieves the objectives of the latter....

This was also the year of the ‘initiation’ of the ‘Livingstone Institute’ at the University, presided over by the Minister for Overseas Development. The inaugural lecture was given by ‘Professor Robert Gardiner’. *The Times* reported that Professor Gardiner said

Livingstone foresaw the idea of helping developing countries and tried to help Africans with technology and agriculture. A century later an extensive road system was being created and agriculture and trade were building up. I should like to stress the importance of economic cooperation among African states. Such cooperation provides the best prospect for economic and political independence. There must be a search for appropriate technologies because too much expensive

⁵² Correspondence with Anne Cameron, Archives, University of Strathclyde, August-September 2013. Thank you for all you sent.

⁵³ Strathclyde has a printed copy of one of the lectures.

equipment had been imported and wasted... Within Africa a gap is opening up between countries in terms of their development. At root, what is required in this respect is a genuine willingness to improve African conditions and extend African control over African affairs.

(*Times*, 17/4/1973, p.18)

The Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences invited Gardiner to give its J.B. Danquah Memorial Lecture in 1970. The lecture, 'The Role of Educated Persons in Ghana' was published by the Academy. Two years later the University of Ghana invited him to give the Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lecture; his talk was on 'The basis for change and development in Ghana'.

1980-1993

Where was Gardiner when he was working with his co-editor, James Pickett, on their book, *The African Development Bank*, published by the Bank in Abidjan in 1984? It outlines the formation of the Bank via a 'series of studies' set up by Gardiner, whose report was submitted to the ECA. The Bank decided that the Board of Directors had to be all Africans, that only African countries could hold share capital, but that loans from non-African countries should be accepted. There is a full discussion of the disagreements between the Brazzaville, Casablanca and Monrovia Groups relating to the formation of the OAU and how these affected the ECA.

A volume of essays in Gardiner's honour was published in 1990. The foreword was by Babacar Ndiaye, then president of the African Development Bank. He stated that Gardiner was 'one of the leading architects of the Bank...whose insight of twenty-five years ago into the importance of development finance in Africa has been broadened by events'. (pp. xii-xiii) Shridath Ramphal, then Commonwealth Secretary-General, in his 'appreciation of his seventy-fifth birthday', noted Gardiner's 'key role in conciliation at various stages' in the Congo crisis, in the setting up of the Bank, in 'building up institutions and arguing the case to make the economies of Africa more self-sustaining', and in his concern for 'human rights and values' and against discriminations, as Gardiner argued in his Reith Lectures. This is followed by 'an appreciative note' by the editors, James Pickett of Strathclyde University and Hans Singer from the University of Sussex, which is largely biographical, and includes an analysis of his years at the ECA. Gardiner was sure 'that the development of Africa turns mainly on what is happening in the

rural areas... he was relentlessly urging the importance of health and education in the villages... Much of the ECA's efforts was directed at improving the road network' and the 'obsolete telephone systems' (pp.4-11). The next two hundred or so pages contain essays on the social and economic conditions in sub-Saharan Africa.

Robert Kweku Atta Gardiner died in 1993.

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There is nothing in the on-line catalogues of the USA National Archives; there is one entry on the UK's National Archives site: FCO 61/432 'Organisation of Economic Commission for Africa: visit to UK by Mr Robert Gardiner'.

The UN archives claim to have no information readily available, but according to 'Documents relating to Robert Gardiner's Congo assignments as well as papers dating from his time as Executive Secretary of UNECA' are located at the UN Archives in New York (<http://archives.un.org>; search term 'Gardiner').

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