



DR. J. B. DANQUAH

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

VOLUME TWO  
1949-1951

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**VOL II**

**1949 - 1951**

WATERVILLE PRINTING HOUSE  
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ACPA

**JOURNEY TO INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER**  
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First Published 1971

**VOLUME TWO**  
**1949 - 1951**



Compiled by  
**H. K. AKYEAMPONG**

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book owes an immense debt of gratitude to Dr. H. E. Adams of the Cape Coast University, who read the typescript and made a number of valuable suggestions. I was especially grateful to Professor Ofori-Appiah, Director of the Psychological Sciences Department who, despite other calls on his time, had time to write an elaborate introduction within a very short space of time. Mr. V. O. O. Poku-Baah of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. James Osei-Agye, Professor Ato. Wabren and Mr. Yaw Donkor, all of the University of Ghana, Legon, have looked at various parts of the book.

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

Francis Bacon

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book owes an immense debt of gratitude to Dr. S. K. Opoku of the Cape Coast University who read the typescript and made a number of valuable suggestions. I am especially grateful to Professor Ofose-Appiah, Director of the Encyclopaedia Africana Secretariat who, despite other calls on his time, had time to write an elaborate introduction within a very short space of time. Mr. V. O. D. Twum-Barima of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Jones Ofori Atta, Professor Adu Boahen and Mr. Yaw Twumasi, all of the University of Ghana, Legon, have helped in various ways and I am grateful to them.

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 relenting 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 Lamptey, 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 Lamptey 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 Omore 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. Akyeampong has done educated Ghanaians a signal service. For, by reading through them, one can see the evil in adopting double morals standards in any society. It will become clear to the discerning reader that the British, who supported our mad rush to dictatorship, sincerely believed 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 COUSSEY COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM

Ref. No. 27/CC/49

1st January, 1949

Dingle Foot<sup>1</sup>, Esq.,  
9 Tufton Court,  
London, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Foot,

Since my return home from the African Conference I have almost literally only just been able to sit down and to open my London papers. It has been one hectic bouncing from one place to another, first with the Working Committee of the Convention, then with the Joint Provincial Council at Dodowa, next with the public at every centre wishing to hear about what happened in London, (and at these places your name had the biggest applause whenever I mentioned you); and then next with the Legislative Council, hoping that the Watson Report would be tabled for discussion, but hoping in vain. Then next with Mr. Justice Coussey who, as Chairman of the Representative Committee, had to be taken in hand; for he had the ears of the Governor as to who and who should be on the Committee. And at long last the Committee now called the Coussey Committee has been appointed, as appears from the newspaper of December 31 — and so I begin to think of you vividly and of all that you have done for this Gold Coast to reach its critical and interesting condition just now.

But first of all, let me thank you and Mrs. Foot most sincerely for your warm welcome, and for your very great assistance to me whilst in London. Accept my warm thanks also for the present of "Cromwell," which was my companion on the ship coming home. But I am particularly grateful to you for the introductions to the Press, to Major Astor in particular, and to your brother in the House of Commons, Mr. Michael Foot. You may be aware that Mr. Astor took me to his house and took me into the heart of a Negro lady — an actress in England, and I had to

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<sup>1</sup> Sir Dingle Foot, Q.C., represented the 'Big Six' before the Watson Commission which enquired into the 1948 disturbances.

go to Birmingham to meet her and to be properly educated as to the place of the Negro in America in an overall plan for Africa. Major Astor has since been sending me copies of his own paper, "The Observer" and I am writing to him this week. My people here — the Working Committee — expressed their most sincere appreciation of the work you did for us whilst I was in London; and in my confidential report to them on the African Conference, the part you played was received with marked interest. The official report of the delegates to the African Conference was also written by me — over 40 pages foolscap — and I took the opportunity to emphasize the features of the Conference that would most advance our Gold Coast case for self-government. It has been adopted by the Joint Provincial Council, and it is now before the Government. Apparently, the Government here does not intend to open discussion on the London Conference until the Official Report is received; but I intend to ginger them up so as to make it possible for the Gold Coast to enjoy a measure of socialism in my time.

Now, as you would see from the enclosed cutting, the Coussey Committee is a very mixed bag. The very first names, the first 12, were elected by the three territorial Councils of the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories. The strangest thing about it is that, whilst the N.T.'s elected two non-Chiefs and two Chiefs, and Ashanti also elected two non-Chiefs and two Chiefs, the J.P.C. at Dodowa elected four Chiefs and no non-Chiefs at all. I immediately telegraphed to them to say they had made a mistake, and that they should ask the Governor to increase their quota of 4 to 6 so as to enable them to elect two more who should be non-Chiefs, and the Chiefs did exactly what I told them, viz to elect two more non-Chiefs and to ask the Governor to accept them. I had asked them, however, to elect from among the three non-Chief representatives (Provincial Members) in the Legislative Council, namely Rev. C. G. Baeta, Mr. E. C. Quist and myself, but the J.P.C. elected their own Secretary Mr. Magnus Sampson and myself. Naturally, the Governor took no notice of the Chiefs' request for increase of their quota, as it would have upset the Ashanti people. Actually, in the previous week, they had been castigating me for criticising the Chiefs on the delegation at Freetown, Sierra Leone, to the effect that their failure to attend a reception by the Freetown City Council (Africans) and their alacrity in accepting an

invitation from the Governor of Sierra Leone showed the prevalence of a spirit that should be lived down in Africa — the spirit of certain of our people looking down upon things African and kowtowing to everything white. (The Governor's reception had been on the voyage to England, and the City Council's reception had been on the homeward voyage). As I was saying, the Chiefs were very angry with me for my criticism, and, in my defence before an august meeting of the Joint Provincial Council, I was caught on one leg, whilst I escaped on the other. I was charged with having addressed the meeting of Paramount Chiefs in a 'disrespectful manner', that is to say, I had a hand in my trouser pocket whilst I addressed them in my defence. It was a very funny situation, and I had to apologise for showing disrespect to our Chiefs; and I had to slaughter four sheep for it and give them a case of schnapps. This was hailed by the White Press as loss of confidence in me by the Chiefs — which would have been a terrible blow to our cause. But the very next week, upon a mere suggestion by me, the Chiefs went and elected me to serve as their delegate on the Representative Committee. I am convinced now more than ever before that we cannot afford further to leave the internal direction of affairs in the hands of those Chiefs, and I sincerely trust that in the Coussey Committee we should be able to hammer out a suitable constitution that would avoid Chiefs being in position of supreme command in the political government. Their place should, however, be strengthened in the system of local government to be in future devised.

I now proceed to analyse the Coussey Committee as regards its composition — Firstly it should be noticed that the Governor saw to it that the Chiefs made their elections of 12 before he proceeded to appoint the remaining members, 26, in addition mostly or altogether non-Chiefs. In this I think we owe a debt of gratitude to the Governor, for he has laid it down for a precedent that the condition no longer holds that the Chiefs are the true and sole political representatives of the Gold Coast. The democratic element, side by side with the traditional element, is admitted, and I believe that points to the need for two Chambers, a house of Chiefs and a House of the People or House of Assembly — but that is for a future letter.

1. Judge J. H. Coussey, Chairman; Mother, Fanti; Cape

Coast. Father, from the Gambia — either Fulani or European ancestry — no one is sure, but he lives entirely like a European, and hardly or ever speaks any vernacular, Fanti or Ga, though he understands both. Eminent Lawyer, reserved and exclusive society — his wife, grand daughter of late Biney of Cape Coast, rich shareholder in Ashanti Gold Fields, and her mother was a Londoner. Coussey never fancied Free Mason and up to now is not a member, which is unusual for an eminent lawyer in Accra. Was standing Counsel for the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta, and when I first came out as barrister I practised in his Chambers. Kept apparently aloof from politics; he was one of the first to see our original draft of the Constitution of the United Gold Coast Convention which he warmly received from me. He is highly respected in Convention circles, and I think he was chosen by the Governor for the Chairmanship because he had not been openly committed to local politics either way. I personally welcome him as Chairman and so does Akufo Addo. He sent for me and Akufo Addo, before the announcement of the membership of the Committee, — and he gave me the Malta, Jamaica, Ceylon and Liberia constitutions to study, so as to advise him. But Coussey always has a surprise for some one or other, and he may surprise either the Governor or the Convention.

2. *Hon. Nana Sir Tsibu Darku IX, Kt. O.B.E.*, Omanhene of Asin Atandansu. Leader of the Gold Coast Delegation to the African Conference 1948. Member of the Governor's Executive Council; native of Elmina — de Heer family (Elmina is chiefly a 'mulatto' town because of the early European settlement.)

3. *Hon. Nana Amanfi III M.B.E.*, Omanhene of Asebu. This Chief was made C.B.E. in the New Year Honour's List. He is a product of a District Commissioner's Office — much older than Sir Tsibu Darku. By training he belongs to the Cape Coast historical school — namely those who look at our constitution from the point of view of the Bond of 1844 and the Fanti Confederation and the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society. He is Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Joint Provincial Council which means 'leader' of the Colony Paramount Chiefs, and could have done great work for the country in that office as the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta did, but he has so far achieved nothing politically great.

4. *Hon. Nene Azzu Mate Kole*, Konor of Manya Krobo. Member of the Gold Coast Delegation to the African Conference. Educated at Achimota. Was Inspector, Gold Coast Police, before his election as Paramount Chief. Intelligent and clear of brain. But he says he does not know the meaning of 'democracy'; and, in my draft report of the delegation to the African Conference, he asked that the word be struck out in a very significant paragraph. He is a very promising politician and I personally have a high regard for him.

5. *Nana Ofori Atta II*, Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa — a grand looking Chief my own sister's son, successor to the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta. He has a strong belief in the divine right of a Chief, and I am going to find him difficult to handle in the Committee. It is his first essay in national politics, although he holds an eminent position in the Joint Provincial Council where he is an effective speaker and fearless one. It was because he did not wish in 1946 to stand for the Legislative Council that I got my chance to be there. But he is now very anxious to be on the Representative Committee, I believe, to protect the divine right. He was formerly a Presbyterian of the Presbyterian Church at Kibi, my home town.

6. *Hon. Nana Kwame Gyebi Ababio*, Omanhene of Esumeja, Ashanti. Member of the Gold Coast Delegation to the African Conference. Formerly a School Teacher. Intelligent and modern, but he is very anxious to know from me where I would put the Chiefs in a self-governing constitution! It appears the Ashanti delegates to the Representative Committee have their instructions to demand a radical change in the Constitution. If they succeed there would be no Governor at all, nor a Governor-General, and the formula of 'sovereign' would be vested in the three territorial heads of the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories. This is a proposal, which I do not pretend to understand, but its architect is Hon. Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye. I pray that they press for their "Constitution" in the Coussey Committee for it would give the Convention group a chance to press for the middle formula, a semi-demiresponsible Government with the Executive or Cabinet responsible for the elected house, but with the Governor as Chairman of the Cabinet with no original vote but a casting vote, and with three Colonial Ministers (Civil Servants, possibly Europeans) holding the

technical posts of Minister (or Member) for 1. External (Commonwealth) Relations, 2. Defence, and 3. Attorney General, i.e. Law. It is, if I may say so, going to be an interesting work at the Coussey Committee.

7. *Nana Adjaye Bonsra*, Adansehene (Paramount Chief of Adanse) was, I believe a timber Merchant before his election some three or four years ago. He will support the Ashanti delegation point of view.

8. *Hon. E. O. Asafu-Adjaye*, B.A., LL.B. (London) Barrister-at-Law, Barstow scholar, Inner Temple. One of the most successful lawyers in Ashanti. Member of the famous Adonten family in Kumasi, of which there are two lawyers, one doctor (Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye) and a Paramount Chief — (now in London doing law), as well as several brothers now in England, some doing law, and others other professions. The Asantehene is afraid of that family, and they too are afraid of him, for he could weaken them if they lost his favour. So I believe E.O. is also coming down to carry out orders of the Ashanti Confederacy Council, whatever the orders may be. The point is that the Colony delegates must try to accommodate the point of view of the Ashanti group otherwise there is their threat of a Pakistan, and although we know they could never do it — they would have no Coast line, and therefore no access to foreign trade — it could be a nasty situation, if we fell out with them.

9. *Hon. B. D. Addai*, Municipal Member for Kumasi. A clear-headed politician, also fearless. Ex-school Teacher, now merchant, — timber and cocoa. He recently lost his seat on the Cocoa Marketing Board, they say because he fell out of favour with the Asantehene. His election as the Confederacy's member to the Coussey Committee therefore came as a surprise, probably to muzzle him. Constitution-making is not Addai's strong point; he is, however, for the people, and if he gets a chance, I believe he would support the Convention view.

10. *J. A. Karbo, Lawra Na*. A Paramount Chief of the Northern Territories. I believe he saw service in his younger days as a bailiff in the District Commissioner's Courts in the Colony. I know very little about him or his politics.

11. *Yakubu Tali, Tolon Na*. Also a Paramount Chief of the N.T.'s. Nothing known of him.

12. *N. Yenli*, a School Teacher, ex-Achimotan.

13. *J. A. A. Salaam*, a School Teacher. Has already established contact with me through an intermediary. If he has any influence with his fellow N.T.'s delegates he may swing them in our favour.

14. *Rev. Gaddiel R. Acquah*, Superintendent of the Methodist Church, Cape Coast. He said the opening prayer for us when the U.G.C.C. was inaugurated at Saltpond in August 1947. He believes in the Convention as also in the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society — not inconsistent. He is a translator of the Bible into Fanti — a great scholar of the vernacular and a great Methodist — aged about 60.

15. *E. Akufo Addo*, Working Committee, Convention, one of the "Six".

16. *Asare Adjabeng* — quite unknown in politics, said to be a Native Court Registrar, Sunyani, Ashanti.

17. *Hon. Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye*, M.B.E., Member of the Governor's Executive Council — Very ambitious in his political views, but has managed to keep them out of the limelight — he thinks the time has come for a radical change in our Constitution. Delegate to the African Conference.

18. *Hon. Rev. C. G. Baeta*, B.A., Secretary of the (self-governing) Ewe Presbyterian Church, formerly Bremen Mission, one of the few men of real talent, burning social consciousness to serve the interests of his people (Ewe) and the country without thought of personal gain. I am made to understand that the Roman Catholic Church Meeting and the Methodist Church Synod have decided to pass resolutions supporting the country's demand for self-government, being fed up with the arrogance and incompetence of the political and educational administrators, and I have every reason to believe that the Ewe Presbyterian Church will, in Rev. Baeta, take the same line. The Methodist Church have a direct representative on the Committee in the person of Rev. Gaddiel R. Acquah. Hon. Rev. Baeta who is my close colleague on the Legislative Council is, like myself, a Provincial Member elected by the Chiefs at Dodo-wah. He has represented the Gold Coast in International Missionary Conferences in India and Canada.

19. *K. A. Bossman*, a member of the Accra Town Council. He is one of the leading Barristers in town. He should have been a

founder-member of the Convention but it is said that from his desire to be appointed a Judge he hesitated. In the February and March disturbances he is said to have worked for the Government against the Six Removed Conventionists. He has recently registered himself as a Member of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society, the only political body likely to form an alternative government if the Convention failed to secure a majority at a general election. He is intelligent, and if he should stand by his intellectual and patriotic convictions, would demand self-government as an inevitable answer. He was an opponent of the late Akilakpa Sawyerr at the elections for the Legislative Council in 1946, but failed. Likely opponent against our own Mr. Obetsebi Lamptey at the bye-election taking place some time this month to fill Mr. Sawyerr's place on the Legislative Council.

20. *J. A. Braimah*, Kabachewura, a Paramount Chief in the Northern Territories, nominated by the Governor.

21. *Dr. F. V. Nanka Bruce*, O.B.E., one of the few eminent elder Statesmen in the Gold Coast. Member of the Legislative Council and President of the Accra Rate-payers Association. Proprietor of the *Independent Weekly* newspaper and the *Daily Echo*. He is now chairman of an Accra Committee to consider the Watson Constitutional proposals, a Committee with Akufo Addo, Lamptey and myself (as well as Mr. K. A. Bossman) as members. From our discussions it is clear that he would vote on the Constitution Committee the same way as the Conventionists do. He is slow of action, but once convinced, he supports or puts forward his conviction vigorously and without thought of any personal gain.

22. *Dr. J. B. Danquah*, that is myself.

23. *M. Dowuona*, formerly Master, Achimota College, now Academic Registrar, University College of the Gold Coast. B.A. Oxford. Accra Correspondent of *The Times* of London. Has Convention sympathies, and is close friend of Akufo Addo, who speaks of him as dependable in this constitutional issue.

24. *Rev. C. H. Elliot*, Priest of the English Church for many years in charge of the Cape Coast District, recently appointed to an ecclesiastical office at Achimota — probably his sympathies are Aborigines, but I think we can depend upon his intelligence to vote for self-government.

25. *W. G. Essien*, timber merchant, president of the Axim

Branch of the Convention. Will follow Geo. Grant anywhere, being of the same tribe and of the same Province as Grant, Blay and Kwame Nkrumah, namely the Nzima tribe, Western Province.

26. *J. H. Gambrah*, successor to Hon. B. D. Addai on the Cocoa Marketing Board. Have not met him personally, but from all accounts he is to vote to order as the other Ashanti delegates vote, being Ashanti, and representing Ashanti farmers. Have met him since the draft — appears independent-minded.

27. *George A. Grant*, President of the Convention, its architect and founder. He is consumed with a desire to have it out with the Chiefs and the little District Commissioners for their incompetence in holding up the country's industrial and commercial development.

28. *J. P. Allotey Hammond* is Secretary of the Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society and would vote as Mr. Sekyi and the Society direct.

29. *Cobina Kessie*, Barrister-at-Law, Youth Leader in Kumasi, Ashanti; a fearless opponent of the Asantehene's influence in Ashanti politics — is president of the Kumasi Branch of the Convention and attends Working Committee meetings regularly. A product of the Post-war London, ten years before the Great War. Socialist and student of international politics. Appeared as Council for the Ex-servicemen before the Watson Commission in Kumasi. Trusted by the Ashanti youth.

30. *A. L. K. Minkah*, a member of the Co-operative Federation and is put in to represent the farmers, I think. He will be easy to handle on the Committee to side with the Convention.

31. *Hon. George Moore*, is Municipal Member for Cape Coast, Kyiame or 'linguist' of the Aborigines Society, is reasonable in his views, and if able to attend the meetings after discharge from hospital, may achieve much from his vigorous and fearless views. Follows, but often leads, Sekyi.

32. *Hon. N. A. Ollennu* is a Government nominated Member of the Legislative Council; was a member of the delegation to the African Conference, and appears to believe that there is "communism" in the Gold Coast and it is his duty to stamp it out and bring its ambitious exponents to book. Spoke to that effect at the African Conference.

33. *E. C. Quist*, O.B.E., an elder statesman, a prominent

Barrister, recently appointed as Puisne Judge. Highly intelligent, with a high sense of logical appreciation, has suffered in his political career from a suspicion among the people that he is a yes-man. Recently elected at a bye-election to the Legislative Council, as a Provincial Member. He is likely to support the Convention. His nephew is Mr. Quist-Therson of the Convention.

34. *Magnus J. Sampson*, Secretary of the Joint Provincial Council. He says we are first to have local government and that our self-government must come later; B. A. Durham (Sierra Leone) author of *Gold Coast Men of Affairs*.

35. *Hon. C. W. Tachie Menson*, Municipal Member for Sekondi-Takoradi; Member of the Governor's Executive Council, has suffered much from the people's belief that he is a yes-man. A man of intelligence and effective speaker. Will lean more towards the Chiefs than towards the Convention where the two differ.

36. *W. E. G. Sekyi*, M.A., London, doyen of the Aborigines Society, its present President and leader. Great publicist, barrister-at-law — opponent of any form of Constitution or political society not modelled on the pattern conceived by the Aborigines Society 50 years ago. He believes that the Society is a government or the Government of the Gold Coast. He is reported to have said he has had the ideal constitution for the Gold Coast ready since 1920. He will be bound to ask for full self-government, but he may differ from the Convention as to details, for he appears to believe that the Chiefs and their Councils can be manipulated to confer power on the Executive of the Aborigines Society and thereby the Society would dictate to whatever government is in power. Too logical, but unworkable.

37. *W. W. Taylor*, an Ashanti, said to be a Food Contractor to the Kumasi Town Council.

38. *J. T. N. Yankah*, M.B.E., President of the Gold Coast Teachers Union, Headmaster of the Bishop Boys School, a difficult man, since he has a completely perverted conception of the African's place in the world. He is ready to recommend English as the best medium for mass literacy and for Gold Coast lingua franca, does not believe we have any culture or any language worthy of being cultivated.

*Joint Secretaries:* A. L. Adu, formerly Science Master, Achimota, now one of the three or four African District Commissioners;

W. V. Dickinson, M.B.E., a political officer, a European Joint Secretary.

The Committee is now to be styled the Committee on Constitutional Reform, a grand name. It has not yet been summoned, but it is expected to begin its sittings soon. Sir Gerald Creasy is said to be anxious to see the Committee's report before he goes on leave, I think in March or April. Others in the Secretariat who are not fond of his high socialistic sympathies would like to see the Governor go on leave now — he has done 12 months by January 13, and is entitled to leave. I personally think if the Governor goes away on leave now there are people in the Secretariat who may seek to sabotage the work of the Committee. Sir Gerald is gradually rising into the confidence of the people.

Let me end here for the present; for have I not taken too much of your time already?

Ever Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 2. AMERICAN NEGROES TO TEACH IN OUR SCHOOLS

Ref. 078/CC/49

22nd January, 1949.

J. D. D. A. Dickson, Esq.,  
Wesley Hall Room II,  
Wilberforce University,  
Ohio, U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Dickson,

I have kept your letter of 24th December in my private file ever since its receipt, in the hope to read it again and send a fitting reply, but time is against me and the prospects recede every day. I agree entirely with you that black men from America to teach in our schools appears more promising than white men from anywhere, as there would be more sympathy and therefore more contact. We are embarking on a huge experiment with the Coussey

Committee, which commenced its sittings on 20th January. When we do get our self-government, we shall have to explore all the world for talent, and not only British talent for industry, education, science, etc. We are working hard for our younger and better educated men to carry out the burden of Government of our country. I do hope your choice of American education stands you in good stead. There are advantages in American as in British education, but being British educated I am perhaps prejudiced. Still I am glad to learn that you forgive me for having my own preferences.

Wishing you the best of luck

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

3. "SECRET SERVICE" AND "ASSASSINATION"

Ref. No. 197/CC/49

23rd February, 1949.

The Honourable  
The Colonial Secretary,  
Colonial Secretary's Office,  
Accra.

Sir,

I consider it my duty to bring to the notice of Government two communications which have reached me this month in connection with my membership of the Coussey Committee. The first, dated 1st February, 1949, post marked Accra, reached me at the Coussey Committee on or about the 4th of February, 1949. The second, dated the 18th February, 1949, reached me through the post on the 21st February, 1949. I enclose copies of the two letters for Government's information.

2. My own view is that these letters are quite obviously prompted by certain enemies of the people desirous of creating a situation which might enable the Police to say the country was threatened with a particular kind of danger calling for a particular kind of action.

3. Several clues lead me to this conclusion: First the threat

in the letter of the 1st February to assassinate persons "with all their families" is an idea that could hardly enter the head of a Gold Coast born. A Gold Coast man's "family" is legion. Secondly the cold cruelty and the precision of language of the 1st February letter, with hardly any touch of emotion, also aroused my suspicion.

4. The letter of the 18th February which is obviously written with deliberate intent to prepare the way for a future allegation that it was within my own knowledge that I was taken to be "the master-mind behind, which directs all operations" absolutely confirmed my suspicions that certain enemies of the people had planned these assassination letters so as to enable them to raise false alarms and to implicate innocent persons appearing "dangerous" in their eyes. The suggestion that I am "at the helm of the march to freedom, and all that it implies" is another instance of a deliberate plan to implicate me.

5. The impersonal tone of most parts of this letter is hardly consistent with certain of its artificially induced intimate touches, and I am driven to the inevitable conclusion that an arch-enemy or arch-enemies of the people are at work to create a situation for others, such as the Police and Government, to be misled and urged to take steps with the mischievous and disturbing nature of which we in this country, knowing what took place in February and March, 1948, are all too familiar. It is noteworthy that the two letters, one from "Secret Service Society", the other from "the Gold Coast Assassination Committee" breathe the same spirit and indicate one source.

6. I consider it my duty to bring these facts and suspicions and deductions to the knowledge of Government and to state that in view of the fact that since 1934 my own correspondence has always been subject to close Police scrutiny at the Post Office — as witness the minutes of the Collaboration Committee photostat copy of which was later produced by the Police in Court, — it ought to be easy for Government to secure reliable evidence as to the source of such communications. The usual "hearsay" evidence will be positively dangerous to the national peace, safety and stability.

7. I am aware that other members of the Coussey Committee have received threatening letters, the topic being one of common discussion among members. In order that this country should

be saved from the catastrophe of the Government being again nervously misled by mischievous rumours and false informers to believe in wholly imaginary secret societies, planned acts of violence, communist emissaries or cells, etc. etc., I intend at an early date to disclose my impressions to the general public.

8. I have in the meantime to express the hope that steps would be taken by Government to disclose the results of their investigations in the matter.

9. It is impossible for anyone in the least bit familiar with our Gold Coast character to believe that we are so blatantly capable of such outrageous foreign methods of conducting public affairs. I was struck by the unusually large numbers of Police posted at the entrance and the grounds of the Masonic Hall on the opening day of the Coussey Committee in anticipation probably of imaginary public demonstrations and gate crashers. In contrast, the general public were conspicuous by their absence from the Masonic Hall or its approaches. The dignified public attitude to the Coussey Committee has eventually resulted in the posse of Police being withdrawn. The series of "assassination letters" is inconsistent with that dignity of attitude on the part of the public, and confirms my impression that those letters are otherwise inspired.

10. There appears, however, to be certain foreign elements in the country who may be anxious to create confusion with the obvious purpose of reaping the benefit of again hoisting a bad name upon this Gold Coast in the eyes of the credulous world outside, largely ignorant of our local methods. Against those elements it is my view that the country should be protected by its Government.

I am, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

#### 4. "ANNIVERSARY" RIOT ON FEBRUARY 28

240/CC/49

30th March, 1949

Hon. Michael Foot, M.P.,  
House of Commons,  
London, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Foot,

You may be interested to learn that we are making quite good progress with the Coussey Committee. We have had three sessions and at the beginning of March had to break off for a month because of the estimates session of the Legislative Council which commenced on March 15, and is still on. We hope to complete work in the Select Committee on the Estimates on Friday or Saturday and resume on 5th April.

The Immigration Directive provided us with a brisk and friendly exchange in the Council and I am glad to say that the Attorney General gave way and intimated Government's intention to withdraw the Directive and reissue it. Yesterday, 29th March, during a short session of the Council the Directive was formally laid on the table as requested in my motion, in conformity with the Immigration Ordinance, and we are informed that it will take some time before it is issued in its approved form.

You may be interested in the attached correspondence between myself and Colonial Secretary with reference to certain developments in the Gold Coast. It seems to me some wicked men are at work to mislead the Government as was done last year. In January and February we had quite a panic here with the Police Mobile Force going up and down the country and the business firms rushing to insure their properties and merchandise in the fear that there was going to be a sort of "anniversary" riot on February the 28th. Even the shipping companies were alarmed and a Director of Elder Dempster Lines Limited just arrived from England in February came to see me about the fears of the business community concerning rumoured riots. I readily assured him that but for Imray's shots there could not have been disturbances in February 1948. The Gold Coast character is in part phlegmatic and our

sense of self-respect is too highly dignified to lend itself to common rioting. I am happy to say my hopes were realised and nothing at all happened.

We have lost our Governor Sir Gerald Creasy to illness, but we hope that he recover soon to return to us.

Pace of business and politics is terrific just now.

With my warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 5. SIR SYDNEY ABRAHAM'S SPORTS MISSION

12th April, 1949

The Editor,  
African Morning Post,  
Accra.

Sir,

A gentleman who signs himself as *Thersico* and who describes himself as "a keen sportsman" wrote in your paper on April 12, to say that the intended visit of Sir Sydney Abrahams to the Gold Coast in connection with the suggestion to re-organise our sports, especially in the Athletics field, is a definite waste.

As I am not myself "a keen sportsman", perhaps I am not entitled to speak on the matter. But I happen to know that sportsmanship is one of the keenest things that any proud nation should aim at. There can be no doubt that our people are doing well, as well as they at present can, but it was a sad commentary on our life that Nigeria took part in the last Olympic games and the Gold Coast did not. Actually the Nigerian athletes entered the Olympic games through the generosity of Sir Sydney Abrahams placing the facilities of his own Club at their disposal.

Sir Sydney's interest in the Gold Coast is a genuine one, born of his personal interest in the ability he saw our people display during his stay here. It is said that the Colonial Office is contribu-

ting towards the cost of his passage, but the rest of the expense will be borne by himself. So magnanimous an offer is not the type to scoff at. Self-government is a laudable political objective, but self-government is not an end in itself. Its real end is to make us live better lives, and enjoy ourselves better. A nation without sports must be, like Jack, a dull nation.

I personally welcome most heartily the visit of Sir Sydney, and I know thousands of others do.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 6. GHANA AND THE GOLD COAST

No. 677a/PPC/49

20th July, 1949

The Editor,  
African Morning Post,  
Accra.

Sir,

Mr. Enoch Mensah asks me to furnish some concrete proof justifying the identification of Ghana with the Gold Coast. Probably what he means is an enquiry as to how the people of the Gold Coast could be spoken of as descendants of the ancient empire of Ghana; for at the time the true Ghana existed there was no country called the Gold Coast.

The story is a long one, but perhaps the following will satisfy my old friend and colleague. The Ghana spoken of as having given rise to the present Gold Coast ceased to exist in 1076 A.D. That Ghana which was contemporary with the period when Timbuktu flourished was a different sort of Ghana — Moslem or Mohamedan Ghana. When the true Ghana existed Timbuktu was a village, a caravanserai. It was after the fall of Ghana that Timbuktu rose into prominence.

In 1076 A.D. Abu Bekr ben Omar, of the tribe of Lamtuna,

emir of the Almoravides, founder of Morocco, having received intelligence that the tribe of Gudala had declared war against his own tribe, left the work of building Morocco to his cousin, Yusuf ben Tashufin, and came down south to the Sudan of the Niger.

There, after subduing the Berbers, he turned against the Ghana empire, at the time dwindled into a lesser size, and called a kingdom, and with the help of his fierce and martial people, the Almoravides, (or in Arabic, Al-Morabethun) he conquered King Obeng Kwame and his people of Ghana, including the adjoining Ghana state called Tekru, or Kokro, where certain of the Ashanti tribes, the Aduana and Oyoko of Essumeja, are believed to have come from.

After the conquest and fall of Ghana, Obeng Kwame's nephew Nana Asimen was left behind, but the bulk of the races of Ghana, many and varied, fell down south the Bend of the Niger. Some passed along the Niger to certain countries of Nigeria, and others crossed the great stretch of land to the present Gold Coast and Ivory Coast, as well as Togoland and Dahomey. Eventually, some of the tribes, such as the Gas and Lartehs who had settled first in Nigeria, somewhere within the Bini empire, crossed over to the west and joined their fellow countrymen of Ghana in what is today the Gold Coast.

It will be recalled that when the Portuguese came and asked the King of Edina for the greater king over the country, he referred them to the great empire in the north. But Ghana had ceased to exist in its ancient panoply. It must have taken the peoples of Ghana a considerable period to reach the Gold Coast, fighting the Wangara and Moshi tribes along the route till they reached the Kong mountains and the Volta; some, the Agni and Tyra and Kyan, going to the Ivory Coast, the Bono to North Ashanti, the Fantis breaking away from the Bono to the Coast, whilst the Nta and Ahanta sections settled along the Coast, the Twis proper pressing in against the rest just about the time the Europeans were penetrating the northern parts of the Guinea coast.

It must be noted that the country Ghana was not originally called so, but was called Akana, as is testified from Herodotus who relates that five Nasamonean young men journeyed across the desert and found the Kana kingdom, some four or five hundred

years before the birth of Christ. The form of the name Ghana is an Arabian corruption of Akana which eventually became Guinea.

May I point out finally that I don't accept the suggestion that Ghana was a Fulani kingdom, or that Ghana was founded a thousand years ago. It was older than that. Further, the suggestion that the Ghana which Abderraman ben Abdallah ben Iman ben Amir Es-Sadi speaks of in his book "Taukh es-Soudan" is the Ghana of the ancients, can be accepted by me.

My old friend Mr. Enoch Mensah accuses me of having an incurable contempt for anything Nigerian. That's a pitiful accusation. He probably bases this on the fact that I haven't much time for any other country than Ghana — not until it rehabilitates itself and becomes a great nation as before.

I love and respect Nigeria for its great achievements in art, and for its distinctive Nigerian culture in dress, language, and customs in which we in the Gold Coast are in certain respects, poor.

May I finally say that I was happy to see in the front rank of political thought my old friend Mr. Enoch Mensah who appears to have retired into the dim unknown. I do hope that this appearance by him in respect to Ghana will mean he is staging a comeback, to help us settle present and current political problems in an active way. As to Ghana, the people have accepted it, and so also the outside world, as the true name of the Gold Coast. So why bother?

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH

## 7. COLONIAL PRIME MINISTERS

P.O. Box 15,  
Accra  
20th July, 1949

The Editor,  
Ashanti Pioneer,<sup>1</sup>  
Kumasi.

Sir,

Certain tendencious and highly malicious statements published by George Padmore against me in your paper have created a sensational situation which calls for a sharp and categorical dementie.

The assertion that the Colonial Office is hoping that the new Governor, Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, will be able to use me "to combat the spread of 'communism' and 'extremist nationalism' personified by Mr. Nkrumah and his followers", and that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke is a 'strong proconsul of the order of Sir Shenton Thomas, the man who introduced the obnoxious Sedition Ordinance', can only be sustained on an assumption that I am afraid of 'strong Governors'.

The contrary, of course, is the case. Because I love a fair fight I love strong Governors of the order of Sir Shenton Thomas.

Fifteen years ago, my newspaper, 'The Times of West Africa', the first daily to run for five years on the ticket of self-government, took a lead in attacking the Sedition Bill. I had occasion to publish 'Thirteen Reasons Why Sir Shenton Thomas should Go', and, within two months, Sir Shenton Thomas had gone. He never came back.

Fifteen months ago, on the dreadful night of February 28, 1948, it fell to my lot to draft the cablegram by the Convention for the recall of Sir Gerald Creasy, and to announce to the Colonial Office and the world that we were prepared to take up an interim government, that a Commission should come out, and that a constituent

<sup>1</sup>

This paper was founded by the late J. W. Tsihboe in 1949. It is the first daily paper in Ashanti, and it is now renamed "The Pioneer".

assembly should be called to draft a new constitution for self-government. Some of these strong demands have been met and some are being met in one way or the other.

If Sir Charles Arden-Clarke is so strong as Sir Shenton Thomas, or Sir Gerald Creasy, or stronger than either, let him come. The motto of "The Times of West Africa" was 'Keep fighting; there's more beyond'. I think there's some fight still left in the old bones.

That George Padmore had a malicious motive in suggesting that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke was being briefed to come over and 'use' me is obvious from the fact that he did not choose any of his friends in the Gold Coast for his venom but chose to suggest that I was half-brother of the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta who, according to Padmore, was 'exploited' by the former Governor Sir Gordon Guggisberg. If the late Sir Ofori was exploited by Governors, why couldn't the strong proconsul Sir Shenton Thomas exploit him for the Sedition Bill? It was Sir Ofori Atta who led the Gold Coast and Ashanti delegation to England, a mission the outcome of which gave all West Africa that telling display of determination and courage in the face of dire adversity: 'I am disappointed but not discouraged', said Sir Ofori Atta.

George Padmore makes capital of *The Times'* description of Mr. Kwame Nkrumah as having come into the open 'as the enemy of responsible African leadership'. He pitches Mr. Nkrumah and his followers, whom he describes as 'extremist nationalists', against the remaining members of the Convention who are painted by Padmore with the apparent homely political colour of 'moderates'.

I am myself depicted by Padmore in one section of his article as having changed from an intransigent nationalist to a 'Conservative, Conservative almost to the point of reaction'. True, he quotes from 'WEST AFRICA', that I believed in democracy for the Gold Coast, 'but a democracy guided and led by the Chiefs'.

Political labels are often catch-penny tags.

But a more malicious and utterly strange and ludicrous suggestion is advanced by George Padmore in his effort to say that I am so loved by the Colonial Office that my name is being put forward as an alternate delegate to represent the Colonial Office at the next session of the United Nations Trusteeship Committee in

place of the Honourable Grantley Adams, Prime Minister of Barbados.

That George Padmore sought to create prejudice against me by suggesting in this connection that I would, in that case, be assigned the job to reply to any criticism made against British administration in Togoland in opposition to my much respected friend and colleague Mr. Sylvanus Olympio of the Eweland Unity Movement, is all too patent to need comment.

To my many friends in the Gold Coast, George Padmore must be acknowledged to have spoiled his 'sweet' story by sweetening it too much with the suggestion that I would work together with the former Governor, Sir Alan Burns, on the Trusteeship Council, if I became 'Prime Minister' under the new constitution and was called upon to represent the Government of a semi-dominion Gold Coast at future sessions of the United Nations at Lake Success, New York.

Colonial Prime Ministers are not made by the Secretary of State, but by the people. But in any case, could I ever at Lake Success in New York work with Sir Alan Burns who, together with his Police inventions, smudged my native State of Akim Abuakwa with mud? Could Sir Alan Burns ever work with me, who, when he met me by accident at the Euston Station, London, on the arrival of the Gold Coast Delegation to the African Conference, quickly withdrew his proffered hand and refused to shake hands with me because, as he said, I had 'ruined' him? (Meaning that 'window-dressing' business and the Watson Commission's discovery of a two-years old out-moded constitution! But despite Sir Alan's protest, I did take his hand, and pass on, as Mr. Tachie-Menson witnessed).

I say categorically that I have never been offered, nor approached, nor hinted by any Government or any representative of the British Government here or in the United Kingdom that they have a UNO job waiting on the ice for me.

And if they intend to make any such offer, I may just as well tell them, here and now, that I am utterly uninterested. From my youth I determined to see this Ghana a nation, and Ghana it must be first, last and all the time. Inter-national or inter-colonial politics only appeal to me because it is a common struggle against a common objective, — Liberty, Property, and Equality.

Padmore himself must know this, and perhaps my brand of colonial nationalism just breaks his heart. I could have joined him and Nkrumah at the Pan-African Congress in Manchester during the war, but I didn't. I could have held constant communications with him and Nkrumah in the West African Secretariat, but I haven't the energy to spare for extra Gold Coast duties. If Padmore is disgusted with me in consequence, let him kick his heels. I can ill spare the time for any kind of — isms, except one — Ghanaism.

I first met George Padmore about 18 years ago when he came to see me at Juaben House, and introduced himself as Mr. Nurse, a West Indian on travelling scholarship to Nigeria. Two or three years later when I went to England I discovered that Mr. Nurse was known in certain circles as George Padmore, perhaps his pen-name.

One of Padmore's penchants is to affect the communistic approach to the colonial question. But that approach is not accepted by me nor by any of my associates in the Convention. No wonder therefore that, with a new constitution looming large upon our Gold Coast horizon for Self-Government, Padmore should, from the most obvious motives, wish to attach tags to some of us. But, as I said, I am not having any of his — isms.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH



NOTE

George Padmore, who has since died, was Nkrumah's closest friend and Adviser on African Affairs. It was he who fanned the flame of disunity in the Convention, at a time when it was known that Nkrumah was actively dissatisfied with the conditions under which he had been placed by his colleagues, and that he was preparing the ground for a split within the Convention.

8. APPOINTMENT OF A PRIME MINISTER

Ref. No. 702/UC/49 3rd August, 1949.

Kobina Nortey Ocran, Esq.,  
Mfuom Road,  
Dunkwa-On-Offin.

Dear Mr. Ocran,

Your letter of the 27th July has reached me. I am not aware of any appointment of me as Prime Minister Designate. As you must be aware, only the people can appoint a Prime Minister, and I know what will happen when the time comes for appointing a Prime Minister. They will choose a man after their own heart.

As to what happened at the African Conference I enclose a copy of my pamphlet "Friendship and Empire" for your reading. Should you want more copies for your friends please send cash less 15% commission on the number you order. Only few copies are left.

I note that you believe that I have been struggling against the country's demand for self-government. In this you have got the thing all wrong. I should like to know upon what evidence you base your belief.

As for the gods of Ghana, you must be aware that I hold them in great reverence. It was they who have until this day led and guided me to discover Ghana and present her old glory for our emulation. As a Ghanaian let me pray with you for the early restoration of our lost liberties.

Your reference to Miss Elizabeth Vardon, a lady of Sekondi, is in bad taste. She was sent to England by her mother, not by me.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 9 LOOK AROUND YOU

10th August, 1949.

Kwesi Plange,<sup>1</sup> Esq.,  
Ghana National College,  
P.O. Box 161,  
Cape Coast.

Dear Mr. Plange,

I was delighted to have your letter of the 6th August, and would gladly have answered your queries as a result of a genuine desire on your part for information, but there are certain paragraphs in the letter which show that your mind is made up even without first having heard from me, or read my books, or sought to understand me. I am curious to learn that my words are not plain to the man in the street, but I have no doubt that the results never have been in doubt. Only people don't believe their own eyes or their own ears when they see or hear, for their minds are attuned to other emotional elements and my element is far from emotional.

Now, the reason why I consider your letter difficult to treat as genuinely seeking for evidence before I am judged is that you confess yourself to have come to realize that, although I am a very useful instrument in the Politics of the Gold Coast, when allowed too much rope I might ruin the country. You even go on to say that I had opportunities which if I had aptly used, "Gold Coast would have been free today". One, say a visitor from Mars, would naturally ask, "who allowed me the rope" for these 22 (not 25) years that I have been in the thick of national politics, and why did I not ruin the country in those years? And again, who gave me those opportunities to make the Gold Coast free and I did not make her free? I really don't know whether I am making myself clear, or whether I am still speaking the language which those men "in the street", as you say, do not understand.

I am myself not a little puzzled by your letter. It is addressed from the Ghana National College<sup>2</sup>, and I conclude from it that

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<sup>1</sup> The first C.P.P. member to be elected as municipal member for Cape Coast to the Legislative Council in June 1950.

<sup>2</sup> The first school established by Kwame Nkrumah in Cape Coast in 1948.

you are probably either a Master or teacher there — someone on the staff, or you are a student. The cause of puzzle is this: you state categorically that the value of the whole material I have to offer is obscured by my serving on all Government Committees and Boards. And, Sir, let me ask you, seriously, why do you make such a statement? I give you two minutes to think it over before I tell you what is wrong with it, and what is wrong with quite a lot of things pressing on today — I mean what you refer to as “the scintillating ‘nonsensical’ trash published in the columns of the local press”.

Do you know, I have quite recently discovered that all that trash is genuinely believed in by quite a lot of people. I am, to tell you a secret, terribly worried by that realization. Why don't we weigh words, whether in print or in speech, before we begin to believe in them?

Take for instance, your statement above that I am on all Government Committees and Boards!! Who told you that? And did you check it up? Or did you even stop for a second to analyse it before believing in it? I can myself count about four Government Committees! Do you know how many Government Committees and Boards there are?

Not off hand, I warrant you, but you could find out if you wished, and you must wish it because yours must be a trained mind, and a trained mind, like one who minds a train, must act precisely, accurately, and correctly, or soon there will be a crash!

Correct thinking is the treasure of the philosopher. Words, it is said, are wise men's counters. It is easy enough to win the man in the street in half an hour by a thrashy kind of “scintillating nonsense”, but my desire is to talk sense, and that means thinking, and thinking, of all the exercises, is the hardest of all.

Regarding my biography, or what is my “concrete contribution to the progress of this country for the past 25 years”, the only answer I can give is “look around you”. I am not myself satisfied with it, but if I were to die today instead of in 20 years' time, I know that Ghana at least would live and live for ever.

Yours in Ghana's name,

J. B. DANQUAH.

10. NON-CONFIDENCE VOTE IN CONVENTION  
LEADERS

No. 718/UC/49

12th August, 1949.

CIRCULAR TO ALL CONVENTION CHAIRMEN  
IN THE EASTERN REGION

Dear Sir,

It has come to my notice that you were among those who appended their signatures to the resolution which Mr. Dennis of Mangoase presented to the President at the Delegates Conference at Hammond Hall on Monday, August 1, 1949. I have no doubt that you must have done so in the honest belief that it was for the good of the Gold Coast that you should participate in an act of indiscipline against the authority of the Convention.

2. As you are aware, Nana Tekyimanhene and Nana Abeadzihene, who are not members of the Convention, but who represent the independent and elderly voice of the country, condemned the resolution as improper, and Mr. Dennis had to withdraw it by his open declaration at the meeting supported by six other persons representing those who had signed that document.

3. I am aware that Mr. Dennis specifically said he would not withdraw that part of the resolution which expressed non-confidence in the ex-Working Committee, but that was unnecessary, since those men had resigned and were not in fact in power at the Conference.

4. As you are aware, not one of the ex-Working Committee members spoke as such at the Conference. Mr. R. S. Blay (Western Region), Mr. Cobina Kessie (Ashanti Region) Tufuhin Korsah (Central Region), and myself (Eastern Region) sat with the President in our capacities as Vice-Presidents of the Regions, but not as Working Committee members. When we resigned as members of the Working Committee, Mr. Grant did not resign as President, nor did any of us resign as Vice-President. This simple fact of the constitution, ignored by many people, has led them to the wrong conclusion that the ex-Working Committee were "in power" at the Conference. It is not true.

5. I sincerely trust that you have given an opportunity to your Branch to read the President's statement to the Press which appeared in most of the newspapers on August 9 and 10. The facts as set down there cannot be challenged in any quarter. I desire therefore to direct the attention of your members to the same, so that each and everyone should judge the truth of it for himself.

6. Some branches are reported to have "dissolved" the U.G.C.C. and joined the C.P.P. I personally believe that political education in truth and justice is more important than our present emotional feelings. I believe that the C.P.P. having, by the act of its founder, ceased to exist, those who join it, without seeing first to nullify the signature of its founder under the arbitration award, are getting that wrong kind of political education which is destructive of a disciplined democratic advance. There is nothing to prevent those who were formerly members of the C.P.P. forming their own new party, under any name they choose, but it is bad for our country's political morals for a signature of a leader to be so blatantly dishonoured by his followers.

7. We of the original Convention welcome those who in their heart of hearts are determined to see that truth and justice should reign. We believe that the U.G.C.C. shall grow, not upon another's shoulders, but upon its own deeply founded roots, its impregnable stem, and its strong branches. If there are certain twigs and outgrowths that desire to lop themselves off, we prefer that to retaining any dead or decaying leaves on the genuine Convention tree. We would rather have the Convention pure than putrefied.

8. For these reasons, I address this letter to you to give you and your Branch in the Eastern Region an opportunity of informing me whether in view of the withdrawal by Mr. Dennis of the resolution against Mr. George Alfred Grant, the Moses of our Gold Coast liberation, your Branch desires me to inform the President that your Branch, as a member of the Eastern Regional Council, regrets that such a resolution was passed in its name against the National President.

9. It is my duty as Regional President to protect our integrity in the Convention and I should be happy to have your

considered reply to this very serious question of fidelity and discipline.

Yours in the service of Ghana,

J. B. DANQUAH  
VICE-PRESIDENT

Eastern Region, United Gold Coast  
Convention.

N.B.

Pa Grant says: —

“Don't play with our two weapons — the weapon of Unity and the weapon of Surprise”.

## 11 RESIGNATION OF KWAME NKRUMAH FROM THE CONVENTION

Ref. No. 760/UC/49

31st August, 1949

Tetteh Narnor, Esq.,

Nuaso,

Manya Krobo.

Dear Mr. Narnor,

I am informed that you are the President of the Manya Krobo branch of the United Gold Coast Convention and that you intend to hold a meeting of the Krobo members of the Convention at Asewewa early in the afternoon of the 7th of September, 1949.

I should be very grateful if you would provide a place for me and a few others from Accra, Koforidua and Larteh, on your Agenda for us to address your members and to tell them of the policy of the United Gold Coast Convention and of the progress of the Convention since the Delegates Conference at Saltpond.

As you are probably aware, there has been a very intensified campaign in two of the Accra newspapers to create an impression that many branches have “dissolved” the Convention in their towns. We have checked up many of these telegrams to the Press,

and we find that, with exception of a few, they are questionable, and would appear to have been sent without authority of the local branch of its executive.

We of the Convention are not really perturbed by the present position. We realise that, upon the resignation of Mr. Nkrumah from the post of General Secretary, certain of his personal adherents would seek to maintain their hold upon the country by all sorts of subterfuges. You will notice that in so far as Mr. Nkrumah himself is concerned, he has declared at Akuse and at other places that there was a united front in the rank and file of the United Gold Coast Convention.

That is, in fact, the position in the Executive Council, and you may have noticed that apart from Mr. Nkrumah, the only member of the Working Committee who has resigned his membership of the Convention is Mr. J. W. Tsiboe. It is significant that when he resigned, he did not join the C.P.P.

However, it cannot be denied that considerable confusion has been created in the minds of certain patriots in the country by the false reports and false interpretation placed on the present situation by certain interested persons, and we are taking steps to counteract the evil effects of such propaganda.

Kindly confirm by telegram the meeting for the 7th of September and the hour of the meeting. We want to help you to make your meeting a great success.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 12 NKRUMAH BELONGS TO A DIFFERENT WORLD

Ref. No. 788/UC/49

13th September, 1949.

E. Kwesi Endoh, Esq.,  
D.563/5 Kofi Eku Street,  
Accra.

Dear Mr. Endoh,

Thanks for your letter of the 5th August, 1949, post-marked 9th September, 1949. Apparently it was written without reference

to your calendar, but that is a small error which often happens to all of us.

I like your frankness. You think I am like my late brother<sup>1</sup>, and that I pose like a Lord. You are entitled to your opinion. You do not seem to like the idea of my trying to keep out of debt and disease so that I should live long, and keep good health and serve my country and people longer. You are welcome to your likes and dislikes. I wish you knew what I have suffered, what I have lost, what I have missed in life before my present position was reached.

There is no need to draw comparison between Mr. Kwame Nkrumah and myself. He belongs to a world entirely different from mine — the C.P.P.; world, my world is the U.G.C.C. If you don't like the U.G.C.C. world, you are not invited by any one to enter it. If you like it, please don't hesitate to enter its portals.

You ask me how much I pay my clerks? I assure you, I pay them as well as any one. You ask me when do I pay them? I pay them punctually at the end of the month or on the 1st or 2nd. There have been times that I had to borrow money to enable me to pay my clerks, for I would rather starve than see my clerks unpaid.

Call at my office one day — if you like incognito — and see what goes on. You will, I am quite sure, be amazed, to see the hive of work and most of it political! Have you ever seen me take public money and put it into my pocket? Have you ever seen me collect gate fees at a lecture and put it into my pocket? Did you ever see me appeal for funds to run my newspaper *The Times of West Africa*, or to buy a car, or to help me in my case in Court?

Finally, I assure you I have no agent at Adabraka. Please try and learn how to think well of other people. If you don't understand some one's politics, do not think thereby that he is no good and that you are good.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

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1. Sir Ofori Atta I, the late Omanhene of Akim Abuakwa.

Ref. No. 795/UC/49 15th September, 1949

J. K. Dadson, Esq.,

P.O. Box 190,

Takoradi.

Dear Mr. Dadson,

I am grateful for your letter of the 10th September, 1949 and for the sentiments expressed in the same.

Much as I would like to take your suggestion to "affiliate the C.P.P. into the U.G.C.C. movement", I exceedingly regret to have to say that the power is not in my hands, nor in the hands of the Executive Council of the U.G.C.C.

As you are well aware, upon the arbitration by the two Chiefs at Saltpond, Mr. Grant, on behalf of the Convention, agreed to re-employ Mr. Kwame Nkrumah as General Secretary, and for the C.P.P. to cease to exist as unnecessary off-shoot of the Convention.

Mr. Nkrumah, founder of the C.P.P., agreed to this award, signed the same, took the drink upon the same according to native custom, and accepted office as General Secretary from about 10 o'clock till 3.30 o'clock. You are aware that all would have gone on smoothly if Mr. Nkrumah at this point had not been compelled by certain of his followers to resign his appointment as General Secretary and his membership of the Convention from fear that his life was in danger.

As Mr. Nkrumah has now ceased to be a member of the Convention, none of us has any right to call upon him to obey the rules and bye laws of the Convention and the question of unity does not therefore arise.

I can assure you that, if at any time Mr. Nkrumah shows a desire to re-enter the folds of the Convention, he will receive as much welcome as any other person applying for membership.

I note your remark that you fail to comprehend how I cannot "fall in with the aspirations of a majority of the masses". I am afraid you have rather reversed the position. The truth is that by establishing the Convention we have succeeded to make the masses

fall in with our aspirations for self-government. We have pledged ourselves to secure this for the country within the shortest possible time, constitutionally. But certain of the masses who accept the C.P.P. doctrine believe that they can take self-government "now", by positive action. It does not occur to them that "now", as a portion of time, may be longer than the shortest" possible time e.g. two seconds.

I do not believe in the soundness or reasonableness of the C.P.P. doctrine that by positive action of the type usually paraded in their newspapers and on their platforms it will be possible for the Gold Coast to win the sympathy of international opinion, by which I mean, in particular, the U.N.O. and the U.S.A., so as to compel the British to yield to our demands.

However, I am constantly keeping my eyes open on the party situation, and I will not fail to take advantage of any opportunity for members of the C.P.P. to be won over completely. The recognition of the U.G.C.C. policy as the soundest, most constitutional and most reasonable for the people of this country, both young and old, to follow is not doubted in any intelligent circle, and anything hotter than what is awful is beyond my acceptance.

I must add that I do not accept the C.P.P. doctrine that the masses are to lead the leaders, or that the leaders are to follow the masses. That policy is suicidal, and it is not in good taste for me to advise the Gold Coast people to commit political suicide.

With regard to my proposal for a National Bank, I hope it will soon be possible for the matter to be raised again on the public platform.

Thanking you for your letter,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

14 NIGERIAN DELEGATES TO THE AFRICAN  
CONFERENCE

916/UC/49

26th September, 1949.

Charles Onyeama, Esq.,  
Barrister-at-Law,  
1 Church Road,  
P.O. Box 2,  
Enugu, Nigeria.

My dear Onyeama,

Don't I remember you? I think of all the Nigerian delegates, you are the only member besides Ogunbinyi whose name and personality abide with me vividly.

I am afraid the Coussey Committee Report is not quite ready for the public, and I have not got a copy to spare. You can take it from me that the Convention members on the Committee put forward the country's case at its strongest. When I talk of self-government I mean self-government — not self — and other — government. What the Secretary of State will say to that is another matter.

*The Daily Echo* of to-day carries a report of a Cabinet for Nigeria with eight Ministers, and also Regional Governors and a Governor-General. It does not look bad, but I am not so sure. I would not like to see Regional Councils in the Gold Coast, but it seems some people would.

As regards the Convention and Nkrumah, all I can say is that Mr. Nkrumah is not now a member of the United Gold Coast Convention, nor is his Convention People's Party affiliated to or connected in any way or form with the United Gold Coast Convention. The position now is that Mr. Nkrumah has succeeded to win the acclamation of the general populace, particularly the young, but the United Gold Coast Convention still has the confidence of the rest of the solid intelligentsia, and also of the Chiefs.

I shall pass on your greetings to Nana Tsibu Darku.

I regret that I have no copy of the publication that appeared in the *Observer* on "Stinking Socks". I am sending you, instead, 20

copies of my pamphlet "Friendship and Empire"<sup>1</sup>, and I shall be grateful if you will distribute them to the Nigerian members of the African Conference and to other friends.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

15 WE HAVE SOLID BACKING

Ref. 91/UC/49

26th September, 1949.

Master Jones Oppong,  
Methodist School,  
Oyoko-Koforidua.

Dear Oppong,

I thank you very much for your letter of the 19th September, and for the happy and encouraging things you say about my work to assist our country to become self-governed. I can assure you that despite all the hard and unkind things other people say about me and my colleagues, I am determined to push on with the work upon which I have set my heart.

It is in fact the case that those who are against me make more noise than those who are for us, and I am quite sure that we have the solid backing of the intelligentsia of the country, both young and old, behind us. I am really delighted to learn that you are now in Standard V, and I congratulate you on your ability to write such good English.

As an appreciation of your ability to write so well and to think so clearly, I send you a sum of 10/6d to buy a fountain pen for yourself.

Wishing you good luck and success in your educational and future career.

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

<sup>1</sup> A pamphlet written by Dr. J. B. Danquah on the African Conference held in 1948, and published by the Fabian Colonial Bureau.

No. 953/UC/49

6th October, 1949.

Master Emmanuel K. N. Adjei,  
Methodist Senior School,  
Koforidua.

Dear Adjei,

Thank you for your nice letter of the 4th October, 1949. I am glad to learn that you are interested in the present political struggle, but I would advise you to leave politics alone for the present and concentrate upon your school work. I am quite sure any amount of political knowledge will be passed on to you by your school teachers.

I note that you state that you read in the *Express* that I had said "Self-government was in my pocket". That is not exactly what I said. It was on June 15, 1949, when speaking at the Palladium the hooligans were hooting so much and I said that they seemed to be so annoyed with me that if even I said I had self-government in my pocket, they would still be annoyed with me.

I wish to advise you in future to examine what you read carefully, for the newspapers do not always state the correct facts.

I am glad to learn you are in Standard 5, and I hope you will make progress in your studies.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

### 17 GOEBBELIAN PROPAGANDA

Ref. No. 00/UC/49

19th October, 1949.

The Editor,  
Accra Evening News,<sup>1</sup>  
Accra.

Sir,

My attention has been directed to a paragraph in your "Accra Diary", issue of October 17, 1949, in which your columnist, Rambler, accuses "certain group of people" of using Goebbelian

1. The first daily newspaper established by Kwame Nkrumah in 1948.

Propaganda in the report of their public meetings at Kumasi, Obuasi "and lately at Cape Coast".

There is, on the face of it, no doubt whatever that you refer to reports of recent public meetings held by U.G.C.C. leaders at Kumasi, Obuasi and Cape Coast. Your suggestion is that we use Goebbelian methods and paint rosy pictures of what happened at such meetings. You state that when disowned by the public and hooted at, we had not the courage "to tell the truth or keep silent over it". You assert categorically that the true news unfortunately (?) reaches the public, "and of course, every one gets to know that it's Goebbelian propaganda method that is being employed to deceive the public".

All this, of course, is in the tradition of the sort of things the "Accra Evening News" has been writing for a long time against U.G.C.C. leaders — malicious and defamatory libels which we preferred not to take notice of. Libels, like labels, have two l's — they tell on both sides eventually.

On this occasion, too, I would have ignored your Rambler's remarks but for his invitation to "any of the people concerned" to explain a certain incident to the public. I do so readily because it involves the name of a great gentleman at Cape Coast.

It is alleged by Rambler that whilst two of the Convention leaders had "taken refuge" in the gentleman's house, that gentleman, who is described by Rambler as "a great political opponent" of one of the Convention leaders, "was busy castigating some one outside".

These statements are all questionable. Mr. Ofori Atta and I, passing the street in a car, saw the gentleman in question standing on the main outside steps to his house. We stopped our car at a distance from the house and went back to pay our respects to him. He received us in a warm and hilarious spirit and told his younger brother to take us upstairs. A few minutes later, the gentleman in question who had been watching the No. 1 Asafo Company's drumming and dancing and singing in the street, came up with his younger brother and went into another room.

Mr. Ofori Atta and myself, after waiting for a while for our host went into this other room and saw him. His younger brother and some two or three women were with him. We said goodbye and left.

The suggestion by Rambler that we left the gentleman's house surreptitiously is malicious and untrue. The suggestion that the gentleman in question went outside and whipped some one whilst we were in his house is unworthy and, as far as I know, untrue. He was in cloth at the time, dressed, I believe, as an Asafo Company Captain, for he held a cow-hide whip in his hand.

As regards Rambler's suggestion that reports of our meetings have been doctored in the manner of the Nazi Goebbels because, as alleged, we wanted to "deceive" the public about the hootings, let me assure him that it little hurts me when I am hooted at. Could I be scared by hooting, I would have stopped my public appearances since the Palladium meeting of June 15 when I had the biggest hooting in my political life.

Last week I was told that Sekondi was the stronghold of the hooters and I should not go there. I went there. Some hooters hooted at me and my colleagues. Even one of the hooters threw a stone from outside the meeting place to the meeting hall hitting an innocent member in the audience. I was speaking at the time and I saw it.

Likewise at Cape Coast we were hooted at, not, however, inside the Town Hall, as some newspapers reported, but outside it. Some hooters, about 10 of them, got up from their seats and hooted as soon as they got outside. The meeting was still going on. As we went out and walked towards our cars, and also as we drove away, many more hooted.

I noticed one young mullatto boy in particular, a mere child of about 9 years of age, with a fine profile and a nice smile. He was well dressed in khaki shirt and shorts with self-braces, evidence that he came from a neat and well-to-do home.

As I left the driver in front of the Town Hall, this little boy stood behind my car at a distance, stretched out his hand and, smiling, shouted at the top of his little voice: "*Hoo, hoo, Danquah, wo na ewi*" meaning "Boo, boo! Danquah, your mother is a thief." (My mother died about 14 years ago).

I need hardly say I felt greatly sorry, not for myself, nor even so much for the boy, but for his innocent parents at home. A poisoned seed has been sown in this little child's mind and it has ruined it, and it is going to poison his life and waste all his parents' precious energy and money on him.

At Kumasi at the Grand Hotel we were not hooted at, although there was animated discussion of our speeches. Krobo Edusei would bear me out, for he came to the yard and argued with some people but I do not think he saw any hooters there. I did not. (I do not suggest, however, that there are no hooters in Kumasi. There are, but not so many as in Sekondi and Cape Coast. I was once hooted at outside the Kumasi Junior School as I drove away after a talk.)

At Obuasi we were hooted at but not, as the *Ashanti Pioneer* reported, inside the Cloth Hall where the meeting was held, but outside it and after close of the meeting.

Just as we were driving away in our cars, a bunch of mine workers standing by hooted. Among them and taking a lead was a tall fair coloured young man of about 20. I stopped my driver and beckoned to the tall boy to come and tell me why he hooted. But the last I saw of him were his heels. He ran like hell from the place just because I beckoned to him. Probably he thought I wanted to seize him and bundle him into my car.

The suggestion that we try to cover up the fact that there are hooters in this country, that they live up to their habit and hoot at us whenever they can, is absurd. I love hooting just as I love dancing, though I neither dance nor hoot except once at the Palladium when I hooted back at the crowd through the mike.

I have known that Gold Coast youths are, at bottom, quite sensible and decent chaps. They are not wicked or violent at heart, and, until quite recently, they did not, as a rule, throw rotten eggs at speakers as we have been told that other people, who are boorish in character, do in their own countries.

Boorishness is foreign to the Gold Coast mind. This hooting is going to die down as soon as the hooters are told plainly that it is not decent but boorish — unGold Coast — to be a hooter.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

P.O. Box 15,  
Accra, Gold Coast,  
24th October, 1949.

The Editor,  
Ashanti Pioneer,  
Kumasi.

Sir,

With reference to your editorial of October 21 in which you express wonder why I had been "so late in either realising, or expressing disappointment over, the deplorable state of this country's economies", with particular reference to the establishment of a national bank, I would direct your attention to the following banner headlines which, a year ago, appeared in the front page of one of our great national dailies:

"GOLD COAST TO GET NATIONAL BANK: TWO-THIRDS OF PROPOSED CAPITAL OF £7,000,000 TO BE PROVIDED BY FARMERS' ACCUMULATED PROFITS, SUGGESTS DR. J. B. DANQUAH".

This, together with an interesting news item appeared in the said newspaper on May 12, 1948, and the said newspaper was this very paper, the *Ashanti Pioneer*.

It is therefore strange that you should seek to suggest that it was only after some one else had given a lecture on the Companies Ordinance in Kumasi, and only after that lecture had been published in your paper on May 31, June 1 and June 2 that I had realised, or expressed disappointment over, the deplorable state of the country's economies.

Perhaps you will accord to me the advantage of expressing my wonder also why your leader writer happens to be unaware of the golden days of the *Times of West Africa* when, during the 30's, this very issue was placed in the forefront of the country's campaign for urgent reforms and I, as its editor, sponsored that campaign courageously, even as now. The prevalent idea in some quarters that the gigantic struggle for this country's liberation started only when they themselves got lately into politics is de-

plorable and shows a meanness of spirit towards the pioneers and heroes who are dead and gone.

As regards section 5 of the Companies Ordinance, the evils of which you seem to suggest that you and your lecturer were the first to spot five months ago, I may mention that as far back as March 12, 1947 — over two years ago — I submitted to the Elected Members Committee of the Legislative Council a draft Bill entitled “An Ordinance to amend the Companies Ordinance, 1947” which sought to amend section 5 of the Ordinance so as to make it possible for Africans in this country to establish banks. On the advice of an eminent barrister, now a District Magistrate, I included a clause for amendment of section 4 of the Ordinance so as to make it possible for private limited liability companies to be established in this country.

After six months of unaccountable difficulties in getting the Companies Ordinance amended, I hit upon the idea of circumventing the obstacles by proposing the establishment of a national bank in a draft Bill which sought to empower the Registrar of Companies, at the instance of the Cocoa Marketing Board, to register such a bank despite the existence of section 5 of the Companies Ordinance.

On the 3rd of January, 1948, the National Bank Bill was submitted to the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board which was to find its capital of £7m, and on the 6th of May, 1948 — in the hectic days of the Watson Commission and Mr. Dingle Foot — the National Bank Bill passed through the Elected Members Committee with a recommendation that it be referred to the Joint Provincial Council and the Ashanti Confederacy Council for their approval before its introduction in the Legislative Council.

The approval of the J.P.C. reached me only this month. The approval of the A.C.C. was intimated to me verbally last year.

As you may know, the draft of the bill entitled “The Gold Coast Bank Ordinance, 1948” was published in full in the *West African Monitor* of May 18, 1948. A copy of the same was sent to the editors of all our Newspapers, including the *Ashanti Pioneer*. I enclose a copy of the 1947 Bill for amending the Companies Ordinances for publication. I do hope you give it your unstinted support.

Those of your readers who were interested in politics in the

early 40's may recall the right royal battle between that charming writer and scholar, 'Candide', and that quiet thinker who styled himself 'Fara Abrahams' in the columns of the *Gold Coast Observer* on this very subject, namely whether our economic emancipation should be first or our political freedom, or whether both should come together.

That battle is now over, and let us go forward together and, counting our blessings, persuade the Government to bring forth the two twins — identical, not 'Siamese' — in one birth, and in the shortest possible time.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 19 THE COUSSEY RECOMMENDATIONS

1046/CC/49

3rd November, 1949

V. O. Hutchinson, Esq.,  
20 Addiscombe Grove,  
East Croydon.

My dear Hutchinson,

Sincere thanks for your letter of the 28th October and for the newspaper cuttings from *The Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Express*. I note that arrangements are being made at Trafalgar Square for a demonstration against the majority report by all the West African students.

Opinion here seems to find favour with the minimum that has been granted by the Secretary of State in the hope that within five years or less the remaining portions of power will be transferred to us.

The observations of the Secretary of State on the appointment and the responsibility of the Executive Council are giving us considerable trouble, and I believe when the Legislative Council assembles in December, the matter will be carefully discussed. It is also felt that the Government's acceptance of the minority view in regard to the question of two chambers or one chamber has

not been fair, in view of the fact that there is really a great demand in the country for a separate House for the Chiefs to avoid any open clash between the Chiefs and the commons, if the former are made to sit on the common's bench. The Chiefs will lose their dignity if compelled to mix up in the rough and tumble of debate in the lower house.

The question of ex-officio members is also one of contention, and we sincerely trust that the other leaders in the country will agree with the Convention to have the entire Board of Ministers composed of elected members.

The weight of public opinion in the Press and on the platform may determine what would be actually accepted by the Legislative Council; but, so far as I can see, opinion seems to be hardening in favour of the acceptance of three ex-officio members so as to make the passage from semi-dominion status to full dominion status as smooth as possible.

The Executive Council has summoned a Conference for the 19th of November when the final decision of delegates of the United Gold Coast Convention will be known. In the meantime, the discussion in the Press goes on. The C.P.P. have published their acceptance of the Coussey recommendations with one ex-officio member for Defence, not three. They accept also the veto and reserve powers for the Governor. They appear to be making use of the opportune occasion.

Wishing you the best of luck,

Yours very sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

1042/CC/49

3rd November, 1949

*Strictly  
Confidential*

The Secretary,  
Convention People's Party,  
Accra.

Sir,

I have read your Party's declaration of attitude towards the constitutional proposals with interest, and I note that a great many of the Coussey proposals are accepted by your Executive. It has come to me, however, with great surprise that your Party which, like all other political groups, is against "the retention and development" of the present political setup of Chief Commissioners, Senior District Commissioners, Assistant District Commissioners, and Cadets, has accepted the proposal to retain these and even to continue to develop them.

I am aware that the term "Regional Administration" is used in the Report in place of the more offensive term "Political Administration", but, if you look at paragraph 14 of H.M. Government's Statement, you will see how happy the Secretary of State is that the "Regional Administrations" are retained by the Coussey proposals.

Apart altogether from the supreme and obvious consequence that the retention and development of Regional Administrations must mean a double or even triple increase in the present strength of District Commissioners, I would like your Executive to consider whether it is going to be practicable for Ministerial Government to influence the direction of policy in the rural areas and in the country generally, if these political agents of the old colonial system are to be retained in the provinces to intercept the ministerial direction of Government and serve as a clog on the activity of the new Central Government. The terrible delays and the inevitable miscarriages of ministerial direction will be enormous, and I fear that the new Government will constantly come up against factors that will sabotage its work.

There are to be, in addition to Regional Administrations, Regional Councils which are supposed to act as "advisers" to the Regional Administrations, but the Chief Commissioner, Chief Executive Officer of the Region, is not made a member of the Regional Council, although he is made Head of the Regional Executive of five members.

Who are these five members? Will they be Chiefs or non-Chiefs, and will they be Ministers?

Do we intend to have a 'unitary' Government in the Gold Coast, or do we really think that Gold Coast, with its population and size one-quarter that of Nigeria, can sustain four Federal Governments in addition to the Central Government?

The interesting fact is that in paragraph 337 of the Coussey Report the Committee refused to face the issue that the proposed Regional Administrations will have to engage a large and expensive staff of Secretaries, Advisers, and Experts to carry out the many functions and duties set out for Regional Administrations in paragraphs 291 - 295 of the Report, including Health, Education, Public Works, Social Services. These 'experts' etc. will be repeated in each of the four regions, and will be additional to the Ministers and Experts on the same subjects or departments who will be at Central headquarters of Government.

That is to say, for instance, in addition to the Minister of Education and the Director of Education, there shall have to be another Director (or Assistant Director) of Regional Education in each Region. And each Regional Director may need an Assistant Director.

The imagination palls in contemplation of this fearful bureaucratic set-up which will be bound to absorb much of the funds of the Government and disperse its directive energies without any real compensation benefit.

And yet the Coussey Report failed to emphasize this fact for the public, and stated merely that the Regional Council and the Regional Executive Committee "will require *subordinate* staff to undertake the actual *routine* work involved". In what sense will such officers (for Education, Health, Public Works, and Social Services) be "subordinate?" But the Committee went on to say "The exact composition of such subordinate staff, however, appears to us to be a matter of administrative detail".

In paragraph 14 of H.M. Government's Statement the Secretary of State went much farther than the Coussey Committee to make the position clear by pointing out that "If the Regional Administrations are to carry out their duties *efficiently*, it is necessary that they should be provided with a *permanent staff adequate* to deal with the volume of work which will *inevitably grow*".

The Secretary of State recognised that these proposals for Regional Administrations and Regional Councils may entail a "too complicated a system at the regional level", and refused to give his final approval to the proposals, but suggested that Part IV of the Report required "careful study in the Gold Coast", and that, until such a detailed examination was made here of the activities which could suitably be delegated to the Regional Administrations, and of their relationship with the Central Government (financial and otherwise) to enable him to consider "the matter further", he withheld his approval.

It must be obvious that the Secretary of State could not have given this broad hint to the Gold Coast people if he had not good reason to believe that the proposed setups, though beneficial to the Imperial Civil Servant, were frightening, and doubtful as to their real usefulness to the new Central Government.

As you may have noticed, Mr. Obetsebi Lamptey and myself appended a rider on this subject. It may be necessary to secure a map of the Gold Coast showing "Native States" (Survey Department, 1946) to appreciate, for instance, the proposal that Kumasi municipality (population 77,000) is to be a Class A (District) Authority, and that the Kumasi Division (population 220,100) is to be also a Class "A" Authority i.e. a District Council, (see p. 98 of the Report); but that, in addition, there is to be another superior body (*apart* altogether from the confederacy Council) to sit on top of the 7 Class "A" (District) Councils in Ashanti under the heel of the Chief Commissioner, assisted by other bureaucrats, who are to interfere with what the Kumasi Division, or the Mampong area or the Bekwai area, or the Wenchi or the Berekum area, is to do with its local Government.

This means that there shall have to be a District Officer (with appropriate Assistants) at Kumasi, Bekwai, Wenchi and Berekum to receive orders from the Chief Commissioner and to be passed on to the local District Council. Whether the orders of the Ministry

at headquarters of the Central Government will ever reach say Berekum District Council will ever reach the Ministry at headquarters, and if so how long will it take to reach the Minister, are also other serious questions needing attention.

But there can be no question that these local government District Councils will be unable to maintain their independence due to constant interference by the Regional Administration. The effect of all these complicated Councils will be to impose a rigid system on the people; one that, as the Secretary of State was able to see, might "stifle local initiative at the lowest level through the creation of *too elaborate a hierarchy* of authorities *above* that level", and which may fail to provide "the lowest councils with definite responsibilities of their own within a suitably defined sphere" (see S of S's Statement para. 9).

I feel certain that if your Committee read between the lines of both the Report and the Statement, and especially the latter, they may have reason to revise their acceptance of the Regional Councils in view of the clear warning which the S of S, himself an expert on local Government in relation to Central Government, has given us in his valuable Despatch to the Governor.

Finally, it may have been noticed that the Coussey Report suggests that the relationship between the Regional Administration and the Central Government should be that of "agency", i.e. the Regional Administration should be the "agent" of the Central Government. The S. of S. does not seem to be happy with this, and he asks in paragraph 14 that a detailed study of the "relationship" of the Regional Administration and the Central Government should take place.

As is well known, neither the London County Council nor any of the County Borough Councils in England are "agents" of the Central Government. They are each independent, and are given, by means of specific statutes, ample powers to foster local initiative in their own local authority areas and affairs.

I believe that the District Councils proposed in paragraphs 91-96 of the Report should be the highest local Government authority (equivalent to the Borough or County Council), and that these District Councils should be in direct communication with the Central Government without the interposition of a top hierarchy

of Regional Councils. In other words, in place of the term "REGIONAL ADMINISTRATION" in the Table set up in paragraph 130 of the Report, the term "CENTRAL GOVERNMENT" should be inserted. When this is done we will succeed to cut out.

- (1) The Chief Commissioner,
- (2) The Assistant Chief Commissioner,
- (3) The Senior District Commissioners,
- (4) The Experts to advise the Regional Councils,
- (5) The permanent or subordinate staff at the Regional headquarters, as well as
- (6) The additional Regional Council the composition of which, as proposed by Coussey in paragraph 320-326 is turned down by the Secretary of State in paragraph 15 of his Statement on the ground that "*it will tax the administrative resources of the country very heavily*".

Having, as I suggest, cut out Regional Administrations and Councils, together with the Chief Commissioners etc., we can proceed to absorb the more experienced District Commissioners as advisers to District Councils. No more District Commissioners to be employed, but those remaining to train Africans to take up District Council administration in the transition period of five years.

In other words any District Commissioner if he chooses to remain will become an employee of the local District Council. The District Council will receive a subsidy from the Central Government to enable it to pay the District Commissioner who is an *adviser* of the local authority, but not an *agent* of the Central Government or of the Governor, no longer "a little governor".

I regret to have taken so much of your time, but if the future Government is to succeed as the people's government, we must be doubly cautious as to what we "accept" or "reject" of the present proposals for changes in the Government of the country.

I have had to mark this letter Confidential because whilst I would have no objection to your Executive Council using it in relation to its policy, I cannot allow its publication or widespread reproduction.

Yours faithfully,  
J. B. DANQUAH.

1074/CC/49

16th November, 1949

Ako Adjei, Esq.,  
Barrister-at-Law,  
Accra.

My dear Ako,

You will remember that last year my only criticism of your paper was that you must check your facts and be accurate if the paper is to be respected and relied upon. In your issue of November 15, it is stated categorically that the majority of the Coussey Committee recommended that the "Minister of Law and Justice" should be an ex-officio Member.

The term does not even appear once in the Report. How could any one have made such a mistake? And then for the editorial to go on to castigate the Coussey Committee in strong language for what they had not done, and to praise the Rider signatories for what they had not done, is a pity.

And by the way, do you think with the establishment of a Public Services Commission (Part VIII of Report)) the Director of Education and similar persons will continue to be under the direct or indirect control of the Secretary of State who, by agreeing to the establishment of the Commission, would be presumed to have agreed that the King's powers are put in "Commission" to the Civil Services Commission?

We have a great duty to lead the public in their appreciation of the Report, and we of the Convention must speak once in public writings with full authority and power — fact and accuracy, or "knowledge" being the best weapon in that respect. I should not bother for similar errors in another paper, but would in a paper owned by a Convention Executive Member.

Yours very sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

N.B.

By the way, could you make your news columns short and snappy, since the paper being limited in space cannot bear lengthy news items and paragraphs?

J. B. DANQUAH.

1098/UG/49

22nd November, 1949.

Opanin J. K. Ayew,  
 Presbyterian Church,  
 Mampong, Akwapim.

Dear Opanin Ayew,

I am very happy that you have taken the trouble to write to put questions that are worrying your mind to me. I wish all persons would do that instead of listening to loose rumours. Such rumours are usually circulated by wicked persons who, not having achieved anything in life, are envious of other people who have tried to achieve something above the ordinary. These wicked people go about abusing the leaders in life, whether it be cocoa or it be politics, saying they are thieves, they have taken bribes, they are this and they are that.

It is said in America that when God told the Negroes to climb a tree for the fruit of wisdom, as the first Negro climbed, the others who stood beneath him got very envious of his success in climbing the tree, and so they started to abuse him and they held his legs and pulled him down from the tree. In the end all the Negroes failed to climb the tree.

Before I answer your question, I wish to say, first of all, that when I was a young boy of 20, I decided of my own free will to interest myself in public affairs under the feet of Casely Hayford and Nana Sir Ofori Atta. I have been in politics, ever since. No one invited me to go into politics. No one pays me for being there, I can get out at any time when I want to. I am not a slave of any one.

It is my love of my country, and my desire to bring the sweets of a higher standard of living to my own countrymen and relatives in the country which keep me in politics despite the abuses of stupid people who think that to be stupid and allow oneself to be misled by clever rogues is better than to follow a man who tells the truth, even when the truth will not make him popular.

The reason why I do not put off my wig and gown is that, if I did that, my sisters at Kibi, my children, my nephews and aunts

and the entire members of my family will have no one else to support them.

*Secondly*, I would have no money to buy cloth or dress to wear, I shall have no money to rent a room or to build a house for myself. I shall have no food or fish to eat. I shall be bound to go and steal or to deceive the people and tell them lies, so as to get 1/-, 1/-, or 2/-, 2/- from them to live on. I am an *Okanniba* and I can't do that.

*Thirdly*, if I put off my wig and gown I shall have no money to spend on my political work, travelling up and down the country, giving speeches, working at night, writing books and articles, attending meetings without being paid by any one.

I am not an active member of the present Government. I am an elected member of the Legislative Council, the same as was my late brother Nana Sir Ofori Atta and Nana Ofori Kuma II, and Nana F. W. Kwesi Akufo, and Nana Kwadade II, and Nana Kwame Fori II and other people whom you know have been members.

Were I not a member of the Legislative Council, I could not have spoken often against the Government, or to advise the Government as to how you feel and as to how many people in the country are hungry for food and meat and fish.

I was first elected to the Cocoa Marketing Board two years ago, and you were present at Dodowah. All the farmers agreed. Agya Dufo was at the same time appointed your successor as leader or head of the cocoa farmers. You have earned great fame as leader of the farmers, and in your old age we all honour you. But now Dufo, who is younger, is following your footsteps.

I assure you that but for my present position in the Government, I could not have done as much as I am doing, or have done so far, for the people.

You say you want to follow me if I clarify the situation. You are my elder. I do not want you to follow me. I want you to lead me that I may follow you. Get up, Papa Ayew, and lead; and if you lead according to the dictates of sentimental appeals to popular emotion, I will follow you till death.

May I also advise you. Let your advisers be people who have knowledge, who can face the big white man, or any big black man, and not one who talks big behind the back of the big people and

yet is silent and hides himself in a corner when he meets the big people. Such men are cowards with inferiority complexes. They are not men of courage, as you may know some of us are.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 23 INCONSISTENT LEADERSHIP

24th November, 1949.

Kwame Nkrumah, Esq.,  
Publisher,  
"Accra Evening News",  
Accra.

Dear Mr. Nkrumah,

You are the publisher and proprietor of the "*Accra Evening News*". The world at large must take it that you know and approve of what is published in it. Do please sincerely answer the following questions:

In an editor's note in your paper's issue of November 22, your editor joined with Kweku Aneisie to "deplore any acts of violence demonstrated against political opponents".

Any one would think that your editor would not himself do anything likely to stir other people to wish to cause violence to me again. But in the same breath he suggests that the Akim Oda people did not "demonstrate violence" against me and my colleagues because of the false rumours about your having arranged for ships to take Gold Coast cocoa at £4 a load, but because "the public is only against inconsistent leadership".

That is to say, your editor is telling the world that I am an inconsistent man, and that the people of Akim Oda "demonstrated violence" against me and my colleagues because of what he, your editor, calls "inconsistent leadership".

That, you must know, is false, wicked and malicious, but you

let pass in your paper, with the intent that the world should believe it and nurse hatred against me.

On the very next day, in your issue of November 23, you allow a Mr. Kofi Baako to suggest that I have jumped from one town to another telling the people that Coussey had granted us Self-government — a statement which you must know is malicious and false.

You allow this same Kofi Baako to refer to my personal appearance, outcome of my struggles against nature, and to refer to me as “a grey-haired philosopher, who has keen interest in sports”. Is it not true that you would allow him to speak of me as a gentleman with false teeth if I had any?

You allow personal reference to be made about my appearance in order to expose me to ridicule and contempt. Is that not so? If not, why did you allow such things to be said about me in your paper?

You allow this same Kofi Baako to express “wonder” that I had “stooped so low as to *deceive* a whole country in this way”. And you must know that the allegation was intended on purpose to traduce and malign me, and make me an object of hatred and contempt in the eyes of the people.

This same Mr. Kofi Baako is further allowed by you to publish in your paper that he and the likes of him “are tired of politicians who say things and forget in the next five minutes”. And this is said of me. What is the intent of this but to besmear my name, knowing that the words so uttered would make people detest me?

And you further allow this same Mr. Kofi Baako to say in your paper that “Perhaps the S.G. Dr. Danquah told us of is still in his breast pocket. Where is the self-government you said Coussey had granted? Learned Doctor, where is it?”

Dear Mr. Nkrumah, why do you allow others to abuse me and vilify me in your publications? Where did I ever say S.G. was in my pocket? I said at the Palladium when, as a result of your calling us names at the West End Arena on June 12, the people hooted at us and refused to hear us on June 15, “You are now so angry with me that if even I said I had S.G. in my pocket, you would still be angry with me”. But is this the same as saying I have S.G. in my pocket, or in my breast pocket, eh, Kwame?

Why allow writers in your paper to mislead readers of your

paper with false insinuations and suggestions? What do you gain thereby, Kwame? Please tell me.

You are fully aware that when people who are not in a position to know the real truth read these malicious and wicked things about me, they will begin to detest me and hate me, and, then the natural outcome of hatred will be acted on by them, namely to wish to destroy me and my property.

Why start this campaign of hatred against me and then, when the people act upon it, you pretend in your paper to "deplore" it? Tell the world, for the world loves the truth.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 24 THE "TALKING DRUMS"

2003/UC/49

24th November, 1949.

Akufo Addo,<sup>1</sup> Esq.,  
Barrister-at-Law,  
Accra.

My dear Akufo,

I have seen the sample copy of "Talking Drums". My general view is that we should get suitable types for the title of the paper; also that the types are unsuitable not so much because they are 10 pt. but because they are thin faced. I mean the 10 pt. types in the body of the paper. A heavier faced type is more suitable for a daily paper. The type face here used is more suitable for printing books.

Our printers are, however, to be congratulated on producing a cleanly impressed paper. The make-up man needs to be more careful in the use of 'rules' to separate one news item from another. For instance there is not a sharp break between "Dr. Bond is grateful" and the news item about T.U.C. delegates. The 'rule'

<sup>1</sup> Became Chief Justice of Ghana some months after the February 24th Revolution. He is now the President of the 2nd Republic of Ghana.

over Dr. Bond's news item should have been full length, from one column to another.

The way the news item "You cannot play Tricks with Customs' says K.S." was treated is better. But there should have been a more generous spacing between rules in the headlines of this news item.

Many Reuter's news items are given without disclosure of the place and date of the news. That reduces the value of the news item and makes it useless for future reference.

The first Editorial of our Maiden Number is simply disgraceful. It does not justify our struggle to establish a Convention's own daily paper! Is that all we can do? The second editorial is not as bad as the first.

It appears "Talk of the Drums" and "Politics without Tears" are to be permanent features. In that case they should display two distinct styles for variety. The "signature", *The Sage*, is presumptuous. "Drummer" is more appropriate.

The "Readers' Opinion" column is badly handled. Addresses of letter writers are not usually given, except place and date.

It does us no good to give an impression to the world that we can only produce an amateurish paper. Some of the main headlines are excessively childish. We must think of the *Ashanti Times* and the *Daily Echo* and *Nigeria Daily Times* as our competitors, and not fall below *Spectator*, *Morning Post*, and *Express* standards.

I was informed by Mr. Moses Danquah that he was pulling out a few copies as sample for circulation amongst the proprietors. This morning he told me that copies went out to the general public for sale. The first impression is often the lasting impression, and we should work hard to eradicate any damage caused by the issue of 22nd November which came out on the 23rd.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

25      MINORITY RIDER TO THE COUSSEY  
            COMMITTEE REPORT

26th November, 1949

Kofi Anamua, Esq.,  
% The Gold Coast Observer,<sup>1</sup>  
Cape Coast.

Dear Mr. Anamua,

I hasten to congratulate you on your article in the *Observer* of November 25. Your name is vaguely familiar. I believe it belongs to the Hayfron family, but I do not recollect having read before any writing by you. Your criticism is very — may I say it? masterly. Your style is above anything I have yet encountered in the Gold Coast press, although I know of one or two young bloods at the Ghana College who are on the way to great development. Your power for lucid ideas expressed in a modicum of phrase is on a literary scale that reminds one of Britain's classic writers — Macaulay for choice.

Could you kindly condescend to write one or two more chapters in the same vein, a critical analysis of Coussey, and cause it to be published in pamphlet form. Could you send one or two contributions on Coussey, or on anything else, to the *Ghana Statesman*<sup>2</sup>? We would warmly welcome them. You have a light, and it should not be hidden under a bushel.

I was responsible for Cohen's article being brought to the notice of our Committee, and it was so warmly accepted and admired by our Chairman I thought he would act on it and direct the mind of the Committee to live by its precepts. But I was to be disillusioned. As our work progressed from one decision to another, the majority always carrying the vote, often against my isolated minority, as in the case of Regional Councils and Administrations, (Mr. Lamptey had not then joined the Committee), I found the whole edifice crumbling down under our feet, and I — how could I, one, — could do nothing to arrest the debacle.

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<sup>1</sup> A weekly paper which was established by the Benjamins in Cape Coast.

<sup>2</sup> United Gold Coast Convention weekly paper, now defunct. Its first Editor was Mr. M. K. Apaloo.

In the end we got up our rider, and many more of the members of the Committee, all feeling frustrated, wanted to sign it as at least a way out to save our faces and our consciences. But alas! Word went round, and Mr. J. H. Coussey said: "The rider is so effective that if too many of the Committee signed it, our main work would be destroyed". Just like that! And there were behind-the-scene wire pullings. 13 had agreed to sign (no less than *one-third* of the strength of the Committee') One famous barrister from Ashanti had actually helped in correcting my final draft of the rider at Mr. Grant's residence at the Sea View Hotel. But in the end he backed out, just because Coussey, after seeing our rider, had touched up paragraph 407 with an interpolation in the original of the Committee's final draft, that the position of those official members should be reviewed as early as possible before the five years of 'transitional period' — hateful term so frequently used by Coussey that I got sick of it — had elapsed. But I felt happy that my nephew Nana Ofori Atta II, did not fall to the blandishments of the wire pullers, Chiefs and non-Chiefs. He stood firm, truculently firm, I am afraid, saying, "My people in Abuakwa have asked me to get full S.G. for them, and I think the rider is the nearest possible to it. I am signing the rider!"

But, in the fall, I had the greatest shock from Coussey himself. I was shocked to see him append Cohen's article to our Report. In a flash, I forgave Coussey, for I could see that his failure was not in himself but in his lack of a natural gift to see the logic of realities. Poor soul. I don't know if he quite sees he has wrecked our chance for a long while, a very long while to come, but I hope the march of African events would curtail that 'while'.

And now, you will, I am sure forgive me. I guess I must be slightly older than yourself, but I am completely bewildered by the blindness and jealousy that is invading our strength from a certain quarter. I don't quite know why people are instigated to hate me so, but God knows, I love my country more than all the hatred for me put together. It seems to me Nkrumah's attacks on the U.G.C.C. is undoing us, I mean the country's united power to pull the chesnut out of the fire. Would it not have been wonderful if at this stage, with the imperial power breaking under our earlier strokes, we had stood like a Goliath of one strength

to pull the whole edifice down into the valley of destruction!

We, the entire united convention of the Ghana people! But now, where is our strength? Nkrumah is compelled to make up for want of solid intellectual backing with a multiplicity of organisations — C.Y.O.<sup>3</sup>, C.P.P.<sup>4</sup> and now G.R.A.<sup>5</sup>, and one does not know what else, from a movement — U.G.C.C., to a Committee, then to a Party as the 'best' of all, and now back to a movement! And the country's united energy being dissipated. The Nkrumah press and platform probably think they are hurting only me, and what I am known to stand for; but surely Nkrumah must know more than any one else that this is, if ever there was, *not* the time for divisionism — playing the imperialists game for him so neatly. I have tried much and hard to see what Kwame Nkrumah really wants, but . . . You remember that article by his chief lieutenant, Gbedemah, when some one suggested that the two of us should meet again — Gbedemah said the most amazing thing, that Nkrumah wasn't going to have any one on his level, all should be below him, taking dictation, or words to that effect.

And now the position is quite bewildering. I thought at first he was genuinely for complete unadulterated S.G. Now. But now look at his C.P.P.'s abject acceptance of reserve powers and a Defence Minister appointed by the King and *inside* our Cabinet — the rider had said he should be outside of it! and look at the G.R.A.'s untutored and uninstructed resolutions. Is this what the national united front was destroyed for — self-government by C.P.P. and Nkrumah, not now, but within five years from 1950? It appears we of the old vintage are now the extremists amongst Conventionists! And the former militant stand of the people which Grant inspired is now nearly done in, quite done in, in fact — destroyed by the very forces that had clamoured loudest for it, just because Nkrumah would go to people with no idea of what constitutional law means for their advice on constitution-making.

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1 (Committee on Youth Organisation) — This was formed by Kwame Nkrumah while he was the General Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention.

2 (Convention People's Party) — Kwame Nkrumah's party formed on June 12, 1949.

3 (Ghana Representative Assembly) — This was a meeting called by Kwame Nkrumah on the 20th November 1949, and attended by certain organisations in the country, to discuss the Coussey Report.

Surely even shoe-making is a science, or at least an art, and no one who had not practised it for long, or lived in it as his daily bread, can just go and tinker with it!

Under those circumstances — the timers, the 'now-ers' having escaped from now, what could the U.G.C.C.'s special delegates meeting do, but stick to their slogan of the shortest practicable time? In other words to accept Coussey "for the present" and — in the spirit of Aggrey and Casely Hayford, "Take what we get, and ask for more" — to stand upon Coussey and wage the battle from inside the enemy camp, as I had always done, and by that means, I so quickly brought the battle to a head since Burns made a mess of my 1943 constitution in 1946!

But now, I promise you, Coussey can't last beyond 1953, when we would regain our lead and the liberation without tears, without threats of violence, or mass hysteria, but the ferment of intellectual defeat of the imperial strength, beat the enemy to evacuate our field of conquest.

Meanwhile, some of us may have to retire into the background and merely watch the scene, for where sentiment and affectation reign, there is shallow profundity and charlatanism, and thought is left to the unconscious.

Please let me hear from you.

Ever Yours still in the  
fight for country's liberation.

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 26 APPOINTMENT OF A LEADER

203/cc/49

2nd December, 1949

The Secretary  
Ashanti Youth Association,  
Ashanti Newtown,  
Kumasi.

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your telegram. Your resolutions on the Central Legislature and the Executive Council modify or extend Coussey and the Rider slightly on points which admit of little argument

and amount to a demand for full self-government. Everyone is in agreement with you. Only one point of a serious nature I should like to comment upon. Your suggestion that the Leader should be appointed by the Governor-General is not consistent with the demand for a Cabinet system in the Legislature. Rule by majority in the Executive, as in the Assembly, must leave it to the Assembly, i.e. to the Party in command of a majority in the Assembly to appoint its own leader. The Governor-General's approval is a constitutional formality only.

I read your resolutions in the *Express* which left some parts "to be continued", but I think that on the whole you have put forward a very courageous demand much in line with the Kumasi Constitution adopted by the Convention on August 3, 1948. I am very happy that your Association has thought out these matters in a courageous and independent manner and come to conclusions which are bound to command respect.

With my warm regards and best wishes for success of your Association.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 27 BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION

No. 2044/UC/49

10th December, 1949.

Kwame Nkrumah Esq.,  
Evening News,  
Accra.

My Dear Kwame,

I have now had time to read your press release of December 7. You ask a straight question, and I intend to give you a straight answer.

You ask, "What is wrong in exhorting the masses of the people of this country to feel that the Legislative Council does not exist?"

The answer is that it is a lie to exhort them to feel so, and that telling lies to the "masses of the people of this country" and

exhorting them to feel and to believe in such lies is to instigate them to act on what they have been misled to believe and feel was true, and to proceed to behave on such false beliefs to the damage of the peace and goodwill of the body politic. Please don't tell any more lies to "the masses of the people of this country". It is always wrong to tell lies.

In my statement to the Press to which you replied with your statement "Is Dr. Danquah Serious?", I pointed out that the little piece of writing "(Sgd) J. B. Danquah" which was placed by some one under my draft letter to the Clerk of Council and published in your newspaper *The Accra Evening News*, was forged, that is to say, it was a statement made to deceive the masses of the people of this country. This sort of lie, made in writing, is the sort called forgery, a very reprehensible lie.

In your statement asking me whether I was serious, you made no attempt, serious or otherwise, to refer to this aspect of the publication in the *The Accra Evening News*.

Kwame, as you well know, when a gentleman is confronted with having published something wrong against his neighbour, whether such neighbour be also a gentleman or merely a superior type of person, such as a verandah boy, what is done in the best circles is for the former gentleman to apologise. It is considered bad if he doesn't. Please apologise to me, and set a good example to the masses of the people of this country.

You are, of course, on firm ground when you suggest that the people's "demand . . . as their inalienable right" requires every possible "pressure" upon the British Government "for its immediate realisation". That, if I may say so, is in the tradition of the old C.P.P. policy — full S.G. "Now", "immediate", or positive action "with absolute non-violence".

But every school boy must know that when you claim that an Executive Council which contains a nominated or ex-officio, but not elected, Minister of Defence, is a Cabinet of "Dominion Status", then either you are swallowing a lot for the sake of expediency, or you are seeking to foist upon a lot of us a new kind of constitutional law.

The difference between your present (G.R.A.) stand and the stand of the legitimate Convention is that whilst the latter states categorically that the entry of even a single ex-officio Minister is

to be abhorred as falling far short of our highest aspirations, you welcome a nominated or ex-officio Minister, and, in addition, you appear prepared to swear that that is what you mean by full self-government or Dominion Status!

Guided by realism, and not by sentiment, the Delegates Conference of the Convention decided to allow the rule of democracy to prevail until we succeed to sway the majority to our side.

Where, out of a Committee of 39, no less than 31 vote for one thing and 8 for another, what should democracy do in the circumstance? I trust I am right in saying you believe in the rule of democracy, namely government by decision of the majority of a Council or Committee.

As for the rest of your article, my dear Kwame, do please stop making those dark hints about 'bribery and corruption' in connection with our death and life struggle, because you well know, if any one else does not, that no offer of gold in this world could ever touch the steel of bitterness that entered our soul as we drove that early dawn, out of the Kumasi prison into that dust-filled, dreary and long road to the Tamale African Hospital. And would anyone dare make such an offer?

You have broken away from the six and broken our unity, and the country is messed up in the spilt milk. But because your way of exhorting "the masses of the people of this country" is different from that of the legitimate Convention, what justification have you to suggest *that you* are tenaciously demanding freedom and self-government for the Gold Coast but that we, originators of the spirit and purpose of 'Convention', *are not*?

As for the Legislative Council, I happen to be there, and I happen to know that every single African there is committed to secure self-government. Their duty is to listen to the legitimate voice of the entire country, and they happen to know that the "voice" of G.R.A. has been rejected by the Joint Provincial Council and the Ashanti Confederacy Council as not a constitutionally organised "voice".

I tell you frankly, Kwame, you blundered in breaking the country's united front — from U.G.C.C. to C.Y.O., C.P.P., and then to G.R.A., — and that blunder is costing the country a dear penalty — the sort of penalty which only the wise who appreciate what is meant by practical politics understand.

Having previously condemned the Legislative Council out of existence, please remember that the more sober appeal that you now make to that Council will have as its background the disunity and alarm which your threat to disorganise the smooth life of the country by boycotts and strikes created. The Legislative Council will, I assure you, do their best to save something from the wreckage caused by you — But it is not, by any chance easy going.

Yours as ever,

J. B. DANQUAH.

28 KWAME DON'T DO IT

229/UC/49

23rd December, 1949.

Kwame Nkrumah, Esq.,  
Chairman,  
Convention People's Party,  
Accra.

My Dear Kwame Nkrumah,

I write to you as a Gold Coast citizen, loving this country as much as any one. The report to hand is that you have given a fortnight's notice as from December 15 to commence operations for positive action on the expiration of the period, unless the Governor by that time should have summoned a national constituent assembly or should have granted us "dominion status on the so-called model of the Westminster Statute."

You apparently fixed December 30, 1949, as your zero hour lest it be said you failed to carry out your policy of "S.G. in 1949 now, or we take Positive Action to get it."

As you well know, in 1947 Mr. George Alfred Grant took positive action when he gave birth to his conception of a United Gold Coast becoming militant in the struggle for this country's

liberation by forming a Convention of the Chiefs and people for that purpose.

The Convention took positive action when in the harrowing night of February 28, 1948, with the fate of this land in the balance, we despatched a cablegram to the Secretary of State and informed the world that the Governor should be recalled, a Commissioner should be sent out, an interim government should be set up, that we were prepared and ready to take up that interim government, and that a constituent assembly should be called to draw up for this land a self-governing constitution.

Again, the Convention took positive action when, upon the coming of Watson, we of the Six, as well as Mr. Grant and the rest of the legitimate Convention, took the country's cause upon our shoulders to make a case before the Commission for the grant of self-government to this land because, as we maintained, the colonial constitution of 1946 was out-moded and the Government under it was window-dressing.

Indeed, Kwame, you know that by pursuing Mr. Grant's mode of positive action we captured the political initiative from Government and brought about the Coussey Committee. The country, on the crest of a wave of success, was surging forward in the silent and confident strength of a united nation when, like a bolt from the blue, that united front was shattered and battered and smashed into smithereens by a new brand of positive action. That new brand of positive action, at an evil hour, created a bastard kind of Convention, a partisan Convention, the Convention People's Party, inconsistent with its putative parent, Grant's United Convention.

Indeed, Kwame, you know that from that evil hour, from that grossest of all our national mistakes, the ground started to shift from beneath us; Government regained its lost initiative, and breathed free again "with excess of joy" that 'Divide et impera' had triumphed even against the invincible Convention!

The entire country has since this event experienced a harassing, bewildering and an anguishing despair, apprehensive that the sane policy to achieve self-government in the shortest time possible upon the crest of a united front, had been illusory.

In the midst of that perplexity and embarrassment, "racked with deep despair", like the apostate crew from high heaven fallen,

thousands of our people were made to believe that you had discovered for them a new heaven in the slogan "S.G. Now!"

But the cry for "S.G. Now" did not end in a heaven nor even a haven, but in a disowned Ghana Representative Assembly. Well may one of your disillusioned and bewildered lieutenants, (like the C.P.P. man in the *Daily Echo*) say to you, as even Beelzebub, the Palestinian fallen angel, said to the disappointed and defeated Lucifer:

If thou beest he — but oh, how fall'n! how changed  
From him who, in the happy realms of light,  
Clothed with transcendent brightness, did outshine  
Myriads though bright! — if he whom mutual league  
United thought and counsels, equal hope  
And hazard in the glorious enterprise,  
Joined with me once, now misery hath joined  
In equal ruin; into what pit thou seest  
From what height fallen .....  
Since, through experience of this great event,  
In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,  
We may with more successful hope resolve  
To wage by force or guile eternal war,  
Irreconcilable to our grand Foe,  
Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy  
Sole reigning hold the tyranny of Heaven.

Sir Kwame! My point in short is this: there are several types of positive action. One type takes a step ahead of the grand Foe and wrests initiative from him, leaving him greatly discomfited and ready for a British kind of compromise which eventually means the Socialists liquidating everything to the great Churchill! And another kind of positive action partakes of "Paradise Lost". It makes great alarum and noise to defy "th' Omnipotent to arms". But he, thus forwarned, gets forearmed to conquer the "vain attempt" and hurl the conquered headlong "With hideous ruin and combustion, down to bottomless perdition, there to dwell in adamant chains and penal fire ....."

I do hope, Sir Kwame, that you see the mete analogy. If therefore by positive action on the penultimate day of 1949 you mean the destructive and pernicious kind, then, I ask you, in the name of Ghana, in the name of Sergeant Adjeitey and those who

died or suffered at the Cross-roads for this Ghana, don't do it!

We are told that the implements of your positive action are boycotts, strikes and demonstrations, the same which you defined before the Ga State Council on the 20th October as "positive action with absolute non-violence."

I confess I did not understand it then and I do not understand it now. Human nature being what it is; the fortified Government of Imperialism on our soil being what it is; and our unarmed or, if possible, wretchedly armed people being so completely at the mercy of the armed strength of the imperial power, how can anyone in his senses guarantee that what happened on the day of your trial for contempt of court may not happen again in a worse heightened and more widespread form on December 30 and thereafter? Who can guarantee that the blood of old and young will not be shed, that heads will not be broken, that liberties may not be restrained behind bars, and that brilliant and promising careers of young men who in the future to come could have achieved greater things for us might not be cut short?

We all agree in this: that if, for the sake of this Ghana death or prison bars or broken heads should come, we welcome them as part of the game. But only those without charity fail to agree in this: that the destructive brand of positive action will not advance us ahead of the great Foe, nor wrest initiative from him. It may, on the contrary, strengthen his hold, or even worse, retard our own advance and even destroy some of our present gains.

Can any one guarantee that after a day, or a year and a day, of destructive positive action, this British Imperialist will come forward with outstretched arms and say: "Hello, Ghanaians: Here's your S.G., take it!"

I counsel you, Sir Kwame, that like the gallant Don Quixote, be not rash to waste your strength upon an impracticable ideal. Instead, resort to creative positive action, and abandon the destructive kind. Learn from Grant, and remember his caution and ripe experience.

In a little more than two years from the day he struck, Grant advanced us to the inner portals of S.G. With the Coussey Report still with us, and the door not closed, and with our senses and intellects still intact, who can assert that our ingenuity to persist upon King Ghartey's constitutional lines is exhausted? Where,

then, is our Gold Coast patience.

Like yourself I would gladly have self-government this second, this minute, even this moment, which I believe, is a period of time shorter than the "now" of June 12, 1949, to December 30, 1949, a "now" of six months or two hundred days and one! But it is said that hasty climbers have sudden falls, and believe me, my dear Kwame, there is wisdom in it.

Go, therefore, and get that wisdom and desist from that evil-mastered plan of "To Hell with Patience!" The Ghana of which I dreamt before you came is not a hell of destruction but an earth of discontent, rational struggle and, in the end, a crown of happiness for the people. Let this Ghana sustain your faith. The Ghartey spirit is still with us. Act in that spirit, or your impatience and desperation may plunge the country into a long-lasting perdition.

Yours in the struggle,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 29 GOD IS WITH US

Ref. No. 207/UC/49

24th December, 1949

Bankole Awoonor-Renner, Esq.,<sup>1</sup>  
P.O. Box 684,  
Accra.

My dear Bankole,

I doubt not your sincerity in your appeal to Kwame and myself to stop mud-slinging in the Press. But I regret very much to say that the value of your letter to the nation is negligible.

At the critical time of June 1949 and onwards, when Mr. Kwame Nkrumah's press and platform went in full blast against me, my life, my philosophy, my politics, and even my honesty and probity, you took sides in the matter, and even mounted the oppo-

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<sup>1</sup> One of the men who helped to break the united front of the U.G.C.C.

sition platform to give colour to the attacks on me.

Never once did I hear you defend my name and my life history, which are both well-known to you. Once or twice at the height of that mud-slinging campaign I made a point to call on you to find out whether you were really the 'Bankole' I knew of old, or you had changed. I found the same old passion for national awakening and unity, and yet you were deliberately placing inflammatory material on the dung heap of attack on the legitimate Convention so as to break the nation's united front. And when, at last, the front was broken on June, 12, by Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, you joined in singing the hallelujahs for the *awful* achievements.

I note what you say about the effect of this kind of thing on the foreign population, and on the national struggle, but it was worse in June than it is now, and you said nothing then. People thought they stood to gain something if I became a cipher in national politics, and so they spared no pains to do their damndest against my existence.

But it appears many people are awakening now to the need for unity — after the horse had gone out of the stable door! Spilt milk is not easy to gather together into a broken pot.

Until Kwame Nkrumah came, there was absolute unity on the Convention front. A while after he joined us, our unity was broken, and the national front became an eyesore. He set out as the nation's holy angel and saint of self-government, and the rest of the 23 in the Executive Council were called wicked fifth columnists, stooges and corrupt politicians. Nearly all the people, even some of the intelligent ones, women as well as men, believed in the atrocious and horrible things said about us. Hence our present paralysis.

Your appeal is sure to be marked in Heaven's book as a good act — but, Sir, it is a belated one. Can you or anyone you know ever get the people to think that I never took bribes and that I am not a stooge, and can you get the people believe that I did not bring Sydney Abrahams here with the intent to distract our national struggle from politics to sports?

You well remember that I might have been killed or lynched by the infuriated mob at Akim Oda if my car had not taken me away quickly from the scene. My colleagues and I were saved only by a miracle because God was with us.

Otherwise I should have been dead now, and how can a dead

man talk "unity" with the quick and living?

Wishing you and Mrs. Renner a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

### 30 THE COLONY AND ASHANTI COLLABORATION

Ref. 018/UC/50

5th January 1950,

A. R. Dennis, Esq.,<sup>1</sup>

C/o C.P.P.,

Accra.

Dear Mr. Dennis,

Reports continue to reach me that at C.P.P. public meetings you not only criticize my politics but make malicious and defamatory statements against me.

It is reported that yesterday, the 4th January, you stated at the West End Arena that I was responsible for the downfall of that Barrister who was member of Mambii Party and Legislative Council, meaning I caused the downfall of the Honourable A. W. Kojo Thompson.

You must be aware that Mr. Kojo Thompson's life and fortune are as dear to me as to any patriot of the Gold Coast, and that such false statements have the tendency in them to inflame other people against me and to expose me to hatred, ridicule and contempt.

I am at all times quite prepared to give a wide margin to my political opponents to examine and attack my politics or policies; but there are limits, and I ask you to observe those limits. There

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A former C.P.P. chief propagandist. He later resigned from the party and was instrumental in bringing about the commission which inquired into the affairs of the Cocoa Purchasing Company.

must be tolerance and decency in our political life, or we shall not get far at all before we see a bitter end.

It is alleged, further, that you said I was responsible for the failure of the Colony and Ashanti Collaboration. As you were not in politics at the time nor in the inner councils of our leading politicians, I do not know how you came to make such a statement in gross perversion of history.

I worked like a slave to bring about the Colony and Ashanti Collaboration. Ashanti accepted the idea and the J.P.C. standing Committee also accepted it.

On the day of the final decision for its acceptance at Dodowah, Nana Kwadade, Omanhene of Akwapim, moved for its rejection on the ground that he could not go to Akropong and tell his Chiefs and Elders that he and the other Chiefs of the Colony were going to form a Council with the Asantehene as Chairman or "head over all the Chiefs."

As prominent Colony Chiefs and leaders had been members of the Collaboration Committee and signed the Report, there was every belief in Ashanti that my plan was going to be successful. I was secretary of the Committee and my friends in Ashanti looked up to me to make it a success.

When it failed, they blamed it on me. I gave the Ashantis some excuse for blaming me for that failure, for at that time they looked upon me as a representative of the Colony who first approached them on the subject.

But if you know the tears I wept on that day when Nana Kwadade caused the scheme to fail, you would have sympathised with me, instead of now placing the entire burden of the failure upon me. No one in the Colony, least so, a resident of Akwapim, has any right to throw a stone at me in this respect.

Allow me to say, finally, that it is not my view that as yet a sufficient number of politicians has come forth in the call for leaders. I know large numbers are there, ready to come forward, but many are held back because of this sort of abuse and want of toleration which has of late been exhibited by certain inflamed persons.

I personally welcome as many as will join the fray, for some of us are getting old in life and may soon be called upon to take

up the journey to the bourne from which no traveller returns.

For this reason it has never been my belief that it pays to seek to destroy other politicians and to walk over their dead bodies to achieve personal fame. The work in hand is not one man's job; all are welcome in the Ghana vineyard, and this kind of abuse and vilification of others is pitiable politics. I must warn you that any authentic reports reaching me in future of defamatory statements will be dealt with in an adequate manner.

Yours very truly,

*J. B. DANQUAH*

31      POSITIVE ACTION <sup>1</sup>

12th January 1950.

The Editor,  
Ghana Statesman,  
Accra.

Sir,

KWAME NKRUMAH has now given his reasons for declaring 'positive action' on January 8. In his cablegram to the Secretary of State, His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom are informed by him that it was because the Gold Coast Government "failed" to oblige him with a clarification "in writing" of the import and significance of certain "assurances" already given to him in writing by Government that he, Mr. Nkrumah, as Chairman of the Convention People's Party, brought to bear upon this country the full blast of his last weapon of 'positive action'.

Whilst he denies "categorically" that the Convention People's Party was "responsible" in thus plunging the country into the disastrous consequences of declaration of the war of 'positive

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<sup>1</sup> An advertised campaign of general strikes and boycott instituted by Kwame Nkrumah to coerce the Gold Coast Government to accept the C.P.P.'s political views.

action' against the community, Mr. Nkrumah, with a disarming and an amazing effrontery, appeals "respectfully" to His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom, through the Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, to "advise" the Government of the Gold Coast to accede to the Convention People's Party's request namely, oblige the Party's Executive with a "clarification" of the meaning or significance of certain "assurances".

It follows that, had the C.P.P.'s own Executive possessed a modicum of political intelligence to understand and appreciate the meaning and significance of the aforesaid "assurances", the declaration of 'positive action' on January 8 might not have been made.

It follows that, it was, firstly, because the C.P.P.'s Executive proved themselves politically stupid, that is to say, were incapable at the Secretariat round table conference on January 5, to understand the meaning and significance of certain political terms; and, secondly, the Government refused to be their political schoolmaster in that respect, that this Gold Coast is now confronted with an "emergency."

In other words, the bulk of the four and a half million inhabitants of the Gold Coast — Chiefs, people, men, women, and school children, as well as organised labour — are being punished with 'positive action' by the C.P.P. because four members of that Party's Executive had been wanting in political understanding.

This stupidity, a childish stupidity, has resulted in what Mr. Nkrumah in his cablegram describes as "a grave situation." As stated in his own gravely worded cablegram:

"At present trade and transport at a standstill; almost all shops and offices closed. General boycott of imported goods seriously operating. State of affairs has paralysed country."

And from this "grave situation" brought about by his own declaration of 'positive action', Mr. Kwame Nkrumah appeals to His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom to "save" the Gold Coast. The word "urgent" is added to that telegram.

Let it be said at once to the credit (some would say 'discredit') of the 'Show Boy', that Mr. Nkrumah does not pretend to have made his declaration of 'positive action' with a view to coercing Government into accepting his Party's political views. That state-



ment, made by Government as reason for imposing emergency orders, is categorically denied by Mr. Nkrumah in the first and second paragraphs of his cablegram.

He does not pretend also by his telegram to have called upon the Governor to summon a Constituent Assembly and he does not pretend in his cablegram to request the Secretary of State to grant us a "Dominion Status Constitution."

All Mr. Nkrumah does by his telegram is to ask the Secretary of State to "advise" the Government of the Gold Coast to accede to his Party Executive's request made on January 5, namely, to "clarify in writing" certain "assurances" made to Mr. Nkrumah and his triumvirate — Halm, Hutton-Mills and Dennis — at the Secretariat.

In the next hundred years historians of the Gold Coast would be wanting to know what exactly was the nature of the "assurances" given on January 5. The facts were made public just over ten days ago, but human memory is immeasurably short, we must remind ourselves of them.

On January 4 Mr. Nkrumah was summoned to the Secretariat and fully intimated of Government's attitude towards the threatened general strike and advertised campaign of positive action. On January 5, at the specific request of Mr. Nkrumah, the Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. R. H. Saloway, granted an interview to four representatives of the C.P.P. Executive to make representations to Government on current political issues.

The four men who met the Government stand high in the hierarchy of the C.P.P.'s much boosted executive members. Mr. Nkrumah himself is the chairman of the Party and head of the Executive. Mr. Hutton-Mills, barrister-at-law, is chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Executive. Mr. W. M. Q. Halm, Town Councillor, money-lender and merchant, is much used as chairman of C.P.P.'s arena meetings. Mr. A. R. Dennis of Mangoase is the Party's chief propagandist.

Faced at last by representatives of the Colonial Government (or, in C.P.P. language, "White Imperialist Government"), the demands made by the C.P.P. — a Party formed to criticise, and even to liquidate the Coussey Committee if it failed to grant "self-government" were three, *viz*:

(1) Adequate opportunities to represent C.P.P.'s views before the various Select Committees; (2) Not to ignore the views of C.P.P., and (3) Final decisions on Coussey not to be taken without proper consultation of the wishes of the people. The four did not demand that since Coussey did neither grant 'self-government' nor 'dominion status' it should be liquidated and the Secretary of State requested at once to grant C.P.P. leaders Dominion Status "on the model of the Westminster statute".

Mr R. H. Saloway, coming here fresh from the Indian Civil Service, and, apparently used to this sort of political battle, gladly welcomed these high-falutin demands and, with a deftness of diplomacy characteristic of adroit ambassadors, completely put the fears of the C.P.P. Executive at rest, giving them three specific but hollow assurances:

(1) to request the Select Committee to invite the C.P.P. to submit its views to them; (2) that Government was making every endeavour to ensure that these committees should complete their work without delay and; (3) that the main debate on constitutional proposals should take place only when these committees had reported. (Almost exactly what Government had said in the Legislative Council and which had infuriated me and compelled me to demand the calling of a Constituent Assembly).

But Nkrumah and his triumvirate gladly accepted these delightful assurances. They went further. They, too, in an awkward manner, tried to play the Englishman's game of cricket by giving Government an assurance or "undertaking" that they would "advise their Executive Committee to reconsider the necessity for positive action".

To make assurance doubly sure, both sides prepared, on the spot, an "agreed" statement for release to the press of the world. At the end of that "agreement" appeared the following rider: "*This statement has been approved by all those present at the meeting.*"

There was no question of any particular "assurance" given by Government that the delimitation of the country by a Select Committee into constituencies had anything to do with the demand for a Constituent Assembly. From the press release, it did not appear that the question of a Constituent Assembly was ever discussed.

But in Mr. Nkrumah's cablegram he states that one of the

matters discussed was the calling of a Constituent Assembly. It would, however, appear that upon raising that matter Mr. Nkrumah and his triumvirate were bamboozled by Mr. Saloway with certain glorious references to delimitation of the country into "constituencies" by a Select Committee.

That appears to have dazzled the "Show Boy" and his triumvirate so completely as to have goaded them to come into perfect accord and agreement with the deft diplomatist.

Leaving the Imperialist presence full of smiles, with a copy of the "agreed" statement in their hands, the four C.P.P. leaders duly appeared before the C.P.P. Executive, fluttering the piece of paper before them in the manner of a Neville Chamberlain with a Munich agreement before the British Cabinet: "Peace in our time", he had said.

The very next day, in the evening of January 6, the C.P.P.'s political newsheet, *Accra Evening News*, came out with a bombastic editorial which claimed that "agreed statement" as "a great moral victory".

But was it? Earlier in the evening of the same day, January 6, the Executive of the United Gold Coast Convention in Accra are reported to have given a press interview at which the intelligent interpretation of the import of the agreed statement was given out to the world. So far from being a moral victory, it was an empty assurance; Mr. Nkrumah and his colleagues had been fooled. And in the interim, Constituent Assembly and Dominion Status had been dropped out of Nkrumah's mind.

The damning exposure reached the ears of the more aggressive and militant C.P.P. Executives. Some of them coming from Kumasi and elsewhere are reported to have pressed the consequences of the agreed statement on the dawning or waking intelligence of the four leaders who had met the "White Imperialist Government" face to face. Mr. Kwame Nkrumah and his triumvirate were thereupon turned right about, post haste, to request the Government of the Gold Coast to interpret the plain meaning of the agreed statement to the Party's Executive in plain English.

To do Mr. Francis Nwia Kofi Kwame Nkrumah justice, the situation is best described in his own words in the cablegram to the Secretary of State:

Government gave assurances which were *not clear* to Party Executive *when reported*; and Government was requested to *clarify* in writing that demarcation (sic) of country by Select Committee into *constituencies* as discussed at the interview would be mainly for setting up a *Constituent Assembly* without delay for Dominion Status Constitution".

And, quite pathetically, Mr. Kofi Kwame Nkrumah adds in his cablegram, "This, Government failed to do; hence positive action declared".

The judgement of history, and of the public of the Gold Coast today — in the press, on the platform, in the pulpit, in the Legislative and other Councils — should be, in answer to this question: As the agreed statement with all its assurances had been clear to the four high-ups of the C.P.P. representatives, if when subsequently reported to their fellow C.P.P. Executives, the same proved not clear to the latter, who were to blame?

In Mr. Nkrumah's cablegram he alleges that the interview of January 5 was at the request of Government. In Mr. Saloway's broadcast on January 5 he stated: "I had a meeting this morning at their request with representatives of the Executive Committee of the Convention People's Party and we agreed on the issue of the following statement which I will now read to you".

That statement was published the next day in the *Accra Evening News*, and Mr. Saloway's version was not challenged. If a political leader requests and obtains a round table conference, and an agreed statement proves to be a painted sepulchre, a hollow and a sham, who bears the blame? Was not Neville Chamberlain blamed in a similar situation?

The prestidigitation of requesting a further "clarification" from the Colonial Secretary cannot deceive any intelligent public man that that further "request" was merely a trick to throw dust into the eyes of the infuriated and dismayed members of the C.P.P.

Who is there in the Gold Coast, be he politician or otherwise, and does not know that the Government's Motion No. 7, made by the Acting Colonial Secretary in the December Legislative Council, was concerned merely with paragraphs 360, 361, 374, and 375 of the Coussey Report and had nothing whatsoever to do with the

summoning of a Constituent Assembly?

For any politician, not to speak of a Party Leader, to seek an interview with Government to clarify this, one might just as well ask Government to clarify the question whether Mr. E. C. Quist is president of the Legislative Council or a Governor.

And yet, from Mr. Kwame Nkrumah's own guilty mouth we are given the explanation that it was just because the Government refused to clarify that childish and stupid idea of confusing "constituencies" with "Constituent Assembly" that he and his C.P.P. Executive declared the war of positive action on the Gold Coast, to land the country in "a grave situation" from which he calls upon His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom to "save us".

From such political ruinners of a nation's peace, way of life, and economic stability, "Good Lord deliver us".

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH

### 32 THE 1852 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

24th January, 1950.

The Editor,  
Ashanti Pioneer,  
Kumasi.

Sir,

IT is a human tendency to take the line of least resistance. Progress in most things means resistance to force and the conquering of it. As William James, the American philosopher said, "It is easier to say 'Yes' than to say 'No'.

Those who say 'No' resist the temptation of taking things easy. Those who say 'Yes' yield to the weakness of the flesh, or, in the language of physics and chemistry, they yield to inherent property of matter by which it tends to remain for ever at rest when still, and in motion when moving.

Inertia of spirit, especially in politics, is an affliction of unhappy countries. An unhappy country is one whose politicians are

inert in public affairs but are in themselves hedonistically happy.

You will, I feel certain, believe me when I say that were it only for my own selfish happiness I would much rather the Coussey Report be left to me alone to decide. But apart from my own egotistic satisfaction, I happen to have a conscience, and that conscience tells me that that which concerns the multitude must not be left to private decision. Nor is the position improved by multiplying my privacy with 18 other privacies. Eighteen people do not make a multitude.

And in the case of the present Legislative Council, Reverend the Honourable C. G. Baeta<sup>1</sup> tells us that in 1948 its members failed to make use of their excellent opportunity to speak for our Gold Coast multitude, and they resigned power into the Governor's hands.

In your editorial of January 19, you exonerate the Legislative Council from blame, on the ground that the failure was, "in the circumstances quite beyond their control".

But that is not how the Secretary of State looked at the matter when in 1946 the Council accepted the Burns' constitution with plaudits, and created circumstances which, two years later, compelled the multitude outside to demand a change in the constitution over the head of the Legislative Council. Mr. Creech Jones was justifiably annoyed with our leaders for misleading him about the attitude of the people to the Burns' constitution. And he said so in so many words in his despatch on the Watson Report.

As a Gold Coast politician I hate to be told by an Englishman that I am silly. That is my reason for suggesting that, this time, in deciding upon Coussey, we the eighteen elected members of the Legislative Council should not take it for granted that our private opinions are the opinion of the multitude.

I am, I think, not wrong in saying that both Europeans and Africans were immeasurably shocked to hear a prominent Ashanti member of the Council state in the recent emergency session that "No Chief had asked for self-government; no responsible leader has asked for self-government; and the Coussey Committee did not ask for self-government".

<sup>1</sup>

The head of the Department of Religions at the Legon University. He is now a professor.

That gentleman was, quite plainly, speaking in utter disregard of the views of the multitude, and with utter contempt for what our newspapers and Councils have been saying during the last two years. (Never mind what Casely Hayford said in 1910).

If you ask my honest conscience to leave the discussion and decision of the Coussey Report to the private opinion of that gentleman for the sake of "expediency". I will not say "Yes" because that would be a piece of dishonest casuistry.

Apart altogether from my own selfish indolence, or natural inertia, which impels me to dislike hard work and avoid sternly anything that may bring me unpredictable "trouble", there is something greater than myself, namely the integrity of our Gold Coast name and reputation, which must be protected above all else, and for that reason I would much rather have the hard work and the trouble than the indolence. That, I think, is not being silly.

The following is the opinion of Mr. F. Awoonor Williams, National Vice-President of the United Gold Coast Convention, in a letter dated 21st January, which reached me to-day:—

*"Rev. Baeta's article in the Daily Echo of the 18th instant on the Constituent Assembly is a damning indictment on the political intuition and integrity of our people; it there categorically affirms that on account of the disagreement amongst members of the Legislative Council, they delegated authority to the Governor to appoint members of the Coussey Committee, and raised the issue how the Constituent Assembly could be invoked and who could predict what the result or effect of such an Assembly might be.*

*"There is something radically wrong with our political outlook or mind and spring of action, a total lack of concerted and a unified retrospect and prospect or purpose, or, at least, an ability so to think and act or translate thought into action. Little wonder that we do not succeed, and fail miserably at every initial step or stage.*

*"Our opponents must be realising our political ineptitude, the very thing desired, to make Government easy for them and to retain power in their hands".*

I don't think I can detain you longer. You ask in your editorial that we should "abandon the idea of a Constituent Assembly

at this time" ( ? Till when? The Greek Kalends? ) "and to concentrate on and make the best of the present Legislative Council discussions".

Why, may I ask, are we afraid of asking the multitude to say whether they agree with us or not? It is suggested by Rev. Baeta that the results of inviting the multitude to speak their mind "would be quite unpredictable".

But is not that the very reason why we should ask them? Is it not because we ourselves know that we do not know and cannot predict what the multitude have or would have in their mind, that we should avoid the pretence of taking a decision on Coussey in their name?

What harm is done to ask the people to send delegates to the Council with a specific mandate to discuss the Coussey Report? What mandate do the present Legislative Council members (except perhaps the Honourable Obetsebi-Lampitey) hold in their hands to change the Burns' Constitution?

Two other points you make in your editorial deserve brief attention. First, that the additional members to be elected to the present Legislative Council "will not be entitled to vote"; and secondly, the proposals of the Constituent Assembly "must be finally approved or rejected by the Legislative Council".

As regards these, and in order to save space, I shall speak dogmatically, as one with authority. The Legislative Council, assembled with the new members, can by resolution, resolve itself into a Constituent Assembly.

Having become constitutive, the Assembly will be entitled to make its own rules of voting and debate, and the first thing will conceivably be to confer a right of vote on every member thereof. In 1852, at a meeting, the Governor and our Paramount Chiefs constituted themselves by resolution, into a Constituent Assembly for the Gold Coast. They set up a constitution with power to make ordinances and to dispose of the revenues of the Government raised by poll tax.

Secondly, being a constitutive body, the 1950 Constituent Assembly may come to final decisions, and such decisions will *not* be subject to review by the Legislative Council. A Constituent Assembly is not a sub-committee of the Legislative Council. It is an independent elemental authority. It is its own master. It can

only report to the sovereign of the country, the King in Council. Not certainly to the Legislative Council which, two years ago, missed its "excellent opportunity".

Whatever happens, let us for God's sake, avoid the line of least resistance and consult the wishes of the people, if not in a Constituent Assembly as suggested, at least in a National Council of the Chiefs and their people in the four territories.

Such National Council will, of course, not be constitutive but advisory, but it will have given the Territorial Councils an opportunity to assemble in one spot, under one presidency, to discuss the Coussey Committee's constitutional proposals and to give utterances to the country's united voice.

Frankly, this hole and corner business of leaving the country's discussion, of Coussey to a peripatetic Select Committee makes me sick. Do not forget that there is no Select Committee appointed yet to examine the proposals affecting the structure of the Central Government. In Mr. Saloway's radio talk on Coussey he made it clear that that was no business of the Government but of private members.

It seems to me that in disregarding the people's voice we may be playing with fire.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

### 33 THE COUSSEY REPORT

25th January, 1950.

The Editor,  
Spectator Daily,  
Accra.

Sir,

Quite a number of our able men refrain from participation in politics because some editors often suffer such men who come forward to lead in political thought to be abused in their newspapers without caring tuppence whether a leader's name deserves to be respected or held in repeated contempt and ridicule before the public. Do we ever intend to keep abusive language from our

national press? When the press treats such men with contempt, are you surprised that when next the hooligans meet them they ridicule and hoot at them?

In your issue of January 25, Rubbs addresses a "Letter of Note" to me stating that "In Coussey you have something to stand upon" and therefore "for the present, we should concentrate on Coussey, and start from there".

Last December I framed a series of motions on Coussey suggesting that, for the present we should accept Coussey and start from there. I sent copy of that draft of motions to you, Mr. Editor, asking you to oblige me with your private and confidential opinion on my suggestion. I received no such letter from you, but on 7th December you allowed one McEwan, whose identity is not far to seek, to PUBLISH an article in your paper in which many inglorious abuses were showered upon me for suggesting that we should make a start with Coussey.

McEwan made two points: that what the country wanted was not the Majority Coussey, but the Minority Rider, and secondly that in TABLING my motions (which, in fact, I had NOT tabled), I had done so "without inviting the views of different political organizations in the country" (which in fact was the very thing my DRAFT of motions sent to all responsible bodies, including responsible editors, was intended to do.)

But, basing his arguments on these false and malicious premises, McEwan was allowed by you to publish two damnable statements against me for the express purpose of holding me in contempt in the eyes of the public.

He stated that for not "inviting the views of different political organizations" it was excusable for one "to doubt whether the Honourable Doctor is REALLY SINCERE in his fight for our political emancipation".

He stated further that for the same sin (which, you, Mr. Editor, must have known I had NOT committed), "one could easily associate himself with the views of the Editor of the *Accra Evening News* that the learned Doctor HAS STABBED the country at the back".

I must presume that you, Mr. Editor, as a responsible leader of opinion, must have agreed with McEwan; you must, or you, or Jonny Rubbs, ought to have written in an editorial or Rubbs or

“Man About Town” column to assert your paper’s disagreement with your contributor.

That is only just over a month ago. The impression one gathered was that the *Spectator Daily* wanted our responsible bodies to be consulted on Coussey and that the *Spectator* wanted the Minority Rider to be carried as representing what the people of this country demanded.

Realising that the people were confused in mind about Coussey, I sought, the following week, in the Legislative Council, to urge that the people should be consulted by means of a Constituent Assembly — the best legitimate organization suited for the purpose — and I urged that no hasty decisions should be taken on Coussey without inviting different constituted organizations in the country to join in the deliberations. (I may mention that it was not principally because of McEwan’s article that I asked for a Constituent Assembly. The idea had already been suggested by me as far back as last October at a special meeting of the Legislative Council immediately after the Report came out). When the opportunity occurred at the public session in December, and knowing what the public had been demanding in the Press and on the platform, I felt fortified in urging the setting up of a Constituent Assembly.

To-day, Rubbs asks me to abandon the idea of a Constituent Assembly because present conditions are not helpful, and Rubbs asks me to do so because of his great care for his own and my own selfish interests. He says, if we were to go to the polls to elect persons for a Constituent Assembly, “where will you and I, or the other person stand at the polls with C.P.P. thugs about?” Must we cheat the people of their rights because we are afraid of them?

With all due deference to Mr. Jonny Rubbs, I do not hesitate to say I take no such selfish view of my personal benefits in the national struggle. I would, of course, wish good men to be elected to the Constituent Assembly, but Jonny Rubbs and I and the other men are not the only good men.

Does it not seem strange, sir, to you, Mr. Editor, that the very thing that you suffered McEwan to abuse me for, your paper has now seen the light I saw long ago, and is now asking to be done? Namely, to accept Coussey and make a start with it!

Where is our national vision? Why do we not think twice be-

fore we attack someone for thinking AHEAD of the many, in the interest of the nation? It is said in the Bible that where there is no vision the people perish. Our country is to be pitied, for unless we act with the vision of statesmen, that Bible prophecy may make us gnash our teeth.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

### 34 THE CONVENTION TEN POINT PROGRAMME

14th April, 1950.

The Editor,  
Gold Coast Express,  
Accra.

Sir,

As an old Conventionist you will, I am sure, permit me to express my high appreciation to you for giving so effective a publicity to the Ten Point Programme of U.G.C.C.

The many encomiums you heap on it — your description of the publication as a “masterpiece”, qualified with the very innocuous word “ingenuous”; your description of the programme itself as “important”; your further description of the constellation as “this brilliant sun”, though qualified with “belated” — seem to take all the bite out of your further description of it as “blatant”. But perhaps that is my own humble opinion.

It is really good to gather that what you so divinely describe as “The Saltpond Shrine” has the guts in it to “capturing the initiative”. You must have good reason to know that the Shrine always does, doesn't it? The unfortunate aspect is that after the good capture is made some others, left in charge to keep the door shut, open it too wide and too noisily to let the captive escape! “Tell it not in Gath. . .”

Reading your editorial of April 13, some people, at first glance, may falsely conclude that you disfavour the Ten Point

as a programme. But, quite the contrary, your real point is that with the sacred Saltpond Shrine once again capturing the initiative, "HOW (your own capitals!) do the worshippers at the Shrine "propose to carry out this new Ghana Political Decalogue!?"

This, of course, is a very clear and very intelligent question. And it deserves an intelligent and equally clear answer. "Give us the tools and we will finish the job". Give us "the direction and control of Government at the earliest possible time" — today, tomorrow, this minute — and we will straight away "direct and control the government" in terms of the programme!

The real trouble with the present type of government is that it has no master-plan. The people are at logger-heads with the present system because the people never know what is coming to them next or going away from them. The present system taxes and spends from year to year, and our roads get worse and the cost of living spirals up and up.

Somebody must think. A positive type of thinking. Inspired from drinking deep at the Pierian spring of the Saltpond Shrine, the Delegates Conference of U.G.C.C. have attempted the positive thinking. As you find nothing wrong with the thinking, why do you fulminate against the thinkers?

Two years ago did not U.G.C.C. make it quite plain in their famous cable to the Secretary of State that they were "prepared and ready" to form a government because they had the men?" Now you see, Sir, that they have the plan too, a master-plan, or, in your own words, a masterpiece. "Give us the tools. . ."

And, by the way, know you of any other organised group of men in Ghana now, who have ever had the guts to think of a programme of government and to declare to the Secretary of State, or to the country, that they had men ready to take over?

You speak in your last paragraph of "the genuine leadership of the worshippers of the Saltpond Shrine", and you give these leaders the credit of having led the country in 1947, and cursed you and yours two years afterwards. Do you fear a curse?

And the reason I said at the beginning that I should show my appreciation to you is that by giving publicity to the Ten Point Programme, praising it but condemning its originators, you have so registered its U.G.C.C. authorship or ownership in the minds of your 10,000 readers, it will be quite impossible for any one

else to steal it in the future and call it his own. There will, of course, be no objection to anyone in power carrying out the U.G.C.C. policy, provided, of course, due acknowledgement is made, as even the founders of C.P.P. duly acknowledged its parentage in its very name.

There is a true and unfailing religion of ideas at the Sacred Saltpond Shrine. As Napoleon said, you may defeat an army, but not an idea. Come up, please, with your friends to the Saltpond Shrine and worship some time. If you accept the discipline of the sacred shrine, the 'god' will bless you.

And, lest I forget, let me thank you most warmly, with a sweet bouquet in my hand, for your show of patent honesty in declaring to all the world that the Ten Point Programme was undertaken by the Saltpond Shrine "gratuitously" — not in expectation of any selfish lust for gate fees and collections.

Ever yours in harness,

J. B. DANQUAH.

### 35 THE ASHANTI CONFEDERACY COUNCIL AND THE C.P.P.

Ref. 1135/UC/50

20th June, 1950.

The Editor,  
Ashanti Pioneer,  
Kumasi.

Sir.

I am not, of course, a member of the Gold Coast Press Association, but my interest in the Gold Coast Press is a long lasting one stretching over an active association of some 35 years. I have always been jealous of the high traditions of our press.

For this reason I was rather astounded to read in column three of page 2 of your issue of June 17, certain correspondence between the Ashanti Confederacy Council and the Kumasi Branch

of the Convention People's Party, dealing with certain matters of high Ashanti politics. I am perturbed by the publication because, both the letter from the Chief Secretary of the Confederacy Council and the letter from the Secretary of the Kumasi branch of the Convention People's Party, were marked confidential.

I have looked in vain for a comment in this issue of your paper for a possible explanation why confidential correspondence of this nature should be published. I hope that we may be favoured with your comment in a subsequent issue.

As to the treatment by the Kumasi C.P.P. of "the manifest desire to allocate a seat to the Party on the Ashanti Confederacy Council", I am not qualified to speak, but I do hope that this grand and centuries old Ashanti glory called the Confederacy Council, of which we in the Colony stand so badly in need, will continue to open its doors for the entry of deserving Ashanti sons without impairing the strength of its structure.

Our compatriots in Ashanti may be interested to learn that in our Colony Joint Provincial Council, the foundation of which goes as far as 1925 (Ten years before the revival of the Ashanti Confederacy Council), not a single commoner has yet been admitted a member.

Even members of the Legislative Council, elected by Paramount Chiefs of the J.P.C., are not allowed to sit with the Council in its deliberations. As one of their representatives in the Legislative Council, any time I desire to address the J.P.C., I have to force my way to Dodowah by an urgent telegram begging for admission.

Friends in Ashanti, count your blessings.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

The Editor,  
Accra Evening News,  
Accra.

27th June, 1950.

Sir,

I have never known anything so disgusting as stupidity, by which I mean a dull and uncritical understanding. And I hardly think any political statement could be more stupid than the following: —

*“West Africa or any other part of Africa is still immatured in economics and unity which are essential to the preparation to self-government or dominionisation of any colonial nation”.*

But you have publicised this senseless and stupid statement in your paper as having been made by me at the Holborn Hall, London.

You can be quite certain that had I said anything so disgusting, it could not have escaped the hawk-eyed George Padmore who was present at the meeting as a correspondent of the *Ashanti Pioneer*. In a recent issue of your esteemed contemporary at Kumasi Mr. Padmore’s full report of what I said at the Holborn Hall meeting has appeared. I should be happy if you would direct your very intelligent readers to that paper for an intelligent man’s understanding of what I said on the occasion.

In your editorial which carries the quotation above, together with your comment, you make the following rhetorical statement:—

*“If it is true that Dr. Danquah made such a statement then perhaps he does not know what we are about”.*

I would not stop to ask whom you mean by “we”. But surely, Sir, you, as Editor, must know something of the first elements of journalism: that where an editor is in doubt as to the truth of a report, he must take the precaution of checking it from an authentic source; for that is the wise man’s way of avoiding giving publicity to what may turn out to be a lie.

As you were yourself obviously in doubt, why did you not call upon me or send some one to ask me whether I had in fact made such a statement? Why publish it to all the world and then turn round to enquire whether it was true? And from whom do

you wait for enlightenment? From your readers? Or from your correspondent in London? Or from me?

In justice to your readers, but certainly not you — for without hearing evidence you have already prejudged the issue — I take the trouble to state briefly that what I said in London was in reply to a question by some one in the audience as to what I was doing to bring about a self-governing West African nation.

And my answer was the answer I had always given to similar questions on our Gold Coast platforms: that my most immediate concern in politics is to see the Gold Coast a self-governing nation and a State — in culture, in self-sufficiency, and in power.

Since, however, my energy is dangerously limited, and since my life is necessarily short, and since I would rather achieve a bit, however little, than attempt many things on a broad scale, I have made it my aim to attain satisfaction if I were to realise my dream of a Gold Coast nation before my death. As we say in the vernacular: (Onipa beyee bi; wammeye ne nyinaa) "Man is sent to this world to do a bit, not to do all."

I certainly have never believed that we could attain our goal of liberation earlier if we dissipated our limited energies in the international extravaganza of getting all the French, Portuguese, British and Belgian colonies in West Africa to speak our "Ghana S.G." language before we tackled Sir Gerald Creasy or Sir Arden Clarke as well as the Creech Joneses of France, Portugal, Britain and Belgium! (By language I mean of course political ideology).

I did mention at the Holborn Hall that on the larger question of racial discrimination there were no tribal or national boundaries, and that the Gold Coast would be prepared to lead in the liberation of our more unfortunate brethren in the South if we became stronger as a self-governing power. As I have always sought to make clear in my speeches and writings, I set a line of demarcation between political nationalism and racial nationalism. Quite a number of people have not quite got this distinction clear in their minds, but that is their own affair.

I want to see the Gold Coast rise and liberated from colonial subjection to a free and independent State not just because we are a black people and our rulers white, but principally because we are a homogeneous people living in a single compact territory with a common past of suffering and a common future of hope and

self-sufficiency. When I ask for a separate University for the Gold Coast I do so from the same motive.

I happen to know that some of my Nigerian friends do not relish this intensity of my Gold Coast nationalism; but if I were a Nigerian I would first seek to have a Nigerian University, to foster and preserve our own distinctive Nigerian culture, and later, when all is settled, to find a common intellectual idiom of thought and culture for Ghana and Nigeria!

You will perhaps call this chauvinism, but I cannot think of a greater religion than the worship of my nation. God is in Ghana and Ghana is in God.

One minor point: Your London correspondent was most unkind to me when he put such an ugly word as "dominionisation" into my mouth. Whoever heard me use such a word either here or in Britain? And just think for a moment of the other phrase, also attributed to me by your correspondent: "West Africa is still immatured in economics and unity which are essential to the preparation to self-government. . ."

That is tripe. I would not have spent 30 years of my life working for the attainment of self-government at a time when I was myself sacrificing my economic prosperity in my profession if it had been my idea that we could not become self-governing unless we were each of us rich men. Surely, the classic press controversy between myself (Fara Abrahams) and one of our more learned doctors ('Candide') in the *Gold Coast Observer* on the issue whether economics should come before politics (and in which a group of College boys gave judgement in my favour for politics) must be fresh in the memory of any who are not mere parvenus in our political struggle.

My one aim in my thirty years of hard struggle was to arouse the youth and the elders to realise that the best qualification for self-government is neither education nor wealth but the capacity to think of self-government, the intense desire to get it, and the courage to demand it and try it.

Today the man in the street thinks he desires self-government quicker than I do, and that is why I am proud of him. He ought to govern himself.

Yours faithfully,  
J. B. DANQUAH.

Ref. 1160/CC/50

5th July, 1950.

Miss Marjorie Nicholson,  
Assistant Secretary,  
Fabian Colonial Bureau,  
11 Dartmouth Street,  
LONDON S.W. 1.

Dear Miss Nicholson,

Your letter of the 23rd May reached me in Accra last week in June. Actually, I flew back from London on May 23. I cannot forgive myself for not notifying you earlier of my short visit. I had planned to make a call at your office, but other business engagements crashed out my time.

Things are moving at a slow pace just now. We met in the Legislative Council on July 4 to receive the Report of the Constituencies Committee, of which I was a member. I had occasion to append a rider in relation to the withholding of the franchise from our compatriots of the Northern Territories. Coussey's intention was for the Chiefs and Councils to "surrender" parts of their powers to the people and a vote for everyman over 25 was approved by H.M. Government. For a Select Committee to seek to withhold that "right" now seems to me the height of political iniquity.

Unfortunately, during the week I was in London, my colleagues went to Tamale and met 32 Chiefs and followers of the North who came out with a proposition that their people were incompetent to exercise the franchise granted them by the King and that they, the Chiefs, were to select who should be members of the electoral college for such men to elect the required numbers of the N.T.'s members of the Legislative Assembly. In addition, the Chiefs are to enjoy their own right to elect 6 territorial members for the Assembly.

It seems all so confusing, but what appears to be behind it all is an attempt by certain elements to make it impossible for any popular party, say the C.P.P., to secure a good majority in the new Assembly. If the N.T.'s seats are under direct control and

choice of the Government-appointed Chiefs' Council, the possibility, even the certainty, is that the "elected" men will be nearly as bad (or as good) as the nominated members. The 13 added to the 25 Territorial seats for Chiefs in all the four territories, together with 3 ex-officio members and 2 Mercantile and Mining members, gives a comfortable 43 majority to anyone who cares for it in a house of 78 or 80 members.

With the popular front at present hopelessly divided, one can see at a glance that even if the remaining seats were all won by the popular parties, the fundamental lack of common agreement in method and also differences of temperament may make it difficult for the popular front to stem the tide in the direction of reaction.

However, as I write, the Legislative Council is proceeding, and as nearly everybody is an acting man, one does not hope that serious advances or fundamental departures from the settled course to secure control of the new Government will be made.

And talking of acting men, Mr. Saloway is Acting Governor, Mr. Armitage is Acting Colonial Secretary, Mr. Gould (Treasurer) is Acting Financial Secretary, Mr. Burden, Commissioner of Labour (nearly completely deaf) is Acting Chief Commissioner for the Northern Territories, and Mr. Cooper is Acting Chief Commissioner for the Colony (Cape Coast).

In fact, apart from the competent and popular Mr. Saloway, the only substantive men in the Government front bench of 6 are Mr. Branigan, the Attorney General and Major Butler, Chief Commissioner of Ashanti. And of the six, only Armitage and Branigan are in the front rank of capability to stand up to anyone or anything.

This is the sort of set-up we are up against. Decisions are not capable of being taken in such atmosphere, or, if taken, they usually are in the line of least resistance. And can we suffer people to play fast and loose with a country's Government?

I do hope that it will not be long when the new Government is elected to assume office. The elections could have taken place in November or December for the new Ministers to assume office in January, but it is thought that it would hardly be fair to give the new Government only two months to prepare and introduce the

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NOTE. The elections took place on February 8, 1951 and the first budget by African Ministers was a year later — February 19, 1952.

budget in February or March. So the probabilities are that the elections may take place in April after the Budget Session and the new Government may assume office soon thereafter, say, May or June.

I hope Dr. Rita Hinden has by now returned from America. Please give her my warm regards.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

### 38 LET US BEHAVE LIKE GENTLEMEN

20th August, 1950.

K. A. Gbedemah<sup>1</sup> Esq.,  
Chairman Editorial Board,  
Accra Evening News,  
Accra.

Dear Mr. Gbedemah,

Your paper continues to use scurrilous and libellous language against your political opponents despite your appeal on August 6 at Cape Coast at your party conference that members of your Party should behave like cultured people, "in short to be gentlemen".

As you are Acting Chairman of your Party and Chairman of the Editorial Board of your Party's newspaper, *The Accra Evening News*, and as, according to your Cape Coast speech, you are the director and controller "over all in the Party", I should like to know how you justify the following scurrilous and libellous attack against Mr. W. E. G. Sekyi and myself in the editorial of *The Accra Evening News* of August 19, 1950:—

"It also indicates that had the Convention People's Party not been formed, Mr. Sekyi, of the Aborigines Society, and Dr. Danquah of the U.G.C.C. through Pa Grant

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<sup>1</sup> One-time Minister of Finance in the Nkrumah regime.

would have us follow them blindly and then bound hand and foot and sold to the imperialists for a pat on the back, for scholarships to their children and for subsidies to publish books”.

In your reply I would ask you to keep in mind the fact that the C.P.P. was formed just over a year ago upon fictitious and malicious allegations of bribery and corruption against the founder and all but one of the leaders of the Convention; that the Aborigines Society which saved our lands has passed its jubilee, and that the U.G.C.C., originator of the modern aspect of our struggle, is in its fourth year. Further, Mr. Sekyi entered politics some 35 or more years ago and I myself did so some 25 or more years ago.

In the editorial in question, your paper further states:

“The Aborigines and the U.G.C.C. have now revealed their true colours to the people of this country. No wonder they have never succeeded in doing anything beneficial to the country”.

Do you, as leader of a Party, the members of which are counselled to behave like gentlemen, honestly believe that you do journalism in West Africa any good by that kind of ungentlemanly perversion of history in your party paper? Do you honestly believe that the younger men who have hardly any means or opportunity of checking up such perversions of fact in your paper would be able to refrain from behaving like hooligans against leaders in other political parties concerning whom your paper writes such malicious rubbish?

As to the statement that the Aborigines and the U.G.C.C. have never succeeded in doing anything beneficial to the country, I myself have no doubt that the C.P.P. has done something “to the country” — its value is quite another question.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

Ref. 1331/UC/50

30th August, 1950.

K. A. Gbedemah Esq.,  
P.O. Box 821,  
Accra.

Dear Mr. Gbedemah,

I am shocked beyond words by your letter of August 28.

What you call "grave allegation of political dishonesty", which you boast to have made against me, was not "refuted" by me because your use of words was merely abusive without merit or print. You seem to think quite a lot of yourself to consider so empty a claptrap as being a "grave allegation" made by you.

As regards what I said in Kumasi, you and your newspapers have merely twisted my language to extricate yourselves from the present tactical predicament in which the Chiefs' proposal for a national congress has placed you.

For many a long month you had been preaching "unity" from the housetops. Now that you are confronted with the possibility of a real unity of Chiefs and people you seem to run away from it in an unholy terror that the Congress may push you into second place.

I do not claim that the Congress should abolish political parties. What I said at Kumasi was that the national organisation we need at present should have one supreme leader or commander and not several supreme commanders.

Parties in Ghana must be formed when we begin to want different things. Today we all want the same thing, self-government, and it is criminal nonsense for any one to suggest that we could get S.G. in the shortest possible time, or this minute, if we had several parties and several commanders-in-chief pulling themselves about in several ways. Disunited we fall.

Of course, if the national necessity demands that parties must altogether give way to a national united front, no one will welcome it better than I; but there can be no question of "abolishing" parties. Those who would not unite are free to disunite.

As regards my letter to the Colonial Secretary and request for

an additional grant to enable me to complete my seven years old research into the Akan Dual Family system, it is most surprising that you, an educated man claiming to be a product of Achimota, should associate such a request with bribery. You might just as well say that a person who takes a scholarship from Government is also bribed, or that a member of the Legislative Council who takes an allowance from Government is thereby bribed.

I can see that my letter was fully justified. I was in doubt whether you too believed in the stupid allegations of bribery against certain of our leaders. I am now convinced beyond doubt that you do, and that you helped personally to propagate it in your newspaper and on your platform.

It seems to me a great misfortune for the Gold Coast that a mind that so easily succumbs to such low opinions concerning others is an educator of the political mind of many thousands of our country's youth in the Convention's noble quest for self-government which Pa Grant gave us.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

#### 40 THE STRUGGLE IS NOW ABOUT TO BEAR FRUIT

Circular Letter to all Chiefs in  
Akim Abuakwa.

26th October, 1950.

Dear Nana/Barima/Bafour,

The struggle for liberation of the Gold Coast from Colonial rule, which was first prominently brought to your notice in 1948 when Mr. William Ofori Atta (Oheneba Kwasi Amoako) and myself were included in the six Gold Coast Sons arrested and detained in the Northern Territories on the Orders of Governor, Sir Gerald Creasy, is now about to bear fruit in the creation of an advanced type of constitution for our country.

2. It is true that the new form of government about to be set up in February 1951 does not give full "direction and control" to us over our own affairs; and it is also true that its structure is not

as good as recommended by the Coussey Committee. But those chiefly responsible for these sorrows of the Gold Coast are some of our own kith and kin.

3. For instance, the great battle for a Bicameral Legislature, the battle for the right of the new Assembly to elect the eight African Ministers, (as against "proposal" or "nomination" by the Governor) and the equally great battle for a Constituent Assembly to discuss the Coussey Report, were all fought and lost by my friends and me against the combined opposition of fearful African and European odds in the Legislative Council.

4. In so far as Akim Abuakwa is concerned, you will be interested to learn that had the recommendation of the Coussey Committee of which I was a member, and the further recommendations of the Ewart Committee, of which also I was a member, been adopted by the Legislative Council, our State of Akim Abuakwa, like the State of Anlo (Anwuna), by reason of population, would have had four seats in the new Legislative Assembly. That is to say, two seats were to be filled by the Chiefs of the Akim Abuakwa State Council, and two other seats by the people of Akim Abuakwa.

5. For reasons which I cannot disclose in this open letter to you, many persons outside Akim Abuakwa worked hard to destroy the great privilege which, by reason of its large population and its economic importance, our State would have enjoyed in the new Assembly.

6. As matters now stand, the two seats for the Akim Abuakwa State Council have disappeared. In place thereof the State is to share two seats with all the other Akan States in the old Eastern Province, namely, Akwapim, New Juaben, Kwahu, and Akwamu. The four or five seats which the Akim State of the present Eastern Province would have had also disappeared.

7. You will, no doubt, express regret that this great privilege has been snatched away from us, but I give you this consolation: out of the wreckage the people of Akim Abuakwa have still the right of electing two members to the Assembly, and our Paramount Chief too will have the right of taking part in the Joint Provincial Council elections for two Akan Territorial Members.

8. During the next three months, November, December and January, your mind and the minds of the people in your Wing or

Division will be much exercised by this question: Who are the two sons of Akim Abuakwa who have done most to bring about this new Constitution, are best acquainted with its inner workings, and are therefore best qualified to represent Akim Abuakwa in the New Legislative Assembly?

9. And the answer to this question is obvious: The two sons of Abuakwa, who fit best into the picture, are two of the Six Gold Coast Sons from Akim Abuakwa who were taken to the Northern Territories in 1948, men well experienced in national politics, from Accra to Navrongo, from Denu to Beyin.

10. When in the grim and arduous days of 1948 we the Six were incarcerated in the Kumasi Prison and later "Removed by Order" into the Northern Territories as Political Prisoners, without charge, without trial, and without limit of sentence, many were those who went about the country traducing and abusing us as ambitious men who wanted to upset the good government of the country.

11. Today, the hardships and struggles of the Watson Commission, the Coussey Committee, and the Ewart Committee, etc. etc., are over. The fruit planted by the Six is now ripe on the tree, and one of the queer things likely to happen is that some people may arise or appear in Akim Abuakwa and come to you and your people to tell you that you should push aside those two Abuakwa sons, namely Kwame Kyeretwie (Dr. J. B. Danquah) and Oheneba Kwasi Amoako (Mr. William Ofori Atta), and let the fruit of their labours fall into the laps of some two other men who may lack the national political experience which, I make no excuse in saying, we have the good fortune to command.

12. If any such "new" politicians come to you, I would humbly counsel you to listen to, and weigh carefully, the specious reasons they may give for thinking that they are better qualified to represent Akim Abuakwa than your two Abuakwa sons, who, taking after the footsteps of the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta, have for long exercised their talents in national Gold Coast politics to glorify Akim Abuakwa and the Gold Coast in general.

13. In the month of February 1951 — exactly three years from the date February 1948, when the U.G.C.C. sent a cable to the Secretary of State to demand that Governor Creasy be recalled, that a Commission of Enquiry be sent out, and that a new form of

Government be set up for the Gold Coast — an entirely new Constitution is to be installed at Accra in the form of a Legislative Assembly with eight African Ministers in the majority in the Executive of Government.

14. Akim Abuakwa, which since the days of Nana Dokua, our great Queen who fought at Akantamansu, has never been backward in Gold Coast politics, has a great and glorious part to play in the implementation of the New Constitution for Ghana. If well guided, Akim Abuakwa will not fail to make an outstanding contribution to the progress of the Gold Coast in a manner deserving of its distinguished and historic name.

15. Finally, I wish to say this: the first phase of the struggle for a self-governing constitution is over, but the struggle for self-government is not ended, and Akim Abuakwa should not hesitate to choose men well versed in the art and science of politics to continue the struggle for our complete liberation from Colonial Rule.

16. As soon as my health permits, I hope to visit you and your people before the end of the year. My greetings to you all, your Chiefs, Elders, Linguists, Councillors, Asafoakyefo and people.

I remain, Nana/Barima/Bafour,

Yours sincerely & obediently,

J. B. DANQUAH.

#### 41 SIR OFORI RAISED THE NAME OF AKIM ABUAKWA

Circular to all Chiefs in  
Akim Abuakwa

6th November, 1950.

Dear Nana/Barima/Bafour,

A new Legislative Assembly will be established for the Gold Coast in 1951. Every State or group of States in the Gold Coast is required to elect a qualified and suitable person as its representative in the Assembly.

2. Our State of Akim Abuakwa, because of its economic

importance and its great population, is required to elect two such members to the Assembly. The decision is left to you and your people to choose the two persons who, in the opinion of yourself and your people, will represent the interests of Akim Abuakwa in an adequate and competent manner.

3. It is not for me at this stage to sing my own praises, for I have no doubt that you and your people are aware that I have been in the thick of the struggle since my return from England in 1927 and in particular since my election to the Legislative Council by the Joint Provincial Council at Dodowah  $4\frac{1}{2}$  years ago.

4. My part in the present struggle for liberation culminated in my being removed on the Orders of the Governor in 1948 to the Kumasi Prison, and then to the Northern Territories as a Political Prisoner.

5. Included in the Six Sons of the Gold Coast so removed was Mr. William Eugene Amoako Ofori Atta, son of the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta, who is commonly known as Kwasi Amoako. Both of us, trained by your State Council in the United Kingdom, were foundation members of the United Gold Coast Convention, which started the ball rolling under the guidance of Mr. George Grant for liberation of the Gold Coast from Colonial Rule, a process which is usually called the struggle for self-government.

6. Today, I, Kwame Kyeretwie, an humble son of the Akim Abuakwa soil, commonly known to the outside world as Dr. J. B. Danquah, take this opportunity to inform you that I am prepared to make myself available for election by you and your people as one of your representatives in the Assembly. For additional member, I am happy to recommend Mr. William Ofori Atta, an economist and a politician in the fore-front of Gold Coast politics, Principal of the Akim Abuakwa State College.

7. I dare say there are many other sons of Akim Abuakwa who may in many respects be qualified to represent the State in the new Assembly, but with my experience of Gold Coast national politics, as also of the very exacting demands which public life makes upon a member of the Legislature, the State of Akim Abuakwa would be perfectly justified to choose Mr. William Ofori Atta and myself for the Assembly.

8. I may mention that, apart from the Legislative Assembly, two other types of Councils are to be established in Akim Abua-

kwa to which other talented sons of Akim Abuakwa could be elected, namely, the Local Government Council of your area and the District Council of Akim Abuakwa.

9. In addition, it is probable that a Regional Council for the whole of the Colony will be established at Cape Coast. The Regional Council will be concerned chiefly with Gold Coast Colony affairs as distinct from general Gold Coast affairs.

10. To these other Councils, namely, Local, District, and Regional, you will, at a later date, be called upon to elect some of Abuakwa's competent educated people to represent you. For the present, I would direct your particular attention to the supreme importance of seeing to it that every person in your District of the age of 21 years or more is registered as a voter, and that when the time comes for voting, he will go and vote for the right delegate.

11. As you are probably aware, the delegates to the Electoral College are those who are to elect the two persons deemed competent and fully qualified by the voters of Akim Abuakwa to represent the State in the Assembly. The voters in your electoral area who are to elect such delegates must see to it that the delegates are trustworthy men with a wide knowledge of what our State wants.

12. Akim Abuakwa has since the days of the late Nana Sir Ofori Atta I, become the cynosure of all eyes for the part that its sons have played in politics of the Gold Coast. Sir Ofori raised the name of Akim Abuakwa to one of great prestige in the Gold Coast. We in Akim Abuakwa should be careful not to fall below the standard which the late Omanhene set for our State in particular and the Gold Coast in general.

13. The Akim Abuakwa State has many problems of social, economic and administrative development which require to be adequately handled in the Assembly. I cannot do more than say, at this supreme moment in the life of our State, look around you and choose your two best men to represent you in the Assembly and handle such problems.

14. I need hardly assure you that if I am included in your choice, I will, with Mr. William Ofori Atta, to the best of our ability, seek the general and particular progress of the Gold Coast and, in particular, of Akim Abuakwa, the land of our birth.

15. I am arranging to visit your town and have a heart to heart talk with you and your people on certain intimate matters

which have placed Akim Abuakwa in a unique position and in regard to which, in the interest of our Abuakwa State, its lands and peoples, you must exercise your mind upon the fact that the new Assembly is going to affect your own life and the lives of your people at every turn, and that it is not a thing for child's play.

My greetings to you all, your Chiefs, Elders, Linguists, Councillors, Asafoakyefo, and people.

I remain, Nana/Barima/Bafour,

Yours sincerely & obediently,

J. B. DANQUAH.

## 42 THE 1951 GENERAL ELECTIONS

8th February, 1951.

Nananom, and People,

I come before you to be elected because of my desire to continue and complete my national work.

Opposing me in this are two candidates of the Convention People's Party!

One of them is known to Gold Coast farmers, and the other is well known in his town, Asamankese. (David Ofori's candidature came to me with surprise).

Before God, I feel certain were every one to vote without prejudice or the anti-Convention spirit, every one would vote for me, because my achievement is not of a section nor of a single town.

An independent newspaper bears evidence that my achievement for Ghanaland — this Gold Coast — has been "in the service of Mother Ghana".

But there is prejudice against me.

Those who are creating the prejudice are determined that who ever goes to the Assembly I, Danquah, should not be there.

Why do the powers that be wish to exclude me from the Assembly?

Is it because in four and a half years' service in the old Legis-

lative Council I proved myself incapable in debate, or in attack, or in pressing hard for reforms?

Is it not because in my crusade to regain our liberty I gave neither quarter nor respite to Government?

In this national crusade for complete liberation, our single opponent is the Imperial Power in our midst.

If rumours reached you that Government was against my election to the Assembly, you must be certain that, for our country's good, and to enable me to complete the crusade, I ought to be elected.

I ask you, gentlemen, to harbour no prejudice against me and vote for me as you would before God.

You are aware of the great disunity that the Convention People's Party has brought to our national united front.

You are aware that the Convention People's Party, breaking away from the true Convention, turned politics into a circus in which the Krobo Eduseis play.

I say, and would say repeatedly, this is the time to support our best men. This is the time for unity for all of us. This is not time for divisionism.

It is absurd that we who want the same thing are divided against ourselves.

If there be any among you who would vote for party and not for country, I ask him to examine his conscience.

I ask him to think of Mother Ghana, think of himself, and think of all of you, and ask whether he was born to be a patriot or to be a partisan.

My present opponents acknowledge my achievement as all men do.

Behind my back they try to vilify me. But before you they keep silent because they know you know the truth.

They are against me not because they think I am unfit for the Assembly but because they think they are themselves fit.

Comparisons are odious but truth is sacred.

Do you want only the farmers, or only Asamankese, to be represented in the Assembly?

I support farming, but I support education as well. I support Kibi, but I support your own town as well. I support agriculture but I support also trade and commerce.

Many are our country's interests, local, national and international.

Our new Assembly will be a national Assembly.

Vote in the national interest; vote for men of experience in national and international politics.

You have two votes. Give me one vote.

You have one constituency, the Akim Abuakwa constituency.

Do not please place your constituency in a lower scale in the Assembly. Let your two men in the Assembly be men of national quality.

Give your other vote to a veteran in our politics. Ofori Atta was one of the Six in our enforced political journey to our Gold Coast Siberia — the Northern Territories.

He too is engaged in national and not in sectional politics.

Vote for him too.

Cast from our midst that foreign prejudice. Prefer not Party to Unity. Vote for Unity.

Vote for me. Vote for success of our national crusade against imperialism.

Vote from conscience. Vote before God.

Yours sincerely & obediently,

J. B. DANQUAH.

#### 43 LET US BURY OUR PAST MISUNDERSTANDINGS

*In January 1950 Kwame Nkrumah was sent to prison for organising an illegal strike which he called 'Positive Action'. In the following February 1951 his Party, the Convention People's Party, having won the General Election, the Governor released him from prison as an "act of grace" and entrusted him with the formation of the first African Government in Ghana.*

*And here again Dr. Danquah, who had always placed the*

*interests of the country above Party considerations, demonstrated his statesmanship and sent the following congratulatory message to Nkrumah.*

13th February, 1951.

My dear Kwame,

This is a glad occasion. You have fought the good fight and triumphed for the justice of our cause. Your imprisonment and your release are symbolic of the conquest over imperialism. You may have made mistakes, as even the greatest do, but you have passed through a baptism of fire, a spiritual fire, and you have suffered bodily in the cause of our Motherland.

I feel certain you see the light ahead as our opportunity to make this Ghana the land of promise of our dreams. May the Gods of Ghana help and guide you and may the baseless misrepresentations and misunderstandings of the past that engendered disunity in our struggle be buried with their own past.

We started with a United Gold Coast. Let us complete the work for a united motherland. Since October last the course of events had been clear to me and your election and release had been my desire.

May God bless you.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

44 I WILL NEVER JOIN THE C.P.P.

Ref. 112/UC/51

19th February, 1951.

Mr. Hutchfull,  
Tarkwa.

Dear Mr. Hutchfull,

Thanks for your telegram of congratulation which reads as follows:

“ CONGRATULATIONS ENTRY LEGISLATIVE  
ASSEMBLY STOP DEPART FROM PAST IN-  
CONSISTENCIES AND UNNECESSARY CRI-

TICISMS CO-OPERATE AND ADVISE WORK-  
ING NEW CONSTITUTION BEST WISHES

— HUTCHFULL ”.

When you ask me to depart from my past inconsistencies I should be happy to know in what exactly I had been inconsistent. I worked hard for over twenty years to arouse the consciousness of the people to think themselves fit for self-government. I established the Youth Conference for the purpose of educating and preparing the minds of the youth for the fray. At great risk to myself I kept up the struggle in the press, especially in the *Observer*, where I was opposed by others (“Candide” among them) suggesting that we should wait for our economic “self-government” first. I pressed hard to defeat the argument in favour of political self-government first. At last we got the U.G.C.C. formed and fired the imagination of the country, the “front” having been already brought together by my previous work of preparation.

We sacrificed our worth and paid money to get out Nkrumah to carry on the work like St. Paul, but a year later he turned against us, and his party went about saying the rest of us had been bribed by the Government, and he was the only honest man of the six who really wanted S.G!

We were abused and vilified and criticised destructively. I did not hear from you, Mr. Hutchfull, telling other people not to criticise us.

You ask me to “co-operate and advise working new constitution”. With whom am I to co-operate? The C.P.P. have declared that they are a party and are going to act like a party in the new Government. They are now the Government of the Gold Coast.

I am quite sure you will be the last to suggest that I should abandon the U.G.C.C. and join the C.P.P., that would be rank inconsistency. Would it not?

Think, Sir, think.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

45 THE ABORIGINES' SOCIETY AND ADULT  
SUFFRAGE

Ref. 114/UC/51

21st February, 1951.

K. S. Obu, Esq.,  
P.O. Box 25,  
Sekondi.

My dear Obu,

Thanks for your letter of the 16th February. I reciprocate your sentiments about the present position, but your Aborigines Society's<sup>1</sup> opposition to adult suffrage was so feeble in the Coussey Committee, it made no impression on the members as to compel them to adopt the alternative of election by council of the elders.

In any case, I do not think adult suffrage is the real cause of our present situation. The real cause is the indifference of the older leaders to leave the problem of self-government and their animosity to any one who would not toe the line with them. Had your Society given the founders of the Convention the benefit of the co-operation sought for, Nkrumah might not have achieved his present astounding but questionable success with the masses. Sekyi<sup>2</sup> at all times had the ear and attention of the people to an extent that I never had, but he would not be attracted to popular leadership — which perhaps was inevitable, judging from his conservative and aristocratic temperament, but the result is the present situation of other people riding the people's horse recklessly to the discomfiture of the old pioneers.

You suggest that Sekyi and I should meet and settle a line of action for the Gold Coast or we are doomed. It is nearly late, but "*Akyea na embui*"<sup>3</sup> is the sweetest of all proverbs. We may yet save the country's tree, which is now bent, from breaking altogether.

I suggest that Mr. Sekyi take the initiative to write to me or

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<sup>1</sup> The Aborigines' Society was organised at Cape Coast in 1897 by the chiefs and some educated elements to protect the rights of the aborigines of the Gold Coast at all times by constitutional means and methods, and to promote and effect unity of purpose and of action among all aborigines of the Gold Coast.

<sup>2</sup> One-time President of the Aborigines Society.

<sup>3</sup> An Akan saying meaning : lit. It is bent but not broken.

to Mr. Grant for a conference to discuss a plan of campaign to save the country from the madding crowd, and I suggest that since national "movements" have now outlived their real usefulness, we and the rest of the men of your type must form a great party to meet the other group on its own grounds.

Sekyi says he does not believe in parties for our country. He may be right. But the conditions have changed, and we stand to lose more, standing where we were, than if we moved ahead of the times.

I love always to hear from you. Let me hear from you again.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

#### 46 WHAT THE C.P.P. LEADERS STAND FOR IN OUR HISTORY

The Editor,  
Daily Graphic  
Accra.

1st June, 1951.

Sir,

Your leader writer of May 30 ("Dictatorship") and May 31 ("Stone-throwing") did not succeed in concealing from his intelligent readers his own political alignment, nor did he succeed in concealing that he is prepared to go to any length to justify whatever his political friends do.

Where a Chief of a town, a Chief who is the guardian of the morality, safety and security of his people, seeks to prevent a political party addicted to hooliganism from establishing in his town and corrupting the minds and manners of his youth, your leader writer calls the Chief's act "dictatorship".

Where some "irresponsible members of the C.P.P. have lost their heads and tried to express a political opinion" by stone-throwing and by waiting in ambush to attack persons travelling on the King's highway, he does not call it "dictatorship" even though the party behaving thus is the party in power!

Your leader writer is himself aware that those who threw stones thought that by that means they would win "a single point"

in political argument. He is himself aware that the people who thus indulged in that act of savagery and barbarism thought that they would win "a great deal of public sympathy" thereby. He calls their act "stupid, illegal and an offence punishable by law". But he is, even so, prepared to justify that act and, of course, to encourage its repetition and continuance.

He does not succeed to conceal from his intelligent readers that he agrees with the Minister of Health and Labour<sup>1</sup> in suggesting that "if the U.G.C.C. stopped all this nonsense of preaching hatred against Nkrumah and got down to serious criticism the people might be prepared to listen to them" instead of waiting in ambush for them and throwing stones at them like savages.

Gbedemah said "U.G.C.C. members have only themselves to blame". To blame for what? To blame for C.P.P. members behaving "stupidly and illegally and committing offences punishable by law"! A Minister holds that view . . . . and your leader writer agrees with him. Is not our country then, together with its Government as well as its press, going to the dogs?

It is easy enough for your leader writer and the Minister to translate political criticism into moral terms and describe unrelenting opposition to a political opponent as "hatred" against that leader! If your leader writer wants to know, I assure him here and now that I hate all that Nkrumah and the other C.P.P. leaders stand for in our political history — the dangling of false paradises before the trusting masses, and stirring up of stupid and illegal hatred in the masses by telling malicious and libellous stories of bribery and other terrible crimes against other leaders, well knowing that those stories were false, but telling the stories continuously with the avowed object of discrediting and destroying such leaders and then walking over their dead bodies to climb into power and personal fame!

I hate people who stand for that and will continue to hate and detest them so long as there is breath of life in me. Had King Ghartey IV of Winneba and Sarbah and Casely Hayford and those gentlemen politicians of the past started our politics that way, the foundations of dignity and truth in politics which this country enjoyed till 1949 could not have been inherited by us.

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<sup>1</sup> K. A. Gbedemah.

But to hate a person's politics is not the same as hating the person. Nkrumah and his henchmen are probably excellent men, excellent fathers and husbands etc. etc. But many a wicked destroyer of a nation's soul and dignity and self-respect had been that. Hitler, Mussolini and who else, even Lucifer in heaven, had all their good points. One cannot but be in a large sympathy with Lucifer upon reading Milton's *Paradise Lost*. But we hate Lucifer's politics and detest him for that, never mind his initial greatness and his final fall into the abyss that even a Hitler could not touch!

Your leader writer suggests that what is happening in Akim Abuakwa is caused by "nonsense of preaching hatred against Nkrumah". At Asamankese the crowd that attacked our cars and our persons were not even in the Community Centre, and did not hear what we had said in our speeches. They were not even prepared to meet us face to face outside and discuss matters like decent men. They hid at a distance and threw stones at us and our cars. Not having heard us, how did they know that what we preached was hatred against Nkrumah?

We disagree with the C.P.P. Ministers for denying us the opportunity to take our self-government when the time came, and we disagree with them in seizing the farmers' savings by abusing the legislative process for the purpose. We disagree with them in their forcing the Budget down the throat of the people with orders to their followers in the Assembly not to reduce a single item of expenditure proposed, not by C.P.P. Ministers, but by the remnants of the old Colonial Power. We disagree with them in deceiving the people to believe that they would not live in Ministers' bungalows whilst they place the country into expenditure of £600 a year for rent of the buildings in which they choose to live. We disagree with them in telling the people that they would not draw their salaries for themselves but pay them into party fund whilst they did not intend really to stand by that deception. We disagree with them in asking Government to grant each of them £550 a year for employment of personal secretaries in addition to Private Secretaries, whilst their own Ministerial colleagues, the ex-officio ministers, do not also ask the country to pay for their own personal secretaries. We disagree with the C.P.P. Ministers taking their friends, whether girls or boys, who are not otherwise qualified to take Government posts, into the Government service as their

personal secretaries. We disagree entirely with the racket that the C.P.P. Ministers have turned the country's politics into, and we would fight against careerist politicians who prostitute politics by holding on to the sweets of office in preference to liberating the country from imperial thralldom. When on the S.G. motion, a Minister said that the motion itself was not bad, but that he did not become a Minister to sit upon the liquidation of his Ministry so soon after taking office, he made an honest confession of the self-seeking motives which sit in their C.P.P. minds. We disagree with threatening to depose Chiefs who vote against their views in the Assembly, and we disagree with them in glorifying the colonial power and making chieftaincy look ridiculous. We disagree with their political charlatanism which insults the people of this land with a suggestion that their constitution could be copied from the appendix in any primer of constitutional law. We hate these things in our politics, and we would continue to tell the people of them until the people come to their senses.

Yours faithfully,

J. B. DANQUAH.

#### 47 NKRUMAH AND HIS TRICKS

Ref. No. 880/P & F/51

10th October, 1951.

J. A. Obdam, Esq.,  
Daarnhouwer & Co. Ltd.,  
Plantation House,  
Mincing Lane,  
London, E.C. 3.

Dear Mr. Obdam,

I exceedingly regret delay in replying to your two letters. That man Kwame Nkrumah, who is now Leader of Government Business, has started his tricks again, this time, he who is the Government, is inviting all the political leaders and Chiefs to join him to send

an ultimatum to His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom for "Self-government now", and if rejected to declare Positive Action — strikes and boycotts etc.

There has been hectic activity all over the place, and on Sunday we of the U.G.C.C. met at a great meeting and turned down his 'challenge'<sup>1</sup> flat, as being an invitation to criminal conspiracy against law and order.

I had to be away in Kumasi for long periods last month and I am just now clearing up a pile of work. I send herewith a cheque for £150 in respect of Paul Danquah.

Wishing you all the best and thanking you for your assistance.

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.



#### 48 CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY

Ref. 9181/LA/51

24th October, 1951.

Sir Henley Coussey<sup>2</sup>,  
Accra.

Dear Sir Henley,

I have just seen a copy of the Local Government Bill and my first reaction is to write and ask whether you have a copy (Gazette of 22nd October, 1951). You may look up sections 71-76 and in particular section 76. Never in my political life in this country have I seen anything so terrible — Confiscation of property — Communism naked and unashamed. I do not know how it occurred for some members of the Committee on Constitutional Reform to have conceived the idea that a local government authority can act as "agent" for a Stool over its Stool lands and that it should

<sup>1</sup> The Convention in their reply rejecting Nkrumah's 'Challenge' said that it was opposed to "our country's proud record, history and culture".

<sup>2</sup> Chairman of the Constitutional Reform Committee, known as the Coussey Committee. See pages 31 and 32.

be made a law of the land for such agency to become compulsory. But now the full development of such recommendation is glaringly revealed in these sections. A Minister or a Commissar (it is one and the same thing) is to have power, on three months' notice to tell a Paramount Chief that his Stool land has to be disposed of and there is no right in the Paramount Stool, the "owner", to say nay. What is worse, a local Chief, such as the Chief of Begoro or Adeisu, is to be told by the Urban Council or Local Council in his area that his Begoro or Adeisu Stool land is to be sold, and it is not open to the State Council or the Paramount Stool, which has interest in the land, to say yes or no.

What then is the meaning of the sacred right to enjoy one's own property? Has the Government considered what it has cost these stools in life and money and work to retain and protect these Stool lands from being conquered by other States, or from being alienated into private hands? Why should Stools which have sold their lands into private hands go unmolested, whilst Stools which have spent fortunes to preserve the lands for the communal use of their own subjects should now be compelled by a local government law to allow such lands to be taken away from their people and given to another set of people? Are the inhabitants of a town the same as the tribal subjects who own the lands? If lands should become public property over which Ministers have absolute powers of disposal, why not all lands but only Stool lands? Why not the lands held by Government?

I cannot for the life of me see what the Government is after, but it is quite clear that one direct result of this enactment will be to destroy Chieftaincy and tribal loyalties and the State as such will cease to be. No pride of local birth or of local tradition will be left in any Gold Coast man except to be just a voter.

With my regards,

Yours sincerely,

J. B. DANQUAH.

P.S. There appears to be a deep something going on in the Gold Coast today the depth of which I cannot fathom, but I know the Gold Coast now is a ruined country. I would much rather live out of the country than suffer our rich traditions to be so despoiled for so strange a substitute.