



DR. J. B. DANQUAH

JOURNEY TO INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER
(DR. J. B. DANQUAH'S LETTERS)

VOL. III -

1952 - 1957

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VOLUME THREE
1952 - 1957

Compiled by
H. K. AKYEAMPONG



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Letters, such as written by wise
men are, of all the world of men,
in my judgement, the best.

Francis Bacon

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H.K.A.

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PREFACE

THIS BOOK is a collection of some of the letters written by the late DOCTOR JOSEPH BOAKYE DANQUAH during the ten years (1947 - 1957) of the relentless struggle for independence from Britain, and during the remaining years of his life.

They cover almost every topic, and provide a running commentary on political events during this important decade of our history. Frankly, if I were to obtain all the letters he wrote during this period, this book might have been more than six times its size.

Dr. Danquah had many sides known to the public. He was a selfless politician, a philosopher, a poet, a statesman, a dramatist, a jurist, a constitutionalist and a journalist. One of the least known sides of him was that he was a most interesting writer of letters, and I thought I should compile some of his letters to bring to light this important side of this wonderful man. His pen and typewriter never rested as his 'nature impelled him to immediate action, whenever he found that those entrusted with the authority to govern the nation were abusing their powers', to quote Mr. William Ofori Atta. Dr. Danquah had time for all those who visited him or wrote to him even about their own personal matters, though he was always busy about matters of state, and his profession. He saw everybody who called on him, and replied to almost every letter he received. All this shows that he led a full life to the end, and did not seem to have had any leisure hours to speak of. Even in prison he did not live a life of idleness, and he was still writing profusely, although handicapped physically and without reference books.

If anybody wants to know intimately what Dr. Danquah really was, and what he stood steadfastly for, no set of writings of his could reveal this more than his letters in which he often poured forth his heart to great and small, high and low, all of whom he regarded as equally important. I know this very well, as I was one of his secretaries for a long time.

I hope that the publication of these letters will provide a source of information for those who are interested in Ghana's struggle for Independence, and in its chief architect, Dr. Danquah. It will also, I hope, enable the younger generations to appreciate

Dr. Danquah's relentless stand on issues of fundamental importance.

It is generally accepted that this nation owes a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Danquah for the many worthy things he did for it: for the valuable books the eminent scholar and writer produced on our culture, our institutions and our past; for the great political struggle the 'Doyen' engaged himself in, resulting in the final achievement of self-government for this country; for the name 'Ghana' with which the historian rechristened this nation to remind us of our great past; and for his relentless fight for true freedom for this land, in the course of which he suffered and died as a martyr in a detention camp on 4th February 1965, at the age of 69, after a most remarkable, busy, selfless and noble life.

May these letters and other writings of the Great Man be to the citizens of Ghana a fitting reminder of J.B.'s ideals, so that we may all live up to them in making Ghana as great as he had always wanted her to be.

H. K. AKYEAMPONG

Canaan's Lodge,
Kaneshie, Accra.

INTRODUCTION

Since J. B. died in detention after a lot of suffering to which Nkrumah was insensitive, attempts have been made to show Ghanaians and the outside world what a great patriot he was. To those who followed J.B.'s career closely, all this would seem to be unnecessary. But, as the letters in this collection reveal, throughout J.B.'s active life he was regarded by the British Colonial Administration and the Convention People's Party Government as "a factious disturber of government," — a derogatory meaning for a patriot in 18th century England. A careful scrutiny of these letters, however, shows that he was a patriot of a very rare type, a man who did not seek any rewards for work that he did, and who spared no effort to prove that he had a high intelligence which he was not prepared for anyone, high or low, to insult. The African Latin poet, Terentius Afer, makes the claim that he is a human being, and all that touches humanity is his concern — *homo sum, nil humanum a me alienum puto*. Of J.B. it may be said that he was a Ghanaian, and all that touched Ghana was his concern. Therefore *Ghanensis sum, nil Ghanense a me alienum puto*, might well be his motto and the caption of this collection of letters.

As a patriot J.B.'s first burning desire was to secure independence for this country, the Gold Coast, for which he suggested the name Ghana. His letters show what he did to bring the Colony and Ashanti together to form a Legislative Council when the Colonial Administration was trying to get the Asantehene, Otumfuo Nana Osei Agyeman Prempeh II, to accept the Ashanti Advisory Council Ordinance, and keep away from the 'agitators' of the South. His part in urging the chiefs of the Joint Provincial Council to elect non-chiefs into the Legislative Council under the Burns Constitution of 1946 helped to increase on the Council the number of educated men who really understood the tricks of the Colonial Administrators and could challenge them in their own field. It was a signal achievement.

The most significant characteristic of J.B. which runs through these letters is his impatience with humbug, loose thinking and dishonesty among administrators and fellow citizens. He could not suffer fools gladly. Where chiefs and other public men were

cowering before the Colonial officials, he was not afraid to write to the Governor, the Colonial Secretary or the Secretary of State for the Colonies to complain about some stupid actions of the administration. He was always brutally frank.

The generation of Ghanaians who have been fed on Nkrumah's doctored history of Ghana will be agreeably surprised to find that it was J.B. who really led the movement to independence, and the Watson Commission paid him a just tribute by calling him the 'doyen of Gold Coast politicians'. When he was going up and down the country in the 1930's and 1940's, nobody in the Gold Coast had heard of Nkrumah as a politician.

He with George Alfred Grant, Akufo Addo, Blay, Ako Adjei, Obetsebi Lamprey, William Ofori Atta, Awoonor Williams and de Graft Johnson founded and launched the United Gold Coast Convention on 4th August, 1947. Yet, writing on the independence movement in his book *Dark Days in Ghana*, Nkrumah, in 1967, makes the amazing claim that "It was men such as these, George Grant, J. B. Danquah, Ofori Atta, Ako Adjei and Obetsebi Lamprey who were the nucleus of the United Gold Coast Convention (U.G.C.C.), the Organisation I launched in Saltpond on 29th December 1947 to achieve independence by all legitimate and constitutional means."

The events which led to the arrest of the "Big Six" and the part Danquah played in them are all brought out clearly in the letters. The attitude of the British Colonial Officers to Danquah and the nationalists of his calibre makes interesting reading, and the charges they made against the Convention leaders were extremely childish. J.B.'s reply to those charges makes the administrators look foolish, and I suspect the Colonial officials never forgave him for having such a low opinion of their intellect. Their active support for Nkrumah and the C.P.P. later on stems partly from wounded pride, and partly from the realisation that the "noisy agitators" were easier to deal with than the "aristocratic elite." The London Times put it beautifully when it stated that with the formation of the C.P.P. the British had recaptured the initiative. They held it until they made their principal captive a Privy Councillor in 1959!

The events leading to the break with the U.G.C.C. and the formation of the C.P.P. had, even at that time, all the elements

of a Greek tragedy. One could say at the time, as Danquah's letters show, that those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. Nkrumah and all the leaders of the Convention People's Party, who were regarded as progressives by their admirers, began their careers by telling malicious lies about J.B. and his associates and endangering their lives. They accused them of taking bribes from the British just because J.B. had agreed to Sir Sydney Abraham's suggestion that he should come to the Gold Coast to organise sports. They accused them of selling out to the British because they served on the Coussey Committee while Nkrumah had not been appointed to it. What the U.G.C.C. members on the Committee actually did to hasten self-government by insisting upon the exclusion of ex-officio ministers from the Cabinet was never mentioned by Nkrumah and Gbedemah; and Danquah's call for a Constituent Assembly was effectively ignored. These are all points brought out in the letters.

The invectives in the *Accra Evening News* against Danquah, and Gbedemah's contribution to this lying propaganda are all there for everyone to read. That these lies spread beyond the boundaries of this country is clear from letters J.B. received from young and old. The letters really bear out the truth of the statement that you cannot legislate against malice. The philosophy of politics adopted by the C.P.P. leaders was based on the maxim: Give a dog a bad name and then hang him. It is to the credit of Nkrumah and his henchmen that they succeeded in ruining Danquah's reputation among the common people so thoroughly that it took the Preventive Detention Act to restore it. In all, they succeeded in making him a Cassandra, a tragic hero whose role was to issue warnings which almost everyone ignored. The later pleas of the C.P.P. leaders after the coup that they did not know the sort of person Nkrumah was ring hollow when these letters are read. At any rate now the world knows who was corrupt and dishonest; J.B. has now been vindicated, while his enemies are struggling to clear their names in the Commissions of Enquiry.

The later assertion of the C.P.P. leaders, especially Kofi Baako, that violence in politics was started by the National Liberation Movement is proved false in these pages where assassination threats first appear in Gold Coast politics. The desire for a one-party state is evident from statements by Gbedemah, Adamafo and others on

the necessity for the C.P.P. to capture all the seats in the Assembly and dispensing with opposition. It was this attitude to Opposition which led J.B. and others in the South of Ghana to support the National Liberation Movement, and not a real desire for federation. One of J.B.'s weakest points was his refusal to believe that violence was not alien to the Gold Coast. He always regarded it as foreign, in spite of the evidence, and that was carrying idealism too far. But it was violence which gave the C.P.P. its initial successes, and the lying propaganda spread throughout the country helped the organisers to build the Frankenstein monster from which some of the creators suffered.

J.B. is regarded by his detractors at home and by foreigners who take their cue from the C.P.P. and its admirers as a real aristocrat with open contempt for the masses. His ambivalent support for the chiefs lends credence to this view. But the letters reveal his real attitude towards the chiefs. He felt they could be used by the British to delay or prevent independence, and always tried to get them on to the side of the nationalists. He often coaxed, flattered and reasoned with them to get them to back the nationalist movement. He was very consistent in this, and that is why he always advocated a second chamber. He did not regard the chiefs as competent enough to represent the people in a democratic assembly, as the Colonial administrators did, and was prepared to adopt stern measures to prevent that. But he felt that the chiefs had a great deal of support among the ordinary folk in the rural areas, and diplomatic skill was necessary to win them over. His letter to Nene Mate Kole, and his pleas before the chiefs in the Akyem Abuakwa State to send him and William Ofori Atta to the Legislative Assembly are all part of that policy. And the chiefs had a lot of confidence in him and elected him as their representative on a number of occasions. It is to the credit of some of the chiefs of the Gold Coast that they made it possible for J.B. to serve the country at a time when the followers of Nkrumah were bent on destroying him. His account of the achievements of the Opposition in Parliament are a tribute to the foresight of those who chose him. But for them his talents would have been wasted through frustration.

The letters show that the seeds of the troubles which Ghanaians went through were sown between 1949 and 1957. J.B. puts

the blame squarely on the British Administration and the British Press. In trying to check corruption, he asked the Governor to set up a Commission of Enquiry. He got a rebuff instead. Yet everything he said was later proved right. His statement in a letter to Mr. Kingsley Martin puts the point well: "The man to blame for the gruelling time Ghana is going through just now is not Mr. Krobo Edusei or Dr. Nkrumah but Sir Charles Noble Arden Clarke". He did not have much patience with influential Britons who tried to pretend that the C.P.P. under Nkrumah was not establishing a dictatorship, and his letters to Lord Hemingford and Lord Ogmore reveal this impatience.

The usual charge made against J.B. and the educated men who were opposed to Nkrumah's policies was that they were too proud to serve under such a wonderful person, and did not care for the suffering of the masses. The letters to Bankole Timothy show that he too shared that view. What all sane men knew was that the jealousy that existed among the members of Nkrumah's gang for the really educated men was so deep-seated, that co-operation was impossible with them. What they wanted was abject capitulation and unconditional surrender. This no self-respecting person was prepared for. Those men like Ako Adjei and Adamafo who took that line were lucky to escape with their lives, while Bankole Timothy did not have to wait long for poetic justice. And it is a tribute to J.B.'s magnanimity that when the management of the Daily Graphic disowned Bankole Timothy, he wrote to condemn the periodical, *West Africa*, for supporting the reasons given, even though Bankole had said a lot of uncomplimentary and untrue things about him.

One fact that comes out of these letters is the way in which Nkrumah succeeded in concealing his real motives from J.B. and his colleagues for such a long time. We also find that Nkrumah was a fraud who had no use for truth. He had made certain assertions in his Autobiography, which he arrogantly captioned "Ghana — the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah," and had told a number of lies which had to be refuted. J.B.'s letter, in which he demanded an apology from Nkrumah, shows that part of Nkrumah's character which is evident in all his books — his capacity for taking credit for what he had not done. He had wanted a Ph.D. very badly because it was a status symbol in

Africa, and especially because his arch-rival, J.B. Danquah, had one. So he gave himself one, and told lies about it until he had to confess the truth to J.B. in prison! When he was unmasked, he had to change his tune and say that he had chosen a title for the thesis and was working under Professor A. J. Ayer in University College, London, at a time when Ayer was a philosophy don in Oxford! Lincoln University later helped him out of the difficulty by awarding him an honorary doctorate, and thus began the use of honorary doctorates in Ghana. His cowardice before the Colonial officials and his inferiority complex before Saloway and those who had a command over the English language — a quality which he lacked — are all brought out in the letter to the *Ghana Statesman* on 'Why I declared Positive Action'. Those foreigners who regarded Nkrumah as charming and Danquah as difficult could see that it was easy to win over Nkrumah with words he could not understand, just as a man once silenced a fishwife by calling her an "isosceles triangle"! No wonder the Colonial Service officers received such generous terms from Nkrumah before independence.

The letters contain some interesting comments on some prominent men in the Gold Coast — Coussey, Bossman, Ollennu, Baeta, Tsibu Darku and others. He gives his views on the judiciary in the letter to the Chief Justice, Sir Mark Wilson, and in his congratulatory letter to Mr. Bossman on his appointment to the Bench. In that letter he states: "You are aware of my personal interest in the highest standards of every branch of life in our country. Oftentimes I have been appalled at the lack of scholarship, even mere command of English, in certain members of our Gold Coast Bench." He began his fight to get the judiciary interested in the sanctity of the constitution by urging on Sir Arku Korsah in a letter of March 2, 1957 to get a clause inserted into the constitution empowering the Supreme Court to interpret the Constitution. But this was not done; and his long struggle with the judiciary which followed the passage of the Preventive Detention Act may be said to have had its origin in this omission.

That J.B. was not permitted by fate to serve his country to the best of his ability was not due solely to Nkrumah and his Convention People's Party. Part of the cause lies in the character of educated Ghanaians and part in the cherished values of Ghanaian society. We need to be reminded that our national hero in

beast fable is Kwaku Ananse, the wily spider; and in our society the crafty unscrupulous person is acclaimed, while the person who aims at selfless devotion to duty and maintains a high standard of integrity is extremely unpopular. The colonial system made educated Ghanaians accept as a self-evident truth the principle that one can only get on in life by slavishly supporting all actions of the government of the day. Therefore a man like J.B. Danquah, who always rebelled against the evil acts of governments, was regarded as a real nuisance, "a factious disturber of government." Such men become pariahs in our society, because their detractors make it known that their criticisms are the result of envy at the prosperity of their more fortunate countrymen. Some of those detractors were hypocrites enough to write tributes to J. B. two years after his death, and the historians will know the truth when the records of meetings he attended with those very men are open to inspection.

The situation remains unchanged twenty years after J.B. sounded his clarion call to independence in the famous letter announcing that "the hour of liberation has struck". The men who still get on in Ghana are generally those who pander to the prejudices of men in authority, and dismiss critics of our society as jealous men. Most successful Ghanaians in the Establishment are men who obtained decorations from the British Colonial Administration or from Nkrumah. Some have continued to obtain decorations since Nkrumah left. If, however, the statements of such prominent patriots about British colonialism after Ghana's independence are accepted, if their loud denunciations of the Nkrumah regime after the coup express their genuine feelings about the regime from which they profited, then they have established the truth of Dr. Johnson's saying that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

In compiling these letters for the reading public Mr. Akyeamong has done educated Ghanaians a signal service. For, by reading through them, one can see the evil in adopting double moral standards in any society. It will become clear to the discerning reader that the British, who supported our mad rush to dictatorship, sincerely believe that that is all we were capable of. J.B.'s stand was that, given the best men, we could achieve something more noble. But in a country where real talent of the

type displayed by J.B. is resented because it makes the conformists and compromisers look foolish, such noble achievement in public life may well be wishful thinking. The letters may be read either as illustrating the fate of a martyr who was ahead of his times, or as an example of good life worth emulating. Whichever way one looks at J.B.'s life, one cannot fail to draw the conclusion that he was one of nature's true aristocrats, a man who put more into his country than he got out of it. Ghana would have been all the poorer without him.

L. H. OFOSU-APPIAH

ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA SECRETARIAT,
ACCRA.

1 THE AKIM ABUAKWA YOUTH ASSOCIATION

4th February, 1952.

Seth H. Appiah¹, Esq.,
School of Pharmacy,
Korlebu,
Accra.

My dear Mr. Appiah,

I am ever so grateful for your letter. I have had intimations of what is going on, but I have not been over-worried, as I think this ebullience of youth will soon find its own level, unless of course, the motive is anti-Akim Abuakwa, in which case it will fail and fail ignominiously. So far as I am personally concerned, if there are active youths in Akim Abuakwa who believe that after 39 years of service to the State, from 1913 to date, although I had not betrayed the State, or done anything disgraceful to sully its name, I should be got rid of because of late I had become more of a national Gold Coast figure and less of an Akim Abuakwa figure, they are quite welcome to their opinion, provided they are themselves able to do better for the State and for the country than I am doing now. I am myself very anxious for active young men to come into the field and help. I am myself quite willing to retire and leave my place for others to fill. But I will do so on only one condition: that the men to succeed me should show evidence that their motives are pure and that they are capable of doing the work they think I have failed to do. I should very much like to see a youth Association working in Akim Abuakwa, but it must not be led by people whose aim is motivated by evil thoughts to destroy this or that man. I wish to destroy no one. I wish to see my State united and strong; the largest State in the Colony must also be the greatest in the land. People forget that when from 1943 to 1948 the name Akim Abuakwa was made so obnoxious in the eyes of ordinary Gold Coast people as well as of the Government, the real fight was not in Akim Abuakwa, but in the centre of things, to rehabilitate the name of our State in the eyes of the world. We, the people of Akim Abuakwa, came and told the world that we

1. Chairman of the Akim Abuakwa Progress Society (Accra Branch) in 1952.

are "ritual murderers", whereas it was quite the contrary. But the world believed us and sent 8 of our people to the gallows for it. I have been struggling ever since to let the people of the Gold Coast forget that stigma on our name and to think of us as people as good as, if not better than, any other people in any other State. I think I have made a success of this policy. I think the success of Mr. William Ofori Atta and myself in the Assembly — just two men holding forth against a great party, and getting our views and names respected — have compelled quite a number of people in the Gold Coast to think differently of the Akim Abuakwa of 1943–1948. If now, just as Mr William Ofori Atta and myself are about to succeed, our own people should choose to come forward and disown us, I can only say, I am sorry. Already our name, our Akim Abuakwa name, stands high in Ashanti. You will recall the speech made recently, I think last Tuesday, by Mr. Abubekr in the Assembly. He said they would place no one over the Asantehene. Actually in my frequent visits to Kumasi, I keep in close touch with affairs, and what I see is that the C.P.P. in Ashanti is now becoming an Ashanti Party, not an Nkrumah Party. I hope you understand what I mean. The recent Odwira¹ by the Okyen-hene has set the Ashantis thinking.

These, and many other matters, make me sorry to learn that certain people of Abuakwa birth think it right to break me and break Willie, and leave Nana Ofori Atta II alone to struggle against all the world. I can assure you that I am determined to carry out my plans without shouting too much about them. I am determined to have the Abuakwa name rehabilitated and to make Abuakwa lead the nation. If there are any Abuakwa born who are willing to assist or to give me help or to lead better than I am doing, let them come forward; but for God's sake, let them not try to ruin the unity of the State, let them not try to destroy the delicate name that makes Abuakwa feared and respected. Our next target must be to make Abuakwa loved by all, but disunity in our ranks will not bring us love from abroad.

As for the Abuakwa Society, I took great care not to become any of its office bearers. They are all in the State, not even in Accra. It has not failed. The C.P.P. have tried to make it fail,

¹ See "Akan Laws and Customs" by Dr. J. B. Danquah. — page 231.

but trust me, there are plans afoot to confound the policies of the C.P.P. in Akim Abuakwa so that whilst it can remain a party in the State — (I cannot object to that), it will not betray Akim Abuakwa and destroy its unity.

I note what people are saying about sanitation in the Akim Abuakwa State. I shall look into this matter on my next visit to Kibi and find out what is wrong with the Treasury Department — why all the men have resigned. As to the Assembly, people who want to set a standard for me by the stand of Krobo Edusei and Atta Mensah pay me a very dubious compliment. Merely to speak in the Assembly about the needs of one's Constituency is not the whole story. One has to get the actual work done. This is quite often done not by speechifying, but by Ministerial approach. Willie and myself are doing a tremendous job for the State in the Assembly as also in personal contacts with the Ministers, and people should give us credit for what is happening just now. The roads are being given to contract, the hospital is to be extended at Kibi, the State College is to be aided by Government, with salaries of teachers paid by Government, to release fresh money from the State to start another College as soon as we can. And many other things are being done of which we cannot at present speak.

Do please let me hear from you from time to time and come and see me personally whenever you can.

I am, my dear Appiah,

Yours in the service of Abuakwa,

J. B. DANQUAH.

2 FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND SPEECH

Ref. 2255/P/52

5th August, 1952.

Lord Hermingford¹
House of Lords,
Westminster,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

Dear Lord Hemingford,

I could not agree more with you than in your statement in the House of Lords debate that "It is still possible for people in the Gold Coast to have freedom of thought and speech".

I quote from the official version as published by the P.R.O. It does not say whether you went on to say that meetings are usually broken up by organised hooting and stone throwing and other violent attacks, and that the turn of affairs at the inaugural meeting of the Ghana Congress Party which was so treated by the supporters of the C.P.P. was endorsed by the Prime Minister as expressing the desire of the Gold Coast to have no second party in the country. The report did not say whether you went on to say that the Government recently challenged members of the Assembly who had subscribed themselves as members of the Opposition to answer to a Government motion "to clarify their position" and that in the course of the debate the Chief Government Whip² said that the five members of the Active Opposition ought to be deported merely for daring to form an Opposition.

It is true that you lived in the Gold Coast for 17 years, but as you did not take part in any political meetings, one cannot tell whether you have suffered: stoned, spat upon, hissed at and hooted and booed just because I would dare to exercise what I thought I possessed, or to use your own word, "had", namely, freedom of thought and speech.

It is quite true, of course, that it is still possible to have freedom of thought and speech. The question is how long will this possession last under the present conditions, and even though the

¹ A former Master of Achimota College, and later Rector of the Teacher Training College.

² Mr. Krobo Edusei.

freedom may be there, can one exercise it freely?

Your speech as reported did give the impression that you must have said that you knew that totalitarian methods were being practised here, but that it was still possible to have freedom of speech and thought, and that it was not quite as bad as behind the iron curtain.

I should be happy to know whether this is so. Otherwise your use of the term "still possible" puzzles me.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

3 WHY NKRUMAH AND THE U.G.C.C. PARTED COMPANY

Ref. 2264/GCP/50

9th August, 1952.

Lord Ogmore,
House of Lords,
Westminster,
London, S.W. 1.

Dear Lord Ogmore,

I have now seen the P.R.O.'s official version of the recent debate in the House of Lords about the Gold Coast¹.

It is a revelation to learn that in your view the actions of the Gold Coast Government did not support a belief that there was a move towards totalitarianism in the Gold Coast. Probably you exclude from the term "actions of the Gold Coast Government" certain utterances and acts of the Prime Minister and other Representative Ministers as spoken from time to time in the Assembly or published in their own newspaper *The Accra Evening News* and in the *Daily Graphic*, a European newspaper which supports the Convention People's Party.

¹ See *The Gold Coast Revolution* by George Padmore — page 64.

Alan Burns did not say in the Cocoa Marketing Board's Ordinance that the Governor or the Chief Secretary was to tell the Board what to do with the farmers' money. This the present Government has done.

What Queen Victoria said was that she did not want her people's lands in the Gold Coast but their love. This Government has deprived the Stools of the right to manage their lands or to own or control their revenues.

Guggisberg did not state that to make it impossible for individuals to enrich themselves at Takoradi and Sekondi by reason of the Takoradi port he must acquire 63 square miles of Sekondi and Takoradi lands for a port and a town. Our Minister for Local Government and our Minister for Housing gave that as their principal reason for the acquisition of 63 square miles of Tema land, by reason of which the Tema stool has been expropriated completely of its lands. Only 315 acres are wanted for the Port. Why take over 39,320 acres? (An area bigger than present Accra).

The Prime Minister and his supporters have declared time out of number that they would not tolerate any party outside the C.P.P., and they have ceremonially with either Christian or heathen rites buried the Ghana Congress Party in all the principal towns in the Gold Coast, with the Prime Minister himself officiating or looking on with approval. I enclose herewith photographs of some of these burials.

In the Legislative Assembly on July 4, after the Speaker had announced the names of 23 members who had agreed in writing to be given seats in the Opposition, the Government tabled a motion for the persons concerned "to clarify their position". Is that freedom of thought? Is it not intimidation?

The Prime Minister has declared that Chiefs who do not support his Party will be dealt with by him, and we have had the example of Wenchi.

He recently declared at a special meeting of C.P.P. Local Government Councillors in Kumasi that C.P.P. members of Local Councils should vote for the Party even against their conscience although the Minister of Local Government² on the same platform had advised that they should conduct themselves in the interest of the community.

²

E. O. Asafu Adjaye

And I trust you have seen and read that part of the same speech in which he revealed that "he was trying to have the constitution amended so that by-elections would be held in those constituencies where people elected into the Assembly on C.P.P. ticket have been sacked from the Party. If that amendment were effective, people like Kwesi Lamptey³ would have left the Assembly long ago"!

In the same speech he counselled the C.P.P. Councillors that "the Chiefs were just mere ornaments and had nothing to do with the affairs of the Councillors. They had no control over the deliberations of the Councils, and therefore C.P.P. Councillors must deal very severely with any Chief who tried to influence the affairs of the Councillors from behind the screen".

As a parting shot the Prime Minister is reported to have said "Local Government was a foundation for self-government. Therefore if it failed each and every one should shoot himself".

Would these things happen in England? They happen, as you know, behind the Iron Curtain.

Communist methods of rule threaten our new nation at its very foundation; and I wish to God the Socialist Party in U.K. would wake up to that and stop thinking that this nasty baby is their type of baby or that the way it is being brought up is their own projected design.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

P.S. It grieves me to think that Nkrumah and the U.G.C.C. parted company because of a quarrel concerning the safety of your life during your visit here, and now those of us who were on the side of the law on your behalf are your targets in the House of Lords. I cannot tell you the facts of what I obscurely hint here, because I think you ought to have known of it by now.

³ The first C.P.P. member to cross the carpet in 1952 to join the Opposition.

4 THE GHANA MAN IS INTELLIGENT

Ref. 2453/PPC/52

1st December, 1952.

Bankole Timothy, Esq.¹
Daily Graphic,
Accra.

Dear Mr. Bankole Timothy,

This is a personal letter. I am beginning to get concerned about a certain new tone in your articles.

On the fundamental life and death issue of the constitution your article "Action" in the November 1st issue gave the impression that you would castigate as disloyal and unpatriotic anyone who sincerely believes in the entitlement of the Gold Coast to unconditional liberation in the 1948 vintage, and disobeys your command to "put at the disposal of the Government" his views, suggestions and constructive criticisms on the issues raised in the recent proposals for constitutional reform, even though such proposals may not appear to such person to guarantee that unconditional liberation.

On the politically inopportune question of fee-free primary education, you gave the impression that your statement that "it was an error to have introduced a fee-free primary education scheme without first providing the teachers and the school buildings" was a new and a great discovery as great as the recent discovery by Dr. Armattoe and his colleagues of a cure for the disease of swollen shoot, a disease previously declared as clinically incurable in so far as science could tell.

Your fear that political opportunists might make political capital of your "verdict" puzzles me. I thought the gist of your verdict was quite the 'current' thought or verdict of the country and not such a 'capital' verdict as you would make one believe.

Quite apart from what the seasoned politicians have said on the subject *ad nauseam*, I seem to recall that some four months or so ago a young school teacher of Ashanti, Effua Nyamekye, I

¹

A former columnist of the Daily Graphic. He was deported from the country to Sierra Leone in 1957.

think her name was, said much about the same thing in a feature article in the "Graphic".

As you are probably aware, I hardly read anything now in the "Graphic" besides the headlines and your own column, unless there is a particular attractive and exclusive news item or objective comment. But this new tone which appears again in your "Note Book" of Wednesday November 26, dims all the more any attraction that the "Graphic" ever had for me.

You state further, "To indulge in vilification and to discredit in toto the semi-African Government of the Gold Coast overseas tantamounts to national suicide. The repercussions of such indiscretion are grave and if we persist in such acts, the economy of the Gold Coast will ultimately be adversely affected".

Quite apart from the strong term "national suicide", this statement, in so far as it claims that if our Government behaves discredibly in national or international or other affairs we must not say so, is a denial of the very sanction, namely exposure, which keeps any self-respecting Government from discreditable acts, especially in a democracy. But in so far as it claims that such exposure should be restrained and decent in language, it is fair enough

I wish you had said a word also to the Government itself in like measure as you said to Government's critics: Would not the Gold Coast Government be equally discredited overseas if members of the Government who are also politicians, and some of them journalists, made indiscreet statements about "nationalisation", "bankruptcy" and the rest? Reading the Assembly debates of December 1951, I came across the Minister of Labour¹ saying in the debate that "even if this Government would go bankrupt by paying the ordinary worker 3/-, we prefer to go bankrupt than refusing to give him sufficient increase to keep the body and soul together".

Perhaps as in this 20th Century you are a believer in political evolution for an oppressed African people, some of these ideas of unconditional liberation which springs from hearts yearning for radical or revolutionary changes "now" or "in the shortest possible time" can make little appeal to you.

¹ K. A. Gbedemah.

But if I know anything of the Gold Coast man, I know this much, that he is highly intelligent but very long suffering and is worthy of a very close study.

Best regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

5 BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION

Ref. 2475/P/52

8th December, 1952.

His Excellency,
Sir Charles Noble Arden Clarke, G.C.M.G.,
Government House,
Accra.

Your Excellency,

The enclosed is the original of an anonymous letter reaching me with a Kumasi post mark.

Distressing accounts of this kind of thing going on all over the country, in the Government and out of Government continue to reach me in several forms, in writing or otherwise. The latest reaching me from England affect the Takoradi harbour.

There must be an authority into whose final hands the order and good government and public faith of this country are entrusted.

I conceive Your Excellency to be such authority and I pray to you in the name of God to delay no longer but appoint a Commission of Enquiry into corruption and bribery as well as misuse of public funds that is going on in the country.

I have already brought to the notice of the Finance Committee information that has reached me regarding the Assembly Press, which, scheduled to cost some £20,000 has cost the country about £84,000.

It is distressing that such things should happen under Your

Excellency's governorship, and I bring this anonymous letter to your notice to ask that Your Excellency may make use of your powers to save this country from being ruined by failure to tighten the screw against wholesale demoralisation of administration in the highest quarters.

I am,

Your Excellency's obedient Servant,

J. B. DANQUAH.

6 REWARD IN POLITICS

2483/P/52

12th December, 1952.

Dr. K. A. Busia, M.L.A.,
University College,
Achimota.

My dear Kofi,

About ten days ago you delivered into my hands two letters from the United Kingdom one of which was from Miss Ayimadu and the other from Mr. Cyril Fairhurst. I was unable to decipher the gentleman's signature or to establish his identity until later.

Enclosed is a copy of the letter from Mr. Fairhurst. You will notice that he speaks of my "talking to the boys and to come to the decision that now is the time for making a stand". He asks me also to call upon certain members of the Assembly "not to take into consideration the move as far as politics are concerned", but to realise "the urgency of the situation and forget party politics while a job must be done". And he finally asks for my full co-operation "in what is to come soon".

He ends with words which, coming from a complete stranger,

are, to say the least, mystifying. He said:

“Personalities cannot be allowed to mix with the cause neither for self gain, or for a place in the future. All such rewards should rather be judged on the individual and his actual accomplishments”.

As you are probably aware this kind of ranting communication frequently reaches politicians, but two things puzzle me about this particular letter: Firstly, it was apparently sent by a special bearer to you from Mr. Fairhurst in London for delivery by you to me, for it bore no date stamp; and secondly, it speaks of “the boys”, “the move”, “a job”, “rewards” “the cause” and ends with a suggestion that he would be meeting me soon in Accra.

These dark hints together with his talk of forgetting “party politics” in the Assembly or elsewhere, are puzzling to me, and in view of the fact that you are reported to have met Mr. Fairhurst in London during your last visit and to have had talks with him, I should be grateful for some useful information to enable me to advise myself in regard to any of the suggested “moves”, “causes”, and “jobs” in the offing.

With my regards,

Yours very sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

P.S. As you are aware, any kind of jobbery and planning for reward in politics is anathema to my soul, and I should be happy to have an opportunity of making my position clear to Mr. Fairhurst.

7 THE GOVERNOR AND THE ASSEMBLY

Ref. 024/P/53

9th January, 1953

Secretary to the Governor,
Government House,
Accra.

Sir,

I am grateful for your letter No. G/792 of the 22nd December, and I note the action that has been taken on my letter by forward-

ing the anonymous letter to the Police for investigation.

2. You will, I hope, permit me to express my profound disagreement with the proposition that unsupported allegations contained in an anonymous letter cannot constitute sufficient evidence for the purpose of appointing a Commission of Enquiry on Bribery and Corruption.

3. My view is that where allegations are supported by evidence the need for public enquiry does not arise, the proper remedy being a public prosecution. Where, however, allegations of bribery and corruption on a large and alarming scale continue to come to the notice of the authorities the only remedy is an enquiry, first, to find out the source of such anonymous allegations and, secondly to check from the bottom up, by a process of elimination, whether the persons suspected could have taken bribes. This public enquiry has the double effect of putting an end to the anonymous allegations, if they are without foundation, and putting an end to or checking further attempts at corruption in defiance not only of the law but of the public weal.

4. I feel convinced that where the public conscience is made sensitive to such acts, those tempted to fall into them often take the public sense in the matter to be their guide, but when the practice is rampant and there is no active public conscience to check it, there is little to stop its growth. Eventually it comes to be taken for granted as a matter of course or even as "custom".

5. Forgive me arguing with you in this matter, but I feel that Government takes a wrong view of the matter when it mixes up evidence for public prosecution with need for public enquiry. There is a difference not only of degree but of kind between the two public measures, and I sincerely trust that this real difference will be appreciated and the Police left out entirely of the demand for a public enquiry, except of course to assist the Commission of Enquiry as it may direct.

6. The Police Force have their own work cut out for them and we cannot hope to get at the root of this trouble if we are to make the Police Force the judge of public faith or of good government. Were that the case, the provision in the Constitution reserving to His Excellency the Governor the right to override a decision of the Assembly in the interests of public order, public faith or good government, would cease to have meaning.

7. I respectfully appeal to His Excellency to review the decision of the Cabinet not to proceed with the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry until the Police have in their possession evidence of alleged cases of corruption, and to treat the country's demand for a Commission of Enquiry on Bribery and Corruption as a specific reflection on the good faith and good government of the administration and therefore calling for Enquiry.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

NOTE

In a letter No. G/792 dated 9th February, 1953, the Secretary to the Governor, replied as follows:

"Sir,

I am directed by the Governor to refer to your letter 024/P/53 of the 9th January on the subject of a Commission of Enquiry into bribery and corrupt practices, of which you were sent an interim acknowledgement No. G/792 of the 15th January.

"2. His Excellency requests me to say that he has carefully considered your letter and is not prepared to use his powers to review the decision of the Cabinet regarding the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry.

I have the honour to be

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

G. Hadow

SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR."

8 THE VISION OF THE FUTURE IS CLEAR

Ref. 108/UC/53

2nd March, 1953.

The Editor, Time,
540 N. Michigan Avenue
Chicago, 11,
Illinois, U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

Your correspondent's article on Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, our Prime Minister, excellent as it is, errs in two or three matters which affect my colleagues of the U.G.C.C. and myself. His first false suggestion is that when the Parliamentary Commission hustled out to Accra and chastised the Colonial Administration for denying us a voice in the Government, the upshot being a brand new constitution, with popular elections, "Gold Coast Leaders were stunned". That is the kind of mis-statement which reveals ignorance or recklessness. Moreover, it is not fair to history nor to our leaders.

On February 28, the day of the 1948 disturbances, the Parliamentary Under Secretary had told the House of Commons that the Governor of the Gold Coast was competent to deal with the situation and no commission was to be sent out. The very next day our £30 cablegram to the Secretary of State demanding full Self-Government and a commission to come out to supervise the setting up of a Constituent Assembly was published to the world. The Parliamentary Under Secretary had no alternative but to yield to our pressure to send out a Commission.

The man most stunned by this turn of events was Mr. Creech Jones, British Colonial Secretary. He was at the time in New York attending the United Nations Trusteeship Council with Sir Alan Burns, ex-Governor of the Gold Coast. Ten months later I enquired from Creech Jones in his Office at Church House, Westminster, what was his Government's reason for telling the world that the Gold Coast disturbances were communist inspired. His answer was a revelation. He said, "Sir Alan Burns had been telling me in New York that he left the Gold Coast in peace and that everybody was happy with the 1946 constitution. When therefore

I read in the NEW YORK TIMES that violent disturbances of a political nature had broken out in the Gold Coast I could not help but surmise that they were inspired from abroad.”

There is not, and so far as I care, there will never be any Communism in the Gold Coast. Our present movement for total liberation from imperialism is purely nationalist. Nothing short of a denial of our right to self-determination could ever really do us a stunning.

Secondly, the slogan of the U.G.C.C. was not “Self-Government in our time”. That makes nonsense. Our slogan was “Self-Government in the shortest possible time”, and it was embodied in the Constitution of the United Gold Coast Convention thus: “To ensure that the direction and control of Government shall in the shortest possible time pass into the hands of the people and their Chiefs”. Dr. Nkrumah’s subsequent abbreviation of this into the simple slogan “Self-Government Now” captured the imagination of quite a large number of people who thought that, in staging a struggle with an imperial power, “Now” was of a shorter duration than “the shortest possible time”. That was four years ago, and they are still saying “Self-Government Now”, in Dr. Nkrumah’s Camp.

The third point is that my father, Emmanuel, did not name me James but Joseph. James is Jacob in the Bible and it means “the supplanter”. Joseph has the plain meaning of increment, or in the language of the Bible “he shall add”. I have made it my life long business to create and add to our literature and liberty and not certainly to supplant them.

For myself I am happy in the thought that despite the fission in our united front in June 1949, (when Dr. Nkrumah broke away from the parent United Gold Coast Convention to form the Convention People’s Party), there is every possibility that the struggle will now proceed according to plan. The LONDON TIMES’ comment at the time was that the formation of the C.P.P. had enabled the British to re-capture the initiative. True enough, since that fatal day of June 12, 1949, the British have been shaping the pace and tempo of our struggle for liberation.

But the wheel of fortune has now come full circle. In October 1952 Dr. Nkrumah read a Statement in the Assembly calling for “modifications” of the present Constitution, elimination of ex-

officio Ministers of Defence and External Affairs, Finance and Justice. He called upon the Chiefs and all political organisations to send their views on the Constitution to him by post. On December 21, the new party to which I belong, the Ghana Congress Party, rejected the invitation to modify the Constitution by post and demanded full Self-Government guaranteed by an irrevocable Act of Parliament. On December 28, Dr. Nkrumah's own party, at a party conference, also rejected the call for modifications and asked for full Self-Government by an "Act of Independence". On February 9, Sir Charles Noble Arden Clarke, the Governor, opening the Budget Session, was compelled to admit that "all the parties are now united in the demand for Self-Government within the Commonwealth".

The next stage comes in June when the Assembly will have to decide whether it will support the demand of the two parties for complete Self-Government or will endorse the proposals of Dr. Nkrumah's Government for "modifications" of the present Colonial Status constitution.

The vision of the future is clear. Our liberty is in sight and our "statute" of it may be built on March 6, 1954, the one hundred and tenth anniversary of the Bond of 1844, under which our Chiefs of their own volition assigned political control of this land to an astute Scotsman, Captain George Maclean, who was British Governor of the Gold Coast 110 years ago.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

9 GIVE BUSIA A CHANCE

Ref. 296/GC/53

16th June, 1953.

K. Y. Attoh¹ Esq.,
Ghana Congress Party,
Accra.

Dear Mr. Attoh,

I notice in the report of our Saltpond rally sent by you to the

1. "K.Y." was sent to detention by Nkrumah in 1958, but he was released immediately after the first Coup. He died ten months later.

Daily Echo and the other papers that you quote me as saying Dr. Busia would be found to be a great leader. I do not think you are giving Dr. Busia a chance to justify himself for the term "greatness."

I had occasion to explain to my old friends at Saltpond why there had to be a Ghana Congress Party in place of the United Gold Coast Convention with which the people of Saltpond associate my name, and I said when the time came to form a united party of all the groups opposed to the Party in power as well as of those who hitherto had belonged to no party, we chose Dr. Busia from the University College where he held a responsible position.

The language used by me was Twi, not English, and I expressed my belief that Dr. Busia had a contribution to make to the problems of the country. I did not say he was a great leader or that he would be found to be a great leader.

Please make a correction. I have given a copy to the Press. You must give Dr. Busia a chance to show his greatness.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

10 APPOINTMENT OF MAGISTRATES TO THE HIGH COURT BENCH

Ref. 304/P/53

18th June, 1953.

The Honourable Sir Mark Wilson, Kt.,
Chief Justice of the Gold Coast,
Supreme Court,
Accra.

Dear Chief Justice,

There is considerable discussion in certain circles on the subject of the policy of appointing Magistrates to the High Court Bench. In the early 40's, in Sir Walter Harragin's time, when certain appointments were made from the Bar to the Magistracy, it was made clear by the Government that it was not intended to make those appointments a stepping stone to the High Court Bench.

Two judges were appointed from the Bar at the time, and the

country saw evidence of its High Court Bench rising to the level of the High Court in England. There has been no permanent appointments from the Bar direct to the High Court Bench for nearly 10 years now, but the policy of not appointing judges from the Magistracy appears to have been reversed, and the High Court Bench looks very much like becoming a career post for Magistrates.

There is a certain prestige which, in our over-all plans for the future Gold Coast State, we desire to create for our Judges of the High Court, and the co-operation of those responsible for appointing Judges at this stage is needed, if that absolute independence of the judiciary of the future political administration is to be maintained in a self-governing Gold Coast. Experience throughout the Commonwealth appears to show that this is best achieved if the High Court Bench does not look to the Civil Service for its Judges.

As both a lawyer and a politician this is a matter which is very dear to my heart, and those of us who are engaged in this business of nation building will be grateful for any assistance you may render to make successful this plan of affecting the British idea of separating the Magistracy from the High Court Bench, so as to make it possible for a class of eminent lawyers long practised at the Bar to build up a specialist legal milieu sufficiently close to be impervious to the assaults of the Civil Service.

A year or two before Sir Emmanuel Quist became Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, a successful experiment was made in appointing him on Commission as a Judge. It seems to me with the forthcoming Bar Vacation, and with so many of our Judges going on leave, a fine opportunity presents itself for the experiment to be repeated. I am quite sure the general public will welcome an appointment of one or two of our leading practising lawyers to act as Judge instead of further acting Judges being appointed from the Civil Service. In Accra alone I can think of at least two or three members of the Bar who could fill any form of appointment of the High Court Bench with efficiency and consummate ease. Such qualified men are also available at the other centres.

I should be grateful to hear from you.

Yours sincerely,
J. B. DANQUAH.

11 GOD HAS DEALT BOUNTIFULLY WITH ME

Ref. 30/P/53

19th June, 1953.

The Pastor-in-Charge,¹
Presbyterian Church,
Kibi.

Dear Pastor,

When last Sunday I entered the church at Kibi on June 7, the text that was being read was Psalm 116. I thanked the Lord for his gracious mercies, and I now wish to offer a sacrifice of thanksgiving and to pay my vows unto the Lord in the presence of all his people.

I enclose a cheque for £10 which please accept for the Church, and may the name of the Lord be praised, for he has dealt bountifully with me.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

12 THE BOND OF 1844 CENTENARY FUND (1944)

Ref. 301/P/53

19th June, 1953.

K. B. Ateko,² Esq.
Treasurer, Bond of 1844 Centenary Fund (1944)
Accra.

My dear K. B.

The High Court of the Gold Coast has given judgement in my favour in respect of the article entitled "Danquah Taken to Task" which was published in the *Daily Graphic* of June 25th

¹ A copy of this letter was sent to the Accra Presbyterian Church with a cheque for £10.

² A former master of Achimota College.

1952, by Mr. Price of the University College of the Gold Coast under the false name of "Scipio."

As you will recall the article stated that because of certain utterances imputed to me by Mr. Price I was a danger to the attainment of self-government in the Gold Coast and should be made to go to Kibi lest I do what Mr. Price calls "more damage".

The High Court found that the article was libellous, that is to say, it exposed me to hatred, ridicule and contempt. I was awarded £200 damages on the ground that it was a minor libel, and I was not awarded costs.

I have therefore had to pay my own costs (£60) from the award, together with £78 expenses in securing evidence. I have given a tithe of one-tenth to the Presbyterian Church at Accra and Kibi (£20), and have reserved 5% for income tax.

There remains a net balance of £32 out of the sum of £200 paid by the Daily Graphic. My Counsel and great friend, Mr. E. O. Obetsebi-Lampsey, did not of course charge me a fee and has refused to take a penny out of the £200.

In my view, greater satisfaction will be given me to devote this sum, £32, to a deserving charity. As this libel case arose out of my political activities, I can think of no charity more deserving than the purpose which we set before ourselves when 10 years ago we established the Bond of 1844 Centenary Fund during the Centenary Celebrations.

The Fund which is held by a Board of Trustees with Mr. A. M. Akiwumi as chairman with you as Treasurer stands at the Post Office Savings Bank at £217.

In order to raise the Centenary Fund to a round sum of £250 I send herewith my cheque for £33, and I ask you to accept this sum on behalf of the Board of Trustees as my further contribution to the Centenary Fund, 1944.

I attach no condition whatsoever to the gift except to ask that, if the Board of Trustees agree, the Centenary Fund should be made the initial capital of a learned or scientific society to be called the Ghana Academy of Science to be set up as early as possible, say in the year of our attaining self-government, which I hope will be in March 1954, ten years after the Centenary of the Bond.

It must be a source of great delight to you, as it is to me, that

we have now nearly attained the first and second of the three-fold plan we set before us in the dark and uncertain days when we dreamt of the complete liberation of our land politically, economically and culturally.

By the radical changes in the constitution since we founded the U.G.C.C. six years ago, the political aim of self-government is soon to be attained; by the establishment of a Gold Coast Bank this year the national aim of economic independence is also at our doorstep. But our politicians, most of whom condemn learning and culture, have as yet not heard the still small voice of philosophy without which men's mighty deeds are like dross.

I am aware that your pursuit of one aspect of philosophy and culture, which you call theosophy, has so completely weaned you away from our modern form of materialist politics that our youth of today are probably unaware of you as one of the great foundation builders who made today's superstructure possible.

Let me hope, however, that as an Academy of Science is the nearest thing to theosophy, your astral soul may permit you to touch on this earth, and that you will take early steps to get the Ghana Academy of Science established, and so put the crown over our long hours of labour and sacrifice for the land.

Believe me to be,

Yours very sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

13 BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE

Ref. No. 314/P/53

23rd June, 1953.

Nene Azzu Mate Kole, M.B.E., MLA.

Konor of Manya Krobo,

Odumasi Krobo.

Dear Konor,

On the 11th September 1944, I wrote you two letters No. 619/P/44 and No. 522/P/44 in relation to the Native Authority Bill of that year. Going through my file I find that letter No. 619 in

which I gave a full statement of my views of the Bill runs into more than 3 pages. The copy I have on my file, however, finishes at page 3 (paragraph 15), and there is nothing left on my file to show how I concluded my letter to you.

I should be grateful if you would cause your clerk to look over your back files and send me a complete copy of my letter No. 619.

And may I refer to another subject which has been exercising my mind of late. Information reaches me that you spoke strongly against the idea of a second chamber being set up for the Gold Coast based on our tradition of Youth and Elders. I hope my information is wrong. But if it is not, I would like you to consider that a second Chamber for the Gold Coast can very well cut out the Chiefs, and be simply a Senate of elderly statesmen and merchants and Government Officials or nominees, as it is the case in Jamaica. I am told that it is your view that Chiefs must stand out of politics entirely and therefore a second chamber must be rejected if it would mean putting Chiefs into the second chamber and to expose them to political targetting.

I do not want to pass judgement on the allegations reaching me. as they may not be true reports. But I would like you to note that for the next 25 years (I said so at Achimota in 1950, but I would reduce it to 15 years) with present drift of affairs in politics, politics are going to be centred around the possible elimination of Chiefs or liquidation of chieftaincy, and if the Chiefs are not prepared to meet that struggle face to face, they can expect the fate that met every aristocracy that refused to do what aristocracy did to stand up strenuously for their rights and not to stand aloof until they are completely forgotten or 'forbidden', as happened in France.

With my warm regards and best wishes,

Yours very sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

N.B. The information was not passed on to me by a Chief but by a non-chief who took part in your discussions.

14th July, 1953.

The Editor,
African Morning Post,
Accra.

Sir,

Apparently your Tom Pry has not read my motion ¹ nor taken the trouble to read my speech. If he did, he would clearly understand that I do not, by my amendment, set a date line in the sense he uses the term in his "Live Letter" to me in your issue of July 14.

As I understand it, "kpodziem" is a date line. A father fixes it as the day the child would be outdoored. If, as Tom Pry suggests, one fixes a day for a child and the event does not happen, the child would be greatly disappointed. But laying a foundation stone for a new house is not a date line. At least, if I fail to do so on the date fixed by myself, for myself, and of myself, the disappointment, if any, will be mine and mine alone. And in the circumstance, there is no real disappointment, for the day was appointed by myself, and it is in my power to appoint another day earlier or later — an act of my own will.

My motion does not say the U.K. Government (a third party) should declare us free on March 6, 1954. It says we should declare ourselves free and independent on March 6, 1954. If, for any assignable reason, such as objection from the N.T's, we do not want that day, we can appoint another day, say tomorrow, or a month hence, or three years hence. It makes no real difference what day we choose, but I prefer that historic day, the 110th anniversary of the Bond of 1844. The great thing is that it must be an

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The following is the full text of the motion in question:

" THAT THIS ASSEMBLY, HAVING DISCUSSED THE GOVERNMENT'S WHITE PAPER ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM, DO AUTHORISE GOVERNMENT TO NOTIFY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM THAT IN PURSUANCE OF THE GENERAL DEMAND OF THE CHIEFS AND PEOPLE OF THE GOLD COAST FOR A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH, A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE GOLD COAST SHALL BE MADE BY THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY ON MARCH 6, 1954; AND THE GOLD COAST GOVERNMENT IS FURTHER AUTHORISED TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY AND PRACTICABLE STEPS TO SECURE RECOGNITION BY THE UNITED KINGDOM GOVERNMENT, IN AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT, OF THE GOLD COAST AS A SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH AS A DOMINION".

act of our own will — our decision, not some one's, a "father's" or "master's" decision.

The real point of interest which those opposed to the Opposition amendment have not raised and could be raised with real benefit is this: Can we be certain that any Great Power, say United Kingdom, or United States, or United Soviet Socialist Republic (Russia) or France or India would recognise our declaration to make it effective internationally? Because, until our Declaration of Independence is recognised by a Great Power, or by even one of the nations of Africa, such as Egypt, or Liberia, or Ethiopia, it remains a *de facto* act and not *de jure*.

And that is where the second part of our motion comes in: That our Government should be authorised to take all necessary and practicable steps to get our great Master and professing friend, Great Britain, to give us that recognition.

And we of the Opposition, including the Party, are fully convinced that Great Britain will be persuaded to do it because, if she hesitates and temporizes over the question, India or United States may jump ahead of Britain and do it, thus leaving our old friend of the United Kingdom at a great disadvantage. . . . In the event, Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom, whose country has a great many stakes in this country, would become not the first friend of the New Ghana, but its second or third friend. . . . Be certain Britain would like to avoid that.

It is, as can be seen clearly, a scheme that requires diplomatic skill of the highest order to effectuate. But it is better than waiting, cap in hand, at the doorsteps of No. 10 Downing Street, to beg Winston Churchill (What we have we hold) to let off his hold on the Gold Coast for us to become free.

It is my own view that to secure self-government by forcing our will on the United Kingdom will accord us a higher other-respect and self-respect than if we went abegging for it. I personally hate begging or being specifically obliged to anybody, least so Great Britain, our country's great oppressor.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

23rd September, 1953.

The Editor,
African Morning Post,
Accra.

Sir,

Tawia Adamafo spoils his relatively excellent analysis of the political situation in the Municipality of Accra by his confession that what the voters of Accra meant by the verdict of the polls is: “Nkrumah is our man”.

That attitude, I am afraid, is the present curse of this country. It will continue to be its curse and its damnation so long as voters choose people to our Assemblies and Councils not because such people have a good policy, but because they accept the “Welbeckian” idea of blind and unquestioning adulation of a person — howsoever excellent that person may appear in their eyes.

I must confess myself to have been one of those residents of Accra who showed little interest in the recent Municipal election because I could see quite a number of the voters of Accra were as yet unready for a serious talking to.

Perhaps I am so much to blame for that state of Accra’s mind as any one of Accra’s seven thousand men “all the knees of whom have not yet bowed unto Baal”. Perhaps Accra yet awaits its Elijah, or is it Elisha?

But I was not a little abashed to notice that despite the fact that the Chief of the Imperial General Staff of the Mosquito Army has made Accra his GHQ during the last three years of C.P.P.’s militant occupation of the Metropolis, all but one or two of the C.P.P. candidates were returned to the Council without the voters paying the least respect to the Headquarters Command of the Mosquito Army’s very noticeable invasion of Accra by night as well as, even, by day.

But, perhaps, I misjudge the voters of Accra in this respect. Nearly 70% of Accra’s voting population stayed away from the recent election — and that, if I may say so, is as good as Elijah’s 7,000. Perhaps their idea is that the C.P.P. having already opened

our flanks to make the Mosquito Invasion possible, through their carelessness and neglect, the same party should be sent back to the Council to clear the Augean Stables — sent back to power to either clear out the enemy or remain to be completely defeated. We of the Congress in Akim Abuakwa did that in the last local council elections by yielding all to the C.P.P. The results are already bearing a rich harvest.

As to Adamafo's prediction that "at this rate" of the adulation or exaltation of a person against policy, the C.P.P. would next year clear the 103 Assembly seats, does not the main reason lie in the fact that it is so desired by the C.P.P. and that with the C.P.P. and other advantages at their command they intend to use every possible means, fair or foul, to achieve that end?

Is it not the avowed C.P.P. desire that none but their own should have a say in the affairs of the country? Do they not jubilate when their opponents are booed and stoned and shouted down at public meetings, even within the precincts of the Legislative Assembly? And has not Gbedemah sought to justify that by saying in the Assembly that they do it in England and therefore it should be done here? If it is the desire of the C.P.P. that other people's voice should be heard and that all people should enjoy true freedom, why do some of them organise hooligans to drown that voice whenever it is raised?

Adamafo is an intelligent person and sees as well as I do that the spectre of dictatorship, or one Party Government, looms large over our Gold Coast horizon. "At this rate" of blind adulation, can we ever hope to stop the coming of party dictatorship if we continue to believe that what counts is the person and not his policy?

But I have never lost my faith in the Gold Coast man as a sensible person, and nothing that has happened has been adequate to alter that faith. From the facts there are still available in Accra 70% of the voters who would appear to be waiting for a strong party able to meet the C.P.P. on its own terms. I promise Adamafo that they will get it in a day not far distant, and with a big surprise.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

9th April, 1954.

Nananom and Countrymen,

On behalf of myself and the Opposition, I write to thank the Chiefs and people for their continuous support of the idea of an Opposition and their appreciation of our work during the three years of our first Legislative Assembly.

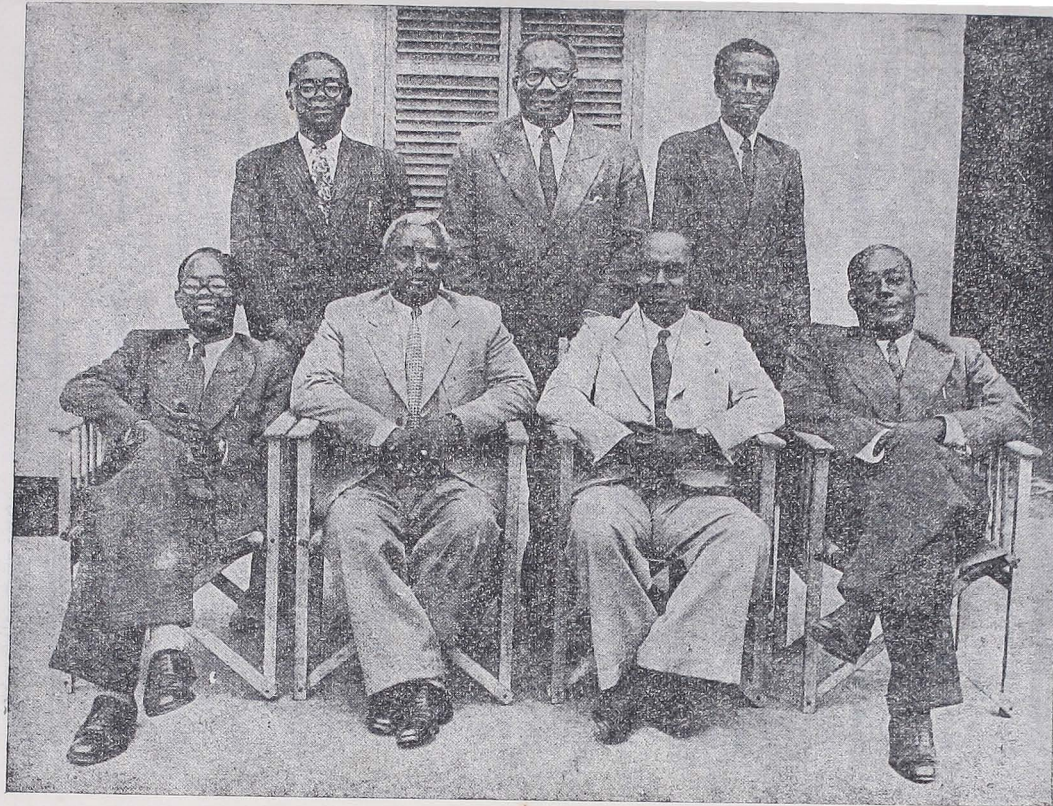
I judge of this support and appreciation from two main aspects: (1) The amount of work given us by the country in general, both Chiefs and people, when by letters, resolutions, telegrams, telephone and personal calls, they brought their several problems to our notice to be taken up with the Government either in the Assembly or in the Ministries (2) The increase of the strength of the Opposition from a mere potential of two members in 1951 to nine in 1953.

The fact that the Opposition in the Assembly never once showed a divided front but continuously attracted others to add to its strength is yet another source of satisfaction. Certainly the leaders of the Northern Territories block, who, throughout the early years, had displayed an unbroken faith in the Party in power, were, by the close of 1953, visibly wearing out in that faith and now look for a higher inspiration elsewhere.

But the greatest achievement of the Opposition does not lie in the increase of its numerical strength. It lies in the grudging acceptance by Government of the idea of an Opposition in the Assembly, with its Leader and Whip. Up to date high ranking leaders of the Convention People's Party have been heard to state on their public platform that an Opposition outside the Assembly is anti-patriotic. Some even assert that the time is not ripe for any Opposition at all.

This is a warning to all that some people's mental horizon is still totalitarian. The country has yet to educate people who think like that out of their anti-democratic ideas.

The greatness of the Opposition's achievement lies in the quality and importance of the work it has done in the Assembly. No one who witnessed the hostility and bitterness of the 1951-52 debates on the constitution and the Annual Estimates could have



The 1954 Opposition Members of the Legislative Assembly. Sitting (from left to right): Kwesi Lamptey, Dr. J. B. Danquah, Magnus Sampson and R. S. Blay. Standing (left to right), Kofi Amponsah Dadzie, William Ofori Atta and B. F. Kusi.

thought that the pioneering work started by two lone men would have produced such a rich harvest of national results. What is important to note, however, is that the Opposition did not win the present recognition by begging for it, but by increasing the lively sense of a choice between the dictatorship of one party rule and the democracy of the Four Freedoms.

But for the great pressure brought to bear upon the Assembly in a motion raising the constitutional issue, and by the formation in May 1952 of an Opposition Party¹ with a radical policy on independence, the Government might not have felt compelled to make the October Statement on the constitution read to the Assembly by the Prime Minister in 1952.

The October Statement was followed by further requests of the Opposition that a Constitution Committee or Constituent Assembly should be set up to enable the Chiefs and people to draft their own constitution and that we should declare the independence of the Gold Coast in March, 1954.

These requests were rejected by Government in pursuance of its own proposal for the constitution to be collated by the Prime Minister's Office after consulting the Chiefs and people by post on a few of the constitutional problems posed by Government for their consideration.

As recently announced by Government, the ex-officio Minister of Justice who is the Attorney General, has visited the Colonial Office to assist the Imperial Power in London to draft the 1954 Constitution for us. It sounds so much like Attorney General Arthur Lewey in 1945, and it sounds as if we had another strong Alan Burns in the Castle at Christiansborg. Then, as now, no one could say exactly what was likely to be put into the finished product of the signed, sealed and printed constitution despatched to us from Downing Street. Let us hope, however, that despite this attempt by our African-controlled Government "to negotiate with forces that are hostile", imperialism will for this once show a mel-low heart and grant our Gold Coast Government's request, as it were, on a Silver Platter.

We have, however, already been assured that there is to be no declaration of Gold Coast independence by the United Kingdom

¹ The Ghana Congress Party.

Government until "certain administrative and constitutional arrangements for independence are made." That is to say, among other things, there can be no question of the Gold Coast people securing their full freedom and independence until the United Nations in New York agree to the integration of British Togoland with the Gold Coast, and also until what Mr. Gbedemah calls our obligations to the officers in the service of the Government have been discharged.

As the people of British Togoland are themselves violently divided on the question of unification or disintegration, and as expatriate officers are quadrupling their numbers and amenities in the service of our Government, there can be no question but that the issue of self-government is at present completely shelved. It is not likely to be raised until the 1954 constitution shall have been given, as usual, "a fair trial", possibly for another three or four years.

My personal view is that by 1958 the Gold Coast people shall have had their fill of political novelty and showmanship. The emptiness of recent melodramas would have so brought them to earth that they would, by the end of that period, eagerly be looking for a new sort of Baptism from that of John the Baptist, or a new sort of God from the Golden Calf of Aaron.

The Nigerian approach has been slightly different. Two 'palavers' on constitutional reform have been held in London and Lagos where free discussion of the problems involved took place between all parties and interests.

In June, 1952, when the Secretary of State and our Government issued a joint statement on constitutional reform, it was stated that after consulting with the Chiefs and people, there was to be 'discussion' of our Government's proposals with the United Kingdom Government. For reasons as yet unknown to the public, this element of free discussion has been cut out by our Government, and no African Minister or Ministers, not to speak of representatives of all parties, have been invited for a discussion of the final shape and form of the 1954 constitution. Everything is apparently being done by personal "negotiation", not by public discussion.

Some Europeans often speak of certain African tribes as optimistic and always hoping for the best. There is nothing wrong

in hoping for the best from Downing Street. But there is no gain-saying the fact that by leaving matters in the hands of the ex-officio Minister of Justice and the Secretary of State, we have deliberately abdicated our "right to choose" into the hands of the Imperial Power.

We of the Opposition can only express our regret that the country has been led into the cul-de-sac of Hobson's choice. The truth, of course, is that when the new constitution passes the Privy Council, approved by the Queen, or in Her absence, by the Council of State, we shall no longer be free to describe it as "bogus and fraudulent." It would be unfortunate if we gave the world an impression that we were hankers after power and not true liberators of the people from colonialism. Howsoever resplendent the cloak of the constitutional verbiage under which we are made to live, liberty is nothing if not total.

The Opposition had wished that the country should wait no longer upon the Imperial will for its total liberation. The Government of the Gold Coast has, however, willed otherwise, and the Opposition regrets that it failed to win over the Government from its "colonial" approach to the objective choice of true freedom.

Under the 1954 constitution, we shall be offered not self-government but dual government, the diarchy of two Cabinets, one under the Prime Minister and the other under the Colonial Governor. Nothing in constitution-making could be as backward and bad as the proposed 1954 constitution.

An instance of the success of the work of the Opposition in the Assembly was the abandonment by Government of its own proposal to add two persons nominated by the Legislative Assembly as Gold Coast members of the Preparatory Commission on the Volta River Project. Having abandoned its own proposal as not feasible the Government returned to the alternative request by the Opposition for a National Commission on the Volta River Project.

The National Committee subsequently appointed by Government have already visited Canada, England, and Scotland acquainting themselves with how hydro-electric works and aluminium foundries are put into operation.

To enable the country exercise its "right to choose" how the Volta should be controlled and developed, the National Committee on the Volta will have to advise the nation as to what exactly are

the interests of the Gold Coast in the Project and how they are to be secured.

Another type of achievement by the Opposition was its success in persuading Government not to implement certain measures which had previously been approved by the Cabinet. A notorious instance is the Bankruptcy Bill. A recent instance is the Leasehold (Amendment) Bill under which Government would have secured the power of acquiring by compulsion of law any land anywhere in the Gold Coast for use of private individuals and firms of foreign or local origin.

As regards work outside the Legislative Chamber, the useful influence of the Opposition in several Government Committees was gratefully acknowledged by the Prime Minister on behalf of Government.

Throughout our three years in Opposition we have been guided by three main-springs of action.

- (1) The earliest acquisition of independence;
- (2) The maintenance of administrative efficiency;
- (3) A radical development of the people's progress.

This radical approach to our Gold Coast problems was dictated by three fundamental principles under which, in the view of the Opposition, a successful democracy must be established:—

- (1) The right to choose freely;
- (2) The duty to achieve the best; and
- (3) The service of each for all and of all for each.

Hundreds of our countrymen see the solution of the country's problems in the light of these three-fold main-springs and principles. Hundreds of our countrymen are waiting eagerly for an opportunity of government to translate that faith into action.

This faith, the service of each for all and of all for each, is based on the view that each member of the community must be treated as substantial in himself and that none should be regarded as unimportant or special or common.

The least paid worker of the community is a man of substance, economic substance; every member of a group of association is a man of substance, social substance; every subject of the law who despises crime is a man of substance, civic substance; and every member of the community who suffers himself to be educated or trained is a man of substance, substance for efficiency.

Even children and babies in arms are persons of substance, domestic substance: These men and women of substance are insulted gratuitously when they are called common people. They are no more common than the Governor or the Prime Minister, for each has a substantial place in the community.

What matters is social justice not class hatred. If we are to move rapidly from the present barriers of bitterness and hatred which certain parties exploit to foster their own political fortunes against the claims of social justice, we must cease to deceive people from believing that to be common is to be virtuous.

In my personal view, the springs of action of the next government should be directed to the application of radical action for radical changes in the tempo and pace of our progress towards a freer and a better government and a higher and nobler standard of living for the people.

We of this new Ghana have come upon the scene of modern civilisation too late to wait for time or the pocket watch.

In particular, as far as the constitutional question is concerned, we can never hope to capture the initiative from the British by "negotiation" or anything short of radical action. Ceylon waited for S.G. on a silver platter and got dominion status without national independence or recognition by U.N.O. as a fit nation to join the United Nations of free peoples.

It is a habit of the British to yield to terms if you are ready to take from them; it is a habit of the British to impose terms if you are ready to yield to them. It is in our interest that the constitutional question should be re-opened early in 1955 on a national and public level, not by personal "negotiation." The world is moving rapidly towards an anti-climax in the balance of power between the new East and the old West, and the Gold Coast must be ready and be in time for it.

As far as development of the people is concerned, we can never hope to build a strong and enduring nation upon the empty facade of organised showmanship and melodramatic politics. England which has not followed the ways of dictators in Germany and Italy, survived Hitler's showmanship and Mussolini's melodramatics by drawing the attention of its rulers to the poor living standard of the people, and filling them with the desire to lift them up from the lower strands of wretched existence to the higher

alcoves of expansive living.

In three years the numerical strength of the opposition has increased from two to nine; and in all these years we have been inspired by our motto, 'service of all for each and of each for all'.

In sending my thanks and the thanks of my colleagues to the Chiefs and people, I do so in the assurance that whilst we are fearless for immediate action, we know that the task imposed by our particular ideal, once begun, will be tremendous. We are ready to take the risk now, but we have the patience to wait.

Yours sincerely & obediently,

J. B. DANQUAH.

17 THE 1954 GENERAL ELECTION

Ref. 205/GCP/54

25th May, 1954.

Nana Kwabena Kena II¹
Adontenhene of Akim Abuakwa,
Kukurantumi.

Dear Nana,

Thank you sincerely for your reception last Sunday, when as usual, I called without formal notice but you received me warmly.

As you are aware I have been adopted as the Candidate for the Akim Abuakwa Central Constituency by the Ghana Congress Party. The Constituency includes Kukurantumi and all the Adonten towns and villages in the eastern part of Akim Abuakwa up to Apapam. It includes all the Nifa towns also in the eastern part.

I intend to make my first public election speech at Kukurantumi on Saturday May 29 at 3 o'clock where my party has made arrangements to hold a big rally.

I should be grateful if you would inform your Chiefs and people within the Constituency of my adoption by the Ghana

¹ He was appointed Ghana's Ambassador to India on February 27, 1959 where he later died on August 28, 1961.

Congress Party and of my policy in so far as it affects Akim Abuaakwa.

That policy is to defend the State and to foster and maintain its development, the progress of its people in all spheres of activity, the development of its lands and the security thereof, and, finally, to see to it that Abuaakwa Chiefs and people should have a full share in the new order of self-government which is rapidly coming to be ours in the Gold Coast, and in which I can truly claim to have played a part to make its coming a certainty.

I should be happy if the people of Kukuruntumi in the Christians quarters and the town itself are informed of the rally.

I am informed that the Information Services Department is likely to send a representative to watch the proceedings.

I shall be thankful for your co-operation in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUABE.

18 AKIM ABUAKWA PROGRESS UNION

Ref. 266/AAS/54

3rd July, 1954.

F.O. Bempong, Esq.,
President, Exploratory Committee,
Organization for Akyem Abuaakwa
Citizens living in Accra,
P.O. Box 917,
Accra.

Dear Mr. Bempong,

I have read your letter and memorandum on the project for an Abuaakwa Progress Union with great delight — not only for the first class talent it shows, but principally for the brilliance of its ideas. Little did I think that so much luscious fruit would spring forth from the little conference we held in my house on May 13. But, of course, I had every reason to believe that your Committee

and yourself and, for that matter, Abuakwa residents in general, were more than capable of rising to the occasion — to let Abuakwa also shine at the altar of our memorable advance to nationhood in Ghana.

Before I say anything further let me say at once that I am desirous of becoming a member of the Union about to be formed and have therefore signed an enrolment form, which I enclose. I have the honour to enclose 2/- for my membership fee and another sum of 8/- for 4 quarterly subscriptions. I sincerely trust that my application for membership will be accepted.

As regards the meeting tomorrow, it is unfortunate that I may not be able to attend. Last week my old friend, Mr. J. Kwesi Lamptey, visited Kibi and agreed to address a rally there at 3 p.m. On another occasion I hope to address a word of thanks to all those who supported me during the last general election¹. I was not aware at the time that the inaugural meeting of the A.P.U. had been arranged for the same hour of the same day.

In consequence, I leave for Kibi this evening, and it is a matter of great regret to me that I cannot be with you at the inaugural meeting.

As aforesaid, I have read your Committee's memorandum with great delight and interest. I agree with the general line of policy to tackle first "just the simple things that are easy of attainment on our own steam".

The main object is to make Abuakwas in Accra feel that we belong together, to bear one another's burdens, to share in one another's joys, and to endeavour to achieve social and national standing in Accra and in the Gold Coast community generally, each Abuakwa son or daughter, in whatever occupation, to push forward his or her particular talents to the good of himself or herself, his or her family, the honour of our motherland, Abuakwa, and the greatness of our country, Ghana.

This requires a constant and frequent coming together of members of the Union, and sports, games and past-times appear to be the quickest means of cultivating a sense of deep fellowship and attachment to the cause. Education and expansion in the

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Dr. Danquah stood against the C.P.P. candidate, Kofi Asante Ofori Atta (Dr. Danquah's nephew) in the Akim Abuakwa Central Constituency and was defeated in the 1954 General Election.

several fields suggested, as also the cultural pursuits of the historical and civic committees, will always commend themselves to my earnest attention. I shall be happy to offer my services whenever required, either as member of any of the Union's many committees, or as floor member.

Please convey my heartfelt greetings to sons and daughters of Abuakwa who meet with you, and assure them of my presence with them, at least in spirit.

In order to enable your Committee to pay off some of the out-of-pocket expenses so far incurred to organize the meeting, I should be grateful if you would accept an humble donation of £5 for this purpose.

I enclose for your information, copy of the cablegram from New York which conveyed to me news of the award of the first Bryant Mumford Fellowship to the United Nations. I hope to leave in September for New York and return in December.

With my best wishes to all,

Yours very sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

19 REORGANISATION OF THE G.C.P.

Ref. 299/GCP/54

22nd July, 1954.

The General Secretary,
Ghana Congress Party,
P.O. Box 755,
Accra.



Dear Mr. Scheck,

Thank you for your letter of 15th July appealing for £200 from members of our Party to intensify its activities in a vast area of fertile ground.

I note that I have been placed on the list of members who

should pay a minimum monthly contribution of £5, and that the first contribution must be paid either before or at the next delegates conference at Cape Coast on Sunday, 1st August.

As you are aware, I have never believed that we can build our party's financial position on a basis of compulsory levy. You will bear me out that almost every six months since the party started in May 1952, certain members were called upon to pay levies, and almost invariably the result was not satisfactory.

I am one of those who do not believe that a party is made by the sweep of its propaganda vans. I believe that until our party becomes identified with a popular and general cause which would appeal to considerable sections of the people — even the masses — any expenditure of money and energy would result in the stalemate of negative election results. Since 1952 we have taken part in some four municipal elections and one general election, and what we have won so far was one seat at Wenchi and another (Municipal) in Cape Coast.

We have a party constitution. It has never been published, or even fully approved. We have a party policy, but it has never been set forth in any printed form. I understand that on the eve of the General Elections, some of the more ardent members of our Party in Cape Coast travelled to my office in Accra to secure a copy of the "policy and constitution" of the party. I regret that they did not meet me, but, as you are aware, there is as yet no official sanction for the publication of our party's policy and constitution.

I have looked over the agenda for the forthcoming national conference and it is nearly the same items as are always on the agenda of our meetings: Finance, organisation and leadership — election of Chairman and Vice Chairman.

Are the two posts of Chairman and Vice-Chairman the only posts on which the national conference can be called upon to express opinion? What about Treasurer, what about General Secretary or Assistant Secretary? The Chairman and Vice-Chairman atmosphere is too personal to my taste, and we can't run a national party on that basis of office hunting.

At our first national conference after a general election in which we were defeated, we asked no questions whatsoever about the most essential thing — why were we so woefully beaten in the last general election? What was the cause? And, secondly, what is

several fields suggested, as also the cultural pursuits of the historical and civic committees, will always commend themselves to my earnest attention. I shall be happy to offer my services whenever required, either as member of any of the Union's many committees, or as floor member.

Please convey my heartfelt greetings to sons and daughters of Abukwa who meet with you, and assure them of my presence with them, at least in spirit.

In order to enable your Committee to pay off some of the out-of-pocket expenses so far incurred to organize the meeting, I should be grateful if you would accept an humble donation of £5 for this purpose.

I enclose for your information, copy of the cablegram from New York which conveyed to me news of the award of the first Bryant Mumford Fellowship to the United Nations. I hope to leave in September for New York and return in December.

With my best wishes to all,

Yours very sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

19 REORGANISATION OF THE G.C.P.

Ref. 299/GCP/54

22nd July, 1954.

The General Secretary,
Ghana Congress Party,
P.O. Box 755,
Accra.



Dear Mr. Scheck,

Thank you for your letter of 15th July appealing for £200 from members of our Party to intensify its activities in a vast area of fertile ground.

I note that I have been placed on the list of members who

should pay a minimum monthly contribution of £5, and that the first contribution must be paid either before or at the next delegates conference at Cape Coast on Sunday, 1st August.

As you are aware, I have never believed that we can build our party's financial position on a basis of compulsory levy. You will bear me out that almost every six months since the party started in May 1952, certain members were called upon to pay levies, and almost invariably the result was not satisfactory.

I am one of those who do not believe that a party is made by the sweep of its propaganda vans. I believe that until our party becomes identified with a popular and general cause which would appeal to considerable sections of the people — even the masses — any expenditure of money and energy would result in the stalemate of negative election results. Since 1952 we have taken part in some four municipal elections and one general election, and what we have won so far was one seat at Wenchi and another (Municipal) in Cape Coast.

We have a party constitution. It has never been published, or even fully approved. We have a party policy, but it has never been set forth in any printed form. I understand that on the eve of the General Elections, some of the more ardent members of our Party in Cape Coast travelled to my office in Accra to secure a copy of the "policy and constitution" of the party. I regret that they did not meet me, but, as you are aware, there is as yet no official sanction for the publication of our party's policy and constitution.

I have looked over the agenda for the forthcoming national conference and it is nearly the same items as are always on the agenda of our meetings: Finance, organisation and leadership — election of Chairman and Vice Chairman.

Are the two posts of Chairman and Vice-Chairman the only posts on which the national conference can be called upon to express opinion? What about Treasurer, what about General Secretary or Assistant Secretary? The Chairman and Vice-Chairman atmosphere is too personal to my taste, and we can't run a national party on that basis of office hunting.

At our first national conference after a general election in which we were defeated, we asked no questions whatsoever about the most essential thing — why were we so woefully beaten in the last general election? What was the cause? And, secondly, what is

our own cause, and did we ask the country to identify itself with that cause?

It is not enough telling the country that we could do the same things better than the C.P.P. For weal or for woe Dr. Nkrumah in 1949 captured the spirit of the national cause — liberation and self-government — and made it his own; and the nation has identified him with that cause. Whatever we do now, we cannot hope to compete with Dr. Nkrumah if we sing the same tune, only hoping that people would think our tune was sweeter.

You will remember that when, at the Labadi Conference of December, 1952, I put forward a radical policy of independence, you and Mr. Kofi Batsa were inclined to oppose it. In the next week the C.P.P. Delegates Conference seized upon it and made it their own and now it is in everybody's mouth, even in the British people's mouths as our next goal. My poem on the subject of independence published in the *Gold Coast Observer* was the subject of much bitter adverse comment by you and others, and I recall vividly that you and Mr. Batsa called on me to persuade me to abandon such a radical policy.

I am, to say the least, growing impatient with the too cautious approach to a policy of out and out radicalism. Now that Nkrumah, the agitator, is in office as responsible ruler, the only real counterblast is not to speak his own language in a sweeter form, but to hit harder than he can now do, and devise a radical policy to which he cannot and dare not touch his hand. Nkrumah has captured the masses also by his talk and pretence of "common man". There are other responses in the community which may be sensitive to some other basic appeal to sentiment. I hope we find what this is.

But this is a far cry to your call for £5 a month towards party funds. I do not think I can save the party by paying that sum monthly, and, besides being compulsory, I can't agree to paying it.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

NOTE

The truth is that Dr. Danquah was never happy with the leadership of the Ghana Congress Party, which was formed out of the rump of the U.G.C.C.

H.K.A.

Hotel Tudor,
304 East 42nd Street,
New York, N.Y.
8th October, 1954.

The Editor,
Ashanti Times,
Obuasi, Gold Coast.

Sir,

Your leader writer commenting on my article "New Slavery in Ghana" rightly refers to the dangers of "gradual imposition of economic slavery as opposed to freedom of economic action", and emphasizes the need for industry being "safeguarded against political exploitation from economic pressure". He, however, rejects my protest against the Government depriving cocoa producers wholly of the legal ownership of the total of any rise in price above £260 per ton, a form of bulk blocking of income which he describes as a "levy".

The reasons offered by him in support of this bulk blocking or "levy" are, to say the least, depressing. He appears to believe that cocoa producers deserve to be singled out as a group for deprivation of that higher level of income because of "the disinclination of individual farmers to expend on capital investment and provide for future expansion." He believes that direct taxation on individual farmers is difficult to administer, and asks: "How many cocoa farmers pay Income Tax?" He appears convinced that "an appropriate tax on their (producers') profits from cocoa, at today's prices, would probably amount to much the same as the present levy by Government..." In a grand finale he concludes that my comparison of the effect of this imposition on producers with what would mean to other industries if their incomes above a certain level were also blocked, seems "somewhat to justify the levy on the cocoa farmers as bringing the charges on that industry in line with that imposed on other businesses and producers in the country".

Not being an economist, and not being informed that any one in the Gold Coast is in possession of accurate figures of the amount of each capital invested by cocoa farmers in the purchase of land,

the planting and care of cocoa, the loss of the old farms through swollen shoot, the purchase of new land for new farms, the wait of seven years for the first full yield, etc., etc., I am not in a position to equate the unknown "£x" of Cost of Production with the known "£x" of Price of Cocoa today to enable me to state categorically that at today's prices the producers are earning "profits" on their unknown "£x" of capital investment of, say, the last 16 years, i.e. the war period plus ten years after.

What the whole world knows, and what the Government are convinced of, is that the farmers are heavily in debt, that their cocoa farms have been heavily mortgaged, and that even with the price at 72/- a load they need to be relieved with an elaborate system of loans, otherwise they would go under. It is inconceivable that Government would embark on this loan adventure were they not convinced from irrefutable evidence that, far from making profits, the farmers were groaning under an unendurable yoke of debt.

Far be it from me to deny that the two other major industries of the country, commerce and mining, are paying heavy taxes and that "in some cases (they) pay well over half their profits in direct taxation and duties". But the facts do not support your leader writer's other suggestion that the "levy" recently imposed by the 1954 Amendment was a way of "bringing the charge on that industry in line with the levy imposed on other businesses and producers in the country".

Being away from home, I cannot lay my hands on accurate facts and figures; but I recall that a year or two ago. I believe in the 1953 - 54 Estimates, it was disclosed that the mercantile firms were unable to pay an estimated income tax of £600,000 which Government had hoped could be paid by them that year. On the other hand, in that year due mainly to the 1951 Cocoa Duty and Development Fund Ordinance, Government earned so much revenue that they were able to declare a surplus of £16,000,000.

Under the 1954 Amendment, the members of the industry which gave the Government its millions of revenue, plus an extra £16,000,000 surplus, are being called upon again, despite the Government's knowledge that they are in debt and in need of loans, to shoulder an additional imposition, an impounding or confiscation of the so-called windfall of a rise in price above the

fixed and immutable figure of £260 per ton. Is it a sign of the absence of "gradual imposition of economic slavery as opposed to freedom of economic action" or of "political exploitation from economic pressure" for the peasant producers to be called upon to accept a stationary price of 72/- a load for four years with the consolation that they could stave off their impoverished condition by the dismal prospect of a 6% loan from money which is their own and which could have been paid to them as the price of their produce?

Your leader writer complains that when other industries pay export duties and income tax to Government, "no part of these funds which are appropriated, is used in stabilizing prices at a sound economic level for the benefit of the industry."

The stabilization fund is not created out of taxes or export duties. It is part of the farmers' own money kept for them by an agency created for them by Government in 1947. Never in the history of the land of Ghana has Government paid a stabilization price to the farmers out of the public revenue.

1954 is a year of Gold Coast cross roads. We have reached a stage in the nationalist movement towards liberation when hard decisions must be taken, hard decisions for economic liberation. The 1948 cross roads was political. A direction was taken then from which neither the Imperial Power nor the protestant jitter-bugs at home could run fast enough to turn us back. Today, the goal is nearly reached, though many a boulder, such as Togoland "integration", is being thrown in our way to turn the long jump into obstacle race. It only needs a torch to let the people see with their plain eyes what is happening to obstruct the Gold Coast liberation movement, the perfervid effort of the last remnants of the Imperial Power to use some of our own men in power to keep postponing the day of doom. But the creative act of 1948 cannot be obliterated. The liberation of Ghana is a creative fact; the giving of flesh and blood to it, the making of it real, depends on an apprehended possibility, the simple strategy of radical action.

The problem is different in the economic field. Today we are faced by our Government with a choice between two ways of life: The Government to become the principal possessor of wealth (land and capital), or individuals to own their own wealth (land and capital), the Government taking portions, by direct or indirect

taxation, to run the country's services and to stimulate development from year to year.

By some of its recent Acts and Ordinances it is clear that our Government would favour the first type of fiscal policy, namely, the Government to possess the wealth not only for its annual needs but to be kept in a series of reserves and surplus funds held on the promise that they would, in a near or distant future, be used to service the needs of the general public. This policy implies the individual, especially the individual peasant farmer, being starved of the urge to initiative and of room for expansion. Its solution by Government is the offer to feed such perishing individuals with 6% loans, a situation which Imperial and declining Rome met with "bread and games", until at last Rome fell, and the whole works collapsed.

With our country passing rapidly from a tribal system of rule to national government on the modern pattern, and with our needs and supplies passing from subsistence to cash economy, one would suggest that our new and emerging society should demand above all a creative process of equable expansion based, not on the economy of the niggardly one talent from fear of losing which our peasants may, like the man in the parable, go and hide it "in the earth", but on an economy of the five talents, placing in the hands of our people large incomes which would leave them with surplus or idle money which they can put "to the exchangers", i.e. which they can "expend on capital development and provide for expansion."

Indeed, saving myself from the charge of preaching, I would suggest that one of the principal lessons of the parable of five talents is that a good master is he who encourages independence and self-rule for the individual. "Well done, good and faithful servant", said the master to the servant who multiplied five talents into ten; "thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joy of thy lord".

We cannot hope to teach our peasants the habits of independence and of individual initiative if we compel them perpetually to depend on Government for loans to meet a hand to mouth existence. And, in the nature of the case, it is futile expecting a man in debt to save or to invest in "capital development and provide for expansion." Loans to farmers are inevitable because they

are in need, but we should evolve a policy which would place farmers in the position of being able to give loans themselves from a surplus of funds in their hands. Nature has not ordained that Gold Coast cocoa farmers should always be poor. Quite the contrary. By their own efforts they have created the world's greatest market for cocoa, and the labourer is at least worthy of his hire. Let the farmers have money and prosper.

But it may be asked: Is it safe for peasant proprietors who ought to maintain their present level of one talent existence on 72/- a load to be allowed suddenly to blossom forth into Croesuses at 150/- a load? Would it not lead to inflation?

Personally, this talk of inflation leaves me cold. I am at present in New York, where no one is surprised to see a farmer driving his own car and where a worker, such as a hotel attendant, is paid 45 dollars a week in wages, roughly £56 a month. New York society has not, in consequence, broken down and those who deserve to be richer than these are still rich, but there is an assurance that each human being shall at least have enough to live on a tolerable, even comfortable, standard of life.

If inflation is to be avoided, are inequalities to be perpetuated? Under present conditions are costs evened out for the peasant and the Minister? The distribution of the power called wealth, expressed in the ability to educate one's children to the highest university or professional level, ability to improve one's living conditions from primitive to enlightened type of life, of shelter and home, ability to command a greater variety of food and goods for the family and its dependents, and, above all, the ability to command health and leisure and to enjoy the goodness, the arts and beauties of life — the distribution of this ability among the people who now possess it, and who guard it jealously, and the many who are at present almost wholly and totally deprived of it, may cause a revolution in the standards of living of the general mass of the people. Indeed, the Gold Coast revolution will not have worked itself out to completion without the political being succeeded by the economic and social revolution.

But that revolution, inevitable as it appears to be, can be made as painless and noiseless as was our political revolution, provided our Government would take its courage in its hands and turn its face from its vested-interest-advisers centred in the academic

school of economic thought in the Gold Coast today, and look for a native and creative solution in the fertility and freshness of that native genius which, when it set to work in the political and constitutional field, caught the British power unawares and surprised the Imperial colossus.

In the earlier portions of your leader writer's article, he posed certain questions on the political aspects of our struggle from liberation in the earlier years of 1943 to 1949. He seems to hold the view that the British Authorities were justified in the policy which would have separated Ashanti and the Northern Territories from the Colony proper, each Region to shepherd its own Regional Government. (The old policy of 'divide and rule').

In my personal opinion, the British Authorities, after delaying for eight years too long, acted wisely in abandoning that policy "due to the pressure brought to bear from the native leaders in Ashanti and the Northern Territories." The effect of that pressure which obtained its stimulus from the south is the creation of a unitary government for the entire Gold Coast to which the British in their wisdom have given their blessing in more ways than one.

But, if by reason of the new and black-faced imperialism confronting Ashanti and the Northern Territories today, after only four years of certain Africans in control of government, there is a resurgence in the two Regions, in particular, Ashanti, of a desire to re-consider their position, and, on the principle of self-determination, to suggest a new type of alignment of power in the Gold Coast, there is no principle of the constitution upon which that right to self-determination can be denied to them.

Speaking for myself I should be sorry if the 'miracle' of our Gold Coast unitary Government which, contrary to the general belief, was not a single-handed achievement but was brought about by the assiduous planning of many minds for many years, should be supplanted with a new regime based on the movement for federal government in Ashanti today. Ashanti, for one, decided to join hands with the Gold Coast Colony upon certain understandings. If those understandings are abused or not respected by those in power today, it may be because they consider governing a people is cheap, especially with a people easily moved by the pangs of centuries of pain and suffering for something to liberate them.

But there is no royal road to liberation. Like every creative act, it is the work of genius, and the Ashanti and the Northern Territories, as well as the Colony, building upon the traditions and understanding of the past, must pull together for the native genius to shine and find a way to solution. Ashanti, the buffer between the Colony and the North, is too important a territory to be treated as a mere region of the country. Gold Coast self-government stands or falls by the Ashanti stand. For this reason I think we should be warned against any precipitate action or policy which may determine the Ashantis to re-consider their position ere independence itself is achieved.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

21 AFRICANISM IN THE UNITED STATES

United Nations (Room 919)
Department of Public Information,
New York, N.Y.

P. O. Bempong, Esq.,
President, Exploratory Committee,
Organization for Akyem Abuakwa
Citizens living in Accra,
P.O. Box 917,
Accra.

15th November, 1954.

Dear Mr. Bempong,

New York and the United States are so far away from home and so different from the Gold Coast that the only way I can keep in touch with the home land is to write to friends and to let them know that all is going on well with me.

First of all, I would like you to convey my thanks officially to the Abuakwa Union of Accra for the great send-off they gave me before my departure, and to say that the imprint of it in my memory is still fresh. I hope to see the Union still active and in good function on my return, which I hope will be some time in December.

I have checked up with many of the schools and Universities here and I find that we are losing a great deal by cutting off the United States educated type from the development of our new culture. There is talent here as also experience, particularly in technology, of the kind we need most at home today, and I wonder when our people at home, those in authority, are going to wake up to it.

I have met two Akim Abuakwa students here, both from Asiakwa, and they are working and attending school, and, being two brothers, own one car between them. One is doing geology and the other mechanical engineering. Mr. Bredu Pabi, who is from Tafo, is at present away in Canada; but I met many people who have been attending his Twi classes, and many of them greeted me with "wo ho te den, m'adamfo". There is a new spirit of Africanism in the United States amongst the Negroes and I sincerely believe that we ought to cultivate it. The American Universities have a different system but the products are as good as ours, sometimes better.

Well, I do hope you are keeping well, and that your work and your union are in good shape. Give my regards to your wife and let everybody know that I still feel that nationalism is the finest thing that could have happened to the Gold Coast and that it is good that Akim Abuakwa play a great part in that — ism.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

22 THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

18th February, 1955.

The Editor,
The Times,
Printing House Square,
London, E.C. 4.

Sir,

Quite a number of people in Britain appear perturbed by the recent turn of political events in the Gold Coast. Some seem pain-

fully surprised why any one in the Gold Coast should think of opposing the Government. Others have described the opposition as inevitable and healthy but dislike its regionalised character — Togoland, the Northern Territories and, now, Ashanti.

Apparently most people in England have, during the last six years, based their judgement of Gold Coast events upon what was dished out to them from a single pipe line.

That is unfortunate. Window-dressing is an old art, but the robust Gold Coast character does not stand its one-sidedness for long.

Opposition to the Nkrumah regime does not date from 1954, nor even from the beginning of its first government — in 1951. The regime had a bad start, and opposition was inherent in it from the start. It dates from June 12, 1949, when, without resigning from membership of the Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention, Dr. Nkrumah broke the national united front to form the Convention People's Party, with its membership drawn from the United Gold Coast Convention.

The prophetic comment by *The Times* that the breach in the United front will enable the British "to capture the initiative" has been amply fulfilled.

The British have never let go their capture. When one hears a Minister in Dr. Nkrumah's present Government accuse the "Imperialists", namely, the British, with instigating the present liberation movement in Ashanti, one must somehow sympathise with the captives. If one recalls that during the General Election of 1951, when Africans were first to assume power, British-born political officers openly instigated African electors to vote against the present writer and his colleagues who were opposed to the prospective captives, one must needs ask: What price the captivity?

The truth, of course, is that, despite the difficulty of news of it reaching London and abroad, the original stern and unbending nationalist spirit has never died down. It escaped capture.

Driven underground by the rigorous propaganda machinery of modern press, radio and "despatches" which give an ugly picture that any form of opposition to the African regime is prompted from the sordid motive of envy for office, the general outcry against bribery and corruption and other forms of abuse and misuse of power had to go on unheeded. There could be no voice to chal-

lence these practices which was not already conceived as tainted by that easy cover of "envy". As if no Gold Coast man outside the C.P.P. ever entered national politics for the sheer love of country!

The robust Gold Coast character could not stand for long this mean trick without at last kicking. In consequence, eruptions have broken out where volcanic movements were least expected — the North, Togoland and Ashanti. At present all is quiet at the Colony front, but the liberation movement has been re-born and is rolling down south from the North — the Northern Territories and Ashanti — while at the same time the United Nations Trust Territory of Togoland continues to puncture "the soft under-belly of the Axis Powers" — the Captor and its Captive.

It is wholly contrary to the facts to suggest, as was done in the editorial of Wednesday, that "The Ashanti feel that they have been ignored and excluded from a fair share in the fruits of office".

Quite the contrary. In Dr. Nkrumah's first Cabinet of eight Africans (with three expatriates and the Governor), two Ministerial posts were held by Ashanti Members: Mr. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye, Minister of Local Government and Housing (a Traditional Member of the Legislative Assembly) and Mr. Archie Casely Hayford, Minister of Agriculture (an elected member of the Assembly for Kumasi, capital of Ashanti). The Chief Whip in that first Government, Mr. Krobo Edusei, is Ashanti. He held the substantive post of Ministerial Secretary to the Ministry of Justice. Two other Ministerial Secretaries were Ashanti. One of them, Mr. Jantuah, is now Minister of Agriculture in the present Government. Altogether Ashanti has now three Ministers in the new Cabinet of 12. And that is a fair enough share. Apart from these and other Ashantis holding junior offices in the present Government, there is hardly a public corporation under the Government, such as the Cocoa Marketing Board or the Industrial Development Corporation, of which at least a quarter of the membership are not Ashantis.

Compared to that, Accra, capital of the Colony, had Dr. Nkrumah to represent it in the Ministry of 1951 with only one native born Accra man, Mr. T. Hutton Mills, now Deputy Gold Coast Commissioner in London, holding a Ministerial post. A second native born Accra man is in the second Ministry, Mr. Ako Adjei.

The people of Ashanti have said that they are asking for a federal in place of a unitary system of government and for a Constituent Assembly to determine that and other vital constitutional questions, because

- (1) the economy of their nation (not 'tribe', for Ashanti is composed of several tribes) is being wrecked by the policies adopted by the C.P.P. Government, e.g. the low price of £3 12/- a load for cocoa where about £15 a load is obtainable;
- (2) their tradition and culture are being undermined by the policy of the present government, e.g. the Local Government Ordinance;
- (3) bribery and corruption, tolerated on a colossal scale, are corrupting the morals of the people and undermining the strength and integrity of the public service;
- (4) Government is deliberately fostering the growth of misgovernment and mal-administration by suppressing the report of a public enquiry, appointed by the Government, in respect of mismanagement and other acts of ill-repute charged by the Government's Minister in charge of that Department (the C.W.E. Report);
- (5) the Government's refusal to appoint a Commission of Enquiry into serious allegations of corruption and bribery made against members of the Party in power in respect of the Cocoa Purchasing Company and the Cocoa Marketing Board, is unhealthy for a new nation with a new system of democratic government; and
- (6) the Government's approach to the constitutional question has all the marks of a desire for the Government itself to dictate a constitution for the country without consulting the people and the Chiefs in a Constituent Assembly.

Not all these are exclusive Ashanti questions.

Every national newspaper in the country bemoans the frightful situation. What else could the people of Ashanti do but revive the National Liberation Movement? That it is 'national' is undoubted. That it was started in Kumasi is beside the point. The C.P.P. was started in Accra. The U.G.C.C. was started in Saltpond. What makes it 'national' is that others besides Ashantis are members, and the objectives are national.

In the context of the contemporary Gold Coast situation, it hardens, and does not ease, the position to refer to the Ashanti as "cruel", or that they are "a proud and cruel people". What people are not cruel? In any case, after 55 years of peace and 'colonial' friendship, cruelty is hardly a good name to give to a gallant enemy.

Nor does it help the Gold Coast situation to stir up feeling between the Colony and Ashanti by suggesting that the Ashantis "have always feuded with the Coastal tribes". The first Ashanti war against Denkyira was in about 1699. The first British adventurers to land on the Gold Coast, Sir John Tintam and Sir William Fabian, did so on 8th April, 1482, i.e. 217 years before the first Ashanti war with a coast tribe. The last Ashanti war (1900) was provoked by the British Governor Sir Frederick Hodgson, who, visiting Kumasi to ask for an indemnity of £64,000, after the exile of King Prempeh I in 1896, asked, in a speech addressed to the Ashanti nation, that the Golden Stool of Ashanti should be given to him, as representative of the Queen, to sit on. At this a woman, Yaa Asantewaa of Ejisu, called the Ashanti nation to action, and besieged the Governor in the Fort. Coast tribes were called in by the British to aid in that war — the last "feud" to be fought between Ashanti and the Colony.

Painful as it is to read of this harking back to so-called tribal feuds of long ago, every Gold Coast son will bow his head in shame to read from *The Times* of February 16,

"Until last year, it should be recalled, the Gold Coast Cabinet retained a minority of European Ministers who were able to warn within the four walls of the Council Chamber against false steps. Since the election, all the Europeans, including the Governor, have disappeared from the Cabinet. The era of dual control is over and in their first solo flight the African Ministers encountered difficulties".

As a matter of fact the Governor is still there. He is fully endowed with a constitutional right to summon the Prime Minister and his Cabinet to attend before His Excellency for him to call them to account in respect of their Cabinet decisions, exactly like a House Master and his Prefects. At this, the Governor's Cabinet, the Governor presides, not the Prime Minister. In place of dual

control we now have dyarchy — two Cabinets.

What price this captivity?

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

23 AMBASSADOR HOTEL

Ref. 58/LA/55

8th March, 1955.

The Honourable,
K. A. Gbedemah, M.L.A.,
Minister of Finance,
Ministry of Finance,
Accra.

Dear Mr. Gbedemah,

It has given me considerable pain to learn that your Government gives priority to a hotel in Accra over a Parliament House, and that while you consider that the scheme for a Parliament House might be taken up in a few years time, "at the moment", you are turning your attention "to more important things in the interest of the country".

I have often expressed publicly my disagreement with your Government in quite a number of its policies, but this decision to relegate to the background a House of Parliament for Ghana and to advance the scheme for a hotel for the occupation of foreign and other visitors gives me such profound sorrow that I cannot help but convey my feelings to Government personally.

Can it be said that the orientation of the mind of the Government of the Gold Coast is still characterised by the foreign tradition, and that the comfort of 100 foreign visitors to Accra is considered more important than the comfort of our 104 legislators, not to mention the prestige and dignity of a suitable Ghana Parliament House to serve as a central and mighty symbol of Ghana's independence?

At the present time the Assembly meets in a theatre built originally for the production of Sir Arnold Hudson's "Zachariah Fee", a Christmas pantomime. It is, in my view, neither commo-

dious for its present use, nor dignified enough in structure or in conception for the Parliament of a people liberated, or about to be liberated, "in the foreseeable future", from imperial rule.

The original plan made part of the Five-Year Development Plan (1951-56) for a Parliament House suited to Ghana was dropped on the excuse by your Government that owing to the rise in cost of the Development Plan the sum required, £500,000 could not be obtained for it. Today no less than £750,000 is being squeezed out of the Treasury to build a hotel during the plan period, although no such thing was scheduled in the five-year Plan.

Frankly, I am dismayed by the Government's decision. All that I can do now is earnestly to appeal to Government to abandon the idea of building a hotel. I am not, of course, against the building of hotels. Government could sponsor a loan to suitable persons to build one in Accra with say 135 rooms, with others in Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, possibly Cape Coast, Tamale and Ho, with between 50 and 75 rooms each.

But, above all these, the Parliament House must have priority. Government has its chance to stimulate the country's imagination on the dignity of independence by planning to build for Ghana immediately a Parliament House worthy of the generation that struggled for the country's liberation.

In my view, future generations must be given an opportunity to receive from our hands a concrete symbol of the mighty concept of independence entertained by the present generation who, at a great cost, won for Ghana the struggle for liberty.

There is a political side to the question upon which I would rather not expatiate, but would simply ask: What would 100 foreign and other visitors staying at the Ambassador Hotel think of Accra if, on going out at night, they saw 100 citizens of Accra without shelter, with some spending the night on the streets?

If Government is really concerned with more important things in the interest of the country, why not start (1) To house Accra's slum dwellers, and (2) to destroy its great army of mosquitoes? Or is the Ambassador Hotel more important than Malaria?

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

Ref. 113/P&A/55

14th April, 1955.

The Editor,
Daily Graphic,
Accra.

Sir,

One begins to doubt whether the human race would ever attain the divinity of truth, to which it is entitled, to gather from Bankole Timothy's Notebook of April 14, 1955, that, after watching the Gold Coast scene for four years, the truthful impression he has gained is that

"The Prime Minister has, both in London and in this country lamented the absence of such an Opposition (a strong and well-organised Opposition which under the workings of a democratic country, may be expected to form an alternative Government in case the Government of the day falls)".

True enough, the Prime Minister did appear to shed tears in London in 1951 and at Cape Coast in 1955 that there was not a strongly organised opposition. But is it not true, too greatly true, that whenever the Prime Minister was presented with what looked like a desire on the part of any persons to organise a strong party, he straightway performed fetish and Christian rites to have the new party buried alive? Did he not declare in the Assembly that he was not prepared to recognise, as the official Opposition, the Northern People's Party and its supporters who were opposed to his policies in the Assembly and in the country?

Is not Bankole Timothy aware that the Prime Minister and his supporters have declared, whenever it suited them, that the country was united in the C.P.P. and that, until independence was attained, there was no need for any other parties? Have they not said that it is unpatriotic and a betrayal to disagree with the C.P.P. and its Prime Minister sitting on top of the coconut tree?

Were the Prime Minister really inclined to favour the strengthening of strongly organised non-C.P.P. parties, would he have tolerated the exclusion of the Leader of the official Opposition in

the Assembly (Mr. S. D. Dombo) from the Finance Committee of the Assembly and the Public Accounts Committee of the same Assembly? Can it be said that there is true recognition of Parliamentary Government where the official Opposition Leader is treated with scant, if any, respect in the councils or committees of the Assembly?

Did the launching of "Operation 104" during the general election indicate that the Prime Minister and his henchmen would "lament" the failure of their own Party to monopolise the 104 seats in the Assembly? Is Parliamentary monopoly what we call democracy? Does it not smell of totalitarianism?

Did the Prime Minister not declare openly that he was not sorry that the Leader of the Opposition¹ in the last Assembly was defeated at the General Election?

Some people, when it suits them, say that deeds speak louder than words. Truth, properly defined, means correspondence of a statement with reality. Here, both philosophy and popular thought are in agreement. It is a pity that Bankole Timothy in seeking to let his readers think that the Prime Minister is, in truth, in favour of the formation of strong and well-organized non-C.P.P. parties, failed to remind his readers that whenever an attempt was made to form such a party, the Prime Minister, both by words and in deed, opposed the new party's birth and growth.

It is good to think that, in Mr. Bankole Timothy's judgement, the present line-up of what he calls "Opposition Parties" means to have something "in common", and that what they have in common "is that they are all anti-Nkrumah and anti-C.P.P."

There is an old English proverb: "Give a dog a bad name, and hang him". Having given the name "Opposition parties" to the non-C.P.P. parties in the country, thereby suggesting that they oppose merely, and have no constructive plans, Mr. Timothy asks: "What do the Opposition parties stand for?" Answer: On his own premises can an Opposition party stand for anything but "Opposition"?

The truth, of course, is that no one has formed such a thing as an Opposition Party in this country. Neither the Congress Party, the Moslem Party, the Ghana Action Party, the Ghana

¹ Dr. J. B. Danquah.

Nationalist Party, the Togoland Congress, the N.P.P. nor the N.L.M. has told Bankole Timothy that it has come into being in order to be in the Opposition. What they have told Mr. Bankole Timothy is what he states himself in his notebook: that their "ideologies and objectives" are not the ideologies and objectives of the C.P.P. or of Dr. Nkrumah, and that, as between themselves, they have something "in common" which entitles and enables them to perform the commendable act of "holding hands together".

The Gold Coast voter, like Mr. Bankole Timothy, must know what the C.P.P. or Dr. Nkrumah stands for. Can Bankole Timothy be heard to say the "Opposition Parties" have not shown what they stand for, and at the same time to say that the Opposition Parties stand for certain "ideologies and objectives?" How did he know?

To be anti-C.P.P. or to be anti-Nkrumah must mean to be pro-the-opposite of what both C.P.P. and Nkrumah stand for. For Bankole Timothy to say "Being anti-this or that all the time will not fetch them the votes; they've got to be pro-something", is to beg the question.

Are the C.P.P. and Dr. Nkrumah pro-something? The public associates the C.P.P. and Dr. Nkrumah with their proclivity to consider a Constituent Assembly only after but not before, Independence; their proclivity to suppress the Young Report; their proclivity to oppose the appointment of a Commission of Enquiry into allegations of bribery, corruption and nepotism in the Cocoa Marketing Board and the Cocoa Purchasing Company; their proclivity to concentrate on wasteful commitments — such as a large hotel and a large hospital, before they have counted the cost of servicing and maintenance; their proclivity to concentrate on window-dress developments in Accra and other centres to the neglect of the down-to-earth needs of the masses in the big cities and in the hinterlands — housing, water, food, education; their proclivity to impoverish cocoa farmers with price at 72/- so as to enrich the Government and its servants; and their proclivity to oppose all constructive suggestions for stabilizing the country's constitutional and political position: to daub such suggestions as motivated by "a criminal mind", and then eventually, after months or years of wasted energy, to go back on their spit, and to lick it asking for a Select Committee, formerly condemned by them; asking for en-

quiry into the claim for federal system of Government, already condemned by them; asking for enquiry into the place of a second chamber, already condemned by them.

These proclivities are *C.P.P.ish* and *Nkrumahish*, a veritable hashish to poison democracy at its very source.

Against this poison are the positive policies of those who reject such proclivities. They demand or plan in the direction of Constituent Assembly before independence; publication of the Young Report; a Commission of Enquiry into bribery and corruption; down-to-earth development of the rural and municipal areas; freedom for Togolanderns themselves to determine the form of government under which they would live; consideration for a federal system of government as best suited to the country and as a check against dictatorship and "democratic centralism"; respect for the traditions of the country and for government to be based on recognised Ghana foundations and not on pro-communist experiments; statesmanship and the vision to see and plan ahead and avoid licking spits; and 150/- a load for cocoa farmers to encourage individual enterprise.

For Bankole Timothy to pretend that he is not aware that the parties which do not endorse the proclivities of the C.P.P. are agreed on the positive materialization of their own approach to the constitutional and administrative questions of the country is a confession either that Bankole Timothy is totally ignorant of our country's politics, or that he is an incompetent observer. It is possible that he may be moved to do what he has done from some other motive, but it is best to leave that to his own conscience.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

25th April, 1955.

The Clerk to the Select Committee
of the Legislative Assembly,
The Legislature,
Accra.

Sir,

I would thank you to convey to your Committee my high appreciation of the honour of including me among those whose opinions on the two questions of a federal system of government and a second chamber are being sought.

Contemplation of the bitterness of spirit in which the nation has been called upon to consider these two questions does not commend the occasion to me as worthy of the serious purpose before your Assembly and the country. That serious purpose is the desire to establish for this country a constitution born of the native genius of our land in holding *Agyina*, i.e. consulting and deciding upon national issues, in a spirit of mutual respect, absence of violence and with cordiality.

While I share fully the view that the Legislature is entitled to set up Select Committees to study questions of interest to it, and to the nation at large, I am unable to endorse the view, widely canvassed on behalf of Government, that a decision on the constitution made by a Legislature established by the Queen's Order-in-Council, that is to say, by virtue of a Crown Colony constitution, is expressive of the nation's sovereign voice and authority.

Under the present Crown Colony constitution, the legislative sovereignty is not in the Legislature but in the Queen in Council. But now, as ever, the country's political sovereignty remains as intact as it was in 1852 or 1867. It can at any time be called into being independently of the Crown Colony sovereignty acquired over us by the Queen in Council.

If the new independence to which we look forward is to be independent of colonialism, the voice and authority to determine the structure of our country's independent constitution must be

the ultimate political sovereignty inherent in the people and their Chiefs, and not that which is held over us by the Queen in Council.

I should be prepared to participate in, or give my wholehearted support to such a political body, usually styled a constituent assembly, brought into being by the united and representative voice and authority of the several political, social and economic interests of this land. I should emphasize that such a body should be wholly and entirely independent of any stream of sovereignty which flows from a source other than the voice and authority of Ghana.

A fortiori, it will, I hope, be appreciated by your Committee that as the Legislature itself is a creature of the Crown Colony system, and is not independent of the Queen in Council, any secondary body set up by the Legislature is in a worse position, and is wholly and totally disqualified to express its views on any political and constitutional issues.

Such, for instance, is the position of the Local and Municipal Councils brought into being by the authority of the Legislature in 1951 and 1952 by Ordinances. Any views expressed by such Councils on political and constitutional issues, not in terms authorised by their Instruments of incorporation, have no validity in politics and are null and void in law.

In the Governor's last speech to the Kumasi Municipal Council, His Excellency made it clear that it was no part of the functions of a Municipal Council to participate in politics. That interpretation of the law by Sir Charles Noble Arden Clarke applies equally to the Local Councils. In an earlier speech in 1951, Mr. Asafu Adjaye, Minister of Local Government, expressed a similar opinion.

It has therefore come to me and other students of our constitutional law with great astonishment that, apart from seeking the views of political institutions, parties and individuals, your Select Committee has sought to induce Local Councils to submit their corporate views on the political and constitutional questions referred to your Committee by the Legislative Assembly, thus directly infringing the provisions of the Local Government Ordinance and the Municipal Councils Ordinance imposed upon the Councils and the country by the Legislature itself.

The Local and Municipal Councils, unlike individuals and

political institutions and parties, are not free "persons" within the meaning of the law. They are corporate bodies limited in freedom by their Instruments of Incorporation. One might as well ask for the views of the Cocoa Marketing Board, or of the Industrial Development Corporation, or of the Adabraka Groceries Limited, or of the United African Company Limited, as of any local or Municipal Councils.

All such bodies, as creatures of the Legislature, must function within the restricted limits of their Certificates or Instruments or Charters of Incorporation. Nowhere in the Companies Ordinance, or the Cocoa Marketing Board Ordinance, or the Local Government or the Municipal Councils Ordinances is any such body authorised by law to do politics in its corporate name.

It is much to be regretted, therefore, that your Select Committee has sent out invitations to the Local and Municipal Councils to express views on your terms of reference, and that some of such Councils have actually traversed the boundaries of their Instruments of Incorporation to submit their corporate views to your Committee on the federal system of government and a second chamber.

In our march and effort to build up, from its very foundations, a new democratic and strong nation, our first principles must, from the very beginning, be anchored in the rule of law. The separation of powers and functions must be scrupulously observed as much by the powers that be as by the individual citizen. In my humble view, if in this respect, we follow Sir Arden Clarke's advice and impress upon our Local and Municipal Councils that their place is to eschew politics, we should have proved ourselves worthy of our constitutional professions. To do otherwise is to make a mockery of our new-found powers.

I am, as you are probably aware, a member of the National Liberation Movement of Akim Abuakwa, and I adhere to the principles of the Colony Liberation group as of those in Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland. As I understand it, it is the express wish of these groups and parties that, by reason of the imminence of independence in the "foreseeable future", all the complex and intricate constitutional questions should be discussed freely, not as isolated issues, but in a cohesive and co-ordinated manner, as only a Constituent Assembly can assure.

The principal constitutional questions waiting to be discussed by a Constituent Assembly include the following:

(1) The particular system of law, or jurisprudence, under which individual and public rights and duties are to be recognized and safeguarded. (Magna Carta? English Common Law? Gold Coast Customary Law? Mohammedan Law? "The due process of law"? The English doctrine of Prerogatives? How far is the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights is acceptable or applicable?)

(2) The type of organic or other relationship to exist between us and the United Kingdom Government and other members of the Commonwealth. (The Gold Coast State to become a republic, or to accept an invitation to join the Commonwealth? Or is the Gold Coast to yield to the indignity and risk of having to beg or apply for admission into the so-called Commonwealth "Club" composed chiefly of Aryan nations?)

(3) Our relationship with the two Togolands, and with other Ghanaian tribes or nations in the Ivory Coast, and other French territories now on our Gold Coast borders.

(4) The place of the independent sovereign states and their State Councils in an independent Gold Coast.

(5) The place of the larger territorial units already recognized as administrative *blocs* with their own territorial capitals and territorial problems, institutions and economy. (Are they to be organized as federal units in a United States of Ghana, or are they to be dissolved in a unitary system of government with their territorial characteristics blotted out? Would, or would not, a diversity in unity enrich the life and experience of the country and lead to a healthy growth of units such as Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland, and also the Eastern and Western Provinces of the Colony? Each of these is already recognized as an economic, political and social unit, each with its own distinctive geography and climate of local approach).

(6) The highly emotional and formative questions essential to the development of a healthy nationhood: (a) The official name and style of independent Gold Coast, whether Ghana or New Ghana (b) The national flag of Ghana or New Ghana (c) The national language or languages; (d) The National Anthem or Hymn of Prayer and Thanksgiving and Praise to God, (be it

Moslem, or Christian, or Pagan, or of a distinctive Gold Coast milieu).

Your Committee will, I am sure, appreciate that our country is faced with stupendous problems requiring the utmost tact, the utmost thinking and the utmost wisdom which the talents of our men and women can command; and that, unless we approach the problems in a spirit of understanding, cordiality and readiness to sacrifice personal or partisan advantage so as to reckon with the nation's task objectively, we may have to spend out our energies in the first years of our independence engaged in acrimonious and contumacious controversies over questions which are best settled by all in an *Agyina*, and not by a section of Ghana forcing its will upon the rest, irrespective of the consequences or implications, such as the violent upheaval commonly given the name of civil war.

Four years ago, realizing that the task ahead required forethought and timely action, I moved the Legislative Assembly on 24 April, 1951 in the following terms:

"That to ensure for the people of the Gold Coast a Constitution of their own making, a Select Committee of the Assembly composed of Elected Members be appointed to examine all available Dominion and similar constitutions and report upon the terms of a constitution suitable for the Gold Coast as a fully self-governing Dominion within the Commonwealth, and to make the necessary recommendations for its early implementation".

The Government, through its principal spokesman, turned down my motion on the following level of thinking:

(Legislative Assembly Debates, Session 1951, Issue No. 2, Volume 1)

(1) MINISTER OF HEALTH AND LABOUR (Mr. Gbedemah):

"He (Dr. Danquah) even served on the Committee appointed by the old Legislative Council to see to the implementation of this Constitution and yet barely two months, Sir, that this constitution has been given or is being given a trial, he is the first man to come and tell us that we must start planning for another one. This can only be frustration, it can only be in order to confound the masses and discredit the Leader of the majority party in this House. The gentleman has been des-

cribed in certain quarters as a political acrobat. I think he is exhibiting that quality very well today. But he must wait for the vote to be taken to know that elected representatives of the people who have been returned to this House have a much better plan for achieving self-government for this country than he can think of. . . . It is only fair that that Constitution should be given a trial. . . . We are now being told to start drafting a new constitution. What would the world think of us?"

(pp. 275 - 276).

(2) MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT (Mr. Asafu-Adjaye):

"The question then arises, is it politic or expedient for this committee to be set up at this moment when this new "enlightened" Government has taken on the destiny of the country. The present Constitution was the result of the Coussey deliberations. It is on trial, and it is for us to give it the trial that it deserves; you must be fair, and indeed this Government is giving it a trial. After having studied it, and after having seen whether there are any defects in it, we will be able to erect a better structure to the glory of this country"

(pp. 281 - 282).

(3) MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO (Mr. Braimah):

"Whatever the result of this motion, we believe and we pray that this Constitution, and Government, shall be given a fair and fullest trial. It will be unwise to try to push a second morsel into the mouth when the first one has not been swallowed".

(pp. 285 - 286).

(4) MINISTER OF COMMUNICATIONS AND WORKS

(Dr. Ansah Koi):

"I am afraid to say that I am not at all in favour of the motion. It seems to me that this motion is rather too premature and destructive in the working of the new Constitution".

(p. 286).

(5) MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES (Mr. Casely-Hayford):

"Mr. Speaker, I did not become Minister of Agriculture and Natural Resources to see the liquidation of my Ministry in so short a time as now, not even if, as the result of the constitution that is sought to be promulgated by the doyen of Gold

Coast politics. By so early ushering in a new semi-demi-constitution, he seeks to retard the progress and effort that has been made already to try out this constitution. . . . The Convention People's Party, as a result of self sacrifice and training, has been perfectly used to night sitting and, if it is necessary, I doubt not, the Convention People's Party will turn out overnight a constitution that is fit for this country without sleeping from day to day for three days". (p. 304, 306).

(6) MINISTER OF COMMERCE, INDUSTRY AND MINES (Mr. Hutton-Mills):

"We know the Honourable the First Member for Akim Abuakwa. We know his political propensities, and we know what he is dragging at. We must not therefore support his motion so that at the corner he would not say self-government is in my pocket now. 'I told you, I am the only person who can produce the self-government. I started with the United Gold Coast Convention, the Coussey Committee, and to say I am the greatest man indeed in the Gold Coast.' I can assure you there is nothing extraordinary about constitutional law. I stand to correction from my superior legal man, the Minister of Justice, that it is easy if you find this constitution after having given it a trial and gained a reasonable experience therefrom. I use the word with emphasis, 'reasonable experience', therefore I can guarantee that I am able, apart from my learned senior Minister of Justice, I can sit down and within three hours I can produce a constitution." (p. 316).

(7) MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE (Mr. Botsio):

"If such a motion is passed what would be the repercussion in the country? We know that people are very much anxious for self-government now. As soon as this Committee is formed, then it must produce its report either in one year, two years, or four years, but we know what would be the result if the people did not attain their wishes. Therefore we must follow the leader and the plan and policy of the Convention People's Party which have always led the people to the right place." (p. 326).

(8) LEADER OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS (Dr. Nkrumah):

"All that I have to say is simply this: that constitutions are not made in a day, and when we come to Dominion status constitutions, the matter has already been thrashed out and anybody who takes up any textbook on British Constitutional Law or British Constitutional History, at the back will find the exact prototype of a Dominion Status constitution. What I am driving at is this: At this critical moment it is not for an Assembly like this to appoint a Select Committee to sit down and spend time and waste time to draw up a Dominion status constitution. Everything is plain in black and white in every constitutional textbook. The Statute of Westminster 1931 makes that point clear, so I am inclined to believe that this is a sheer waste of time. The motion is actually wasting our time and I think that the only way to dismiss it is to say that those who are behind me and those who are supporters within and outside this Assembly must do everything to vote against this thing because it is purely a waste of time for us to sit down to appoint a Select Committee for the next six months to study the form which a new constitution for the Gold Coast should take when, if you go back to any constitutional law textbook you will find that the full text of Dominion status constitution is there. It is purely a waste of time and that was the motive behind the motion. I do not want to employ invective. I am above invective otherwise I would simply say that the mind that actually conceived this motion is a criminal mind".

DR. DANQUAH: "Mr. Speaker, I object to this. . .

MR. SPEAKER: The Hon. the leader of Government Business, the First Member for Akim Abuakwa is complaining about those words. . .

LEADER OF GOVERNMENT BUSINESS: Mr. Speaker, if he takes offence, I withdraw it. (Laughter).

. Now, coming to the Chiefs. I think the only thing which is agitating them now is the cleverness behind the motion. I know the position of the chiefs quite well, and some of them are beginning to feel now that perhaps if they support the motion then of course they will be creating a second

House for them, (The chiefs). That is the mind behind the motion. I am asking the Chiefs and the Territorial Members that that can be done easily if they were prepared to come to the Government of the day to put up a motion which would achieve for them that end. We do not need to set up a select committee to waste the people's time, and waste the country's money and say we are going to have Dominion status constitution". (pp. 326 - 328).

When the House divided on the motion only 6 out of 84 were in favour; 8 abstained, and no less than 65 voted against it. In consequence there has been four years delay in the useful work a Select Committee could do for the country in analysis and review of the constitutional issues with which our country is now to be bothered for a long time to come.

There is, of course, a new Government in power now. But I do sincerely trust that Honourable Members of the Select Committee are convinced that the present Government, composed largely as was the last Government, does not consider a Select Committee on the Constitution "a waste of time, the country's time, and the country's money".

For my part, I think we have now advanced beyond the Select Committee stage of the Constitution "Bill". We have now reached, so to speak, the stage of "Second Reading". And as it is a national and not an Assembly question only, a Committee of the whole nation, a Constituent Assembly, is the body most legitimately and most competently entitled to discuss and debate the seven or eight chapters of the Constitution "Bill" of New Ghana, from A to Z.

I would therefore suggest, if I may, that your Committee recommend to the Legislative Assembly that in view of the imminence of the coming of independence in the "foreseeable future", and in view of the many serious and complex problems that must be decided to give reality of content to the achievement of independence, the Assembly should resolve that the Government call upon the nation to send its leaders into a consultative conference of about 25 persons to discuss and plan ways and means for convening a Constituent Assembly with comprehensive and inclusive terms of reference.

I shall be most willing, if so called upon, to submit expanded views on this aspect of the matter at any time.

The country should set up its own Constituent Assembly, as it did in 1857 and 1867, by virtue of the residual political sovereignty in the Chiefs and people. That right or power has never been and can never be taken away by the legal sovereignty of the day. It is this residual political sovereignty which on 4th July, 1776, entitled the thirteen American colonies to make "The Unanimous Declaration, in Congress", that

"WHEN in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .

"WE, THEREFORE the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by the Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other acts and things which Independent States may of right do — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm

reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honour".

You may depend on it that if we, the people of Ghana, or New Ghana, set up a Constituent Assembly with a view to the institution of our new Government, and to lead to the Declaration of our Independence, by reason of the fact that Her Majesty the Queen in Her Gracious Message to the Legislative Assembly last June, (1954), declared that the 1954 constitution was the last stage towards independence, the Constituent Assembly will not be suffered by the United Kingdom Government to reach a stage, as in the American Declaration, of having to make the fatal declaration to be absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, but that, while the Constituent Assembly is sitting, the legal sovereignty will, assuredly, be passed on to it by Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom so as to avoid the stalemate of a Gold Coast not only conceptually but in reality independent of the British Commonwealth and of the so-called "Mother Country".

It is only at that stage, namely when the legal sovereignty is passed on to the Constituent Assembly, that the present Legislative Assembly shall cease to be. Otherwise, unless the Government or the Party in power, or the nation, as a whole, preferred that a national government should rule during the period of the sittings of the Constituent Assembly, the present Government, together with the present Legislative Assembly, will continue its rule under the 1954 Constitution, until the legal sovereignty is passed on from the British Crown to the political sovereign of the Gold Coast meeting in Constituent Assembly.

The argument that only an independent country can set up a Constituent Assembly falls short of the whole truth that "when in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another", legitimate recourse is invariably made to the residual and unalienable political sovereignty of the people; that that political sovereign can sit in a Constituent Assembly or Congress, and that, unless the legal sovereignty is passed on to the political sovereign meeting in Constituent Assembly, so soon as the political sovereign proceeds to make a declaration of Absolution of its former Allegiance, the recognition of that Absolution by a single

independent State, such as in the case of the United States, by France, completes the creative act of the birth of a new State.

We do not have to wait for that to happen in the Gold Coast because we are in the happy position of knowing that the United Kingdom Government has been much prepared to shed its legal sovereignty in the Gold Coast than some of our leaders are willing or able to see.

Your Select Committee will, I trust, permit me to add that far from its being possible to think with Mr. Casely Hayford that we can write a Gold Coast constitution in "three nights", or with Mr. Hutton-Mills, that it could be done in "three days", or with Dr. Kwame Nkrumah that we could find the constitution we want ready made at the back page of a constitutional textbook, the task ahead of the nation, similar to that which took India five years, and has taken Pakistan more than ten years, is stupendous, and I pray that we bend our mind to it in a spirit of humility, acknowledging our own short-comings, and praying that God and the Ancestors may grant us their blessing and guidance to see this task through in the shortest possible time. It may be six months or a year, but the shorter we make it the better, and the earlier we start the sooner completed. There is so much to do, but so little done.

Believe me to be Sir,

Yours very truly,

J. B. DANQUAH.

26 THE COMMONWEALTH CLUB

14th May, 1955.

The Editor,
The Times,
London, E.C. 4.

Sir,

The claim by the Labour Party and certain of its supporters to have started the process for self-government in the Gold Coast can

hardly be a source of pride to any one acquainted with Labour's precarious policy which has led to the present confusion in the Gold Coast.

It may not be sufficiently well known in England that had the Labour Party supported the legitimate demand of the Chiefs and other stable elements in the Gold Coast (including — in 1950 — some leaders of the C.P.P.) for the Legislative Assembly of 1951 to be bicameral, the present demand by the Asantehene and the National Liberation Movement for a federal form of government might have been offset by the structure of the constitution. When the Coussey Committee in 1949 came out with a majority recommendation of 20 to 19 for a bicameral legislature the Labour Party then in power in the United Kingdom turned that down and imposed a single chamber legislature on the Gold Coast. The present Gold Coast mess is entirely the doing of the Labour Party. It did away with the checks and balances essential for a newly fledged government.

As to the past, the claim by the Labour Party to have granted the Burns constitution to the Gold Coast in 1946 is not borne out by the facts. The memorial address by the Chiefs and other leaders demanding a legislative union of the Colony and Ashanti was presented personally to Mr. Oliver Stanley on his visit to the Gold Coast in 1943. It was agreed to in 1944 and promulgated in 1946.

The scheme was originated in the Gold Coast not in England. The single man who finally made it possible for the legislature union of the two territories to come about is Otumfuo Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II, the Asantehene, who appended his signature to the Memorial prepared by Colony leaders. He thereby turned down the imperial Ordinance, Ashanti Advisory Council Ordinance, prepared by the Government for Ashanti, to separate Ashanti from the Colony in 1943. Mr. Oliver Stanley is reported to have told the Asantehene that, but for his signature to the Memorial, he would not have looked at it.

It is strange that the Labour Party should choose to claim credit for the Gold Coast revolution of 1948 after directing the Governor to arrest and exile to the Northern Territories — the Siberia of the Gold Coast — six leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention who were accused by the Labour Party to have brought about the revolution under Communist inspiration.

It is interesting to learn today that Labour was responsible for that inspiration, and so planned it as to generate the arrest of six of the leaders who put that inspiration into execution.

At the present moment the independence of the Gold Coast is being held up by drawing the red herring of the Togoland question along the track. The Conservatives, I believe, are responsible for that, but no Labour Party member has been heard to condemn that policy. The odds are that the Labour Party supports it.

If a balance sheet should be drawn up, both Labour and the Conservatives will have their share of praise and blame. But we in the Gold Coast know where the shoe pinches and are quite prepared to take it off with a kick without waiting for any one in the United Kingdom to propose us for admission into the so-called Commonwealth "Club", which we may not need.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH

27 PURPOSE OF THE N.L.M.

Ref. 175/P/55

17th May, 1953

Claude A. Barnett, Esq.,
Director,
The Associated Negro Press Inc.,
3531 South Parkway,
Chicago, 15,
U.S.A.



Dear Mr. Barnett,

I had to plunge into the whirl of local business and politics on my return from New York and the hurried reply I drafted to your letter of 7th February never received due attention. Please forgive me.

I note that you consider "interesting" my suggestion that politics in the Gold Coast has taken a turn for the better. You add

that "here there have been fears that the Asantehene's new political party might disrupt things so much as to delay independence".

When I was in New York, I was amazed by one thing above all — the full and interesting acquaintance of the American public with the trend of Gold Coast politics and the queer angle at which news of such politics reach them.

The amazing situation has resulted in an equally one-sided view of Gold Coast politics. It were as if, because one always heard of the G.O.P. in U.S. Politics, therefore there was no other side worth hearing.

Firstly, it is not quite accurate to say that the Asantehene has "a new political party". It is also alarming to learn that the present move for national liberation in Ashanti with the Asantehene at the head will disrupt things so much as to delay independence. If you will refer to Martin Wight's *Gold Coast Legislative Council* you will discover that it was by a special act of the present Asantehene that Ashanti, after half-a-century under the British, joined the Colony in a legislative union and made the demand for independence possible.

This happened as far back as 1943, when some of those in power today and have delayed independence by their "step by step" policy, were either boys at School or unknown in politics. Today our country is in the throes of bribery and corruption and nepotism in politics and it might go the way of Newfoundland in 50 years unless we have people like the Asantehene to apply checks and balances.

The new liberation movement is intended to liberate the country from a black dictatorship and imperial chicanery. The besetting sin of the imperial news pump from the Gold Coast is to give the impression that the Gold Coast, without any previous preparation, rose overnight in 1948 or 1950 from nothing to something in Colonial politics. "*Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*".¹

I am interested to note that my prediction about the Trusteeship Council and Togoland has come true. My misfortune is that my predictions nearly always come true, and people think I am a prophet. Things are soon to change for the better in the Gold Coast. Unless this happened, we would have lost the revolution,

1

Many brave men lived before Agamemnon.

It is interesting to learn today that Labour was responsible for that inspiration, and so planned it as to generate the arrest of six of the leaders who put that inspiration into execution.

At the present moment the independence of the Gold Coast is being held up by drawing the red herring of the Togoland question along the track. The Conservatives, I believe, are responsible for that, but no Labour Party member has been heard to condemn that policy. The odds are that the Labour Party supports it.

If a balance sheet should be drawn up, both Labour and the Conservatives will have their share of praise and blame. But we in the Gold Coast know where the shoe pinches and are quite prepared to take it off with a kick without waiting for any one in the United Kingdom to propose us for admission into the so-called Commonwealth "Club", which we may not need.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

27 PURPOSE OF THE N.L.M.

Ref. 175/P/55

17th May, 1955

Claude A. Barnett, Esq.,
Director,
The Associated Negro Press Inc.,
3531 South Parkway,
Chicago, 15,
U.S.A.



Dear Mr. Barnett,

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I note that you consider "interesting my suggestion that politics in the Gold Coast has taken a turn for the better. You add

that "here there have been fears that the Asantehene's new political party might disrupt things so much as to delay independence".

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The amazing situation has resulted in an equally one-sided view of Gold Coast politics. It were as if, because one always heard of the G.O.P. in U.S. Politics, therefore there was no other side worth hearing.

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This happened as far back as 1943, when some of those in power today and have delayed independence by their "step by step" policy, were either boys at School or unknown in politics. Today our country is in the throes of bribery and corruption and nepotism in politics and it might go the way of Newfoundland in 50 years unless we have people like the Asantehene to apply checks and balances.

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1

Many brave men lived before Agamemnon.

and the "independent" Gold Coast will be dependent on nothing but the British for direction in all things.

Of the two leading Ofori Attas in politics, William is with me and Aaron is against me. He is at present the Minister of Communications in Dr. Nkrumah's second Ministry. I think he is doing well. "Willie" is likely to leave for England this month to qualify as a barrister.

With my warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

28 APPOINTMENT OF BOSSMAN AS A JUDGE

Ref. 371/G/56

2nd July, 1956

The Honourable K. A. Bossman,
Judge of the Supreme Court,
Accra.

Dear Judge Bossman,

I was unable to attend the ceremony on Saturday because of a part-heard case before Magistrate Attoh at Swedru. I got there only to be told that my case could not be taken.

You do not, of course, need any assurance from me how delighted I am that you have been promoted from the Bar to the Bench. You are aware of my personal interest in the highest standards for every branch of life in our country. Often times I have been appalled at the utter lack of scholarship, even mere command of English, in certain members of our Gold Coast Bench.

In your appointment, quite apart from anything else, I feel that not only learning and experience in the law, but scholarship as such, will make itself felt on our Gold Coast Bench.

I have not forgotten your original contribution to WASU nor

have I forgotten your brilliant talk on freedom and civil liberties on the Radio during the last war.

I feel happy that with you and Julius¹ on the Bench, the law will gain in prestige, in that you are in a position to illumine our profession with scholastic lustre.

Again, congratulating you on your appointment.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

29 GHANA INDEPENDENCE — A MOTION OF THANKS

19th September, 1956.

Mr. M. K. Apaloo, M.P.
National Assembly,
Accra.

My dear Modesto,

I believe it was providential that you called on me last night. Many people had been asking me what was to be our next step, but as I was not within the inner circle of your consultations, I could not see a clear vision of the next step. Your discussions with me left no doubt in my mind as to what should be done, and I believe I told you so, and suggested the tabling of a motion.

This morning the enclosed draft² has been thought over, and I submit it to you for the use of the Duri-na, who may give the notice himself, or ask you to do it on behalf of the Opposition.

Two points: We must have a plank upon which we can speak to the country from a position of strength; and we must take the initiative from the hands of the Government.

I fear that in the Prime Minister's Statement of Policy he may

¹ Mr. Justice Julius Sarkodee Addo, one-time Chief Justice of Ghana.

give a hint that the Government itself intends to table a motion of thanks. But if he does not, then you have your great opportunity to make the start and get the wind out of their sails.

With a greater courage you may even announce your motion before the Prime Minister makes his Policy Statement: it all depends how you handle the Speaker in the matter. Unless there is already a notice of motion by the Government to thank the British Government for the announcement, you have every right, I think, immediately after Questions, to give such a notice.

I have enclosed several copies, and I have given a copy to Mr. Kessie who is here with me. Please see the Duri-na as early as possible to make it possible for him to inform other members of the Opposition before action is taken.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

² Mr. Speaker — I crave leave to give notice of the following motion to be moved at this meeting as an Opposition Motion:

That the thanks of this Legislative Assembly, for and on behalf of themselves, the Government and the Chiefs and people of the Gold Coast, BE conveyed to Her Majesty's Government for their welcome decision to pass an Act in the British Parliament for the Independence of the Gold Coast as from March 6, 1957, and that as the Territorial Councils of the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories, as well as the parties in Opposition to Government, have expressed explicit dissatisfaction with the Government's proposals for the Constitution of Independent Gold Coast, the Secretary of State be requested to appoint as a matter of urgency, a Constitution Commission composed of delegates of all the constitutive public bodies in the country, whether political bodies or territorial Councils, under the chairmanship of a distinguished constitutional jurist, to prepare and approve of the substance, content and form of the Constitution of the Gold Coast as a sovereign Independent State within the Commonwealth.

30 THE JIBOWU COMMISSION

31st October, 1956.

Bafour Osei Akoto,
Chairman, National Liberation Movement,
Kumasi, Ashanti.

My dear Bafour,

We have not yet had time to consider what special form of thanks the N.L.M. Executive should give to Mr. A. R. Dennis for his special work in connection with C.P.C. — C.M.B., leading to the Jibowu Commission and its Report. But I do not think we are justified to delay the matter any longer.

I suggest that the special thanks should take the form of a voluntary gift of £200 from the Principal leaders and supporters of the N.L.M. and its Allies, each giving according to his capacity.

To set the ball rolling, I donate £10, and I attach my cheque for that sum.

With my warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

31 I HATE IMPERIALISM AND DICTATORSHIP

Ref. 0291/P/57

25 January, 1957.

E. C. K. Boi-Doku, Esq.,
61 Sussex Gardens,
London, W. 2.

My dear Boi-Doku,

I am afraid your letter of 21st January, 1957, in three sheets has completely misfired. Apparently, the conditions at home have escaped your notice. You ask me to "guide and criticise the Nkrumah administration". You ask me also to "fight him at the

next elections". The two things to my mind, don't go together. How can I guide a pilot in a plane in which I am a mere passenger?

As to the opinion of "people from all parts of the world" — African, Asian, West Indian or American Negro — being excited about Ghana's coming Independence, you may rest assured that I am not moved.

Independence does not mean a thing without a guaranteed constitution, and it is a little painful to learn that you think so little of an agreed constitution. Would you have the country enter "the house of independence" in an atmosphere of harmony, or would you rather have discord at independence?

I admit that it is a disgrace that our Constitution has to be "made in England", but not "home made". But since all appeal to reason has failed at home, and since we have at least a chance of getting the British Parliament to intervene to save Ghana, what else is left to us but to use that available machinery? Or would you prefer that we wait for independence to be handed over to an "un-guided" man in the certainty that he would, the very next day, turn this country into a republic, or worse, a dictatorship?

As you are aware, although, I am interested in political power, gaining power itself is not overwhelmingly my forte in politics. But I am convinced that the foundations of the New Ghana should be laid on solid rock, and that is why, as far back as 1951, I tried to get the Government to set up a Constitution Committee. Today, we are reduced to the level of allowing the House of Commons to tell us that we are not even a nation, and to tell us further what they think is good for us in respect of the Constitution. Could we not have done our own thinking way back in 1951? We are, as you happen to see it at the moment, reduced to a level of refusing to have others think for us and also refusing to do our own thinking.

That is the doing or the "undoing" of the C.P.P., and I have no interest in the empty independence of Ghana or the "Show Boy" Celebrations of it, including the Girls Beauty Contest for Independence Day!

Indeed, you can take it from me that, I am beginning to get ashamed of the Gold Coast, even of Ghana. Trying to "guide" Nkrumah will not take us anywhere because, from 1951, he made

it clear that any attempt to guide him was criminal.

I do not think that there is as yet any change in that mental attitude.

The coming of the Secretary of State may not produce any tangible change in the situation, but the decision for him to come has helped to accentuate in the mind of the world that all is not as beautiful in the Gold Coast as the Information Department makes it out to be.

I hate bloodshed and violence in politics, but that is not the worse tragedy in a political calendar. The worse is imperialism, and the worst is dictatorship. I hate both. If you are asking me to endorse the calendars in degrees of evil, I choose the least destructive of my ideals. It at least is purifying.

Don't, please, go down with the line of least resistance, for it is so very much glamorous, and unlike the Boi-Doku I know. Do not, for God's sake, stop thinking from the fundamentals.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

32 VISIT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES

28th January, 1957.

The Rt. Hon. A. T. Lennox-Boyd, P.C., M.P.,
Secretary of State,
Government House,
Accra.

Dear Mr. Lennox-Boyd,

I have just been informed that on grounds of pressure of time you may not find it possible to grant a separate interview to the Colony Branch of the National Liberation Movement.

Owing to the great importance of your visit to all sections of this country, of whatever region, I should be happy if you would

find it possible to adjust your programme for a few members of the Executive to meet you in discussion.

An overall picture of the constitutional position which the Executive of the Colony Branch are in a position to give, from their detached position, may be found beneficial to your assessment of what the country's national constitution should be.

The Secretary of the National Liberation Movement, Colony Branch, is in communication with the Secretary to the Governor over the matter.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

33 THE GHANA INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION

Ref. 114/P/57

2nd March, 1957.

The Honourable Sir K. A. Korsah, Kt.,
Chief Justice,
The Supreme Court,
Accra.

Dear Chief Justice,

I agreed in my interview with you yesterday to submit a memorandum on the inadequate separation of powers in the Ghana Independence Constitution published last Monday. In view, however, of the urgency of the matter I submit this letter in place of a memorandum to ensure speedy action.

By the wording of section 90 of the Constitution, it would appear that the Secretary of State could be urged to make an Order for the purpose of removing any difficulties which a large body of Gold Coast jurists might consider requisite in order to give effect to the provisions of the Constitution. Section 90 provides, however, that any such Order by the Secretary of State should be made before the appointed day, i.e. the 6th of March.

By section 6 of the Constitution, 'Executive' power is vested in the Queen, and by section 20 'Legislative' power is vested in Her Majesty and the National Assembly. Neither under section

54, which deals with the constitution of the Supreme Court, nor under section 76, which deals with its jurisdiction, is any power vested in the Court to interpret the Constitution.

The classical example of the Separation of Powers in the English speaking world is found in the Constitution of the United States of America.

Article 1, section 1 states: "All Legislative Powers shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives". Article II, section 1 states: "The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America". Article III, sections 1 and 2 read:

Section 1. "The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish"

Section 2. "The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority: — to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; — to all Cases of Admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;"

Under section 76 of the Ghana Constitution the Jurisdiction of the Ghana Supreme Court is limited to "the same jurisdiction and powers as heretofore" possessed by the Supreme Court of the Gold Coast.

The Supreme Court of the Gold Coast has never had power to interpret any Gold Coast Constitution.

If section 76 is left to stand as at present, there will be no judicial machinery or sanction against abuses of the Constitution. To give an easy example: If the Governor-General proceeded under section 54(3) to remove a Judge of the Supreme Court on an address of the Assembly carried by less than two-thirds of the Members thereof, there will be no judicial machinery for testing the validity of the Legislature's or of the Governor-General's action. Another example may be found in the possibility of the Governor-General not appointing a Regional Constitutional Commission within three months of the appointed day. Further, if the Legislature proceeded by an Act of Parliament to amend any part of the

Constitution without the requisite majorities at the centre and in the Regions, there will be no judicial machinery to question the act of the Legislature.

Quite clearly, unless special provisions are inserted in our written constitution for testing the validity of any steps taken, or neglected, in respect of the constitution, the entire Ghana Independence Constitution could be treated as a dead letter by any Government which cared to do so. The political remedy of appealing to the electorate is obviously ill-adapted to the determination of high juristic questions.

The amendment required in section 76 to give the Supreme Court power to determine cases arising under the Constitution would be provided in a few words: By removing the full stop (.) after "heretofore", and by adding the following: "and to interpret this Constitution" or words to that effect.

W. J. Donovan in his appraisal of the powers of the United States Supreme Court as provided in the U.S. Constitution, states:

"It (the Supreme Court) is one of the few among the high courts of the nations in the world which has and exercises the power to invalidate legislative enactments of both federal and state governments which are deemed contrary to the fundamental law of the land as it is expressed in the constitution — a power which is not expressly granted in the constitution but which is assumed by virtue of its interpretation of that instrument".

(Donovan here quotes sections 1 and 2 of article III of the U.S. Constitution to support his argument).

It seems to me that the natural esteem or prestige which the much desired independence of the Supreme Court should achieve in our community would lose much of its reality if it has no co-equal powers with the Executive and the Legislature in respect of the Constitution. And, if the Supreme Court is prevented from looking into the Constitution, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council stands equally blocked.

Apart from Articles 225 and 226 of the Constitution of India which give every High Court of India power to issue prerogative Writs and Orders, the enforcement of Fundamental Rights is specifically reserved to the Indian Supreme Court in Article 32: "*Right to Constitutional Remedies*: The right to move the Su-

preme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the rights conferred by this part is guaranteed”.

The inadequacy of the Separation of Powers in the Ghana Independence Constitution results in this serious stalemate: That, while considerable safeguards are provided in the Constitution, no process of law is provided for moving the Court to question an abuse of any of them.

It seems to me this is not a question which should be left to the politicians alone, or at all. They are juristic questions of high complexity, and I believe that Ghana's lawyers and Judges are the best qualified to direct attention of the authorities to the grave consequences of the issue, and to ask that jurisdiction of the Supreme Court should be specifically declared to include power to interpret the Constitution.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Akufo Addo, Secretary of the Gold Coast Bar Association, and to the Attorney General.

Believe me to be,

Dear Chief Justice,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

34 PEOPLE OF THE GOLD LAND

Ref. No. 159/P/57

27th March, 1957.

D. A. Allen, Esq.,
86, Doversgreen Road,
Woodhatch, Reigate,
Surrey, England.

Dear Mr. Allen,

I do indeed remember you at the West Africa Publicity. It is a long while since we travelled a long way into Ghana. It sounds unbelievable that this could have happened in our life time, but it

has. The struggles of the *Times of West Africa* have not been in vain. I am grateful for the advertising assistance that you gave us. It was hard plodding in those days, but we did it.

I am still identified with the Opposition; for, although I am with the Government in the joy of independence celebrations, I have not been happy with certain of the principles and practices of individual members of the Government. However, I think all is now set fair for the future. We are endeavouring to make independence mean something to us, and to make democracy and the traditional inheritance together work. There are values in both, and our aim is to create something genuinely good out of the two for Ghana.

My publicity has been poor in the last few months. I have a book on the social life of the Gold Coast people, now the people of Ghana, with Macmillans, but they have not found their way clear to publish it unless with a heavy subsidy.

The title of the work is "People of the Gold Land — their Male and Female Ways of Life", based on research made with a grant under the government of Sir Alan Burns. I have another book with Mr. William Ofori Atta in London on the subject of the Akan Calendar, also waiting for a publisher. I have just received a letter from the New York Public Library (Schomburg Collection) asking for permission to reissue my older books in an American edition.

British publishing houses are too conservative for my taste. However, I have done well with them in the past, and I hope they will do better with me in the future.

I do hope you are enjoying your retirement. I am keeping your address so that when I visit U.K. I may give myself the pleasure of calling on you.

With my warm regards.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

35 ASANTEHENE IS KING OF ASHANTI

12th April, 1957.

The Editor,
Ashanti Pioneer,
Kumasi.

Sir,

When Krobo Edusei talks about the position of the Asantehene and suggests that Government has power to review that position, it is clear that Krobo Edusei has not read the Constitution.

Not only does the Constitution "guarantee" the position of Chiefs, but it says specifically the Asantehene is head of Ashanti. Every school boy knows that the Asantehene is King of Ashanti.

The Cabinet undoubtedly is the sole authority for the central Government of Ghana, but greater than the Cabinet is the power of the Constitution. The separation of powers is enshrined in the Constitution, and the Supreme Court's authority to annul certain unconstitutional Government acts is impregnable.

I always think of Krobo Edusei as a clever man, but certain of his loud commitments of government are dangerous to the stability of this country. I hope he will keep away from talking about big things.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

36 A CORRECTION TO DR. NKRUMAH

30th April, 1957.

The Hon. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah,
Prime Minister,
The Prime Minister's Office,
Accra.

Dear Dr. Nkrumah,

Apart from the allegations you make against the Working Committee in your autobiography, you publish certain painful,

injurious and false statements about me personally. These require to be removed or corrected, if we are to start the country's new life in harmony and without personal bitterness between former colleagues.

At page 69 of your book you suggest that I supported the Burns Constitution until the Kibi 'ritual' murder led to an acute difference between Burns and myself, and that thereafter I withdrew my support "from the Burns constitution and started agitating for a new one".

A confusion of dates has led you to make these false and painful statements. The Kibi 'ritual' murder case was in 1944. The Burns Constitution came in 1946. We organised the United Gold Coast Convention in 1947. How could I withdraw my support from what happened in 1946, because of a previous event happening in 1944?

The "Constitutional memorandum" presented by the country to the Secretary of State, and of which you speak at page 68 of your book, was my own idea and my own draft. I carried it successfully with the J.P.C.¹, the Asanteman Council and the African members of the Legislative Council of the time. It was presented to the Secretary of State (Mr. Oliver Stanley) on his visit to the country in 1943; it was not "forwarded" to him as you allege.

It was that memorandum which, as Martin Wight of Oxford says, brought about "the political union of the Colony and Ashanti". It inspired him to speak of my "celebrity as the Sieyes of the Gold Coast". (See *The Gold Coast Legislative Council*, (1947) pp. 201 - 205).

The original work (400 pages) which eventually led to that constitutional memorandum was entitled "Things to change in the Gold Coast". Copies were supplied to the J.P.C. and Government in 1941, that is to say, 5 years before the Burns Constitution. I did not "allow myself" to be nominated by the J.P.C., in 1946 as you allege. I was elected at a public election in a fierce contest in the J.P.C.

But you go further to suggest that I interested myself in the Akyea Mensah case because of my family ties with the late Nana

¹ The Joint Provincial Council of Paramount Chiefs in the Colony, now Southern Ghana.

Sir Ofori Atta and with his sons who were charged with the 'ritual murder. You state that "other members" of the Ofori Atta family wanted to get rid of Akyea Mensah "so that they could avail themselves of the property of the late chief". You suggest also that Akyea Mensah was Nana Sir Ofori Atta's son.

The falsity of these allegations is proved by the fact that Akan sons do not inherit their father's property; Akyea was not Ofori Atta's son nor his nephew. In any case Ofori Atta did not leave a large personal property. His bank balance at the time of his death was less than £300, which you may verify at the Bank of British West Africa and Barclays Bank.

On the other hand, before his death, the late Sir Ofori Atta had established a reserve fund for the future needs of his State (Akim Abuakwa) at the Post Office Savings Bank, Accra.

You will remember that in 1954, at the specific request of your Cabinet, this reserve fund, which had been increased to over £35,000 after his death, was handed over by Nana Ofori Atta II, and the Akim Abuakwa State Council to the newly established Akim Abuakwa District Council. This new body "liquified" the fund in less than a year. Today there are not reserves either for the State Council or the District Council.

Members of the Ofori Atta family do not enter politics for personal enrichment.

My own interest in the Akyea Mensah case was mainly political. We had been agitating for a better constitution, leading to self-government, but enemies of the country were anxious to hang around the neck of the Gold Coast people, who wanted self-government, the guilt of ritual murder in the twentieth century! I was also interested in saving the cherished memory of a great son of the soil, Nana Sir Ofori Atta I.

You may not be aware that according to the Governor, Sir Alan Burns, the crime of ritual murder was fastened on the Ofori Atta's family from political jealousy of the eminent Ofori Atta's name. At page 66 of his book, *The Colonial Civil Servant*, Sir Alan says:

"On the other hand, there is no doubt that the people of Accra and the Gold Coast generally were delighted with the verdict of murder brought in by the Jury (composed of six Africans and one European). Several reasons have

universal statement which can't be false = the future

been suggested to me for the unusual attitude towards the accused in this case.... Another was that the scandal destroyed the prestige of a family which has too long enjoyed an excess of power in the political life of the Colony”.

As to whether or not Akyea Mensah was actually murdered and did not disappear of his own accord, the fact is that the two persons who said they were eye-witnesses of the murder at Kibi could not explain why they took part in the public search for the late Akyea Mensah, conducted by the Police and the Chiefs for several weeks, without telling anyone of what they later claimed to know.

Akyea Mensah disappeared in February. It was not until May that the two young men from Apedwa were alleged to have told a Police Corporal that they had accompanied Akyea Mensah to Kibi in February, had gone with him to the palace, and had seen eight men kill him with cudgels and their hands in broad daylight. In their own town at Apedwa their alleged knowledge was concealed from the Elders, and even from Akyea Mensah's own family.

Despite the fact that Akyea Mensah's body was never found, the Jury of Accra said they believed this fantastic story and, holding that Akyea Mensah was dead, found the eight men guilty of his murder. I went grey-haired fighting to get the higher Courts in the Gold Coast and the United Kingdom to upset that verdict, and to save our Gold Coast name, but to no avail.

Last month, on Independence Day, your Government released from prison the four remaining condemned men whose lives had been saved from the gallows by the efforts of their defence counsel, the British public and the House of Commons, including Winston Churchill.

At the same page 69 of your book, you allege that the United Gold Coast Convention “was born at Saltpond on the 29th December, 1947”, i.e. the very day we engaged you as general secretary.

Every school boy knows that the Convention was inaugurated on 4th of August, 1947, at Saltpond. It was four months later that, at your request, you came back home to take the appointment of general secretary on the 29th December!

Such a confusion of dates about public matters of recent

occurrence makes it difficult for me to accept the rest of your book as in any way reliable.

You state at page 70 that you told an "astonished" Working Committee that you would work "for nothing" but that we insisted that you should take twenty five pounds a month!

I still possess a copy of the minutes of that day, 29th December. We did not offer you £25 a month. We offered you £250 a year. You demurred, and asked for private consultation outside the meeting room with Mr. George Grant, our president and member of your own Nzima tribe. You returned with him to demand £300 a year, which we gave you, together with a car and a house.

At page 73 you suggest that when the question of a suitable design for the colours of the Convention's flag was discussed, "the lawyers present argued that it was an offence in law to fly a party flag" and that we quoted sections of the statute on the subject to support our objection. (There never has been a Gold Coast law relating to political parties and their activities).

But you go on to suggest that, upon certain facts advanced by you, "We decided without much difficulty that party colours should be red, white and gold".

Is it true then that you acted as an executive officer of the United Gold Coast Convention for 18 months without knowing that the colours of the Convention were "Red, Gold and Green", and that the colours were chosen by the six of us in the Kumasi prison and not at a meeting in Saltpond?

When you formed the Convention People's Party you removed the 'gold' in the centre of our design and replaced it by 'white'. You retained the rest of our colours for the C.P.P. flag.

Today the "Red, Gold and Green" colours of the Convention have been adopted as national colours of Ghana! "The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner".

You refer also to an emblem for the Convention and allege that you suggested that it might be a soaring eagle representing the emergent Ghana! If you actually advanced this fruitful idea, why was not your alleged suggestion adopted? The charming style in which you now eloquently write about "a soaring eagle" ought to have carried the day, surely!

As to the very eloquent arguments now advanced in your book against the suggestion that we should have an animal with

two heads and one stomach for our emblem, I wish you had eloquently spoken against it during the meeting of the Working Committee. We did not use the symbol of crossed crocodiles because we could not find a suitable artist to give a modernist representation of two animals with one stomach — an Akan symbol for the spirit of socialism — namely selfishness, should be avoided because 'the public weal has one stomach'. Anthropologists say that the symbol originates from ancient Babylonia and is commonly seen today in Iran (Persia), Sumatra, the ancient Near East and Ghana.

You state at page 73 of your book: "I was completely taken aback when I saw the design for he (Danquah) had depicted an animal with two heads and one stomach which, according to the African, symbolises selfishness, lack of interest in others and, in short, was hardly in keeping with what I imagined the U.G.C.C. had been formed for".

You finish off grandly by saying "Fortunately there was a division of opinion and they failed to come to an agreement, so the hideous monstrosity was never adopted".

Well, Sir! Isn't it strange that eight years later you erected a representation of this "hideous monstrosity" symbolising "Selfishness" at the gateway to the Prime Minister's office in 1956?

That representation had originally formed the second (Gold Coast) gateway to the Indian exhibition in Accra, the other gateway carrying a representation of an Indian symbol.

Subsequently, after the exhibition, you accepted the 'hideous monstrosity' officially as a gift to your Government from the hands of Mr. Rameshwar Rao, the Commissioner for the Government of India in West Africa. It was handed over at a formal ceremony and erected at the gateway to your Ministerial Office.

At page 76 you allege that "in a supporting speech" I told the U.G.C.C. members at a meeting at the Palladium Accra, that "If all the leaders of the U.G.C.C. failed them, Kwame Nkrumah would never fail them". At page 93 you state that at Sekondi also I repeated that magical and prophetic formula! I must have been a demented person, or a great prophet, to make a statement like that about a man I hardly knew.

At the Palladium I did not speak in support of your speech. I spoke first, introducing you and Ako Adjei to the U.G.C.C. public in Accra. Recalling that in the past, few professional men

or men trained abroad, had taken active interest in the nationalist movement, I expressed my joy that you and Ako Adjei so soon after your return from England and America, had joined in the struggle with me, and that I was happy in the thought that "If I passed away there would be others to carry on". (I was at the time 53 years of age and had been in politics for 19 years!)

This false allegation is malicious on your part, and I hope you withdraw it in the next edition of your book.

You allege at page 77 of your book that news of the February 1948 disturbances in Accra reached you the same day that you were addressing a party rally in Saltpond. (Which 'party'?) You go on to say that a meeting of the Executive Committee was immediately called by you and it was decided that you should proceed at once to Accra. (Since none of the members of the Working Committee lived in Saltpond how did you manage to assemble them in one hour or so from Sekondi and Accra?)

You add: "Arriving there I convened a meeting of the leading members of the Accra branch of the U.G.C.C. and afterwards went round the town to see for myself what was happening... Realising that the situation was critical I summoned a meeting of the Executive Committee in order to discuss the draft of a telegram which was decided should be sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies..."

I wish to take this opportunity to correct this misleading account of an important part of this country's history.

The news of the disturbances was telephoned to us at Saltpond by Mr. Akufo Addo from Accra at 5 p.m. We were holding a meeting of the Working (or Executive) Committee in the U.A.C. building, with you acting as general secretary.

After a short discussion Mr. Grant, the president, asked members of the Working Committee to proceed to Accra and take the necessary action. Mr. R. S. Blay, who lives in Sekondi, and was not an Accra member, went with us from Saltpond to Accra to carry out Grant's directives.

The meeting was held in Akufo Addo's house. As the senior member of the Working Committee members present, I was asked to say what was to be done.

My first suggestion, that we should call upon the Chiefs the next day to stage a protest, was turned down with a growl. I was

old to "think again". My next suggestion was that we should send a cablegram to the Secretary of State that the civil government had broken down; that the Governor should be recalled; that we were prepared to take up the government of the country as an interim measure and that a Commissioner should be sent from Britain to supervise a general election for the appointment of a Constituent Assembly.

This was hailed with cheers by all present and the two of us — you and I — were entrusted with drafting the telegram. You came to my house that night and found me drafting the longer telegram to the Secretary of State. It was agreed that you should go home and draft a shorter one for the press of the world.

After due approval of our drafts the next morning at a meeting held in Mr. George Clement's house (Ausco Press), the two cablegrams were sent to the world, after Grant's approval of them by telephone. We paid the Cable Office £30 for the cablegrams.

And that, if I may remind you, is how the bloodless revolution began for our country's independence.

Your version of carrying the day's events at your exclusive initiative will be dismissed by historians as a fabrication.

You claim at page 117 that "the political and social revolution of Ghana" started with the declaration by you of 'Positive Action' in January 1950¹! Aren't you claiming too much for an 'action' which having wounded the pride of the Socialist Government in Britain, led to the delay of the date of independence for at least five years?

Kumasi Prison: You state at page 82 of your book as follows: "It all happened so suddenly that it seemed like a nightmare, and apart from the initial feeling of fright, my senses were rather dulled and numb..." At this stage of your feeling of fright and dulled and numbed senses, you state, "As the key turned on us in Kumasi goal, our spirits sank and Danquah began to sob noisily and declared that he 'would never forgive them for this'.

In this, I believe I can speak for myself and for Ako Adjei as

1

The Watson Commission recommended in 1948 that the Gold Coast should have self-government within ten years. His Majesty's Government in a White Paper (Mr. Creech Jones, Colonial Secretary) pledged themselves to realise this objection as long as good government would permit. It was two years after this that Positive Action was staged for a "Constituent Assembly" which was never granted.

well as for our other colleagues. Ako Adjei and I went into that detention complete with our portable typewriters, typewriting and carbon papers.

So far as I can gather none of the five of us looked like suffering from nightmare, fright or dullness and numbness of his senses. We knew that we were political prisoners detained during an emergency and we were prepared for it. We had been alerted by the rumours which, as you state, were circulating as to what was going to be done to us by Governor Sir Gerald Creasy's Government.

I must confess that after the journey by plane from the Accra airport to Kumasi I was surprised and annoyed to find that, instead of taking us to a decent captivity, we were being sent to a convict prison. It was then that I stood on the steps of the Kumasi prison, gazed at the dimly lighted city beyond, and said "Bitterness has entered my soul"!

I did not cry or sob noisily at all; nor did I vow vengeance against any one. Which is more consistent with "noisy sobs", a person seized with fright and nightmare or one whose heart was hardened with bitterness. That feeling of fright and benumbed senses did not desert you, if you will be kind enough to admit, throughout the whole period of our detention.

At page 82 you go on to state "It was during this period when we were thrown together in such close proximity that I got the first indication of disagreement between myself and the other five members. I became painfully aware that they were losing interest in me. . . ."

I concede you one thing. At the Kumasi prison you stayed away from most of our meetings. We usually met to discuss and to write out our plans for the future. We agreed upon the colours of our national flag. We agreed upon the name Ghana. We even discussed whether our poets should speak of our country as fatherland or motherland!

At our request the prison superintendent had supplied us with a table as well as chairs, but whenever we sat down in the spacious yard to discuss business, your chair was nearly always empty. As senior officer of the Convention, I came to your room to ask you why you looked so disconsolate and unhappy.

What you said in reply was this: "J. B. I left my hand bag at my residence at Cape Coast. It contains my Communist card and

other things. The Police said they would search my premises after my arrest. I am afraid they have got hold of my Communist membership card”.

Question by me: Communist membership card? Is your name on it?

Answer by you: No.

Question by me: Have you distributed similar cards to any one since your return from England?

Answer by you: No.

Statement by me, cheering you up: Kwame don't you worry about that; the Police cannot touch you for it.

It was on this occasion that you confessed to me, in confirmation of my suspicion, that although you had presented the title of your thesis for a doctorate to the University of London, the thesis was never written and the doctorate never conferred.¹

Early the next morning we were bundled away at 3. a.m. on a long journey, through the dusty north road, to Tamale, where we were lodged in the African Soldiers' hospital, (not “a bungalow”, as you state at page 83).

We were detained in that hospital for three days. You kept mostly to yourself, and, sometimes, it was difficult to persuade you to take your meals. Later, we were posted to isolated district stations.

How now you so cleverly turn the tables against me and our colleagues! You even suggest that in the Kumasi Prison you discovered that “some of the most prominent persons in the movement (U.G.C.C.) had been affected in one way or the other by the result of the Kibi murder trial and this was what had influenced them to join the U.G.C.C.”!

I have asked Willie Ofori Atta about this allegation and this is what he said: “At the Kumasi prison Nkrumah discussed with me what was likely to happen to us. He suggested that there could not possibly be any evidence for charging us with any crime, for we had committed none. It was then that I told Nkrumah that in the Gold Coast anything could happen, because in the Kibi case evidence was fabricated against some of my brothers to convict

¹ From 1947 to 1957 Kwame Nkrumah was commonly addressed as “Doctor” (“Dr.”), without any entitlement. In 1951 Lincoln University conferred an LLD on him, *Honoris Causa*.

them for a murder they never committed”.

Did Willie and I the “most prominent persons in the movement”, affected in one way or the other by the result of the Kibi murder trial, “join” the U.G.C.C.? We were foundation members, and the very name ‘United Gold Coast Convention’ was devised by Willie and me — a name which you subsequently filched for the name of your Party, the Convention People’s Party.

You take the grand stand before the Watson Commission and leave the rest of us in the gallery. You actually say you were left “holding the baby” (page 85). Which baby? What we demanded in our cablegram which led to the Commission was self-government. After hearing my evidence, Aiken Watson said to me: “Since you are celebrated as a constitution maker, will you produce tomorrow for the Commission a scheme for a self-governing Gold Coast?”

I produced one the next day in a memorandum of 24 paragraphs with the country regionalised into South Ghana, Ashanti and North Ghana, with expectation to add on to it our ethnic groups in Togoland and the Ivory Coast. We were to have a Parliament of two chambers, a House of Representatives and a Senate, the former of 100 to 120 members, the latter of 50. The Paramount Chiefs’ Councils were to be modernised, the entire country to be governed by 12 Ministers under a Governor-General. Watson in his report said we could have that in about ten years. We had it (less the Senate) in nine years. (See p.6 *The Doyen Speaks* by H. K. Akyeampong).

The rest of your accusations and insinuations against the Working Committee will, in God’s good time, be effectively answered in a book now under preparation by a former prominent officer of the United Gold Coast Convention¹.

It is good to know from the grave disclosures you make at pages 62, 96–97 and 100 that you came out from England in response to our invitation, determined to break us and to capture the political initiative from the U.G.C.C. You made use of our members and branches, with a plan which resulted in a split in the country’s united front, to the joy of the Imperial power. (Said

¹ This work was taken in hand by Mr. M. K. Apaloo, M.P. before he was arrested and detained in November, 1958. He was released immediately after the glorious 24th February Revolution.

The Times of London in June 1949, "The Formation of Dr Nkrumah's C.P.P. has enabled the British to capture the initiative"). No doubt you gained something from the success of your plan to the discredit of the Executive of the U.G.C.C. But what is it?

One parting word: The situation you give to Ghana in Del'Isle's map produced in your book, namely, to the east of Lake Chad, is likely to make us a laughing stock in respect of our claim of origin from Ghana.

The Ghana of our origin was situated 1400 miles to the west of Lake Chad, south-west of the present Timbuktu. Ghana city stood about 200 miles from the site which later became the Timbuktu town.

Del'Isle, in making his map of Barbary, Negroland and Guinea, mistook the Bornu capital of Kanem for Ghana. (See pages 201 and 202 of E. W. Bovill's *Caravans of the Old Sahara*).

Del'Isle's map is also reproduced at p.210 of Bovill's book. There is no loop around Del'Isle's "De Ghana" as you make appear in copies of his map at the front and back pages of your book. It is all so very sad.

Concerning the false and libellous matter you publish against me, I hereby request you to submit a written apology to me within a fortnight from date. It will give me no pleasure to bring a libel action in the Supreme Court of Ghana against the first Prime Minister of Ghana.

You are also requested to undertake not to repeat the said allegations in future editions of the book you call "Ghana".

This name, as you are aware, was discovered by me in 1928 and put forward by me in 1944 for adoption by the Gold Coast when liberated. When you came in 1947 to join us, you said in a speech at Sekondi that Ghana was a great African "republic". After the lecture I gently told you that Ghana was a kingdom and empire.

There is no acknowledgement in your book as to who discovered Ghana, and when. Many of Ghana's sons and daughters are curious to know why?

You have for obvious reasons maligned me. It may be that, in your view, such maligning will operate to enhance your political

stock. This is, however, not the first time you have done so.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

37. THE N.L.M. AND ITS ALLIES

Ref. 251/P/57

6th May, 1957.

Prof. K. A. Busia,
Leader, Parliamentary Opposition,
N.L.M.,
Kumasi.

Dear Prof. Busia,

Dr. Bankole Renner and two officers of the M.A.P. — A. K. Alawiye, President of M.A.P. and M. S. Tukur, founder-member of Moslem Association — came to see me today, the 6th of May to state that as M.A.P. has been neglected in respect of the decisions and activities of the N.L.M., they have found it necessary to review their position as allies of N.L.M.

I have advised them to meet the N.L.M. Executive in Kumasi, but they say they are unable to do so for financial reasons.

I suggest that at the earliest possible date you hold a meeting of the National Executive of N.L.M. and allies in Accra to discuss general policy and also to give a certain measure of "National" colour to the work of the Parliamentary Opposition as an allied arm.

I have already informed you that for quite a time now no invitations have reached me to attend any meetings of the N.L.M.'s Executive.

I do not suppose as an individual, I count very much, but there is a general complaint that fewer meetings are being held on the basis on which the allied movement was organised in 1955 and 1956.

Dr. Renner suggests that it would be in accord with Party practice to co-opt some non-M.P.'s of N.L.M. and allies as members of the Parliamentary Committee. I do not know how far he is right here, but at any rate it can form the subject of a discussion.

I should be grateful to hear from you in this matter.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

38 THE CHRISTIANSBORG CASTLE

Ref. 250/P&A/57

7th May, 1957.

The Editor,
Daily Graphic,
Accra.

Sir,

We are makers now of our own destiny. In "we" I include all leaders and all responsible sons and daughters of Ghana who can afford to think and who can be proud of Ghana — both those who talk and those who write, or who neither talk nor write but merely digest what is written or spoken.

The Cabinet's decision for the Prime Minister to stay in Government House and the Governor-General to stay in the State House is disgraceful, as showing a childish petulance in our national make up.

If this decision is carried out, where would Her Majesty stay if she cared to visit us? Or would she care to visit us? Or is our profession of Commonwealth membership merely a pretence? Is not the Queen head of Ghana? Is she not the Queen of Ghana? And must the Queen of Ghana take a lesser place in her symbolic importance than our Prime Minister? If we became a republic tomorrow, who should stay at the Castle, the President or the Prime Minister?

The Cabinet maintains that by attaining independence, and

destroying imperialism in this land, we must capture what the Cabinet conceives to have been the symbol of imperialism. If so, must we not proceed to demolish and destroy the Castle from its foundations upwards? That can be the only logical answer to the Cabinet's way of thinking. The French revolutionaries demolished the Bastille. They did not go to live there.

But is Christiansborg Castle really a symbol of imperialism? What of the British Lion in our National Coat of Arms? What of English Common Law which is given a position superior to our own Ghana Customary Laws? What of the English language which, by the Constitution, must be the language of Parliament? What of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or the University of London, both of which have their seats at the metropolis of the imperial power, and to both of which we are still attached.

If occupying the Castle is believed by the Cabinet to be essential for our appreciation of the fact that we are now independent, then the Cabinet must have a very low opinion of the country's intelligence.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

P.S. The News this morning that Sir Arku Korsah as Acting Governor-General intends to stay in a bungalow shows how very ridiculous we are making ourselves.

39 THE ABUAKWA CONSTITUENCIES

Ref. 295/NLM/57

30th May, 1957.

The General Secretary,
N.L.M.,
Akim Abuakwa,
Kibi.

Dear Mr. Kesse Adu,

I have not visited the Abuakwa Constituencies since the general election because I was not ready.

With recent events in Accra and elsewhere in the country, and

with the declaration of policy by the Prime Minister, the vision of the future now seems clear and I would like to visit important towns in my own Constituency¹ to hold rallies there.

I suggest that an intensive campaign be arranged for Saturday and Sunday the 16th and 17th June. I suggest meetings at the following places:

- (1) Begoro, Saturday afternoon.
- (2) Kwabeng, Sunday morning.
- (3) Abomosu, Sunday afternoon.

Kindly place the matter before your Constituency Committee as well as before the Abuakwa North Constituency Committee and let me know. The subject of my talks will be: "The new phase in Ghana's Struggle".

I enclose Postal Orders for £10 to meet your constituency expenses in arranging these rallies, including posters.

I could speak at a rally at Asiakwa on the 9th June if a good one could be arranged.

Your early attention will be appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

40 VISIT OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS OF KENT

Ref. 388/G/57

15th July, 1957.

The Editor,
Daily Graphic,
Accra.

Sir,

Is it not possible for the Ghana Government, or the people of Ghana, to mark their appreciation of the visit of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Kent, by presenting her with a set of presents

¹ Dr. Danquah stood on the N.L.C. ticket in the Abuakwa North Constituency and lost to the C.P.P. candidate in the 1956 General Election.

in Ghana craftsmanship and to commemorate her gracious act in coming down to Accra to declare Ghana, once and for all, an independent country?

On the eve of the departure of the Duchess of Kent the Joint Provincial Council gave her certain presents in Ghana gold. Three other presents from Ghana Chiefs and Ghana women were made to her. The Duchess is reported to have shown her appreciation of these presents and she has no doubt mentioned or shown them to Her Majesty the Queen.

It is the custom in this country, and it is also ancient custom throughout history, for visiting royalty to depart from visited places, loaded with precious presents, testimony of the generosity of the country visited, and also a sort of advertisement of the products of the country. The Queen of Sheba departed from the presence of the great Solomon, King of Israel, with a lot of valuable presents, and she was in a position to sing the praises of Israel, and to advertise her craftsmanship.

Ghana is noted for the gold filigree work of her goldsmiths. She is noted also for her fine wood and ivory work. Ghana's superlatively gorgeous furniture either for the drawing room or for a lady's boudoir or dressing room can hardly be excelled. Ghana's rich kente cloths are the admiration of the entire world. Cannot our goldsmiths and carpenters and kente weavers be given a chance to show what they can do?

There can be no question that the Duchess of Kent does not stand in need either of our gold filigree, or furniture, in ivory or in wood or our kente cloths. But it seems to me if a suitably chosen present of Ghana workmanship were given to her, she would be in a position to tell her children about it, and it may serve as a decorative heirloom and a personal bond between her, her descendants and the appreciative people of Ghana.

I am aware that Colonial Office Regulations forbid Governors and all other public officers from receiving valuable presents (other than the ordinary gifts of personal friends). Governors are in fact forbidden without special permission to accept or forward any articles for presentation to Her Majesty.

A present to a Governor, such as the gold coffee set given to Sir Charles Arden Clarke in London by the Prime Minister could not have been received by our first Governor-General without the

special permission of the Secretary of State previously obtained. Otherwise the discipline of Colonial Regulations demands that the present should be returned to Ghana.

That is to say, there are exceptions to every rule, and I believe in the case of the Duchess of Kent, a special exception could be made by Her Majesty because the act of the Duchess in graciously coming to Ghana to declare our country independent is historic, and should be marked by an historic act.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH

41 THE ROAD TRAFFIC ORDINANCE

Ref. 341/P&A/57

29th July, 1957

The Editor,
Daily Graphic,
Accra.

Sir,

Cannot your Political Correspondent throw some light on the intrinsic nature of the national issue raised by the stoppage of work by the Motor Drivers Union following the enforcement of the Road Traffic Ordinance?

I can find no authority for the view expressed in certain sections of the Press that the Minister of the Interior has no power to suspend the application of the Ordinance or of the Regulations made thereunder, and that the Minister would be making a mockery of Parliament to suspend the Ordinance.

Your Political Correspondent will be in a position to show that when the Road Traffic Bill (repealing the Motor Traffic Ordinance of 1934) was passed in November 1952, it was laid down by the Assembly in section 1 that the date of commencement should be 1st January, 1953, or such later date as the Governor may appoint by Notice in the Gazette.

Since that date the Governor, or the Chief Secretary, or the

Minister has, off and on, given notices in the Gazette for the Ordinance to come into force on a particular date, or for the date of its coming into force to be suspended.

This has been done no less than seven or eight times. The last but one of such notices was given on 5th September, 1955. On that date, the drivers feel that they are not being oppressed by any law, especially a law, the justice of which the Government has not been sure for five years.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

42 "THE TIMES OF WEST AFRICA"

Ref. 432/P&A/57

30th July, 1957.

K.A.B. Jones Quartey, Esq.,
University College of Ghana Office,
29 Tavistock Square,
London, W.C. 1.

My dear Jones Quartey,

Thank you for your two letters of May 23 and May 29. I am being released from formal duty by my medical adviser as from today the 30th July, and I am taking your manuscript with me to Hospital to read. So little is the time available to me for literary work and much less by the ebbing energy. However, I hope to be in a position to rewrite the foreword when I return from Hospital.

Upon perusal I find that chapter VI, which seems to deal with the period of *The Times of West Africa* is not included in the MSS sent to me. (If this is available will you please send it to me). There, is however, a reference to the 'Ladies Column' in the chapter dealing with the contribution of Sierra Leone.

That is quite proper. But please note that Mabel Dove chiefly wrote for the 'Ladies Column' at a time she was not married to me. We married late in 1933. I am not sure whether she wrote for the paper after that date.

Secondly, the dispute in Court with Macneil Stewart was not whether he was the sole contributor for the 'Ladies Column', but whether the copyright in the name belonged to him. It was proved in Court that the idea of such a column was conceived by the editor, and that the very name 'Marjorie Mensah' was conceived by Mr. (now Sir) James Henley Coussey, a Director of the Guinea Times Publishing Co. Ltd., in consultation with the Editor.

I cannot guess what you say of *The Times of West Africa*, but going by your views in the article in "United Asia" for February 1957, I believe a few facts will help you to correct your position.

Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe was not in the Gold Coast when I was editing *The Times of West Africa* and we therefore never came into a clash in the press or in politics. I left the Gold Coast for England in May 1934, on the Colonial Office delegation (Sedition Bill and Water works) and did not return until 1936 — two years. (I met Zik for the first time in June 1934 in London when he addressed our delegation).

When I came back, *The Times* was dead (in 1935). Stewart, the Acting Editor, had left it to start the *Daily Echo* for the Independent Press. I had no occasion to enter into political or literary controversy or polemics with Zik. In fact, we were friends and I often contributed articles and poems to the *African Morning Post*.

I do not remember a single occasion in my life when I have opposed a condemnation of imperialism nor have I a recollection of disagreeing with Zik "over some local politics or politicians". I should be indeed grateful for a single quotation from me in which I praised imperialism or condemned those who condemned it. The difference between me and Zik is that he is and was (if I may put it roughly) a political historian, and I was and am a historical politician.

The period 1937 – 1944 was the great years of the Youth Conference and I was trying to discover why the idea of self-government was anathema to certain important Africans and to some less important ones.

Casely Hayford was concerned with West African (British) nationalism. I was concerned with Gold Coast nationhood and hardly took any trouble to discuss West African nationalism as such. I believe my chief contribution in the early years to Gold

Coast politics is that I weaned the people from West Africanism (Casely Hayford's) to Gold Coastism — a nation at home before a nation abroad. Zik was inclined to speak on the broader plane, a heritage of Casely Hayford and Herbert Macaulay. I was inclined to speak on the need to intensify the recognition of the Gold Coast itself as a unit of a nation under a specific national name and I was looking for such a name from 1927 to 1944 when I became convinced that Ghana was it.

Another target of the time was to continue the good work, started by Casely Hayford just before his death, of bringing the chiefs and intelligentsia together. I believe success crowned my effort in 1934, when I was able to unite the chiefs and the intelligentsia in the Central National Committee to oppose the Sedition Bill, and to send a delegation composed of chiefs and intelligentsia of the Colony and Ashanti to the Colonial Office.

My opponent in my early politics, if you want to know, was Kobina Sekyi, certainly not Zik. (Read the pages of the *Gold Coast Observer* 1940–1947). When the chiefs and the intelligentsia joined together, Kobina Sekyi had nothing left to do in politics, for the controversy withered away with him. As you may remember, the remnant of the Aborigines Society sent a delegation of three intelligentsia (Sekyi, Moore and Wood) to the Colonial Office, but they got nowhere near the Colonial Office, although they did good work for the nation in England.

I should be surprised to learn from Zik, or from anyone else, that we have ever been opponents in politics. We have trodden different paths, but to end in the same goal.

As to how *The Times* came to an end in 1935, you will do well to go to Blackfriars, to the Office of West Africa Publicity Ltd., Unilevers, and there to discover that in that year A. J. Ocansey and 'Publicity' entered into a written agreement for the U.A.C. group to withdraw their advertisements from *The Times of West Africa* in favour of the *African Morning Post*, then about to be started. This agreement meant the end of any substantial income for *The Times*, and so, without perhaps intending it, Ocansey killed the first daily in the Gold Coast which had run for five years.

I am sorry to learn that *The African Morning Post* is also dead, and that another capitalist owned paper has taken its place.

But that is the way of the world. *Woamma wo yonko antwa nkron a womma wo ntwa edu*. "If you prevent your friend from reaching the ninth degree you fail to reach the tenth".

(Akan proverb).

Best regards,

Ever yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

43 GIVE GHANA A FAIR CHANCE

Ref. 4331/P&A/57.

14th August, 1957,

The Editor,
The Times,
Printing House Square,
London, E.C.4.

Sir,

There is too sharp a dualism in the over-simplification of Ghana politics into a struggle between the "old" and the "new". This dualism is described as "a struggle on the one hand to digest the Western Parliamentary democratic system and on the other to revert to, or to adapt, traditional institutions".

That process has ended in romanticizing the Prime Minister and the Convention People's Party into a "hilt and hand" pledge to develop the new, while the "Opposition" is labelled and tilted into the arena as "composed largely of men who believe, instinctively or intellectually", in the old. The approach does not match with present day realities in Ghana.

Quite apart from the fact that the Minister of Local Government, in charge of chieftaincy, (Mr. Aaron Ofori Atta), who was recently accused by the Joint Provincial Council of Paramount Chiefs of speaking in a derogatory manner of the Stools, has publicly denied the accusation, and has declared, in a press statement, that what he said was that the Chiefs were an arm of the

Government, there are, at least, more protestations in C.P.P. circles of love for chieftaincy than can be found among the National Liberation Movement.

Barely a week ago, according to the official Ghana News Agency, the Prime Minister had occasion to entertain about a hundred of the Ga-Adangbe Chiefs (Chiefs in and around Accra) at Christiansborg Castle, for upwards of six hours. This took place in the evening in a closed conference from which representatives of the Press were excluded. The G.N.A. release went on to say that the Ga Mantse (Paramount Chief of Accra), and the others, pledged their loyalty or support to the Prime Minister.

Never in the annals of Ghana, from Maclean at Cape Coast Castle (1844), to Arden Clarke at Christiansborg Castle (1957) did any resident of Government House find it compulsive or necessary to hold the candle to the Chiefs in this manner. When a resident at the Castle and the Chiefs had to meet, they did so at open durbars.

May I be permitted to say this: We in Ghana if given a fair chance, intend to prove to the world that our traditional uses of democracy before the advent of the ballot box were liberal, — as liberal as enshrined in the present Lennox-Boyd constitution — and that there are more ways of making democracy work than the simple process of dichotomy.

Too often European philosophies and theologies, even political and social economies, are surcharged with a two-way division of the universe into a Zoroastrian conflict between Ormuzd, god of light and good, and Ahrimah, god of darkness and evil, Conservatives and Socialists, the West and the East, even dukes and dustmen, as if the complexities of life were soluble on that simple two-way division. English moralists have been much bothered to discover a *juste-milieu* between the two opposites, and another *Ballad of East and West* has yet to remove Rudyard Kipling's "never the twain shall meet".

Africa may itself produce from her own untapped stock a democratic system which is not Marxian or Grecian, but good nevertheless, probably Ghanaian. But in the meantime, we in Ghana may at least be spared the compulsory choice between the spectre of the European dichotomies. There may, indeed, be always two

sides to any question, but there is a third side which is quite often begged, the meaning of the question.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

44 GHANA DEPORTATIONS

Ref. 438/P&A/57

16th August, 1957.

The Editor,
West Africa,
2 - 3 Hind Court
Fleet Street,
London, E.C. 4.

Sir,

Your editorial notes on "The Ghana Deportations" have been read with great sorrow. Especially your particular comments on Mr. Bankole Timothy, a staff writer on the *Daily Graphic* which belongs to the chain of newspapers to which yours belong.

If your notes reflect the views of the Directors and proprietors of the *Daily Graphic*, then, all things being equal, it is not sufficient that Mr. Bankole Timothy alone should be deported, but that the whole editorial board of the *Daily Graphic* who suffered the "unhelpful, inaccurate and arrogant" articles to be published, should either be banished or locked up, or at least the Directors of the Company should be told to shut up shop, having forfeited their right to exist in a free Ghana by their publication of sedition.

There has so far been no defence of Bankole Timothy in the *Daily Graphic*, nor criticism of the "deportations" in that paper, but some of us were made to believe that the paper was, for the moment, "lying low" because of what you call "touchiness".

If, however, as now appears to be the case, it is the settled view of the proprietors and the publishers of the paper that, "over a period", our new Government has been subjected to "unhelpful,

inaccurate and arrogant" criticisms in the *Daily Graphic*, then what price the *Daily Graphic*? What is its worth, and what right has it to exist? Why single out Bankole Timothy?

As a footnote, may I say this: It seems a pity that your paper is called 'West Africa'. That name may lead the outside world to think that it is a paper managed by West Africans or belonging to West Africans. You might substitute "High Court" for it as a more appropriate name.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

45 I BLAME ARDEN CLARKE

Ref. 522/P&F/57.

3rd October, 1957.

Kingsley Martin, Esq.,
The New Statesman & Nation
Ambassador Hotel,
Accra.

Dear Mr. Kingsley Martin,

It did not occur to me yesterday to thank you specifically for throwing light on a problem which had, since 1951, baffled me, which is that the British press in general supported the C.P.P. because it was natural that it should support the party which was locally being supported by the Governor and his officers.

This light on the matter strengthens the view I have always held and which I imparted to you in another connection: That the man to blame for the gruelling time Ghana is going through just now is not Mr. Krobo Edusei nor Dr. Nkrumah, but Sir Charles Noble Arden Clarke.

Events are justifying the stand taken by me in 1952 when I wrote to inform the Governor (on the occasion of Mr. Oliver Lyttelton's visit) that I could no longer continue to accept invitations from him to social or official functions for a reason similar to that upon which you have shed such an illuminating light.

Again thanking you, I remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

27th December, 1957.

The Editor,
Daily Graphic,
Accra.

Sir,

Twice in his broadcasts to the nation, first on his return from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference and, secondly, in his Christmas Eve broadcast this year, the Prime Minister has highlighted the problems facing Ghana as including tribalism and feudalism. In the Christmas broadcast he referred to our country as "a new state emerging from tribalism and feudalism into the mid-20th century".

In Africa, tribalism is an imperialist epithet for what the imperialists never understood in African life — the attachment of the people to the organised system of government to which they belong. To the educated man, a tribe is "a group of barbarous clans under recognised chief".

Either from prejudice or from ignorance, or from both, the imperial depredators in Africa were unable to think it possible that from the earliest days of ancient Ghana, Mellestine, Mossi and Songhay till today, the peoples of the Guinea lands, have, in their respective states, lived and survived as "organised political communities with governments recognised by the people".

The imperialists of mid-20th century have been overtaken by the events of the upsurge of African freedom everywhere, mainly because they would not accept the fact that the peoples of the Guinea lands ceased to be a barbarous people long before the Portuguese set foot on our soil four hundred and eighty-six years ago.

This being the situation from which we in Ghana have recently liberated ourselves, it goes hard for some of us to hear from the lips of the first Prime Minister of New Ghana that the peoples of this land are barbarous clans and not organised states, ruled under constitutions approved by the people.

As to feudalism, it is difficult to conjecture how it crept into Ghana's politics after independence. The imperialists who had

lived under feudalism and had grown ashamed of it in their own countries and had eventually got rid of it centuries ago, did not have the effrontery to speak of chieftaincy in Ghana as remotely resembling what is defined by themselves as "medieval European policy based on relation of vassal and superior arising from holding of lands in feud".

By far the greatest and the most glorious of our Ghana inheritance is that the lands are held by the people in free ownership and not in feud to their Chiefs or Stools. The people of Ghana are not vassals or slaves of their Stools, and I cannot believe that Dr. Nkrumah wants the outside world to think of Ghana as hurdled with vassalage in land tenure.

May I appeal through your columns to Dr. Nkrumah to drop that kind of language in his broadcasts and public statements. We who are now self-governing must not put New Ghana in a worse light than ever the imperialists painted it.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

