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Remarks


 Executive Secretary
 10 Oct 85

 Date

STAT

GHANA CONGRESS OF U.S.A. AND CANADA



P.O. BOX 2929
BALTIMORE, MD 21229
U.S.A.
Tel. 301-992-9028

Executive Registry
25- 3968

September 30, 1985.

Mr. William J. Casey
Director, Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C. 20505

After the coup d'etat of Flight Lieutenant Jerry J. Rawlings against the constitutionally elected representative government, Ghana was thrust in the throes of the worst political, economic, social and moral crisis in its history. In general the world has been silent and perhaps watching, some in the belief that Chairman Rawlings is another rising African star, others simply perplexed. Four years is a long time to judge the performance of a ruler, particularly Rawlings, who characteristically condemned the programs and policies of other Ghanaian governments before him. Our point of view, contained in the pages in your hands, is that the Provisional National Defence Council is not "provisional", that it is engaged in a very coercive struggle to maintain itself in power permanently. Our assessment is that the PNDC, through its principal representatives, has brought Ghana nowhere near the heaven Rawlings promised on December 31, 1981; it has rather nailed a dictatorship on Ghana. Briefly stated, it has totally failed the people of Ghana. Were it an elected government, its own contradictions, its deceptive rhetoric alone, would have liquidated it before more harm was done to the good people of Ghana.

We invite you to share our data and opinion, to join us in condemning the PNDC, and to assist in every legitimate way possible to end the nightmare facing this once affluent African republic. This, I believe, will rescue Ghana in the short run, and, in the long run, save other African countries as well.

I am taking the liberty to send you a copy of a letter that has been forwarded to President Ronald Reagan.

Jude E. Aidoo, M.D.
Jude E. Aidoo, M.D.
President.

The American
Friendship Committee for
the People of Ghana,
Baltimore

Ghana Citizens
Organization of U.S.A.
and Canada, Chicago

Ghanaian International
Association, New York

Ghana International Club,
Santa Clara/San Francisco

United Front for
the the Liberation
of Ghana

Ghanaians for Freedom
and Justice
Organization
Los Angeles

Coalition for
Democracy in Ghana
Columbus, Ohio

Ghana Forum
Detroit

Ghanaian Association
Oklahoma

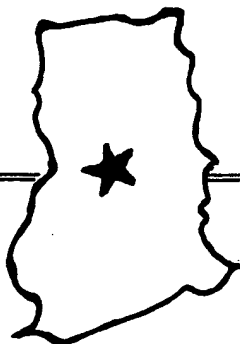
Concerned Citizens
of Ghana
Delaware Valley

In dedicated service for Ghana



7-301

GHANA CONGRESS OF U.S.A. AND CANADA



P.O. BOX 2929
BALTIMORE, MD 21229
U.S.A.
Tel. 301-992-9028

September 30, 1985

President Ronald Reagan
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

In early 1982, Professor Willie B. Lamouse-Smith, Executive Secretary of the Ghana Congress of U.S.A. and Canada, wrote to Secretary of State George Schultz urging that the U.S. refrain from any action that would lend credibility to the usurpation of Jerry J. Rawlings or give support to his regime. He also offered a prognostic analysis of Rawlings' military coup and predicted what has since become history. Had his warning been heeded, the U.S. would have been spared the humiliation and embarrassment meted out recently by the Ghanaian security agents. Many Ghanaian families would have also been spared the deaths of loved ones who were fighting against the "reign of terror" in Ghana. Indeed, the U.S. must not continue to place itself in the position of having to accept full responsibility for the consequences that the Rawlings' regime unleashed on a large number of Ghanaians as a result of a C.I.A. employee's revelations of Ghanaian dissidents and C.I.A. contacts in Ghana.

We continue to be deeply concerned that U.S. policy and practice in Ghana support the usurper-regime of Jerry J. Rawlings in building up a government modelled after Castro's Cuba, Qaddafi's Libya and Ortega's Nicaragua. The U.S. has been applying equivocal standards to comparable situations and left in the lurch Ghanaians striving for personal freedom, liberty, justice and democratic institutions. In Ghana, the ideals of the United States of America have been betrayed by the support which the Administration has been giving to the totalitarian regime of Rawlings.

Having equated Ghana with Rawlings and placed it in the context of the international cold-war, the U.S. chose to wean the regime of Rawlings, caring less about what the brutal regime committed against Ghanaians. The policy of the Administration may win Rawlings, but it stands in danger of losing the people of Ghana.

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- 2 -

We can only believe that the real picture of Ghana has not been presented to you. Our report on the rule of Rawlings tells the story of the millions of Ghanaians whose lives are daily bruised by that rule. They are silent because silence has become the only means of avoiding the late night knock at the front door, abduction and disappearance, or detention and torture.

Once again, we have to point out that even in its present decline Ghana is still looked upon as the model that it used to be by millions of Africans. Without appreciating this role model that Ghana has in Africa, the support which your Administration gives to Rawlings inadvertently encourages the potential spread in Africa of the ideologies and methods which Rawlings represents. Neither the short-term nor the long-term interests of Americans are well-served. Your Administration must not only be, but must be seen to be on the side of freedom, justice and liberty in Ghana and in Africa at large.

Yours truly,

Jude E. Aidoo, M.D.
President

Encl.:

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Friendship Committee for
the People of Ghana,
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GHANA
1982 TO PRESENT
THE RULE OF JERRY J. RAWLINGS

Issued

by

GHANA CONGRESS OF U. S. A. AND CANADA

A STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE GHANA CONGRESS OF USA
AND CANADA ON THE RECORD OF THE PNDC REGIME, 1982-1985

INTRODUCTION

We of the Ghana Congress of U.S.A. and Canada wish to issue this statement on the occasion of Flight Lieutenant J.J. Rawlings' address to the U.N. Assembly, October 1985. Our objective is to lay certain observed facts about Rawlings' regime before the international community and to indicate thereby both the ways in and the reasons for which we are in disagreement with the Provisional National Defence Council which is the ruling body in Ghana. We will examine Rawlings' rhetoric and performance regarding Ghana's home and foreign policies during and past three-and-a-half years. We do not pretend to tell the whole sordid story of the PNDC: we do not want to. As Ghanaians, it is too painful for us to talk about the wounds, the deaths, the deprivations and the fears that the PNDC has inflicted upon our fellow citizens. Moreover, as researchers we know that cases of government torture cannot easily be quantified, that violations resulting from government action cannot always be identified, and that corrupt practices by government officials in Ghana cannot always be monitored. Nevertheless, to tell a credible story about the PNDC's record to date, we have pieced together information from diverse sources including the Ghanaian daily papers, foreign newspapers, government policy statements, private reports and commentaries, and our own intimate knowledge of our nativelyland.

I. HOME POLICY

A. POLITICS

(i) PNDC vs. Constitutional Rule

When Flt. Lt. Rawlings ousted the twenty-seven month old constitutional government of President Hilla Limann in a military coup during the early hours of the 1982 New Year, he promised on the national radio nothing short of "a revolution," or "proper democracy," or "participatory democracy." According to Gaddafi's GREEN BOOK which the new regime was to regard as the main source of its inspiration, "participatory democracy" was superior to parliamentary democracy to the extent that it would enable the ordinary people of Ghana to participate directly in governance and thus to call the shots. In other words, under the PNDC Ghana was to experience a new rule in the interest of the community at large.

After nearly four years, however, Ghana has a government not of all the people but of one man, J.J. Rawlings, who by PNDC Law 42 possesses absolute sovereignty: all political power flows from his will; his power and authority are unlimited in scope and in time. Chairman Rawlings is not accountable to anybody or to any legal, civil, or military institution; indeed, by decree he has the right to interfere and does interfere with every sphere of social life in Ghana. Rawlings does not accept, recognize, or tolerate any authority in Ghana not associated with him. On March 14, 1983 Chief Justice Apaloo himself commented that the PNDC was by virtue of PNDC Law 42 "the highest court in the land. That seems to me as unprecedented as it is dangerous." The danger is the abuse of power: Ghana as a nation has not delegated power and authority to Rawlings. Another

danger is the creation of dictatorship. Whereas a popularly elected government would by Ghana's constitutional processes of 1979 be getting out of the scene after nearly four years, Rawlings' regime is still alive and is continually seeking ways and means to establish a totalitarian dictatorship to last the rest of Rawlings' life. The PNDC does not believe in government by popular consensus.

Significantly none of the men and women who formed Rawlings' first ruling body remains with him in power; one was executed by Rawlings, the rest quit disillusioned. Today, most of those who serve under him do so with great trepidation because, as Brigadier Nunoo-Mensah observed when he resigned his membership of the PNDC, "our people are going through one of the most gruesome and traumatic times in their lives." Mr. Chris Abukari Atim, also formerly a member of the PNDC, compares Rawlings' torture methods to those of "Emperor" Bokassa of the Central African Republic and is "pained about ... the regime of fascism and insipient (sic) dictatorship which you (Rawlings) are instituting, about the personality cult which you are gradually cultivating...." Almost all the identifiable groups are aware of the evil about which Atim now complains; indeed many have risked the lives of their members and demanded the exit of the PNDC: the Ghana Bar Association, The Association of Recognized Professional Bodies, the University Teachers Association of Ghana, the National Union of Ghana Students, and the Christian Council together with the Catholic Bishops' Conference. Rawlings flatly disregards the will of the people.

(ii) Tribal Dictatorship

For the most part Rawlings' government is based on tribal terrorism and on the proscription of all political activity. The most sensitive and important areas of government, such as national security, the command positions in the Ghana Armed Forces, ministerial portfolios, the top openings in the Ghana missions abroad and in the corporations and civil service are filled with Ewes. The Ewes are Rawlings' tribesmen who together form nearly one-ninth of the total number of electoral districts in the country. Not all Ewes agree with Rawlings' dictatorial methods, but there is an Ewe esprit de corps which Rawlings exploits to his political advantage.

Here is a list of top appointments and the names of Ewes who hold them:

Chairman of PNDC : J.J. Rawlings
 Security Advisor &
 PNDC Member : Kodjo Tsikata
 Army Commander &
 Forces Commander : Arnold Quainoo
 First Infantry Bri-
 gade Commander : Klutse
 Secretary for Foreign
 Affairs : Obed Asamoah
 Ghana Ambassador to
 UN, New York : Gbeho

In addition, immediately after the coup that brought Rawlings to power in 1982, retired Ewe civilian and military officers, namely Kattah, Tevi, Ashley Larsen, and Mawuyenga were recalled and assigned top-level jobs. Meanwhile, as part of the deliberate tribal and political purge which the regime has instituted, several Akans and Northerners in the Armed Forces and Civil Service have been either killed, dismissed, or prematurely retired against their will and against the best interest of the country. This punitive system, reminiscent of the 1937-38 Stalin purge in the Soviet Union, is one of the most efficient

methods of control devised by the PNDC.

We have reason to believe that Rawlings seized power with the support of an elite Ewe tribal cabal apparently prepared to help build a tribal oligarchy in Ghana. One testimony is Ambassador Kofi Awoonor's book, The Ghana Revolution, which is to all intents and purposes a hidden manifesto of Ewecracy, i.e., an Ewe dictatorship sustained by a longstanding passion to rule Ghana. From the evidence of Awoonor's book, that passion goes back to the later years of Nkrumah when the question of succession surfaced; it also goes back to the National Alliance of Liberals led by Gbedemah and to the brief interlude of the AFRC which Rawlings headed in 1979. The PNDC is, without a doubt, the fulfillment of that tribalist passion which Ewes of the ilk of Kodjo Tsikata, J.J. Rawlings, Selormey, Agbo, Kattah, and Kotoka have slowly but surely nurtured. This is why power is so unequally distributed in Ghana today. Needless to say that this system bristles with dangers.

(iii) The National Commission for Democracy

The National Commission for Democracy of which PNDC member Justice Annan is chairman was supposed to recommend a "new" political structure to the people of Ghana by December 1984. To date, no recommendation has been made and none is in sight. The fact is that the NCD is too closely allied to the PNDC to find an independent, nationally acceptable political format for Ghana. Moreover, no amount of intellectual wizardry can produce a document more in tune with the wishes of the Ghanaian populace than the 1979 Constitution of recent

memory. We fear that the government decentralization policy concerning electoral processes which is currently being canvassed in the regions is a clever preparation for a mock election to confirm Rawlings in power.

(iv) Human Rights

The record of the PNDC in this area is bewildering: more people have been executed, killed, jailed, maimed for life, beaten, or subjected to other despicable forms of treatment than in all the previous regimes put together. Admittedly, we may never know the total figure of deaths for which this government can be held responsible; the point is that not even medical officials are allowed to investigate and report the real causes of death when unnatural causes are suspected.

In 1983 Amnesty International, the most authoritative source on the subject of torture, reported that the number of killings by Ghana's security forces and other government agencies like the Public Tribunals and the People's Defence Committees "probably runs to several hundred." In a memorandum to the government of Ghana, AI appealed to the PNDC "to make appropriate changes in PNDC Law 42 (pursuant to which the Public Tribunals were established) to assure that the procedures followed are in compliance with international standards relating to fair trial." The PNDC has rarely given expression to the concept of fair trial: it is proof enough to incur the wrath of the PNDC or its agents.

We do believe, by reasonable calculations, that the captives and victims of Rawlings easily number in several thousands. The known cases that shook the moral conscience of the nation most violently are those of the three High Court judges plus a retired Army officer

who were in 1982 abducted and cruelly murdered upon the instructions of a member of the ruling council, Amartey Kwei, and probably with the connivance of Kodjo Tsikata and Rawlings also. It will be recalled that in 1979 when Rawlings first came to power he executed eight high ranking military rulers, three of whom were former Heads of State. They were not tried. In August 1984 the outspoken journalist John Kugblenu, editor of the privately owned Accra newspaper, the Free Press, died barely one month after he was released from a year's incarceration. He was only 49. Although some political prisoners were released earlier this year, several others are still held and new ones have been added in recent months. For example, active and prominent dissidents like Obeng Manu, a law lecturer at Kumasi, and Sam Okudzeto, an attorney, were recently arrested.

Ghana today mocks its national coat-of-arms which proclaims "Freedom and Justice"; it defies the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The human person does not come first, the PNDC and their agents like Committees for the Defence of the Revolution, the National Investigations Committee, the Citizens' Vetting Committee, and the People's Tribunals do. No citizen, from the gravedigger to the kingmaker, from the trade unions to the churches, is protected from governmental acts or decrees that are immediately and directly injurious. To illustrate, Chairman Rawlings worked himself up to a confrontation with the Catholic Bishop of the large diocese of Kumasi, The Right Reverend Sarpong, whom he verbally humiliated on national radio and television in terms we cannot repeat here so as not to offend our readers.

B. THE ECONOMY

(i) "The Economic Recovery Programme"

When Rawlings took office he accused the Limann Administration of corruption, economic mismanagement, and the mortgaging of Ghana's resources to "imperialist" agencies such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. After a year in office he launched what is now known as "The Economic Recovery Programme." February 22, 1984 the London FINANCIAL TIMES was uncomfortably accurate when it described the "recovery programme" as "The economics of desperation."

Ghana's cocoa production which used to account for 60% to 70% of export earnings has slumped behind that of Nigeria, Brazil, and the Ivory Coast, and prospects for the future are said by experts to be gloomy.

The cedi which the PNDC fans now claim was overvalued by as much as 816 per cent since 1973 has been devalued by over 1,000 per cent, the steepest in the fiscal history of any country. In a recent interview in West Africa magazine President Limann lamented the destruction of the cedi which he said was now worth less than 3 cents at the present exchange rate of 57 cedis to 1 dollar. In fact, the cedi is equivalent to about 2 cents. In 1981 the exchange rate was \$2.75 to \$1.00. Our view is that the current cedi devaluation is unrealistic because it brings untold hardships to the people under a so-called revolutionary government. We note that the PNDC's reaction to this kind of criticism is to play around with semantics by calling the devaluation a "cedi adjustment." It will be recalled that in 1978 the unpopular Supreme Military Council (SMC II) in a similar coverup called their devaluation a "flexible exchange rate."

Ghanaians today are impoverished. No one can live on their salaries. Take for instance a laborer who earns 70 cedis a day and a loaf of bread

low." Naturally foreign investors will be "cautious" because there are fundamental questions of discipline and efficiency or rather indiscipline and inefficiency as well as issues of political legitimacy and public credibility with which the coercive PNDC is still grappling. Every investor knows that a long period of stability is required for any economic practice to fully impact upon society. Consequently, which serious investor will not think twice about investing in Ghana if he knows that Ghana's Head of State congratulates workers at Tema for taking over the management of a factory? Who in his right mind would invest in a climate of managerial difficulties?

(iii) Educational Decline

In a broadcast to the nation August 28, 1983 Rawlings said: "Development means education, organization and discipline." Yet under his own Administration, high school and college students were encouraged sometimes by former Education Secretary Ama Ata Aidoo to go on strike against their teachers in the spirit of the revolution. The universities were for the most part of 1983 and 1984 closed, and the Legon campus turned into a training ground for revolutionary cadres Cuban-style. Hundreds of Ghanaian teachers have been exported to Libya; those of them left at home are so underpaid and thus find it so difficult to feed their families that they abandon their pupils and students to go and work on their private farms or some other business. The result is that the entrance rate to high school has dropped dramatically; educational standards have fallen below acceptable levels. Even university education in Ghana has declined. This is unquestionably an enormous social problem for Ghana. But the principal cause lies in the fact that the revolution speaks against educated behavior and against the middle class, i.e., doctors, lawyers, academics, teachers, civil servants, nurses, etc. The revolution clearly rewards mere revolutionary rhetoric, vandalism, banditry and mediocrity.

channelled through Gbeho to one of his "prophets"? Could that money have helped pay for his house in London? How many of Rawlings' officials, supposedly not receiving salaries, nevertheless have houses in London? And finally where is the vast amount of money that the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council collected in taxes in 1979?

By contrast not a single case of impropriety was found against the top representatives of the PNP government that the PNDC overthrew.

(ii) The 1985 Investment Code

The PNDC Investment Code which received Gazette notification July 17 this year is not original conceptually and in content; it owes much to Limann's 1981 Investment Code which spelt out in detail the regulations to govern trade between Ghana and her trading partners.

First of all, that the PNDC waited nearly four years before coming out with an investment policy showing not only economic indecision on their part but also the hopelessness of the economic theories and practices that have bedevilled the regime to date. We might add that because the PNDC was in charge of our national economy without the guidance of investment regulations the country accrued financial losses needlessly.

Second, the fact that the new Investment Code, unlike the 1981 Investment Code, is silent on the question of mining and petroleum is a matter of concern because mining and oil exploration are major areas of our economy. However, we understand that Law lecturer Tsatsu Tsikata and Economics lecturer Arthur are undertaking secret negotiations with foreign firms regarding these vital fields. Is this "participatory democracy"?

Third, the 1985 Investment Code does not enjoy the political conditions, and the professional support and discipline it needs to be satisfactorily operative. Finance Secretary Dr. Botchway has himself admitted that "private direct investment (in Ghana) remains cautiously

which costs 120 cedis; in real economic terms he has to work almost two days on an empty stomach in order to afford just one loaf! Prices of foreign goods which are now plentiful in the coastal markets due to a belated implementation of Limann's liberalization trade policies are prohibitive. Meanwhile the local factories stand idle partly resulting from the indiscipline which the PNDC gave birth to in 1982 and partly because of the very heavy tax system which the PNDC has devised. For example, business registration fee is now 50 thousand cedis, a figure which clearly discourages the small-time business man or woman.

Because the economic situation was surely worsening under the PNDC, the junta was forced to accept very harsh dependency terms from the IMF and the World Bank, terms which in the long run may be politically and economically detrimental to Ghana. Unexpectedly, Kodjo Tsikata, the pro-Communist and anti-capitalist zealot, turned around and told a restive TUC^{*} on May Day this year that the World Bank and the IMF of all financial institutions had extended about a total amount of 1 billion dollars to the PNDC.

Has corruption minimized under the PNDC? Our research team in Ghana has concluded that the National Investigations Committee has failed to "clean" the country; in some cases it has promoted corruption. Corrupt practices stare you in the face and hit you in the nose wherever you care to turn: Kotoka Airport, Tema Customs, UN Mission in New York. Who operates the Interim Force in Lebanon Account? What has become of an amount estimated to be about 4 million dollars which has been for about a year now the bone of contention between certain Ghanaian officials in the USA and in Ghana? Where is the sum of 100,000.00 dollars which disappeared during the Group of 77 meeting in Manila just before the 1979 coup? Furthermore, was Palaver not severely critical of Ambassador Gbeho's extravagant living in Geneva? Where is the money that allegedly Acheampong

* Trade Union Congress

The PNDC's efforts in the area of education are geared toward inculcating in the young people of Ghana outworn Marxist or pseudo-Marxist ideas from Moscow, Havana, and Tripoli. To illustrate, in August 1984, 80 Ghanaians selected from the People's Militia Committees and the Public Tribunals flew to Moscow to study for 4 to 6 years; 28 Ghanaian youths flew to Libya to receive awards for their essays on Gaddafi's "Third Universal Theory"; and in 1983, 600 high school students were taken away from their parents and sent to Havana. Furthermore, the GREEN BOOK Study Club with its premises in a monstrous Libyan-sponsored building at Abelenkpe on the Achimota Road in Accra is testimony to Libya's intent to colonize Ghana's young minds. Meanwhile those Ghanaians who are well-educated according to the traditional educational standards are among the poorest and the most wretched in the country: their salaries and their living conditions ridicule their brains, their efforts, and their potential. Is the ongoing exodus of qualified personnel a surprise?

II. FOREIGN POLICY

Prior to 1982 Ghana's foreign policy was strictly non-aligned, which was what accounted for the selection of 600 or so Ghanaian soldiers to help with the U.N. International Peacekeeping Force in Lebanon. Now that traditional neutrality seems to have been blown to pieces as Rawlings moves more closely to the USSR and Bulgaria, Libya, Cuba and Nicaragua, East Germany, and North Korea than any previous government in Ghana has done. Yet the PNDC foreign policy is in practice essentially contradictory. Whereas they look to the East-bloc nations for their ideas of government, for security methods, and for military hardware, they borrow money from the West and depend on Western governments and charities to save their people from hunger and starvation. Some observers say Rawlings is cleverly playing off East and West to Ghana's advantage; we believe differently for the reasons given below.

(i) The Libyan Connection

Almost every Ghanaian in and outside Ghana believes that Rawlings overthrew the government of the Third Republic with the financial and military assistance of Gaddafi who later attempted but failed to sponsor coups in Togo, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Niger and Nigeria. Rawlings' emergence is part of an international terrorist design contained in Gaddafi's GREEN BOOK.

The GREEN BOOK was launched in Accra in December 1982 as part of the First Anniversary celebrations of the coup that brought Rawlings to power the second time. It highlights Gaddafi's political and economic theories while inveighing against all the Western democracies; it encourages tribal or caste dictatorships and the rule of family dynasties because they supposedly ensure permanence. These propositions, as we said earlier, are reflected in the purpose and structure of the PNDC. We might add that the GREEN BOOK's idea of people's committees organized at block, regional and national levels is already rooted in the PNDC. The idea itself can be traced back to Castro's Revolution and even further back to the Russian Revolution. A two-man delegation from the Cuban Institute of Friendships with Peoples that visited Accra last year was pleased to find the PNDC implementing the people's committees as organs of the Ghana revolution. It would not surprise us if Rawlings were to, as the final step toward the Libyan model, introduce in Ghana the General Peoples' Congress or Assembly.

(ii) The Cuban and Nicaraguan Connections

Chairman Rawlings and National Security Advisor Kodjo Tsikata are inspired by the Cuban and Nicaraguan examples. Rawlings in particular is fascinated by Fidel Castro.

First, the editorial comments, articles on Cuba and Nicaragua in the foreign news sections of the Ghana newspapers, quotations from

Castro and Che Guevara, organized activities in Ghana to mark Cuba's National Days and references to Cuba in official pronouncements all provide ample evidence.

Second, Rawlings paid at least two official visits to Cuba, one in 1979 and again in July 1984. On the second visit he received the revolutionary medal that Castro gives to his Third World disciples, the Jose Marti award. It was also on that occasion that, according to BBC reports, he said he would welcome Cuban troops in Ghana. This alarmed Ghanaians and Secretary of Information Joyce Aryee issued a press statement denying Chairman Rawlings Cuban plans. Nevertheless we have reason to believe that some Cuban military presence is in Ghana.

Third, two joint commissions of Cuba and Ghana have been held since 1982. The last one was in Accra in February this year; its objective, as reported by the PNDC Coordinating Secretary, Mr. P.V. Obeng, in the PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC of Feb. 15, 1985 was "to bring closer cooperation between the two countries." On Oct. 7, 1983 the Cuban Deputy Foreign Minister, Comrade Oscar Oramas, visited Ghana and met with Comrade Rawlings; they resolved to pool their resources "to fight imperialism and neocolonialism."

Fourth, the Ghana-Cuban Friendship Association in Accra sells Cuban Marxism to the Ghanaian youths by showing them documentary films on Cuba and Nicaragua. Cuban films such as "The Last Supper," "Portrait of Teresa," "Maniola" and "Red Dust" were shown at the Accra Roxy, Royal, Orion and Casino cinema halls respectively. Reciprocally, Havana held a week-long festival on Ghana films in 1984. The following Ghanaian films were shown: "Two Years of Transformation," "No Tears for Ananse," "Power to the People," "June 4th," "Ghanaian Kids in Cuba," "Doing Their Thing," "I Told You So," "The Boy Kumasenu," "Tongo-Hemile," and "You Hide Me." All this forms part of the implementation of the Protocol for

Cultural Cooperation between Ghana and Cuba signed in Havana in 1983.

Fifth, Ghana, similar to other Marxist states in Africa, are training their youths in Cuba's Isle of Youth. As already mentioned, several hundreds of Ghanaian children are studying in Cuba; their school, originally called Heroes del Baile, has been renamed the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial School (West Africa magazine, Oct. 15, 1984). It has been estimated by Cuba International (March 19, 1979) that in 1979 more than 3,000 African students, some as young as second graders, were receiving some education in Cuba. By 1981 there were over 15,000 African students in Cuba's Isle of Youth: they came from the Congo, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Namibia, Sao Tome, Angola, and the Western Sahara. By 1983 the number had risen over 18,000 according to a report by a Cuban representation in Accra's PEOPLE's DAILY GRAPHIC, April 5, 1983. We don't know the figure beyond 1983, but our guess is that it is over 20,000. Our concern can be framed in the form of a question: what will Africa become when these youths return home?

(iii) The Burkina Faso-Ghana Partnership

Ghana and Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta) are the two recent additions to the African states under Cuban influence. Sankara's rise to power in Ouagadougou through a military takeover was sponsored by Rawlings and Gaddafi. Since then both countries have engaged in similar forms of rhetoric and action that are reminiscent of those of Gaddafi and Castro.

One example is the fact that Ghana and Burkina Faso in 1983 signed a military pact called the "Bold Union." Its purpose was or is to defeat so-called Western imperialism and to defend each other's territorial integrity in the event of an internal insurrection or an external attack. Women and children have been included in combat activities as is done in Cuba and Nicaragua. For instance, near the end of 1983 NEW YORK TIMES

reported that at a Ouagadougou celebration of Capt. Sankara's victory the participants, in the majority women, wore olive green khaki uniforms and chanted in French "Fatherland or Death, We Shall Overcome." Olive green Khaki is the color of the Cuban army; the victory chant comes straight out of the Cuban slogan "Patria o muerte, venceremos" with which Castro often ends his lengthy speeches.

Another example is the press release issued by Ghana's Foreign Secretary Obed Asamoah and the Burkinabe Minister of Territorial Administration and Security Comrade Nongma E. Ouedraogo after the 5th Session of the Ghana-Burkina Faso Permanent Joint Commission for Cooperation, April 27-29, 1985 at Ouagadougou. The release contained a scandalous clause proposing "the political integration" of Burkina Faso and Ghana as a way of "consolidating their revolutions and sovereignties." Again the communique ended with the words of Cuba's national battlecry, "Fatherland or Death, We Shall Overcome."

It is clear to us that Cuba and Libya have a strong influence on the foreign policymaking in both Ghana and Burkina Faso. The deeper the penetration the more the West African region will be threatened with destabilization. Of course, Ghanaian and Burkinabe societies are already imperilled.

(iv) Ghana and the West

Ghana and many Western countries, especially Britain and USA, are kept together by cultural and historical forces. There are also economic, education, social and religious institutions that bind us to the West without compromising our independence. There are racial and psychological variables that keep us permanently united with Afro-America which is located in the West.

Oblivious of these facts, the Rawlings revolution has persistently antagonized our traditional friends in the West. For instance, in 1982 Security Advisor Kodjo Tsikata caused great consternation in diplomatic circles when he published a fictitious German-language document in the Ghanaian papers detailing a US mercenary plan to overthrow the PNDC. Later, following protests from the US and German governments, he conceded that the whole exercise was a hoax, and the government of Ghana apologized. Since then economic hardships and the need to turn to Western financial institutions for help have forced the PNDC to tone down their language. It has been said in Ghana that Rawlings was pleasantly surprised by the amount of aid that poured into Ghana from Western sources during the Hunger Year of 1983. The Eastern bloc would provide arms and ammunition but not food or money.

We are convinced that as long as Gaddafi and Castro have some influence in Ghana, the PNDC will never be able to normalize relations with the West, especially the United States. A cold war will continually characterize those relations, especially since the discovery last July that Ghana might have been passing secret CIA information to Libya, Cuba and other countries. The day after Sharon Scranage and Mike Soussouddis were arrested in a Virginia hotel and charged with espionage on behalf of Ghana, the Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC summed up the position of Ghana's Interior Ministry: "Yesterday's reports of CIA activity in Ghana have come as no surprise since the government has all along known of the involvement of the CIA in dissident activities in the country as well as attempts to destabilise the Revolutionary cause." (People's Daily Graphic, July 13, 1985)

Official Western professions, however, continue to characterize the relations as good. When Idi Amin and Milton Obote were killing their

people no Western voice was raised in condemnation until they were overthrown. A similar situation exists in Ghana today. By keeping quiet, some of Ghana's traditional friends are helping Rawlings to establish a totalitarian dictatorship. Once that happens, our fear is that Rawlings or Tsikata will nationalize all the foreign investments in Ghana and once and for all abolish the hypocritical core of Ghana's present relationship with the West.

CONCLUSION

The PNDC has spent nearly four dismal years in office. During that period they destroyed or wasted Ghana's economic and human resources. They promised heaven but delivered hell; they spoke of democracy but practised autocracy; they pointed to a happy future but are destroying the present by spilling innocent blood; they showed us "clean" hands but will leave behind a land more corrupt than ever before; they said they would offer our children food but instead gave them guns and starved them. In brief, they have HUMILIATED a proud people and turned a civilized race into a cowered herd. They have dragged tiny Ghana into the bitter arena of international cold-war politics---to Ghana's immediate and longterm disadvantage.

I appeal to those who care for international peace, to those who are interested in an African development independent of external ideological coercion, and to those for whom Ghana is still of emotional and symbolic value to join us in condemning the PNDC record.

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President
Ghana Congress of USA & Canada

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