

Takoradi, Ghana
14th July, 1963.

Dear Grandma!

If your little grandchild fails to carry out an assignment at the proper time, you spank him if he is not quick with an apology! I realise that I have delayed too long in writing and I speedily apologise and ask for forgiveness.

There has been very many things wrong with me for the past four months and all my correspondents have been let down. Each time I decide to write something unforeseen comes up and I have had to make an opportunity pass by after another but, today, nothing short of a miracle can stop me from writing.

This is being done hurriedly, so, please, in reading it, try to forget about grammar, good spellings and all the niceties which characterise a good English writing — moreover, as this comes from an African.

I am really delighted to have had a second letter from you and to learn that you have had another publication for the enlightenment of the world. I have read your Political Letter (New Series No. 4) and the outline you give of your new publication. It is comprehensive but I am glad that you invite readers views and suggestions to

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bring it up to date. The publication may be complete but your invitation is the surest way to get to know if there are any loopholes in it and also to know how and what others think. I hope when I get my copy, I shall be able to express a view on it.

Your Political Letter speaks of Rajakovic, Eichman's right-hand man - Hitler's assistant in crime. It seems the world has not learnt anything from history, for we have a duplication of these bloodhounds who have been placed in power by accident and force in many parts of the world. These parties do not have any connection with Hitler - on the surface, at least - nor the Nazi Party - because these two are an opprobrium, at least, to all humanitarians. But some of these present-day ruling parties, especially in Africa, ape Hitlerism and Nazism. Some, in fact, out-Hitler Hitler in trickery, thievery, treachery, torture methods and in all the infamous T's. An (in) famous political leader in Ghana is reputed to have told his close friends that "it is very good and advantageous to us to be Hitler-like at home only if we do not cause international war, as Hitler had blundered and done".

These Hitlers of today cover their misdeeds with fine and euphonious

3. pronouncements to fool foreigners. But we who are living within hear much of their actions and deeds than their 'fine' words, as the former are much louder than the latter.

To fool outsiders the more, especially those from other African states, they are invited to Accra and are given red-carpet treatment. These officials and semi-official visitors, apart from the many amenities they are allowed to enjoy and overtures by Nkrumah, such as a guide of a party indoctrinated tight-skirted wench, a pocket allowance of £8 (\$22.40) a day, are awarded Diplomas in Economics, Political Science (Nkrumaism) and Trades Unionism after a days 'University education' at the exclusively C.P.P. activists' Kwame Nkrumah Institute of Economics & Political Science in Winneba. No people could be so manifoldly fooled!

Last year, a Kenyan visitor to Ghana on returning to Nairobi exclaimed that 'Ghana is paradise on earth! It is the political Mecca of Africa!' And, Nkrumah, the Muhammed of our time! I presume that if the last August-bomb that disloyal bomb, had got Nkrumah, the visitor would perhaps have added that he had visited and seen the Flagstaff House, the tomb of Muhammed!

Kenyan, Nyasas, Malians and Somalians visitors, apart from the free board, lodging, transport expenses paid are given as much as £8 per day pocket money, while a Ghanaian labourer, the producer of the wealth, earns 6/6d (9 cents) per day, Sunday unpaid.

4/ The Soudanian students we have here on State Scholarships enjoy every facility with us on the Campus, yet, they are paid £8 per week pocket money, while Ghanaian parents with children to educate and feed find it extremely difficult to cater fully for their charges.

t. Nkrumah does all these to advertise himself, he has on many occasions claimed that he is the greatest African political leader but this is a view history will decide. Nkrumah claims that all other African leaders, except Modibo Kaita, Dr. Hastings Banda of Nyasaland, and Sekou Toure of Guinea are imperialist agents.

Mr. Sekou Toure has recently joined these 'imperialist agents' by his condemnation of the assassination of President Olympio of Togo, by his joint communique with Nigeria as regards de jure recognition of the new Togo regime and his invitation to President Charles de Gaulle of France.

Radio Ghana has in recent days had many insulting things to say about President Sekou Toure. The radio which is government controlled has bluntly told 'poor Guinea' that but for Ghanaian aid she would not be in existence as France withdrew everything including the little money that Guinea held in the Treasury, immediately she attained independence. That Guinea has been most ungrateful in going with Nigeria against Ghana after tricking Ghana into loaning her £10,000,000 sterling. That Guinea and Sekou Toure have had a lot to say about the 'just assassination' of Mr. Olympio, and Toure has even gone as far as to call

for a U.N. enquiry to bring the culprits to book, and if possible, to the guillotine; and, as a sockdologer, President Toure invites General de Gaulle, 'the imperialist and Guinea's adversary', and not Nkrumah, the Osagyefo, the saviour of Guinea, Ghana and the Congo!

With all these happenings, President Toure who is a man who possesses the savoir-faire has been very diplomatic. He has although been pertinacious in his association with Nigeria and the views he holds as regards African unity and affairs his few remarks in reference to Ghana has been praises, and praises for Nkrumah. And the Nkrumah press has been applauding these Toure praises on the front pages. In fact, as my Nkrumahist friends have told me, "Sometimes, we do not know whether to whip Toure or to pat him on the back!" They are flabbergasted by his wisdom. Mr. Toure knows that Nkrumah likes nothing but praises; No leader can be so flappedoodled!

Ghana has been lavishing gifts of money and scholarships on certain dependent and independent African states in order to woo them to her side, but the question many are asking is: will these states, in the end, go with Ghana? Guinea

6/ is cold, Mali is on the fence and Congo (Leopoldville) now curses our hospitality and punctiliousness. With these experiences the only wise thing for Ghana is to use the loan from the world bank and the U.S.A. in improving the living condition of the impoverished civil servants and the peasants of Ghana.

Here is a trick indebted workers adopt to evade their creditors: If A is indebted to B, A goes to C who is a friend and arranges with him to appear at A's office on pay day so as to snatch A's pay packet from A's hands as if A is really indebted to C. This leaves B in an awkward position; B cannot collect the loan he had given to A back, because, it is in his presence that C has snatched everything that A has had for the month.

This sort of trickery is on the increase in Ghana because the workers are taxed beyond endurance and prices of commodities and services have risen to the point that the workers cannot make ends meet.

When a worker is unsuccessful to adopt this trick he returns home at the end of the month empty to face the landlord and his family in agony.

7. A few days ago, in Ghana Parliament, Nkrumah told the world a lie when in a speech about the Addis Ababa Conference and the Charter of African Unity rapped Portugal in these words: "Portugal is the poorest state in Europe and the average Ghanaian, as our statistics show, is now wealthier than the average citizen of Portugal." Yes, he refers to our statistics - Ghanaian statistics.

We have also heard of Russian statistics and Chinese statistics and how false they are. And since Nkrumah has been continuing Nazi, Russian and Chinese statistical methods to prove things, we are not surprised when he tells the world that the average Ghanaian who pays £5 out of basic wage of £10 to the landlord and $\frac{1}{5}$ of the remainder to government taxes is better off than the average Portuguese.

I think that Ghana and Portugal are equal economically and politically - both nations, are admittedly, ~~poor~~ economically backward, and politically both are prison-houses of nations. What of Freedom of speech and association in these two countries which have earned the odium of Autocracies by the actions of their present leaders?

Those who have had the opportunity of reading the reports on the trials of Mr. K. B. Ochei, the imprisoned member of Ghana's parliament and that of also imprisoned Jose Bernardino, a student of the Higher Technical Institute of Lisbon University and General Secretary of Inter-Association of

8) Students of Portugal, can answer best. In both cases, no witnesses were called, and in the case of the latter the P.I.D.E. and the judge reiterated second and third-hand information as charges against the accused. ~~The P.I.D.E.~~ Ghana's equivalent of this infamous P.I.D.E. was represented at the trial of Mr. Ochebe by Nkrumah's fellow tribesman who has been promoted Attorney-General, Mr. Kwaw-Swanzy, who read very long and confusing statements which he alleged to be confessions by Mr. Ochebe, but, which, every Ghanaian knew were false. Mr. Ochebe was not allowed to make any statement in court. He was however asked to make his plea after the Attorney-General had read the indictment and Mr. Ochebe, of course, pleaded 'not guilty' and added that he had been refused a counsel and also permission to see any of his relatives while in prison. The Attorney-General denied any knowledge of this, and the ~~case~~ hearing of the case was adjourned for judgement to be given a few days later. When the day came, Ghanaians were told that the prisoner could not come to court. He had been beaten to near death, we later learned from discharged prisoners. Mr. Ochebe, an avowed anti-Nkrumah, had originally been accused of having a hand in an illegal bomb-buying deal, but this charge was dropped and was convicted on a fabricated charge of "attempted suicide". Perhaps the authorities considered the original charge less serious than the suicide charge! Mr. Ochebe

g is currently serving a five-year prison term.

Perhaps, the only difference between Ghana and Portugal is that the latter is anti- while the former is pro-communist. Portugal is led by a scholarly leader whom no panic can ruffle, while Ghana's leadership is the opposite. Nkrumah, the Show Boy of Ghana, believes in empty verbiage and gaudy showmanship. I think that this infamous Portuguese leader has some advantages over Ghana's Nkrumah and this makes Portugal a little bit ahead of Ghana.

It is an offence to join any political organisation which does not ~~sing~~ sing the praises of Nkrumah in Ghana, while in Portugal it is an offence only to join pro-communistic organisations.

Nkrumah's criticism of Portugal therefore amounts to the proverbial pie-bald black sheep reproaching his equally pie-bald neighbour on account of his very colour.

Apart from his many instruments of "mass-persuasion" or instruments to force the people to follow him, apart from his many overtures to other African States to boost his wonkey reputation, Nkrumah has a very well paid court-crier, Mr. Akuffo, to compile and sing poetic appellations.

o/ in his praise over the radio.

These are women who are paid very fat salaries (minimum £80 per month) in all the regional centres of Ghana whose only duties are to sing Nkrumah's praises and to shout encomiums while he speaks.

I happened to meet some people who are allowed to meet Nkrumah and they told me, "He (Nkrumah) says, if the people are fed up with me and will now not show spontaneous admiration for me, I shall make them do so. I have the money to give out to them, the radio, the Young Pioneers, the Police and the Army are all mine, and these can entice, persuade or force any people to do my bidding." And he is really using these many instruments effectively to advantage. He has even gone farther by splitting the workers' united front. He is now increasing the salaries of certain categories of workers, such as the Army, Police, the Nurses and the workers at the Flagstaff House, Nkrumah's residence, members of which are now all Nkrumahs - people of Nkrumah's little tribe.

Nkrumah today holds on to power by means of propaganda. He tells us "If they don't say ~~that~~ 'thou art,

"I say I am!" He always points out the things he had done for Ghana and Africa in general, which are false. Ghanaians know that Nkrumah spends £5,000 on a school building and tells us that he had spent £50,000 — the £45,000 goes to his favourites and his own accounts in Egypt.

Allan Bullock in his 'Hitler, A Study in Tyranny' tells of this saying by Franz von Papen, the pre-Nazi German Chancellor, "Great men are not created by propaganda, but ~~by~~ grow until their deeds are acknowledged by history," and adds that, those who aspire for fame should "first of all think of quiet selfless service, and of reward and recognition only at the very last, or not at all."

President Nkrumah better take a leaf out of this von Papen book and stop these "I have done this, and I have done that" for Africans "don't buy a goat by the way it bleats". We have his portrait on our coins, our stamps and a £34,000 statue of himself at Parliament square but we consider all these needless. Where are the many statues built in memory of Joseph Stalin in Russia and in Hungary and in East Berlin?

The Trades Union Congress of Ghana exists only on paper, today, nevertheless, John Kofi Tettegah still enjoys his fat pay of £5100 per annum. After Nkrumah had thrown

12 -- in much money to help build it and united the workers, he has realised that the workers can turn the tables on him at any time if they remained together and united, as the 1964 strikes has shown. So, in recent months, he has pruned and trimmed the T.V.C. to a mere skeleton. All the T.V.C. bosses have been found new jobs in the Statutory Corporations, the Flagstaff House and in the C.P.P. Secretariat and yet retain their salaries as T.V.C. and designation as T.V.C. officials. They come together only when foreigners come from in to meet the T.V.C. officials of Ghana or a delegation of T.V.C. officials are required to go abroad to represent the Ghana T.V.C. But there has been no reaction from members of staff who have been affected by this 'trimming' because, as one of them told me, "I now enjoy even a higher salary."

In deed, and I repeat, the Ghana T.V.C. is non-existent - it exists only in a name. The workers whose working conditions and pay have been improved have been asked by the government to withdraw from the T.V.C. and form any association or organisation they like. So members of the Teaching Profession, Nurses, Police, Court Officials and members of the T.V.C. secretariat are out, leaving ~~the~~ only the meagrely paid civil servants to contribute 24 shillings per annum per member for the so-called T.V.C. officials to share.

13. During this year's celebration of the Ghana Railway's 60th Anniversary, an engine driver upon hearing that Nkrumah would be calling to speak to the workers commented "This Nkrumah is getting too uppity, and one of these days, we are going to run him down like the choo-choo train." Nkrumah learnt that the workers were not very much in his favour as when the struggle for independence started, so he stayed away from all the functions of the celebrations.

Ever since Nkrumah formed his Convention People's Party (C.P.P.) in 1949, the slogan of the Party has been "FREEDOM". How sad it is that this good slogan has tended to be in bad hands! Ghana has been independent for six years now, and three years after Republic and up to the present, the year 1963, the people still shout FREEDOM! Freedom from what? one may ask. And the unwary may think and answer that it is Freedom from poverty, ignorance and many of the infirmities which lie humanity down to mediocrity that the people are inveighing against. Yes, but no, madam. It is genuine Freedom - the freedom which an American sage has ~~been~~ defined as man's

14/ inalienable right, that the people of Ghana shout for. Freedom to speak one's mind, freedom to associate with all peoples, freedom from fear of detention, freedom to enable lawyers to appear in courts to defend accused persons without fear, freedom to enjoy the fruits of our labour, the freedom which emboldened us to fight the British lion and defeated it! Yes, that is the freedom the workers and people of Ghana shout for today — six years after independence and three years after the republic has come into being.

Nkrumah denies us this freedom, but we feel that freedom is something like the free air we breathe, and one must not make noise about it before one is allowed to enjoy it. With that same emboldenment and sense of wit with which we won our national freedom from the British Imperialism, we shall win our fight for genuine freedom from this black ~~and~~ plutocracy which oppresses us. In attaining this, and we know that it will take a little killing of ourselves, as the Algerians urge, but out of that "shall rise the sun of Freedom." Better a revolution at whatever cost.

(15) and which will bring us genuine freedom
(than this assian quietude. The powers
(that he know that we are conscious
(of their grip on us and how determined
(we are to shake them off our backs
(at any moment, so they are leaving
(no stone unturned to imprison all the
(militant workers and are fortifying
(themselves against the day when the
(workers shall be in a position to join
(battle with them.

(Nkrumah, now rule by terror,
(intimidation and bribery: On 14th
(February in Kumasi, the City Council
(held elections to appoint a new chairman
(and his vice. The Chairman, Mr. James
(Dunsen, a ruffian and a person of very
(questionable character (He was a gambler,
(a street fighter, a jockey and later, an
(attendant for Army officers during the war)
(was challenged in the Council's elections
(by Mr. Yiadom Sefa-Boakye, a very gentleman,
(a qualified nurse who runs a private
(hospital in Kumasi. James Dunsen had
(been the chairman of the Council for four
(consecutive times, spreading over
(eight years continuously, and during that
(period, bribery and corruption had been
(on the increase. Dunsen had awarded
(contracts to some European building contractors,
(Bosis and Lawrence, and had asked
(them to build ~~them~~ ^{him} a palatial house off the
(~~the~~ Technology road in Kumasi, as a tip.

16/ But the contractors made the mistake of finishing the building, which is the top, before the real contract - the building of Kwame Nkrumah Market in Kumasi.

When Dunsen saw that he has had a fine building with swimming pool, marble decorations and all that can make a King laugh, he arranged with his friends at the Flagstaff house and had the poor contractors deported immediately. The contract has been given to another people who has finished with it.

When the Kumasi City Council elections came on on the 14th February, the councillors, who knew of this unscrupulous deal, vowed to topple James Dunsen, Nkrumah's Kumasi representative. Fourteen of the twenty two voted for Sefa-Boukye and eight voted for Dunsen. Dunsen's defeat was unbelievable. He at once dashed to Accra, crying he saw the Osagyefo, the saviour to save him, and on the 15th, the following day, the election was declared null and void. Dunsen was forced on the Council as chairman and the fourteen council members who had voted against him were thrown out of the council by an order from Nkrumah.

It is known that this James Dunsen and one Oshene Djan, Ghana's Director of Sports had been taking bribes for Nkrumah between 1951 and 1954, so he is determined to shelve

17/ These his agents in fraud, always, and he has got to, because, when Ouewe Djan was jailed in the early 1950's for fraud, he did not mention Nkrumah's name.

That Nkrumah indulges in such dirty and unfair practises is evidenced ~~from~~ in the case of Savundranayagam the Ceylonese Commercial magnate who was swindled for his £100,000 by the Nkrumah administration and deported.

One S.I. Idrisu, a Deputy Minister of Information, had taken the money and given Mr. Savundranayagam false letters conferring the right of ^{exploiting} prospecting all minerals in Ghana on his company — the Camp Board of Britain.

When the case came up months later Nkrumah had then travelled to Britain and Idrisu alleged that he had signed the letter on "instructions from above" and that he had given £25,000, out of the amount, to Nkrumah, and £10,000 to Mr. Baidoo Ansaah, the present Ghana's Ambassador to Japan.

When Nkrumah returned from Britain to learn that Ghanaians were advocating for a commission to enquire in this Savundranayagam affair, he announced, "So far as I am concerned, this Savundra affair is closed, and closed forever!"

16/ Savundra was deported and that was the end of the affair.

This Baidoo Ansaah, Nkrumah's tribeman, was involved in an illegal coining incident and as the case was being heard before a court, he was appointed Ghana's ambassador to Japan. The case was dropped.

That the present Nkrumah government is composed of crooks can be inferred from Nkrumah's own speech over Radio Ghana on April 8, 1962. In the speech, he indicted all his closest friends: Kojo Botso, Komla Gbedemah, Krobo Edusei, E.K. Bensah, W.A. Wiafe, Ayeh-Kumi, Korboe, Inkumseh and many other top men of his administration as thieves who live beyond their means. He asked them to either surrender their properties in excess of £20,000 to the state or quit their posts.

All refused to surrender a cent worth of property. Edusei pleaded for time to complete the imposing, magnificent and palatial house he was putting up in Accra, and which was estimated then to worth £79,000, before handing it over. But before then, he had queried whether he should throw his monthly salary of £425 into the sea, seeing that

19 he was, before he went to parliament,
a £7.10/- (\$22) a month newspaper
worker. Mr. Gbedemah, being annoyed
at Nkrumah's 'arrogance', left the country
incognito to fight and expose Nkrumah
from abroad.

But Nkrumah, seeing the danger Mr. Gbedemah
presents, sent emissary after emissary to
persuade his erstwhile lieutenant to return
to the fold; Gbedemah would not, except
Nkrumah assured him that there would be
no dictatorship in the country. Nkrumah
would not share his powers with any man
so he refused to accept Mr. Gbedemah's
condition. He, however, dropped the idea
of purging his party of all those 'thieves' he
had discovered on the 7th April, (he made the
speech on the 8th April), and Botso, Edusei,
Bensah and Ayei-Kumi retain their palatial
buildings, the famous £3,000 gold bed
and thousands of pounds sterling they had
stolen and kept in the banks in Ghana
and abroad till this day of writing, and
still hold their posts. He realised that to
practise Bolshevick methods in Ghana would
lead to his early end.

Nkrumah also retains his under-estimated
personal estate of £120,000 at Aburi, his
£500,000 castle in Egypt. His shipping
agency, DSCD (meaning, Osagyefo Shipping Company
in Accra and Takoradi flourishes and
earns him much profit. His £45,000 building
at Sekondi Bakamu which has been hired
by the Western Region's Commissioner for office

20/ at £400 per month is equally very
lucrative.

All these make the average Ghanaian
thinks that socialism is a fine ideology
which has gone astray or being purposely
prostituted by capitalists in socialist
garbs, and many Africans now so are so
disillusioned that they refuse to listen to
the so-called socialists.

When the pernicious Preventive Detention
Act was being introduced by the government,
many people inveighed against it on
the ground that it was being done purposely
to arrest political opponents (In fact,
was all for the Act). (Mr. James Dinson, the
Present Chairman of the Kumasi City Council
was all against it; he spoke against it at a
mass rally at Dunkirk in Kumasi when many
people were urging the government to
hurry it through parliament). But we
were assured that it was meant ~~for~~ to
detain all bad people, such as, thieves,
murderers and hooligans who disturb
the peace of the populace, and yet are
set free by the law-courts. However,
the Act, after gripping almost all the
leading critics of Nkrumah, turned to grip
the boys Nkrumah had trained to beat up
his political opponents, especially in Kumasi,
after he had gripped those for the opposition
in Accra - the Tokyo Joes. These he called
the hooligans and thieves.

After the arrest of these so-called
thieves and hooligans, thievery and

21 and hoodliganism did not disappear from Ghanaian society but, rather, ~~went~~ went on and still goes on in a large scale. The very people who had passed the P.D.A. and had arrested the thieves found that thiefless vacuum could not be created, and so they had to fill it "by hook or by crook". To cut things short, their only hope of filling the vacuum was "by crook" and they themselves became the thieves. They, by contrivances sign cheques (checks), ostensibly, to do secret government business, and pay to their personal accounts monies from government funds. They charge contractors large sums of money as tips when they are offering them contracts. They take heavy bribes from enterprising youths before offering them scholarships or well paid jobs. They by unfair means swell the estimated cost of projects so as to pay the excess amounts into their personal accounts.

On Republic Day in 1960, President Nkrumah told his party activists to refrain from collecting the "usual 10% which is paid into the C.P.P. coffers from contractors" as Ghana was starting a new era. A party official I met told me, "If Nkrumah says that we should not turn the pipes into

22/ The party tank, we are going to
turn them into our pockets."

Nkrumah and his band of party
activists ~~are~~ who lead the C.P.P. are
shyly daunted by the Ghanaian public,
as "Ali Baba and the 40 thieves" - with
Nkrumah as Ali Baba. These people
use the theme "Socialism", their
'open sesame' to fool Ghanaians
and outsiders alike, especially,
unwilly African states, into believing
that the ordinary Ghanaian is satisfied,
and that real social justice
prevails in the land. But any visitor
who opens his eyes properly to see
things clearly and clears his ears
and listens to the ordinary man in the
street attentively will know how phoney
Ghanaians know that all these
assertions are.

That the whole of Africa is disappoint-
ed by the so-called socialists is
clearly shown by the result of the
Addis Ababa Conference. Ghana, who
has been very obstreperous in advoca-
ting socialism was not listened to by
any African state. Ghana was
excluded from all the important
committees, and Nigeria, Guinea, Liberia
and Tanganyika scored very highly

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23/ at the conference, because the delegates were much interested in wit and not noise, they were interested in practical application of decisions and not mere passing of resolutions, only to be put into pigeon-holes today and thrown into the waste paper basket tomorrow, as many Nkrumah conferences had tended to be. In fact, the conference at Addis Ababa elbowed Ghana out completely in an attempt to keep communism out of Africa. The unity of the African peoples at Addis Ababa was a big blow to Russia and communism.

Nkrumah, today, is a confused man we have never seen before. Early this year, he forced the USSR and the U.A.R. to close down their Culture Houses in Accra, because, these two countries had refused to recognise the new Togo regime led by Dr. Nicolas Grunitzky, but had recognised the Iraqi regime. Messrs. Yablekov and Ahmed, the directors of the two 'Culture Houses' had to go away.

Nkrumah charged that because Togo, had no oil unlike Iraq had no oil hence the Egyptian and Russian refusal to recognise it. (I had the opportunity of meeting Mr. Yablekov of the Soviet Culture House before he left, and my very good friend who used to travel with him from Accra to Asamankese on holiday trips tells me that he has once told him that the Ghana Government practices is neither socialism nor communism. I met Dr. Ahmed ^{again} that we should not

24 + tank, we are going to
of the U.A. culture house also)

One point of disagreement between Ghana and Russia is that, Nkrumah, like Mao Tse-Tung, is a disciple of Stalin, but the present Russian friends of Nkrumah are trying to desanctify him from this discipleship. Nkrumah very much admires the 'tremendous advances' the Chinese Stalinists have made within a decade of communism and has vowed that Ghana should follow the Chinese line (see the enclosed press clip marked 'A')

Nkrumah says that as from next October all Ghanaians soldiers are going to farm. Soldiers I have interviewed say they are not Chinese, but, if they say they should go to the farm, they would very much like to go with their guns as the Ghanaian farmers do!

One officer spoke bitterly against the idea of going to farm, and said that their duty is to defend Ghana not only from attacks physical attacks by foreigners but "we are also the sentinels of Ghana's liberties." "If they mean to take away all our liberties one by one as they have begun to do, then we as soldiers have to do our duty."

Indeed, totalitarians ~~fail~~ always fail where they think that they are impregnable - in brainwashing etc. as you said in your letter. Mr Chapman had to resign from the headmastership

35 of Achimota school, because the government suspected that he had instigated the students to repudiate the formation of a branch of the Young Pioneers Movement in the school. The students had hooted at a Cabinet Minister who had gone there to force them, if ~~persuade~~ persuasions failed, to join the movement. You see, even children are resisting things which they consider are detrimental to their mental development and freedoms.

Last week, the students of Mfantshipim College refused to form a branch of the Young Pioneers there (see newspaper clip marked 'B' from Nkrumah's Ghana Evening News of 9th July)

A student from Mfantshipim has told me that Nkrumah cannot ~~make~~ ^{turn them} into ~~them~~ figurines to act at the fantoccini he is staging.

Everybody, except those with whom he shares the wealth, is against him and his ideas.

As regards Dr O'Brien, we all admire the stand he took during ~~the~~ his assignment in the Congo.

Fighting against the whole Capitalist world as he did was no mean achievement. He studied the temperam

of the Afro-Asians, and he being Irish, a people who have themselves suffered some sort of imperialism, decided to do the will of the Afro-Asians and the humanist world, apparently, to lacerate the British government and their friends. He, by this, caught the eye of the world, and he was in great demand by many countries.

Ghana's president, who is always after materials for propagandistic blast saw the opportunity and seized it when O'Brien left his Congo post with his new wife. And as you know, he is here as the vice-chancellor of our University. Nkrumah knew that if he offered and O'Brien accepted the vice-chancellorship of the University he could use him to further his aims. And since his arrival here, his pronouncements have not been too pleasing to us, so far as Ghana's internal affairs are concerned.

But we had an inkling of what has made a man who not very long ago proved to the world that he abhorred oppression of man by

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27 man, and exploitation of any sort, changed so suddenly, in the May issue of the DRUM magazine. He intends to be with the University for three years and thereafter make his home in Ghana to devote all his time to 'original thinking, his specialty'.

How can a man of this intension criticise the God of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, Osagyefo (the warlord or redeemer or deliverer) CIVITATIS GHANIENSIS CONDITOR; President of the Republic of Ghana; General Secretary of the C.P.P.; Supreme Commander of Ghana's Armed Forces; Chancellor of Universities of Ghana; and, before he married Fatma Ritz of Egypt, the Husband of all spinsters of Ghana. Indeed, it pays to do the will of more powerful men. And Dr. O'Brien was not acted unwisely.

I shall advise that you forget about him at present. For, if it is his nature to fight alongside the oppressed, it is likely that after he had got what he wants, he will ~~break out~~ ^{break loose} and the opportunity will then offer itself for the renewal of your friendship.

Students of the University - to whom I have spoken maintain that Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien is a very high voltage Nkrumist. I feel you will lose the chance of meeting him in future, if you publish any address report about the

28 -

Vice-chancellor now.

Nkrumah, in an attempt to win back a little of the confidence of the workers of Ghana now promises to give free text books and reduce the prices of ~~Ghana~~ Khaki which school children use in making their uniform. A Reverend Minister commenting on this free text-books propaganda said: "He (Nkrumah) has caused all the Missionary Bookshops to give up all school text books in stock to Government for payment, yet he has not paid a penny to them (Methodist & Presbyterian Book Depots). He and his band of well-paid political associates ride about in big, luxurious cars, eat delicious foods and on top, drink champagne at our expense. He thinks that he and all those people he himself has told us are dishonest (his April 8, 1962 Dawn broadcast) will be there on our backs always. He does not know, but God in His good time will smite them and fall never to rise again."

Before this poor believing minister preached this sermonette he had asked, and been told that his two young listeners were not of the Nzema tribe.

Last week, at Accra, a palm wine seller was nearly knocked over by a taxi cab, and when he crossed to the other side of the street, a stunderby queried him, "Why did you do that, you see, that car nearly killed you? The wine seller explained "If it had killed me, that

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27. would have been much better. The Gold Coast could not save me, so, definitely Ghana cannot. All I know is that when the individual gets broke, he has to go to the government for loan, that was Gold Coast, but now, in Ghana, it is rather the Government who are forcefully loaning from the already impoverished individual to be repaid after 10 years time, even. There is no guarantee that they will honour their promise — a people who do not know truth. So the car and its driver would have done me a very kind service by killing me. The saddest part of the whole affair is that these Nkrumah Ministers increased their pay and those of their relatives before introducing this compulsory loan scheme, so it does not affect them in any way. When the stander-by pointed out that his remarks were loud and if a Young Pioneer or a C.P.ist overheard him he would be in trouble, the wine seller retorted, "You and I who say that we are outside the prison walls are no much freer than those within, so let me have the peace of mind which this tropical breeze offers."

All these show that Ghanaians are

30/ really fed up with Nkrumah and his administration, and they are only waiting for an opportunity to divorce themselves from him.

Nkrumah and his men we call sikadicious people (meaning avaricious people). In Ghanaian dialects, money is called sika, and to eat is di, so literally, a sikadicious person means "a money eater". SIKADICIOUS is a word which has been coined by Ghanaians to describe Nkrumahists, because they love money, women, wine and luxurious things than the people.

The Nkrumahists have invented a method of defalcating funds. I have already pointed some out. Every project or scheme they undertake has to be scrapped and restarted afresh after millions of pounds sterling had been spent, and this gives them the opportunity to pass some of the money into their pockets and into the C.P.P. coffers also. They charge their usual 10% private commission from manufacturers and contractors who work for the state. So when a project is completed, it shall have cost the state twice to four times the actual cost. For instance, the estate

31 - housing estate scheme at Axim in Nzema, Nkrumah's tribal area, was originally estimated by the Department of Public Construction at £14,000. But either through accident or design the contract for the buildings was taken from the D.P.C. and given to a private contractor, Mr. Ansal, who charged £28,000, and the public know that a very high party personnel had £8,000 out of the amount for his use.

By the way, the houses at Axim are ~~and~~ not necessary, as that town is not cosmopolitan but a little village. There are two small government departments whose total staff is under twenty - the Meteorological Dept. and Health Departments. But because Nkrumah comes from that area, he had to build for them. While the workers ~~at~~ in Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Tamale, Koforidua & Cape Coast have no accommodations, modern estate houses are empty in an Nzema village.

In Accra, the estate houses have been shared by the Cabinet Ministers, Parliamentarians, the C.P.P. activists and their girl friends, while the workers hire rooms at exorbitant rates from private landlords and Cabinet Ministers and C.P.P. Activists who have put up mighty mansions. At the moment in Accra, a room measuring 12 ft. by 12 ft. costs £5 monthly.

Again, the government told the workers that they were going to pay

32 - us further fortnightly instead of monthly. Now, after the machinery for the preparation of Payment Vouchers had been bought, and after the Govt. Agents had collected their illicit commissions from the manufacturers, the scheme was dropped.

Again, all commercial lorry drivers in Tropical Ghana were asked to wear black ties (cravats) while on duty, and High party officials made thousands of these ties and sold them to the drivers at very high rates. They managed to get a law passed which made it an offence punishable by a fine of, at least, 20 shillings when a driver is brought before a court for failure to wear the tie.

And, after these Party Officials had made much profit, the scheme was dropped, and now the drivers can go out without their ties on, and they can still look decent!

The Ghana Ministry of Health has as two of its branches, a Nutrition Unit and Community & Public Health Nursing Unit which are charged with the responsibility of advising Nursing Mothers on proper methods of feeding and caring for the child. The staff of the Nutrition Unit is paid a little less than \$14 per month after months of training. But in order to create

33/ jobs ~~for~~ which offer high salaries for the prevelleged children and girl friends of the officials of the Nkrumah gang, a Nutrition Board, quite different from the Unit, has been set up. It is only the known children of Nkrumah's C.P.P. officials are given jobs on the Board, and the starting pay is £24 per month as against £14 per month paid to the nonentities in the Nutrition Unit. These girls of the Nutrition Board do absolutely nothing. They go about the streets or occasionally dash along the street in a fast car, strongly perfumed and heavily 'made up', and indulge in conversation with everyman they know in the streets.

I happened to meet one of these girls one day and queried her jovially as to why she was not at her proper office at that time, and her reply was, "I, too, am enjoying the 'Work and Happiness' which the Osagyefo promises. You may not know, but, there are two types of people in Ghana today, those who do the work and those who enjoy the results of the work." So I cut in with the question, "You mean those who share the work, and those who share the wealth?" and she answered

34 / with a grin, "Exactly, that is 'Work and Happiness', isn't it?" I laughed her question off.

These Nutrition Board girls are all failands in either school or Nursing colleges and, yet, are today enjoying better pay than their successful counterparts in the Ministry of Health. The scholarly girls of the Nutrition Unit have sent petition after petition to the authorities explaining that they have been better trained and are doing more strenuous work than the leisurely girls of the Board so they are entitled to equal if not higher pay. But the authorities have told them that the Unit is part of the Civil Service where salaries are traditionally low, and the Board is a Statutory Corporation financed by Government, so they cannot expect to have equal pay as each is governed by different set of rules and regulations. So the disparity in pay stands.

A Nutrition Board girl complained to me that their Boss, Dr. Kutankwa has engaged his own niece on the Board with a commencing salary of ₦48 per month. The girl

35 has just come of School,
explained.

Apart from the above, the following is another example of the classless society Nkummal is building for Ghanaians:

In finding jobs, all are asked to go to the labour department. But, of course, it is only those whose relatives are not known C.P.P. adherents and Nrems, who cue at the Labour offices for jobs which take months, and sometimes years, to come.

The privileged C.P.P. adherents and people of the Nrema tribe (Nkummal's tribe) get well-paid jobs at the Flagstaff House, Nkummal's fortified residence where a company of soldiers (all Nrems) under five officers are stationed, at a salary of, at least, £45 per month. Recently workers from the Kingway Stores and the labour department told me that their former co-workers had been given jobs at the Flagstaff House by the Osagyefo because they happen to be Nrems. The chap from the Labour Department was getting £10 per month and the one from the Kingway was getting £16 per month, but at the Flagstaff House they are getting £45 per month each.

Another worker at the Timber Marketing Board, Kumasi, has told me that a Mr. F.M. Akeah a Nrema boy, who had been sacked by the Board's Headquarters for inefficiency, had been given a special letter by the Osagyefo for re-installment and promotion as Assistant Purchasing Officer.

36 with a commencing salary of £720 per annum, and "he is with us now".

"You see how the living conditions of these socialist advocates and their relatives contrast with our austere life?"

In Ghana, when a person favoured by Nkrumah steals, the authorities close their eyes on the theft. But let him fall from the Osagyefo's favour, and they dig the bones of the centuries' old theft to exhibit to the public. I will give two instances only, although they abound.

Ghana's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kofi Botso, when he fell with Mr Gbedemah from the Osagyefo's favour, was accused by the authorities of buying old unseaworthy but repaired fishing boats as new ones for the Ghana government, and together with certain people use of very huge sums of money. A committee was appointed to enquire into this fishing boats affair, and it was proved that there had been something fishy and that the accusation was right. But, at that time there was a strong underground movement by Botso's constituents and friends to convince Nkrumah to re-install Botso, as he had not made any acrimonious pronouncements as Gbedemah, his equally fallen friend had been doing in Europe and elsewhere. Nkrumah, realising how dangerous it would be to have both Botso and Gbedemah together outside against readily agreed to

37/ have him back as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Fishing Boats report was thrown into the waste-paper basket.

Mr. Ako Adjei, the former Minister of Foreign Affairs who is at the moment detained under the preventive detention Act is being tried for fraud in the sum of over £28,000 sterling. He is ~~alleged~~ alleged by the State prosecutor, Nkrumah's tubesman, to have told how he had taken the money from the Ghana Commercial Bank, ostensibly ostensibly to do some secret government business but had given it to a spirit Zebus to be doubled for him and had been disappointed and lost the whole amount.

It is a well known fact that if poor Ako Adjei is able to get people to plead with Nkrumah for him, he would be set free and resume his Ministerial post.

Ghanaians are, today, very much indignant about this unsocialist-socialism being dramatised by the Nkrumah administration. But when they meet in the restaurants, in the barbers shops and in the drinking saloons and discuss Ghanaian affairs, they end with the now hackneyed expression, "But when you point out

38/ all these evils, ~~you~~ the next day you find yourself in Nsawam." (Nsawam is where they have the £600,000 security Prison)

Because of this the Ghanaian intellectuals are leaving the country at such an alarming rate that the Government has passed a special law to restrain them from leaving the country. And even Ghanaian students who qualify abroad are reluctant to return to Ghana.

A Ghanaian student in Britain has written to tell me that the news that the Ghana government intends to award some 800 scholarships to some students there so as to complete their studies and return home to serve is nothing laudable. It is only a way to bind the students and force them to return home on completion of their studies.

He said, "This belated gesture is our right, and will not in any way change our minds about this unpopular government. We are all qualified scholastically and deserve some sort of financial assistance, but we know how the government has hitherto awarded scholarships. Either one has to bribe them or one

39/ must belong to the Nzema tribe, and with these qualifications one can obtain a scholarship to study overseas whether one is qualified scholastically or not. It is only in exceptional cases that youths have been awarded scholarships on merit.

With the unity of Africa looming on the horizon, all workers know, all students know, the peasants and even the politicians know that sooner rather than later, a new government which will not indulge in the propagation of any ill-digested theories, that will not live on our backs and suck our blood dry at the expense of the happiness and well-being of the people is being born.

I shall write again and give comments on M & F and send you the views of some friends who have read it.

I end with the fervent hope that true socialism shall be achieved in our time! And that all men; Africans, American Negroes, Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians and the Germans of the Soviet Zone of ~~the~~ Germany shall be free sooner than we expect.

Fraternally,
M. J.

P.S. Have you seen the paper "The Ghana Student" published somewhere in the U.S. by the Association of Ghana Students of the Americas. The editor is Kwaku Boaah. He has many Ghanaian student contributors and assistants who are very conversant with events here at home.

The first issue came out somewhere in November and a copy reached us here from London. They did not show where it is printed nor their address in U.S.A. There is a contribution by one Akwawua who is a known militant agitator. They may live in the Chicago area, if not in Detroit.