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Observer Leader

THE YEAR 1980 IN RETROSPECT

Compared with 1979, 1980 was a relatively tranquil year. From January 1972 to September 1979, the country was ruled by various military dictators — Acheampong, Akuffo and Rawlings. In the past eight years, then, it was in 1980 that one could speak of a whole year in which the country was fully run by government which came to power through democratic elections. Considered from this perspective, the year 1980 hopefully marked the beginning of an era in Ghana's arduous, sometimes tragic, search for a viable constitutional, political and economic order.

This search continued in 1980, complicated not only by serious questions that were raised about some of the decisions laid down by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (A.F.R.C.), but also by inflation, demands for higher wages and shortage of consumer goods, drugs, building materials etc. All these created a climate in which the government, on the flimsiest of evidence, suspected subversion in even legitimate moves by its opponents to agitate against some of its policies. In this kind of environment, politics inevitably dominated almost all aspects of our life,

Politics

On the political scene the shadow of Flt.-Lt. J. J. Rawlings, Chairman of the erstwhile A.F.R.C., continued to act as a source of distraction. Calls for an inquiry into the rule of the Council as well as for a review of some of its decisions made as soon as the Council handed power over to the Limann Administration, continued to be made throughout the year. Capt. Boakye Djan, on 23 February, added his authority to these calls when he asked the government to institute a probe into A.F.R.C. rule.

Rawlings on his part did not directly join the debate; on the contrary, he stumped the country talking mainly about the role of the common man in social and political change, though, at times, in undisguised riposte to Boakye Djan, he sought to defend the record of the A.F.R.C. It was quite clear that the two close associates had fallen out. Rawlings appeared to be as popular as he was in 1979, for a symposium organized by his supporters to celebrate the first anniversary of 4 June at Accra Community Centre, turned out to be a mammoth rally attended by well over 50,000 people. In short, Rawlings appeared to constitute an alternative centre of power, a situation the Limann Administration naturally resented.

In dealing with the Rawlings problem the government was combative. Close associates of Rawlings who engaged in political agitation were arrested, though often to be released sooner or later. In February five members of the People's Revolutionary League - four of whom were students at the University of Ghana - were arrested for distributing anti-tribal leaflets at Burma Camp. In April, the Ministry of Defence announced the arrest of military personnel and a civilian in connection with a conspiracy to cause unrest in the country, an arrest followed by that of Wilhelm Buller, a British Honduras citizen, who was alleged to be a close associate of Rawlings, and who was allegedly engaged by him to train guerrilla fighters on Ghanaian soil.

TABLE 1: INFLATION, GDP AND MONEY SUPPLY

Year	Rate of Inflation	Growth Rate of GDP	Annual Changes Money Supply
1950	14.3	—	
51	15.3	3.0	6.6
52	0.8	4.1	9.3
53	-4.0	5.9	1.1
54	-0.7	1.9	7.3
55	1.0	3.7	8.5
56	3.9	5.9	4.4
57	0.6	4.4	-11.1
58	0.4	-3.4	5.3
59	2.3	13.9	12.5
60	1.1	7.9	17.7
61	6.6	3.5	9.3
62	8.7	5.0	12.6
63	7.2	3.0	4.7
64	19.7	2.0	39.5
65	26.4	0.7	-0.5
66	13.4	-5.4	3.2
67	-8.5	0.2	-2.7
68	8.3	6.2	6.4
69	7.0	5.9	12.9
70	3.7	6.8	5.5
71	9.3	7.8	4.9
72	9.9	6.2	44.0
73	17.7	4.9	22.3
74	18.4	2.3	23.7
75	29.7	-12.4	45.0
76	52.7	-3.7	42.7
77	116.4	—	67.2

Ms — Sum of currency in non-banking sector and demand deposits of the commercial banks.

Inflation rate is based on annual changes in the consumer price index.

Sources: Economic Survey, Central Bureau of Statistics, and International Financial Statistics, IMF, Washington.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF FIXED CAPITAL FORMATION

Year	Buildings/Construction	Transport Equipment	Machinery Total Equipment	Total
1966	69.9	10.2	19.9	100.0
1967	69.5	9.9	20.7	100.0
1968	61.1	10.7	28.2	100.0
1969	66.0	14.4	20.5	100.0
1970	56.9	9.0	34.1	100.0
1971	63.2	17.6	19.2	100.0
1972	63.3	14.2	22.2	100.0
1973	77.1	15.0	7.8	100.0
1974	64.3	19.2	16.6	100.0

Source: Economic Survey, 1972-74, Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra 1977.

Unanswered Questions

It is clear from this discussion that this paper has not touched on many important issues. These include questions about the effects of inflation on growth via the balance of payments, income distribution, and also effects of inflation on industrial productivity resulting from malnutrition. There are conceivable ways in which inflation could affect the growth of the economy. Even though we do not present any empirical evidence on these issues, we briefly examine some of the possibilities which exist in the Ghanaian context.

During inflationary periods, foreign goods become cheaper relative to domestically produced goods. The result is that the country's balance of payments is put under severe strain. Imports were already at a high level in the 1950s and it increased rapidly during the 1960s and 1970s. The rapid growth in imports was partly the result of the government's policy of industrialization and import substitution. These were complemented by the rapid rise in domestic prices. Thus over the years, Ghana's experience has been an unfortunate one. The process of import substitution and rapid domestic inflation led to a paradoxical situation in which the demand for imports greatly increased. Imports of intermediate products, raw materials, were increased because there were no domestic substitutes or that they were much cheaper to import due to wide differences in the relative prices.

With rising internal prices and the over-valuation of the cedi, there was a gradual distortion of the composition of imports. The progressive reduction of the relative price of foreign capital goods had the following results; it encouraged the wasteful consumption of these goods - and this may partly account for the large unused industrial capacity, or the failure to adopt the type of technology which was appropriate for the economy. It induced at a high social cost the substitution of scarce foreign capital for cheap and overabundant local labour supply which could be considered as appropriate for domestic factor endowments.

On export side of the problem, the relatively fixed nominal prices for cocoa meant that the real incomes of a large section of cocoa farmers were reduced. Clearly this was no incentive for increased cocoa production. Thus, together with other factors such as smuggling, ageing trees and farmers, pests etc., it is not surprising that the earnings from cocoa on the world market began to drop.

In these and many other ways, inflation influenced the growth of the economy via its impact on the balance of payments. Large balance of payments deficits and foreign loans led to the foreign debt problem which is now seen as a major constraint on the growth of the economy.

Inflation and Industrial Unrest

Rising domestic prices are to a large extent responsible for the increasing number of industrial unrest, absenteeism and a falling industrial productivity. As a result of the rapid inflation which has been experienced in the country especially during the 1970s, it is interesting to note that

the number of industrial disputes in Ghana rose from 10 in 1972 to 43 in 1974. These series of strikes have serious effects on productivity and it appears that if there are no major changes in the real income of workers these might go on for some time. Some of the impact of inflation on industrial production and discipline may come in disguised forms such as absenteeism or simply a rather low rate of production.

The rising prices may have led to a worsening income distribution. Wage earners may now be taking a declining proportion of the national income while profit earners' share has increased considerably during the inflationary episode. These have to be tested empirically. There is the likelihood that inflation has introduced a substantial and regressive distribution of both income and wealth.

But generally speaking, inflation affects individuals, business and the government in various ways, as consumers (or savers), wage earners holders of assets and debts, lenders, borrowers, taxpayers or tax collectors and so forth. The extent to which inflation affects individuals and groups depends on their sensitivity to inflation and adaptability of their economic behaviour to inflation. Thus it is always difficult to evaluate the total impact of inflation. However, given the low and declining wages and assets of the income earner, they are more likely to react violently during inflationary periods.

General Effects of Inflation

Many contractual obligations that are fixed in money terms are clearly affected by inflation. Inflation lowers the real value of all debts because it reduces the goods and services that can be purchased. And given the low rates of interest relative to the rate of inflation, it is far cheaper to borrow now and pay tomorrow. This raises the question of how the recent high rate of inflation is redistributing real purchasing power from creditors to debtors. It would be interesting to inquire about who gains in the inflationary process. There is no doubt that in inflationary periods some groups manage to increase their incomes quickly, whereas others do so slowly. Obviously those who change income at a faster rate gain more during inflation. The Ghanaian experience suggests that some poor people are getting poorer while the rich are getting richer. There is also some evidence to suggest that those in the distribution sector appear to have made considerable gains during the period of inflation.

It must be added that given the low rates of interest, rising prices make government treasury bills highly unattractive. A more detailed study of the consumption pattern under the prevailing high prices of food would reveal that food consumption may be shifting more and more into the types of foods which are relatively cheap. This happens to be the case with items which have high carbohydrate content. The complementary food items such as meat, fish, milk, beans, groundnut etc. are relatively expensive or not available. Thus both children and adults are found consuming large quantities of carbohydrate food items.

With these possible effects of inflation on economic growth, it appears that if an economy becomes a victim of a strong and sustained inflation it is difficult to find a solution given the economic, social and political constraints on the government. Therefore, given the trade off between inflation and economic growth via increases in consumption and the possibility that investment may decline after a certain rate of inflation hence reduce output, it is imperative that inflation is taken seriously as a major problem for economic development. Faster economic growth cannot be achieved from credit financed from increased money supply, but rather growth depends on increasing real saving out of a given income.

Politics

MILITARISM, INSTABILITY AND THE PRESS

by

Mike Oquaye

In my book, "Politics in Ghana, 1972 and 1979", which has just been published I had the occasion to say in the opening sentence:-

"The story of politics in Africa during the second half of the 20th century has in effect become a study of the military in politics".

Soldiers Become Politicians

Early signs of militarism began to show when Colonel Abdul Nasser and his Free Officers overthrew the Egyptian monarchy through a coup d'état in 1952 and when General Abboud followed in the Sudan in 1958. In 1960, Colonel (later General) Joseph Mobutu took over Leopoldville with careless abandon and established for the guidance of future coup makers that the soldier who seizes the capital in an African country can rule the nation. By 1966, there had been coups in Togo and Dahomey and soldiers had clearly shattered the European ideology — held by capitalists and socialists alike — that soldiers should stay out of politics.

In January, 1966, the tanks came out of the barracks in Nigeria and ravaged the country in a bloody coup that could be described as a masterpiece of military surgery by dint of its savagery and ruthlessness. When the toll was taken at the end of the exercise, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (the Prime Minister), Chief Festus Okoti Eboh (Finance Minister) and a host of other personalities, soldiers and citizens, were counted dead. Nigeria, the largest, most populous and most heterogeneous country in Black Africa, had succumbed to the military rule that was to stretch between 1966 and 1979.

On 24 February, 1966, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, then a towering giant on the international political scene, was toppled by the Kotoka.

Harley - Afrifa coup. Luckily, Ghana returned to civilian rule in 1969 then joining Dahomey (now Benin) as the only countries in Africa where soldiers had staged coups and voluntarily handed over to civilians. But civilian rule soon suffered an untimely death. On 13th January, 1972, the military dose was repeated and one Lt. Colonel Acheampong seized power. After a brief honeymoon, we all witnessed the emergence of "kalabule", the unbridled corruption that emanated from the Castle and engulfed the whole nation and the subsequent economic mismanagement and national decadence. Import licences and public funds were issued without regard to any "principles of economic prudence and the cocoa industry, the life-blood of the economy was made to suffer".

Indeed, as I said in the book "when cocoa suffered, Ghana suffered". A marijuana trade boomed, prostitution flourished, teachers left for Agege and strikes (especially the nurses strike) resulted in untold sorrows to our people. To cap it all, a fraudulent system of government named Union Government was nearly imposed on Ghanaians to enable Acheampong the soldier hand over political power to Acheampong the civilian-to-be. Those were some dark days, indeed, but for the heroic struggle of students, professionals and other gallant Ghanaians, our plight today as a nation would have been worse still.

If we say we do not want military rule it will be dangerous to stop there. We should go further to diagnose the nature and causes of the evil and find the relevant solution. Are coups caused merely because some officers seek political power? In *Politics in Ghana, 1972-1979* many reasons are given for political instability in Africa which include the colonial heritage, illiteracy, economic development, the role of the civil service, churches and Trade Unions. For the present, we shall speak of the Press, Our Leaders and the people as a whole and what they can do to help sound a death knell to irresponsible military adventurism. Specifically we shall ask these questions:

- What can the Leaders do to avoid coups?
- What can the People do to stave off coups?
- What can the Press do to discourage coups?

Leadership

The history of every nation is told in the lives of its people. Leaders provide the core of any society and the evolution of any people cannot be understood without an analysis of the nature, quality, attitudes and integrity of their leaders.

You cannot speak of America without the founding fathers, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Lenin and Mao Tse Tung, have largely made modern Russia and modern China, respectively. On the other side of the coin, the psychopathic personality of Adolf Hitler largely contributed to plunge Germany and the world in a terrible war. Hence, accepting that there is the problem of instability, we should dissect our leadership and see what is wrong.

"Finality," said Disraeli "is not the language of politics". Our leaders have in the past lacked the

ability to compromise on national issues and there has been too much divisiveness. In this connection, the lesson of Pakistan is very instructive. In the first eleven years of independence, Pakistan had 4 Heads of State and 8 Cabinets. When finally the Army set in and seized power, General (later Field Marshal) Ayub-Khan gave an insight into some of the bickerings of politicians which invite military intervention when, in speaking of the ruination of the country, he said:

"These conditions have been brought about by self-seekers who in the garb of political leaders have ravaged the country or tried to barter it away for political gains... They waged ceaseless bitter war against each other regardless of the ill-effects on the country... There have been no limits to the depth of their baseness, chicanery, deceit and degradation..."

Although the General was not an impartial observer there was some truth in this statement.

It was the late General Acheampong who said that soldiers do not just get up to stage coups and accused the politicians of parading military corridors and instigating coups when they lose elections. This came from the horse's own mouth. Elections are a means whereby the people can freely choose their leaders. When they are rigged, this often leads to trouble. Without the rigged elections in Western Nigeria in October, 1965, there might have been no coup in January, 1966. In Pakistan recently, charges that President Bhutto had rigged elections, sparked off protests and a breakdown of law and order that led to a coup. In Ghana, after the Union Government fraud, students boycotted lectures and lawyers refused to go to work and more crises were expected until Acheampong was removed by Akuffo. So our leaders should not interfere with the electoral system if we should have stability and the press can serve as vigilantes in this connection.

In the past our leaders have exploited tribal feelings. This showed even in the 1979 elections. Our leaders, aided by the press must stop such tendencies before they became more marked. Civic education which the colonial powers denied our people in order to perpetuate their domination has been withheld by African leaders too. Our leaders have felt safe by keeping the people from being well-informed and they frustrate the press in this connection. The people therefore remain ignorant, helpless and in political abeyance. But this system easily backfires. It means that when an adventurer strikes, the people are not that articulate, sophisticated and politically mature to defend representative government.

If leaders promise the moon, the people will expect to reach there. If they do not get there, they will point accusing fingers at their leaders. The disillusionment of post-independence Africans towards their leaders stemmed partly from the pre-independence promises that with independence all our problems will be solved overnight. Such

loose promises should definitely be avoided, and the press must always caution against this.

The People

If it is true that every people as a nation get the government they deserve, then we should ask what is wrong with our people? What is their role in political instability and what can the press do to educate them out of this situation? In this connection, we shall speak of apathy, corrupting influences and sycophancy. The immortal Plato once said:

"The price that the wise pay who do not want to partake in government is to live under a government of fools".

No people can be free who approach freedom with apathy. As Simon Bolivar has rightly observed:

"It is a terrible truth that it costs more strength to maintain freedom than to endure the weight of tyranny".

Carelessness, indifference and let-someone-else-do-it attitude can never help. If "kalabule", gained roots in Ghana, it was partly because of something within the Ghanaian nature which makes Ghanaians reluctant to report the cheats. It is those very friends and relations you do not want to report who turn round and bleed you white by profiteering.

On page 212 of **Politics in Ghana, 1972—1979** I said:-

"One of the factors which lead to the downfall of politicians in Ghana and Africa is the way friends and relations flood upon them asking for all kinds of favours when they are in power: The man in high office will have all eyes waiting upon him when the Annual Festival in his hometown comes on. He should kill the Cow, buy the drinks and dish out the money to perform every ceremony. He is expected to contribute thousands of cedis and is promptly announced as chief mourner when anyone dies in the family. He is even expected to organize the funerals of the late chiefs and elders of the family who had departed ages ago. If a child is born, if someone is ill, if someone has to go to school, if employment is to be found, even if a member of the family has committed a crime, the 'big man' must provide for all. He is the panacea to all the family's maladies and wants; he is taxed and tasked till all their needs are satisfied; he is bled till he is no more a man; he is pressed for favours till he has exploited and abused every privilege at his disposal, leading steadily to his fall and disgrace".

One other great woe that has afflicted our people is sycophancy. We have praised our leaders when there was no need for praises. We have approved and concurred, when we needed to question and caution, we have flattered and cajoled them until they have almost lost their heads. Often, we have raised them to the level of tin-gods, held them up

in the skies singing Hallelujah only to look down and frown when they finally fell in disgrace.

The Press

The lack of an independent press in Ghana stems from the very socialist policy of the government during the first Republic. Since then the problem has lingered on. When the press criticised some aspects of military rule under the N.L.C. General Ankrah was quick to retort:

"He who pays the piper must call the tune". It is tragic to recount that sections of the press helped even our chiefs to ridicule themselves with the publication of pathetic messages of support for Acheampong etc. The Press looked on as the churches - especially some spiritual churches - helped Acheampong to hoodwink Ghanaians.

We would want the Press to ask the Churches:

If they could excommunicate people for polygamy why could they not do the same to the nation-wreckers, thieves and plunderers, but instead offered them front pews and softened sermons to assuage their consciences.

It is indeed painful to recount how some journalists made the Supreme Military Council believe that every freedom was theirs to give and that they could rule as they pleased. In an editorial of the "Daily Graphic" of Friday 21st October, 1977, the newspaper said of the Referendum on Union Government yet to be held on March 30th 1978.

"The S.M.C. government has a right to decide what it thinks is good for the nation's future, because this right is implicit, in the LEGALITY of its administration, it is the basis of its MAN-DATE" (emphasis added).

Granting certainly that the editor understood "Mandate" and "Legality" the least we can say of him is that he was not being sincere with his readers. Under S.M.C. rule, some pressmen visited prisons, witnessed prisoners being tortured and advised them to vote Unigov to avoid further punishment. The 'Ghanaian Times' called for a ban on "The Echo" and "The Evening News", advocated that the "Pioneer", "Echo" and "Legon Observer" should be forced to cease publication.

The Press will be accepted by the people as the fourth estate of the realm worthy of its honour if they can always fight for legality and liberty and can be fearless proponents of all that is good, just, pure and right in government. They should not be a mere medium of governmental information or propaganda agency. However, in the search for stability, the Press should inform the people of the enormity of the problems facing the Limann administration and publicise genuine attempts being made to get Ghana out of the woods.

A free, just society which is ruled by laws and not by men and which can protest against coups, must be led by a free, fearless, powerful, independent and well-informed press. Without such a press, the Watergate Scandal in the U.S. would not have been uncovered. And with such a press, no mal-administration in Ghana will ever escalate to such

Declarations which are considered significant in the sense of reducing international tensions and strengthening peace. The 1965 Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in the Domestic Affairs of States and the Protection of their Independence and Sovereignty is meant to prevent any state from intervening, directly or indirectly, in the internal or external affairs of any other State.

Then in 1974, the Assembly adopted a Definition of Aggression: "Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations....."

Then again in 1977, the General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Detente in which member-states declared by consensus their determination to adhere firmly to and promote the implementation of the provisions of the Charter as well as the principles and declarations aimed at enhancing world peace and security, to consider taking new and meaningful steps to halt the arms race with the ultimate aim of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.

In other sessions, the United Nations has **condemned** hegemonism and has acted through peace-keeping forces, observer or fact-finding missions (despatched by the Security Council), plebiscite supervision, good offices missions, conciliation panels and special representatives.

At the moment, the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), with a strength of 5,900 men from Fiji, France, Ghana, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway and Senegal, is performing an "indispensable" service not only in Lebanon but in the Middle East as a whole.

The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP) is also preventing the recurrence of fighting between Greek and Turkish Cypriots and promoting a return to normal conditions.

One cannot give an account of the U.N. without mentioning the many sessions that have been summoned to debate the questions of Disarmament, Apartheid, Racial Discrimination, Decolonization, Human Rights and generally, Economic and Social progress among member Nations. The New International Economic Order has become a "punching bag" in national and international parlance.

Whatever the nature of the issue at stake, member-states have first looked at their own national interests and balanced these with the future of the world community. Why would the U.S. threaten to quit the U.N. if Israel were expelled? Why are Western Nations paying only lip-service to the New International Economic Order? Why has the U.S.S.R. recorded the highest number of vetoes in the Security Council? Why is Namibia a sore to African States and a playground for Western interests? Why has the invasion of Iran not been considered "Aggression"?

Perhaps it is these contradictions that have provided the *raison d'être* and the strength of the

United Nations over the past 35 years. Does collective responsibility mean anything any longer? The next decade provides a challenge.

Notebook

RONALD WHO?

The conduct of foreign affairs in the United States is the exclusive responsibility of the man who occupies the White House. Through generations foreign policy may remain basically the same but different Presidents put different emphases (dictated by their fears, visions and values) on the various elements in American foreign policy.

If only for this reason it is more important to know who the occupant of the White House is than it is to examine in detail the statements on foreign policy by a Presidential candidate who eventually becomes the President. What sort of man has succeeded Carter? What are his fears? What are his dreams and visions? What makes him tick (or as Americans are wont to put it, what motivates him?)

Ronald Wilson Reagan, 40th President of the United States, was born on 6 February 1911 in Tampico, Illinois a small town in the heartland of America. He was raised and educated in and around this town in Illinois. Reagan's character and values are rooted in the experience of growing up in a small-town in Mid-America. As he is reported to have said, "In a small town you can't stand on the sidelines and let somebody else do what needs doing". His father was Irish, Catholic and a shoe salesman who was not too successful; and his mother was a devout Protestant whose dramatic readings at clubs, hospitals and prisons stimulated her son's interest in acting. From such a social background how did Reagan make it to the White House?

Educated in elementary (grade) school, and secondary (high) school, Reagan entered Eureka College, a small co-educational college in his home state of Illinois. At College he was an actor and a sports-man of note. After graduation in 1932, at the height of the depression, he became a famous sports announcer in the Mid-West, broadcasting major baseball games. In 1937, he started what became a 27-year film career in Hollywood. During this period, he starred in more than 55 feature films, and his popularity in Westerns and comedy parts gave him the opportunity to play more demanding roles in such films as 'Kings Row'. During part of this Hollywood film career, he was President of the Screen Actors' Guild and President of the Motion Picture Industry Council. It was at this time that he resisted what he saw as a Communist threat to the motion picture unions. In a country where the mass media are ubiquitous, it can be said that the media made him known, involvement in union politics helped to crystallize his conservative political philosophy, and his character as a man with the courage of his convictions be-

After eight years of marriage to Jane Wyman, and with a daughter, Maureen (born 1941), and a son, Micheal, adopted in 1945, Reagan was divorced. He married his present wife, Nancy (then an actress), in 1952; they have two children, Patricia Ann, 26, a songwriter in California, and Ronald, 20, a dancer with the Joffrey Ballet in New York City.

Up to 1954 Reagan was a liberal Democrat, but this year was a turning point in his political career when he was employed by the powerful General Electric Company as the host of the popular weekly television series, 'GE Theatre'. In this new role, he came gradually to espouse a conservative political philosophy. Apart from hosting this programme which lasted for eight years, he toured G.E. plants and discussed the strengths and weaknesses of free enterprise and big government with well over half a million G.E. employees and other Americans. In 1964 in a nationally-televised speech on behalf of an old friend, Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, Reagan established his credentials as a conservative. The speech was described by *Time* magazine as 'the one bright spot in a dismal campaign'.

He was changing from a popular actor to a nationally famous politician with a seriousness of purpose; as a man who believed that certain things in this world are worth fighting for. His interest in politics led him in 1966 to campaign for the governorship of California, the most populous and diverse American state known for its Democratic

Governors. He defeated two-term Governor, Edmund Brown (father of current Governor of California), and served from 1966 to 1974. As Governor he is chiefly remembered for his no-nonsense approach to government as well as for his crack-down on student anti-Vietnam demonstrations on college campuses. He succeeded in balancing California's budget and was the biggest tax-cutter in the state's history. His governorship was controversial as he cut down drastically on welfare benefits. He had the reputation of being an effective politician, though.

By the time he left the governorship in 1975, Reagan had become a conservative with a sharp national image, described by *Newsweek* Magazine at the time as the 'most kinetic single presence in American political life, a scold to the powerful, a missionary to the aggrieved'. In 1976 he unsuccessfully challenged Gerald Ford for the Republican nomination. In July 1980 he defeated a crowded field of Republican aspirants for the nomination, won it and went on to win a landslide victory in the presidential elections in November, 1980.

Ronald Reagan has a clear vision of what he wants to do. In matters of both domestic and foreign policy, his views are diametrically opposed to those of Carter. In accepting his nomination at the Republican Convention in Detroit, he observed that big government is 'never more dangerous than when our desire to have it help us blinds us to its great power to harm us High taxes, we are told, are somehow good for us, as if when government spends our money, it isn't inflationary; when we spend it, it is'. A good public speaker, he appeals to time-honoured conservative values: family, work, neighbourhood, peace and freedom.

In foreign policy Reagan has generally stated that what America needs is national security, adding that 'One of the strongest guarantors of national security is a superior military defence'. His few references to Africa and the Third World do not give a clear indication that he will pay any consistent attention to Africa and its problems if such problems are not connected with the need to maintain Western presence in Africa. We can only hope, and we expect African governments to see to it, that the actual responsibility of conducting U.S. foreign policy will force a reconsideration of an African policy which appears to be based on the simple view that the world needs a strong United States.

GHANA'S GOLDEN PROSPECTS

The international seminar on Ghana's gold resources is over, and from all accounts, it was a great success. Whether an international seminar is the best way to attract investors into a country is entirely beside the point. What that seminar has certainly achieved is to have drawn the attention of investors the world over to the existence of huge gold deposits in this country. Again, whether this is what is really needed to be done is highly debatable. It seems to have escaped the attention of the Government and the planners of the seminar that Ghana was once called the Gold Coast and that, that name was conferred on that stretch of West

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An Accra Legal Practitioner, is
the author of **Politics In Ghana
1972 — 1979**

Africanus Owusu Ansah:

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effect that the next revolution would be bloody and that journalists of the **Graphic** would not be spared. This reaction by those who were present when the said gentleman called at the **Graphic** offices, and therefore should know what they are talking about, was never made known to the Ghanaian public. The paper has been very silent on the issue and yet it has the effrontery to "urge all do-gooders and believers in TRUE DEMOCRACY to learn the lessons which the American electorate taught us yesterday". This, to my mind, is hocus-pocus!

How can the "almighty" Press Commission sit down and look on unconcerned at what is going on at the **Graphic**. Ever since that lady left the editorial chair, the **Daily Graphic's** "image" has sunk to a rather low ebb and it's about time something was done to ameliorate the situation.

P. O. Box 4236
Accra.

E. Ben Sam

Save Petrol To Save Ghana - Indeed!!

SIR - Much as all Ghanaians are prepared to bear with the Government in this desperate period, no Ghanaian is prepared to have another occasion where he is advised to tighten his belt while the adviser is really loosening his.

Our newspapers, radio and television are full of advertisements like "join a car-pool," "don't drive under-inflated tyres" etc, etc for it wastes

petrol," yet it is surprising to note that the authorities in this country do the contrary. State officials who might be proceeding to the same destination, are often seen in long convoys sometimes followed and led by a considerable number of dispatch-riders. The irony of the whole situation is that many of the cars in these convoys are state-owned and each car may have only two or three people in it. The fuel expenses of these cars are borne directly by the State. If these authorities have found it necessary to advise even private car-owners to join car pools, what prevents them from doing the same with the state-owned vehicles? Or is it because such expenses are borne by the State, hence State cars constitute an exception to the rule?

It is high time our authorities became serious about whatever they say or expect to be done. Our situation has no room for such jokes; it has no patience for such hypocritical rhetorics. The economic war should be waged by all; and the hardships borne by all, both the leaders and the led. For it is only under such situations that the under-privileged can support the government.

C41 Fellows Flat,
Mensah Sarbah Hall,
Legon.

Paapa Dadson

Undermining Public Confidence In Parliament

SIR - Your recent edition (L. O. Vol. XII No. 14)

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contains a poorly argued piece with the above heading by Mr. Badu-Nkansah.

I was not surprised to learn that the writer is an Honourable Member of Parliament, but sorry that such a piece should come from an M.P.

To argue that, because the Speaker and the Majority Leader are themselves often late or absent from Parliament, it is wrong for them to condemn lateness or absenteeism, is to fall victim to a fallacy which the logicians call *argumentum ad hominem*. A rather long name but the special circumstance of the person is not relevant to a reasonable argument. One would have expected the M.P. to put up a better defence for lateness to Parliament than the obnoxious one that the house starts proceedings at 10.30 a.m. "in contravention of the standing orders which require that work should start at 9 a.m."!

Does the M.P. want to say that he wants things to continue that way? If parliamentarians who are to make laws for the people treat laws with little respect, do they expect their constituents to respect the laws.

I hope the M.P. does not want lateness and absenteeism in Parliament to remain State secrets! Undermining public confidence indeed!!

Dept. of Political Science, Sampson Asala
Legon.

Monitoring Distribution Of Essential Goods

SIR - About a fortnight ago, getting to the noon, I joined a queue of other simple Ghanaian folks to purchase an essential commodity - made in China toilet rolls. Venue - "My Shop" on the Ring Road Central. A customer was being sold four pieces for C8.00 at a time when the Chinese T Roll was being retailed at Mokola at C5.00 a piece.

Not long after I joined the queue, two women - one well-dressed, the other rather shabbily, arrived - by-passed the line and as if pre-arranged, were sold four cartons. This writer confronted them, even went to the extent of issuing empty threats to the effect that trade liberalization or not, he would report them to the authorities if the women left with the four cartons of toilet roll. They did, and in taxi cab with registration No GO 4171

Sir, I can see two issues that need to be resolved. First, does the trade liberalization mean goods ordered through official channels with the country's foreign currency may be diverted and sold at higher prices as if they had been imported from Lome with black market foreign currency? Second, can't some public institutions e.g. Special Branch, monitor the activities of the sales personnel of commercial houses. The fear that diverting goods to Mokola may lead to commercial houses like My Shop being black listed in a future distribution exercise may keep them on the path of probity.

School of Administration S. A. Nkrumah
Legon.

Over-Priced Goods: To Buy Or Not To Buy

S,_R - In the 29th December, 1980, issue of *Ghanaian Times*, the Central Regional Minister, Mr. Kankam Da Costa, is reported to have told Ghanaians at an annual harvest at Awutu-Mankesem that the Government had not abandoned price control but had relaxed to allow goods to flood the market to prevent traders from hoarding the goods. This in effect means that buyers could choose to buy at higher prices or boycott the goods.

The Minister's statement poses a lot of questions: Does the Minister want Ghanaians to boycott a box of matches at C2 instead of 15p; a cake of guardian soap at C3.50 instead of .95p; a small tube of toothpaste at C7 instead of C1.25; a larger size Omo at C30 instead of C2.80? The above goods are not a luxury, and if we are told to buy them at the cut-throat prices, then Government-employees don't know their interest.

However, there are goods brought into the country by some individuals though their own hard-earned foreign currencies - e.g. refrigerators, electric iron, gas cooker, shoes, and wrist watches. These goods need not be checked at what price they are being sold since one can choose to buy or boycott them. But goods manufactured in Ghana for which Government's money was used on ordering the raw materials which do find their way into the Kalabule traders need to be checked.

Department of Psychology, J. Y. Acheampong
Legon.

Discrimination Against Private Schools

SIR - Your "Note-book", on "financing education", began with the statement that the majority of secondary schools had not re-opened by mid-October. You meant, surely, the majority of ASSISTED secondary schools, for many independent schools had opened before that. And they deserve credit for this, because they find it harder, not easier, than the assisted ones to get food. Their allocations are less, proprietors have to go to Accra to get chits to get them, and then people sometimes refuse to sell to them, because of exasperating red tape. Worse still, the Publishing Corporation has been refusing to sell them books because of more red tape. And these are the majority of schools in the country! Many of them give the commercial and vocational education that everybody is advocating, and did it long before the assisted schools did.

There are other grievances as well, all of which could be removed quite easily. Proprietors have to pay taxes on their own incomes and on that of the school. Independent schools have no concessions, as the assisted schools do, over rates and water and power. They are forbidden to enter candidate for GCE for some of the scientific subjects. They have to pay exorbitant customs duties on educational equipment coming from abroad, which assisted schools do not have to do, although the equipment is no more nor less educational when used for one sort of school than for the other sort. When other countries send us Peace Corps teachers,

they are sent to the assisted schools, though, if they want to share some Third World poverty, they could do that far better in an independent school than in Achimota Common room. National Service graduates, too, are sent to assisted and not to independent schools, for no reason whatever. And yet the majority of schools in Ghana are independent, and some teach subjects such as Latin that the assisted schools do not.

This is not a plea for independent schools to be given anything, but for these absurd instances of discrimination to be taken away.

Ghana Empire School,
P. O. Box 6828
Accra North.

Daphne Hereward

Teaching At Legon

SIR - Your article on the plight of Legon was exasperating, because Legon could mitigate it by renewing the contracts of lecturers who like it there and who intend to stay, or, if they sack them, by letting them back if they are willing to come back.

Ghana Empire School,
P. O. Box 6828
Accra North.

Daphne Hereward

The Way We Speak

SIR - The "way we speak" can sometimes be boring
.....y-a-w-n

Congratulations for Ebow Daniel's Article (L.O. Vol. XII No. 14). Who could suggest a better cure for insomnia.

Of course he had his fine points; even the Editors themselves were not above writing of "A related question also seems to be AGITATING THE PUBLIC'S MIND,..." (p. 313).

Some language we Ghanaians have!

School of Administration
P. O. Box 78,
Legon.

Patrick Quarcoo

SIR - I am a regular reader of your popular paper. I have grown to love your paper for a number of reasons, the main one being that it is very informative and objective. Though not an official mouthpiece of the University, it nonetheless reflects the stand of a number of Ghanaian academics on national and international affairs.

Apart from the foregoing reasons, a number of contributors to this esteemed paper have gone our of their way to make the paper particularly readable.

Take for instance Mr. Ebow Daniel's articles, which though simply written are nonetheless serious and yet manage to maintain a sense of humour. One cannot help appreciating how effectively Mr.

Daniel succeeds in combining the dual role of informing and entertaining. It's all so refreshing!

But if Mr. Daniel's articles have always been irresistible, his last two in "Legon Observer" Vol. 12 nos. 13 and 14 were simply marvellous. I doff my hat off for Mr. Daniel.

I am looking forward to the next issue of the "Legon Observer" More grease to your pen, Mr. Ebow Daniel!

P. O. Box 57
Legon.

J. B. K. Abiamo

Tete Quarshie Educational Scholarship

SIR - Early in the 1920s the Legislative Council, in obvious appreciation of Tete Quarshie's momentous contribution to the economic development of this country, approved of a grant of £250 for the maintenance of his relatives.

In October 1928, Nana Sir Ofori Atta I asked the Colonial Government if it would 'in addition to the grant consider the desirability of perpetuating the name of Tete Kwashie in more general and lasting fashion'. The answer was: 'The name of Tete Kwashie has been lastingly perpetuated by the foundation of the Tete Kwashie Educational Scholarship which is tenable at the Prince of Wales College, Achimota'.

Will someone satisfy my curiosity by telling me whether the said scholarship is still being awarded at Achimota school? If so, who are some of its past beneficiaries? If not, when was the award discontinued and why?

History Dept.,
Legon.

R. Addo-Fening

Opinion

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL STABILITY AND FOREIGN INVESTMENT

by

John Quao

I have read with interest the article written by Mr. Ato K. Ahwoi on 'Forms of Government, Political Stability and Foreign Investment' in L.O. Vol. XII No. 15. The general effect of his article is likely to cause despair and loss of faith in the constitution since a document which, as he argued, cannot ensure stability and promote development cannot be of benefit to us. My view, however, is that his conclusions are wrong and the purpose of this article is therefore to challenge his findings.

Discussing the prerequisites for attracting and maintaining foreign investment, Mr. Ahwoi noted that foreign investors require "the assurance that such investments will be safe (possibility of nationalisation minimal or non-existent) and returns from such investments can be repatriated to the donor

countries with little or no restrictions whatsoever. If a country by its economic policies eliminates the fear of compulsory take-over and further guarantees that returns can be easily transferred then **IRRESPECTIVE OF WHAT POLITICAL SYSTEM THE COUNTRY OPERATES** investment will flow to that country" (my emphasis). Having rightly made this observation, Mr. Ahwoi surprisingly puts forward the contradictory proposition that multi-party states in developing countries do not attract foreign investment because of an in-built instability due to lack of economic democracy. To him, it is only dictatorships, one-party states and military regimes in the Third World which attract foreign investment, apparently, because they can ensure stability.

Multi-Party Systems Are Attractive to Investors

I cannot accept this view because by our own experience in this country, dictatorships do not necessarily attract foreign investment. From 1972 - 1979, we had military dictatorships in this country and if this was the necessary condition for investors to come to Ghana, then, there should be evidence of lots of foreign investment here by now. Yet apart from Willowbrook and Neoplan no major foreign investment was recorded during that period. It will also be recalled that the only major investment during the one party dictatorship of the First Republic was Valco.

On the contrary, there is evidence that multi party states in Africa and other Third World countries have been able to attract foreign investment just as some of the dictatorships, one-party states and military regimes have succeeded in doing. For instance, Botswana has since independence had a multi-party system, yet she has an impressive number of foreign investments and a sound economy. The Gambia has also since independence been a multi-party state, yet this has not hampered her ability to get some foreign investments. Senegal has also in recent years adopted a multi-party system but this has not discouraged foreign investment in that country.

That it is the economic policy of a country more than anything else which determines whether she can get foreign investment or not is best illustrated by Sri Lanka which is a multi-party state. During the rule of Mrs. Bandranaike, a well known leftist, Sri Lanka was unable to attract foreign investment. However, when her Party lost the General Elections and the ruling United National Party (UNP) came into office, the UNP Government has through pragmatic policies been able to attract foreign investment which has helped considerably in improving the economy of Sri Lanka. More recently with the defeat of Mr. Manley's Peoples National Party (PNP) Government in Jamaica and the coming into office of Mr. Seaga's Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) now pursuing policies favouring foreign investment, it is reported that foreign investors are seriously considering investing there.

Disturbing Thesis

The most disturbing aspect of Mr. Ahwoi's article

is his view that it is only multi-party states in developing countries that are inherently unstable because of lack of economic democracy. Evidence available, however, shows that problems of social justice or economic democracy and stability are not unique to liberal democratic systems. It is, for instance, a fact that for all the famed wealth of Iran the broad masses of her people did not benefit from it during the rule of the late Shah and was indeed a significant factor in his overthrow. His dictatorship was unable to neutralise the in-built instability which because of the Shah's inability to share the national cake equitably has been created in Iran. Mr. Ahwoi cannot also have forgotten so soon the reasons for the June 4 uprising and the coup that toppled the one party state of the late President Tolbert of Liberia. The truth is that all political systems have the potential to be unstable and it is only the ability of the rulers in balancing the various competing claims, and interests of the society that gives legitimacy and ensures the survival of each political system.

In this regard, it is gratifying that the framers of the constitution have shown keen awareness of the problems that can endanger the stability of the State and have accordingly drawn up a constitutional framework that can help ensure development and a stable society. I do not therefore understand Mr. Ahwoi's view which seem to imply that the Constitution is more suited for a developed country. As he may be aware, the United States of America was a developing country when her Constitution was promulgated over 200 years ago. So was Canada whose constitution is now over 100 years old. Our own Constitution is nothing more than a reflection of our past experiences and our determination to build a free, united and prosperous nation which can only be attained in an atmosphere of peace and orderly development.

We have had enough lessons from our history to teach us that there are no short-cuts to development. Indeed, the Ghanaian experience has shown that, more often than not, hasty Government action has been ill-considered and better results would have been obtained if time had been taken to subject the measure or policy to critical scrutiny and detailed discussion by various groups in and out of the Government. In any case, the checks and balances in the Constitution have not prevented fast and effective government action when required. For instance, at the request of the Executive, Parliament has on a number of occasions passed certain bills under certificate of urgency because their consideration under normal parliamentary procedure will defeat their purpose by the time they become law.

It should also be noted that there are provisions for the declaration of a state of emergency should there be need for extraordinary measures to be taken. There are also provisions for amendments to be made to enable the constitution adapt to new circumstances and conditions without the need for an overthrow of the Constitution as a whole.

Directive Principles Misunderstood

It is most unfortunate that Mr. Ahwoi does not

see much merit in the Directive Principles of State Policy and, apparently, the Constitution as a whole for, in his own words, "a constitution which does not recognise social, political and economic realities of the times can never be used as a vehicle of development". Yet the problems of social injustice which he drew attention to in his article, are the very issues which the Constitution seeks to eliminate. For instance, chapter 4 of the Constitution on Directive Principles of State Policy have enunciated a number of social, economic and political objectives which all Government organs—that is, the executive, legislature and the judiciary in this country must promote and realize. Governments, for example, are required by Article 8(1) "to endeavour to manage the national economy in such a manner as to secure the maximum welfare, freedom and happiness of every citizen of Ghana on the basis of social justice and equality of opportunity". My general understanding of the provisions of the constitution is that within the constraints of the economy and other social and environmental factors, government organs must endeavour to realize the objectives set therein.

Obviously we should not expect the Constitution to be self-executing. I believe the Constitution is a good document which can help establish a just, prosperous and stable society, but it is up to us to ensure that its provisions are respected and enforced. This can be done by the people, especially the press, articulate members of the society and politicians, particularly the minority parties through criticisms, suggestions, pressures, resort to the Courts and the use of the franchise during elections. Since we are operating a multi-party system and the minority parties are also interested in coming into power, a government which wishes to be returned into office can only do so by offering good service to the society. By this process, barring any natural disasters and wars, it should be possible for Ghana to achieve progress and stability.

GHANAIS IN NIGERIA

By

A. Owusu Ansah

Mr. Orraca - Tetteh did quite a good job on the above topic in your magazine (LO Vol XII No. 14, 5-18 Dec, 1980) but I would like to do some "fill - in - the - gap" and perhaps "strike the odd ones out".

When he mentioned the fact that there are so many Ghanaians teachers in Nigeria and that there is hardly any school in some parts of Nigeria without one or two Ghanaian teachers, he could, perhaps, have added the bit that the Nigerian students so appreciate the Ghanaian teachers' efforts at teaching that currently some schools advertise the number of Ghanaian teachers on their staff to attract students.

I have some doubts about "Agege being only a small locality in Lagos". A lot of people and myself agree that it is rather one of the biggest, if not the biggest, locality in Lagos with its own sub-areas like Orille, Tabon-Tabon, etc; though it is true that Agege is much like Nima in terms of the

heterogeneity of the population and buildings, and perhaps "more than Nima" in terms of improper planning, poor drainage and poor hygiene.

Again, it must be mentioned that there is not only one method by which the Ghanaian women prostitutes get into Nigeria although the prostitutes (who are not in the majority of women there) are a primary cause of quarrels among many Ghanaian boys and men, there being a convention that a Ghanaian prostitute must not "service" another Ghanaian man except her "caretaker" who is not only a "pimp" but also a "husband" responsible for the girl's welfare (though it is the girl who feeds and clothes him) and for any child that is born during the sojourn; an arrangement that exists also in Abidjan, and dates back to the "two-two" days of the Calabar women from Nigeria in the 1950s.

Aliens Compliance Order

The crucial issue in the whole piece, however, seems to be the "Aliens" Compliance Order Revisited". While admitting, upon hindsight, that the Aliens' Compliance Order was implemented with much callousness, it must also be noted that the Aliens' Compliance Order cannot be accepted as a reasonable excuse for the several acts of atrocities perpetrated against Ghanaians in Nigeria recently. After all, Ghanaians did not single out Nigerians; it was coincidental that Nigerians formed the majority of aliens affected; and secondly, those who did not conform to the provisions in the Order did not make the effort to "do the right thing" within the six-month period - all the time thinking they could "manoeuvre". Another important point is that even those who had led a "prodigal son's life" in Ghana found in the Aliens' Compliance Order a good excuse for coming home empty-handed.

It is such people who obtained undue sympathy from their friends and relatives when they related untrue stories about seizure of their property, torture and insults. Such stories achieved the required effect, hence it is the "home-Nigerians" who are more wicked and inhumane to Ghanaians than the "pilgrim-Nigerians" who had been beneficiaries of Ghanaian hospitality and "open-door" policy.

The fact that "decades ago Nigerians travelled to Ghana for a good life, but now times have changed, and Ghanaians are now going to Nigeria" should have suggested to your contributor that he need not have found it "incredible how a shattered economy can change a people's attitude"—for, just as cows graze towards the most luxuriant grass, so will men search for places they can obtain better monetary rewards - money having been accepted as the major motive for action.

Leadership Requirements

Nigerians who flocked into Ghana during the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's were warmly received as the brothers they have always been to Ghanaians since the colonial period; we have often shared similar "destinies" (with few exceptions, eg some British background of law and administration, indirect rule, struggle for independence, Republicanism, military administration, and now another attempt at civilian rule with both Heads of States coming from the north! The similarities could be

continued *ad nauseam*, but the issue at stake is that Nigeria must learn to accept the fact that once a country assumes the leadership role in (world or African) politics, it has to make so many concessions and nurture a "large heart" to contain all manner of provocations.

Finally, vicissitudes of modern life arise not only from an economy that is "booming" or "shattered" but also from natural disasters, wars and the like, and the earlier humanity accepted to live at peace with one another, the better we shall all be in obtaining (or even demanding) succour in times of crisis.

The Arts

JOGOLLO - A REVIEW

by

Ebow Daniel

Written and directed by Allan Tamakloe, Lecturer, School of Performing Arts, Legon, *Jogollo*, which features students of the School, opened at the Commonwealth Amphitheatre, Legon in March 1980. Emmanuel Yirenkyi, a colleague of Tamakloe's, assisted with the direction; other colleagues, William Anku and Nii Yartey, assisted with music and choreography respectively. The Sweet Beans Dance Band provided music.

Jogollo is supposed to be the story of a King (Jogollo) consumed with jealousy of a younger brother (Japata), the latter, athletic of body, handsome of features, successful in battle and beloved of damsels. While the more popular younger brother lives, the elder brother feels unsafe as King; the King, therefore, wants the brother dead. An initial attempt to kill him fails. The younger brother gets wind of further attempts to be made. He flees, the King giving chase until pursuer and pursued meet under circumstances more favourable to the younger brother. Rather reminiscent of the Saul and David story, however, the pursuer's life is spared, after being made to swear not to endanger the younger brother's life any more. To guarantee his personal safety, the younger brother eventually decides to leave town altogether for a new settlement where news reaches him of the "despatch" of the King by his subjects. The subjects want the younger brother as their King and a King he becomes.

Like most full-length plays, there are mini-stories to the main story. There is the story of the King's unrequited love for a palace-maid which in one scene involves him in a captivating strip-tease act which, however, turns out to be gratuitous both for the King's immediate libidinous intention and even the telling of the main story. There is also the story of the relationship of the King's warrior-brother with the same palace-maid and another linking the trio. The warrior's relationship with other women including a friend's wife provide additional mini-stories.

Mini-stories or sub-plots are often useful for drawing attention to aspects of the main story or of character which otherwise remain unilluminated. For instance, the character intended for the King in the main story is that of a villain - a man who is capable not only of murder but also of torture: he orders guards to "squeeze hard" the breasts of the brother's wife until she reveals the fugitive husband's hide-out. We are exposed to other aspects of his villainy in the mini-stories. We learn, for instance, of his habit of invading the privacy of any palace-maid to whom he takes a fancy. But isn't that a King's privilege? At any rate, some of us are happy that the King does not always succeed. We enjoy his frustration in one scene, the more so that he is compelled to leave the maid's quarters in *flagrante delicto*.

In contrast to the King's villainy, his warrior-brother's character is that of a "good man", a man who "forgives his enemies". Great! He comes upon his assailant, the King unprotected, his guards temporarily disabled from excessive drinking. He should kill him by all the rules of the game. He lets him go, however, and no one is more surprised by this gesture than the King. Japata the chivalrous is also intended. He rescues the palace-maid from the King's uninvited attentions, but he refuses to take advantage of the maid, although the maid is more than willing, inviting him to "look", at least.

Main and mini-stories taken together, however, a consistent picture of Japata "the virtuous and chivalrous" is not the case. The Japata who refuses to take advantage of an unmarried palace-maid is able to take to bed a friend's wife. The man who rescues ladies in distress is also capable of cutting rough with ladies. His violent handling of the friend's wife, "after the event", is shocking, the more so as we know the lady had just confided to him she is pregnant.

Why "Jogollo"?

Although we want to believe there are a main story and mini-stories are we right in so believing? The King who is the subject of what we suppose to be the main story dies half-way through the play and the warrior-brother, hardly overshadowed by the King alive, takes full-stage. Japata's relationship with one woman after another sustains the play for the next hour-and more to the end. If it is more the story of Japata, why *Jogollo*?

The question is not unfamiliar. Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* is the story of a man who while accepting republican Rome as a political ideal worth-preserving shudders at the means thereto; of a man who has difficulty reconciling assassination with patriotism; of Brutus! So why *Julius Caesar*? Apparently, Julius Caesar is considered so famous a historical personality that to have him in a play which does not bear his name is unimaginable. The "spirit" of Caesar is said to sustain the action of the play, even after his early death; and there is also the fact that the ghost of Caesar "appears" just before the battle where Caesar's opponents are finally defeated - all these are supposed to be significant for the title. There

must be a reason for the title **Jogollo** which is, however, not revealed by the action of the play.

Nor are we always sure where the action is. The opening durbar scene where the King's warrior brother, fresh from battle, is to receive honours is easy enough to place. It is at the capital. When he gets to know his life is in danger the play takes both warrior and audience out of town to be hosted by a compatriot who boasts of having "plenty of rooms" to accommodate the fugitive and all his aides. And it is no vain boast: the set truly depicts "plenty of rooms"; the King and his party also arrive at the same house where they billet without difficulty. This is the scene of the re-enactment of the Saul and David story.

We are next invited to a celebration, to signify the warrior-brother's moral victory over the King, perhaps. Present at the celebration are the warrior's wife and the palace-maid. Maybe it is the effect of the drink but we are truly lost. For one thing, the "plenty of rooms" set is in evidence. But if we are still out of town, where is our regular host? How did the warrior's wife get to the reception? Who gave the palace-maid permission to travel out of town? Or is it possible we are back in the capital, after all? In that case, why the "plenty of rooms" set?

The "move" to the new settlement occurs rather suddenly, without any dramatic build-up. We are the more surprised to see so many from the capital. Only much later do we learn that life in the capital had become impossible, assassins walking the streets. News comes of the death of the King, but the warrior is not anxious to return to be King. Eventually, he hits upon a compromise: he will return, but not to be King. And all of a sudden a crowd chanting war songs bursts in on the stage. The warrior is carried round the stage a couple of times, sat on a stool and proclaimed King - all this against the background set of the 'new settlement'. So where is the warrior to be King? Is it the new settlement? Has the old settlement been abandoned then? And why should the old site be abandoned now that its infamous King is dead? On the other hand, if the warrior succeeds his brother why does the "investiture" take place elsewhere?

Moral

Man is inevitably a combination of good and evil with a propensity towards the latter; however much we try, we cannot exorcise evil altogether; the good man merely makes the effort so his goodness outweighs evil. This is the message the warrior delivers to his guests at the reception whose location we still do not know. Knowing this, he is less generous than his guests to condemn his King-brother for his foibles.

Who are the good people in this play and what becomes of them? The King meets his just deserts and we are satisfied. The warrior's wife does all that is expected of a good woman and a wife. She would not willingly betray a husband's hideout to enemies and she suffers for it - "breasts squeezed hard". Strangely enough she falls victim to assassins. No less curious, the friend whose wife is seduced commits suicide, but his adulterous wife

lives; so does the palace-maid who invites men to "look", at least. And for all his moralising, isn't the warrior too an adulterer? He becomes King and, his wife conveniently dead, he is free to marry the lascivious palace-maid. What irony!

Jogollo has had a longer run than any play within recent history and it stands a good chance of winning ECRA's trophy for the play of the year. It was still running eight months after its debut at Legon. It travelled up and down the country and even went outside the country to Nigeria drawing crowds everywhere. This review is, however, based on the November performance at the Arts Centre, Accra.

The cast, well-disciplined, was very loyal to the assignment. Its only failing is the failing of the majority of Ghanaians on stage: lines are delivered often at break-neck speed and there is not enough articulation.

But **Jogollo** is not quite the artistic success that might be inferred from the large patronage it has enjoyed. There are all those questions we have raised; and more. The story is set in Eweland and purports to deal with an Ewe legend. There is no consistent portrayal of Ewe culture, however. There is an intrusion of non-Ewe elements such as **Kpanlogo** and **adowa** in the play's music and dance, for instance. Some of the women at the opening durbar are dressed more like elderly Asante matrons than Ewes. And the libation ceremony at the opening durbar is performed partly in Twi. Such a blend of cultures would be justifiable if it served a special dramatic purpose relating to theme, plot or characterisation. We are not sure it does. There is an admixture of the traditional and the modern which is rather careless. Travelling from the capital to the new settlement, the palace-maid carries a rather modish portmanteau which should suit a journey by Ghana Airways very well but is not quite in place in the time-setting of the play. Towards the end of the play Japata announces to applause that his army is to be turned into an agricultural army. Was it a standing army then? In traditional Eweland? It is more demanding to establish sex on stage by the merest hint or suggestion; it is also the more elegant, artistically. Sex in **Jogollo** is rather too explicit. It is all very titillating, of course, but the dramatic purpose is not too clear.

The Art of "Jogollo"

Jogollo is a series of spectacular or theatrical episodes, an exciting piece of entertainment or show, rather than a coherent artistic composition. To explain its remarkable box-office success, the genius of Faisal Helwani as an impresario must be acknowledged. There is also the appeal of music. Many who are patrons of the Ghanaian "concert" for instance, will readily admit to being attracted by the music of the "concert" more than anything else. The Sweet Beans Dance Band, which has a following of its own, probably does for **Jogollo** what music generally does for the Ghanaian "concert". It is to be noted, however, that the music of the "concert" is an integral part; the dialogue is often suggested by the lyric; and the characters frequently have to sing. One hoped to see an

integration of dance and music in **Jogollo**, but both are incidental to the action, for the most part, in evidence at intervals between scenes.

Jogollo has been successful with audiences because it is basically a melodrama, a piece of drama that achieves most of its effects by sheer spectacle or visual splendour and by its almost kaleidoscopic rush of events without seriously engaging the intellect. But besides the spectacular, there are delightful scenes, even if the links are somewhat missing. The libation which is partly done in Twi never failed to draw applause. The horse-play between the King and the palace-maid in the latter's quarters is another favourite. The maid's costume and the clever manipulation of the lights successfully create the illusion of a truly naked woman, glittering waist-beads in place Yahoo! There is also the dance executed at the opening durbar by that same palace-maid, an intricate business with sexy overtones which literally sweeps the warrior off his feet, to the delight of the audience.

The palace-maid reminds this writer of another dancer, **Sempronia**, a popular female, of whom **Sallust**, the Roman historian, wrote that she danced rather too well; more than was becoming of a decent lady. Alas, aren't the **Sempronias** of this world crowd-pullers?

For The Record

JANUARY 27

PROBING ATP

A three-man commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Anthony Forson, a legal practitioner of Sekondi, has been appointed by the President to enquire into the operations of African Timber and Plywood Ghana Limited since its take-over by the Government in 1976. The commission is expected to report in three months.

SUPREME COURT TO HEAR APPEALS BY AFRC CONVICTS

The Chief Justice, Mr. F. K. Apaloo, has announced that the Supreme Court will convene on February 12 to hear 30 listed cases involving AFRC convicts. Among the list are 12 writs for habeas corpus.

ALLEGED BEATING OF STUDENTS CONDEMNED

The National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) has condemned what it described as the "shameful and reckless brutalities meted out by the Police to students of Kumasi Polytechnic". The alleged beating occurred during a march by the students to the office of the Regional Minister of Ashanti to present a petition about "shortcomings" at the Polytechnic.

SDF AND TUC NOT THE SAME

The General Secretary of the Social Democratic

Front has denied that the Front derives its finances from the TUC. He said that although sponsored by the TUC, the Front was not formed by the TUC. He named the founding members of the Front to include Dr. J. W. S. de Graft-Johnson, Vice President of the Republic, Nana Okutwer Bekoe, national chairman of the P.N.P., Dr. H. S. Bannerman, member of the Council of State and Mr. Albert Adomako, former Governor of the Bank.

JANUARY 29

RAIL DISASTER

Mr. Kwesi Ghapson, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Ghana Railways, announced that the dead from the rail accident which occurred at Asuoyaa in the Eastern Region on 13th January numbered 11 while the injured numbered 193. Earlier reports had put the dead at 22. Mr. Ghapson's figures have subsequently been challenged as being on the low side.

JANUARY 29

GRAPHIC BOARD DENOUNCED

The Ghana Journalists Association has denounced the newly-constituted Board of Directors of the Daily Graphic Corporation for ordering the suspension of editorials until the Board could determine editorial policy for the paper. The President of the Association noted that while it is the duty of the Board to urge the Editor of the paper to improve upon his performance, "to tell or instruct the Editor not to write editorials constitutes a gross interference in the professional day-to-day duties of the Editor".

JANUARY 30

PARLIAMENT ON THE GRAPHIC

Parliament has asked its Committee on Information to investigate what appeared to be a conflict between the Graphic Board and the editorial staff. Contributing to a debate in Parliament, Mr. P. A. Adjetej, leader of UNC parliamentary group, said it was not the business of the Graphic Board to dictate what types of editorials should be published.

JANUARY 31

URADEP A FLOP

The President has said at Wa that the multi-million-cedi Upper Regional Development Programme has been a flop. The President was speaking at the opening of the Upper Region Agricultural festival.

FEBRUARY 3

UPPER WEST TO BE CREATED

The President has promised to create a tenth region by carving out of the Upper Region a new administrative region.

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THE MEDIA 46

Press Freedom, Editorial Policy, and The Graphic Issue
Kofi Kumado

Editorial

WHOSE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS?

On 28th January this year, the reading public learnt, in the columns of the *Daily Graphic*, of a controversy which has arisen between the Board of Directors and the Editorial Staff of the *Daily Graphic*. This controversy apparently has its origins in a directive the Board of Directors issued to the Editor of the paper on 27th January that because the 'Board is working out a new Editorial Policy for the Paper...', the writing of editorials 'should be suspended till further notice'. The general position taken by the editors in reporting and expressing an opinion on the incident was supported, a little hastily perhaps, by certain parliamentarians, politicians, the Ghana Journalists Association and the Guild of Editors.

The parties to the dispute have invoked certain principles which ostensibly motivated them in taking the action they did take. According to the Board members, appointed in January this year, concern for high professional and journalistic standards led them to discuss, as a matter of priority, means for raising standards. The editors, on their part, believed that the action taken by the Board was incompatible with press freedom. The validity of these positions cannot be properly assessed without knowing exactly what triggered off this press dispute. Happily, it is possible to paint a broad picture of what happened on the 27th and 28th January on the basis of evidence given at the public hearing of the Parliamentary Committee on Information and Presidential Affairs as well as on the basis of the editorial of the 28th January and what has filtered through to the public from Press Commission hearings.

On 27th January, five members of the Board of Directors of the Graphic Corporation met at the offices of the paper, and originally decided to discuss the deteriorating quality of the paper with the Editor. Since he was away in town, they summoned the Acting Deputy Editor, and discussed these issues with him. In particular, they examined the implications of the fact that as many as seven members of the Editorial Department were on leave. In the opinion of the Board members this probably accounted for the poor editorial standards, and they told the Acting Deputy Editor that all the senior editorial staff should immediately be recalled to resume duty as a first step in the formulation of editorial policy guidelines for the paper.

During the discussions, the Board members demanded to see the draft of the editorial for the following day, 28th January, an editorial which discussed the parliamentary debate on President Reagan's assumption of office. They all read it and thought it had all the general weaknesses of earlier editorials - poor argument, infelicity of style, etc. They handed it back to the Acting Deputy Editor, but according to their testimony they sought neither to change the content of the news columns nor alter the slant of the editorial. In short, they claim that they did not vet it as it was stated by the editorial of 28th January. At this point the members told the Acting Deputy Editor that because they were in the process of formulating editorial policy no more editorials should be written until further notice. He was asked to report the substance of

the discussions to the Editor and deliver the Chairman's letter, embodying the conclusions of the discussions, to him. Having read the letter and listened to the Acting Deputy Editor's report, the Editor concluded that the Board's instruction was odd. He, therefore, not only refused to carry it out, but also openly defied the Board by publishing the editorial of 28th January, 'The Press Freedom We Have'.

What important issues of principle are involved in this controversy? These issues need to be clearly picked out from the tangle of interests the disputants brought to the confrontation. Even though the Board members claim never to have attempted to influence what should go into the paper, and though concern for high professional standards led them to give the instruction to the Editor, there is something profoundly disturbing about a newly constituted Board issuing the kind of directive it did issue. It suggests a desire on the part of the members to impose controls (possibly externally defined) on the Editorial Department.

There is no doubt that the Board members have the right to determine policy — including editorial policy — at the Graphic. Standard practice all over the world and the instrument of incorporation of the corporation guarantee this right. But in carrying out this task, the spirit that is required is persuasion and patient discussion and not that of issuing pre-emptory orders. On their part, the editors have claimed that the Board's action constituted an unwarranted interference with press freedom. But what is press freedom, and whose press freedom is being trampled upon?

Press freedom is the freedom of press units and organizations to determine the material that will go into a newspaper. The decisions made as to limitations of space, size of paper, content, and treatment of public access constitute the exercise of editorial control and judgement. Any attempt by an individual, political party, an organization or a pressure group external to the media unit to influence these processes constitutes an interference with press freedom. To give this freedom to a media unit as a whole is perhaps to give it to no one in particular. Who actually determines editorial content, and why? Various editors immediately concerned with news reporting, news selection and editing come to mind. At the other end of the spectrum are Board members who lay down the framework for daily choice of what goes into a paper. In this **Graphic** controversy the Board deny seeking to usurp the functions of the professional journalists. If this is true why then was the issue of press freedom raised by the editors?

First, owing to the long history of direct governmental control of the state-owned press, editors and many journalists found it worth their while to establish direct and close links with politicians and government officials who could guarantee them job security. In such a situation, Boards of Directors were weak and ineffective institutions. Many journalists came to equate press freedom with their freedom to publish whatever pleased them, subject of course to the approval of their political patrons.

Secondly, the present group of editors belong to a faction opposed to another, most members of which were on leave at the time the dispute broke out. Since last year the two factions have been engaged in a struggle for supremacy in the Editorial Department. The order of the Board of Directors was suspected by the former faction as an attempt by the new Board members to tilt the balance unfairly in favour of the latter faction, and the editorial written on the 28th January may be seen as an attempt by one faction to enlist public support in this struggle for editorial ascendancy.

However, press freedom is not the freedom of any faction in a newspaper organization to use the press to protect its group interests. The **Daily Graphic** is a publicly-owned newspaper, and the Board of Directors, on behalf of the Press Commission, is expected to ensure that the interests of the people are protected. On such a paper editors need to display a keen awareness of social responsibility. They need to have some concept of the public interest in the choice of editorial material. They are expected to do this in two main ways. First, editors must guarantee public access to the press, an access closely related to press freedom and, in fact, a constitutional requirement. It is stated in Article 28(2) that "A person responsible for a state-owned medium for the dissemination of any kind of information to the public shall afford equal opportunities and facilities for the representation of opposing or differing views."

Secondly, editors of this publicly-owned paper must help the Board to establish institutions which will, on a very regular basis, determine whether those who claim to be serving the public interest are in fact doing so. They will be helped by the Press Commission and the Board of Directors in undertaking this task. But since these two institutions provide assistance of a very general kind, it is important for, at least, an Editorial Board (as distinct from an editorial conference) to be established as a matter of urgency. An institution of this kind, the like of which we have not seen for years at the **Graphic**, will be of inestimable value in bringing senior editorial staff and Board members together to evaluate professional and journalistic standards of the paper on a daily basis.

This controversy has shown all too clearly that over the years our media system has evolved as a vast jungle which all too frequently provided shelter for incompetent and self-centred editors as well as Board members with no clear conception of their duties, men with sure instinct for the comfortable sport for whom questions of principle have little meaning.

IT PAYS TO
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in the
Legon Observer

Economy

THE EXPERIENCE OF ECONOMIC PLANNING IN GHANA

By

A Special Correspondent

The end of World War II began the rapid process of decolonisation: the fight for political independence in the colonial countries had begun to bear fruits. First in line was India. In Black Africa Ghana led the way in 1957. But independence was not to be the manna it had been expected to be; not without economic growth and development. With this realization, it was not surprising that many newly independent countries began to look for role-models, and very often settled on the Soviet economic model. There was an example for emulation! With a 'big push', within thirty years of the 1917 October Revolution, the Soviet Union had become a major economic power. And there was much support in the post-1944 literature in economics for a 'critical minimum effort' and for a 'big push'! Thus was the Seven-year Development Plan initiated in Ghana in 1963. Seventeen years later, the economy lies in shambles, much worse in many respects than it had been earlier. Per capita income is lower than it had been in 1947. Development success has continued to elude Ghana. What are the underlying causes of this dismal performance? Why, despite the bold attempts at planning the economy has so little been achieved? What lessons may be drawn from this experience?

This paper will attempt to highlight the most important economic factors underlying this performance. But it is well to note briefly that there were political problems too - of control of expenditures, of frequent changes of regimes (and hence of policy approaches), and of corruption and low morale. By themselves, these latter factors account for a lot. But there were also many economic factors at work. The plan of the paper is as follows: A brief description of planning in Ghana since 1957, with an analysis of the underlying models of development is offered. Then we take up, in sequence, what we argue to be the most important economic factors that explain Ghana's performance; namely the agriculture-industry balance, export vs import orientation, the state vs private sector balance and short-term policy management problems. In each section, we discuss the evidence on the problem at hand, its significance for the economy, and the important elements of a solution to the problem. Finally, we conclude by identifying the above four problems as the key economic issues for the 1980s.

A Brief History of Development Planning in Ghana (1)

It has been claimed that Ghana was the first country to have a development plan - the 1920 Guggisberg Plan. (2) Since then, Ghana has had six development plans: (i) the First Development

Plan (1951-60); the Second Development Plan (1959-64); the Seven Year Development Plan (1963-70); the Two Year Plan (1967-69); the One Year Plan (1970-71); and the Five Year Development Plan (1975-80). Be that as it may, at Independence in 1957, it was claimed that the First Development Plan's (1951-60) objectives had been substantially attained. Instead of introducing a new plan, it was decided to regard the next two years as a 'period of consolidation', and to prepare a new Five-Year Plan - the Second Development Plan. The latter was launched in 1959, and was to have covered the 1959-64 period. But after less than two years of implementation, it was abandoned. This move was instigated by a basic shift in thinking, one that was incorporated in the Seven Year Plan (1963-70). This latter plan was launched with much euphoria; Ghana, it was claimed, had finally arrived at 'truth'. The Plan had been blessed by eminent economists such as Hirschman and Kaldor. The 'colonial' approach to planning that had characterised the earlier plans had been jettisoned in favour of a perspective plan that emphasised the importance of directly productive activities, of industrialization and of a 'big push'. We shall return to an analysis of the investment strategy of the various plans below. But let it be noted quickly that the Seven Year Plan too was abandoned in 1966, when the military staged a coup against Nkrumah.

The period after 1966 cannot but suggest that that Ghanaian economic planning has moved around in circles. Between 1966 and 1969, the pragmatic NLC government, with IMF advice, had a Two-Year Plan (1967-69) that was designed to move the economy from Stabilization to Development. A new civilian government, which entered the scene in 1969, offered its own One Year Plan (1970-71) as the preparatory phase for a longer-term plan. The latter did not materialize in 1972 as planned, because the military returned to the political scene. The military's own Five Year Plan (1975-80) was, perhaps more than any other Plan in Ghanaian history, one that saw the least effort at implementation: it was written, and then shelved.

It would therefore not be unfair to say that the formal history of planning in Ghana has been long but tortuous, impressive in its resilience but dismal in its completion record. It has also been singularly biased, in the sense that all the Plans described above, those that were seen through to completion were the ones that had the shortest horizons (the Two-Year and One Year Plans) or were closest to a 'shopping list' of projects (the First Development Plan). The showpieces - the Seven Year Plan (1963-70) and the Five Year Plan (1975-80) - hardly saw the light of day. There may be much merit to the suggestion, offered by many (3), that Ghana's dependence on unstable export revenues make annual rolling plans a preferable tool of planning to longer-term plans.

Enough has been said about the various plans to warrant some demonstration that the characterizations given above stand scrutiny. Table 1 describes investment allocation (in percentage terms) between various sectors of the economy

for each of the Plans. The following observations can be made:

(i) Although the table does not permit a distinction to be made between 'colonial' and perspective plans, it is clear that the Seven Year Plan marked the departure from an emphasis on infrastructure and social services (Social Overhead Capital) to directly productive activities: (4) the share of infrastructure fell by two-thirds, while that of housing fell by one-half. In contrast, the share of agriculture and mining tripled, while that of industry doubled. (The latter changes are underestimated because depreciation is a separate item for the 7-year Plan). However, the Stabilization Plan and One-Year Plan (allowing for the depreciation element) shifted the balance away from directly productive activities to social capital, although not back to the pre 1963 ratios. In line with the cyclical phenomenon noted above, the 1975-80 Plan returned to the sectoral strategy of the 7-year Plan.

(ii) Agriculture and industry were obviously regarded as high priority sectors — (echoing the view that an agricultural revolution must proceed alongside an industrial one) — in the 7-year Plan, although the emphasis shifted to agriculture in the subsequent plans.

(iii) There is no doubt that the 7-year Plan was meant to be a 'big push' — the average nominal planned expenditure for each of the seven years was greater than the total for the 1959-64 plan!

We may conclude at this point by describing the planning history of Ghana in terms of the concepts of balanced and unbalanced growth and of directly productive activities (DPA) and social overhead capitals (SOC). Beginning in the fifties with 'colonial' plans which emphasized SOC over DPA, the Seven Year Plan switched the emphasis; although this was later to be tilted away from DPA somewhat, the orientation has remained in favour of DPA. The 'colonial' plans may, by stretching the phrase, be described as balanced-growth oriented. On the other hand the Seven Year Plan

Table 1: INVESTMENT ALLOCATION IN VARIOUS DEVELOPMENT PLANS (%)

Sectors	First and Consolidation Plans 1951—59	Second Development Plan 1959—64 4/	Seven Year Plan 1963—70	Stabilization Plan 1967—69	One Year Plan 1970—71	Five Year Plan 1975—80
Agriculture)	6.5)	7.9)	17.4)			27.5)
Mining )	)	)	4.1 )	)		8.5)
Industry & Trade	4.7) 45.6	11.7) 46.6	20.3) 58.8	56.8	54.8	4.3)
Transport	—)	—)	6.2)			21.6)
Infrastructure	34.4)	27.0)	10.8)			13.8)
Housing	6.7)	5.4)	7.5 )	) 44.0	7.4))
Social Services ^{1/}	) 43.3	) 42.9	) 20.1	41.1 )	)	) 23.8
	36.6)	37.5)	12.6 )	)		16.4)
Other	11.1	10.5	7.4	2.1	1.2	0.5
Depreciation	3/	3/	13.7	3/	3/	3/
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total (Smil.) 2/	329.1	369.6	2846.2	217.6	156.2	3066.2

Sources: Respective Plan Documents (see References).

1/ Including Education and Administrative Services.

2/ At official exchange rates, current prices.

3/ Included in sectoral figures.

4/ The Second Plan had two sets of figures; only the lower (more realistic) set one given here.

was almost definitely unbalanced growth-oriented, more so than Table 1 suggests because most of the investment in agriculture was to be in mechanized farming by the state. The underlying model of growth was the Soviet model, and many of the Plan's failures relate to this misconceptualization - for the Soviet model could conceivably apply to India but not to a country of Ghana's size! The Stabilization plan, in contrast, was balanced growth oriented: it was after all, a holding operation. The One-Year and Five-Year Plans of the seventies reverted to an unbalanced growth strategy but this time in favour of agriculture, and while not eschewing mechanization, were decidedly more private-sector oriented. This characterization throws up two of the factors to be discussed below: agriculture vs. industry, and state vs. private entrepreneurship. What has not been highlighted in the above are two other factors that were critical - export stagnation and economic policy management - both of which are crucial to understanding the failures of Ghanaian planning.

Agriculture and Industry: Imbalance and Failure

The Seven Year Plan incorporated a quantum leap in investments in both agriculture and industry. However, it expected that most of these investments would be undertaken by the State. There is also the added complication that plan documents do not often foretell what will actually be done. This point is made with special force for the Seven Year Plan by Killick, (6) who writes of the domination by Nkrumah of the actual investment decisions in the economy. Thus, not only did industry actually get the lion's share of investment resources, most of these were put into import-substituting industries behind high tariff barriers. The result was that despite massive investments in industry, efficiency was low and industrial output growth was poor. That the state picked up losses in the state sector only made matters worse. Although GDP data by industrial origin is unavailable for the sixties, an examination of the capital-output ratio for the economy is revealing: (7) this ratio rose between 1962 and 1966 from 2.29 to 3.11. The limitations of this

concept notwithstanding, it is clearly supportive of what has been aptly described by Ahmad (8) as 'investment without growth', i.e. despite a rising investment to GDP ratio between 1958-1965, growth of GDP fell from 6.3% in 1958-59 to 5.5% in 1960-61, to 4% in 1962-63 and to 1.4% in 1965 (9)

The failure of agricultural production to grow during the 7-Year Plan has been amply documented (10) Although there are not data on growth of production, Table 2 shows that the food price index rose from 100 in 1960 to 225 in 1966.

Table 2 has data on agricultural and industrial growth from 1967 to 1974. These show that the increased emphasis on agriculture in these years paid off, although there is evidence that industry was perhaps being starved in the process (1971-74 growth: -0.5%). Although there are no hard data, casual evidence suggests that in the late seventies, agricultural production has stagnated once more.

This is not the place for a long discourse on comparative advantage; but it is clear that much as a country may wish to change the structure of its economy, it must begin with what it has. Ghana is abundant in land, and her initial comparative advantage lies in agriculture. Although, as Lewis pointed out in 1954, (12) it is this sector that will provide the source of Ghana's primitive accumulation, it must not be strangled in the process. In practice not only was agriculture neglected in the mid-sixties' investment allocations, it has throughout been discriminated against in the realm of price-incentives, and in the maintenance of infrastructure. (13) Thus, although recognition of the importance of agriculture is present in all policy documents following 1967, in reality agriculture continues to be the Cinderella of the economy. Until that changes, there is little hope for a major development effort. As Lewis has elegantly noted, the problem of development is, in fact, the problem of increasing labour productivity in agriculture. The solutions are many-pronged: price incentives, structural reforms, maintenance of infrastructure, and extension services. Simply throwing money will not, as suggested by international experience, do the trick.

Table 2 PERFORMANCE INDICATORS IN AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Indicator	1958-65	1967-69	1970-71	1972-74	
Agricultural Growth Rate (%) 1/	n.a.	5.52/	7.5	9.7	
Manufacturing Growth Rate 1/	n.a.	18.72/	7.9	-0.5	
	1965	1966	1967	1969	1971
Food Price Index (1960=100)	190	225	185	210	250

1/ Five Year Development Plan Part 1, p.8

2/ One-Year Development Plan, p.2

Table 3: PERFORMANCE INDICATORS: EXPORTS AND IMPORTS

Indicators	(Millions S)				
	1958—65 1/	1967—69 1/	1970—71 2/	1972—77 2/	1978 2/
Export Revenues	175.0	229.7	457.5	696.7	894.5
Import Expenditure	195.0	224.6	689.4	682.0	948.4
Balance of Trade (S)	-20.0	+5.1	-221.9	+12.7	-53.9
Surplus/Deficit as % of Exports	-11.4	+2.1	-48.4	+1.8	-6.0

1/ Based on J.C. Leith, *Foreign Trade Regimes and Economic Development: Ghana*, N.Y., N.B.E.R., 1974) Appendix

2/ Source: 1979—8 Budget Proposals, p.4

Export Promotion: The Second Failure

Two-gap models (15) have enshrined the basic empirical fact that, in the earlier phases of the development process, imports grow faster than exports. The implication of this fact is that export promotion is a *sine qua non* of the development effort, unless a country is in the position of (say) Cuba, and receives a regular subsidy from other sources. In fairness to Ghanaian planners, it must be noted that this fact has not been missed on them. Beginning with the 1920 Plan, every subsequent Plan has sung the praises of export promotion and diversification, although some have emphasized different sectors. In contrast, the evidence in Table 3, although uncorrected for items of trade changes, suggests a poor performance if coupled with the fact that foreign capital inflows of an autonomous nature have been insignificant. It is also well documented that not only has Ghana not reduced its dependence on cocoa for its export earnings, (16) but cocoa exports have been declining in volume in recent years, and Ivory Coast has taken first place among cocoa exporters. The latter is a result both of falling production (as has characterized much of agriculture) and of smuggling (due to lower producer prices in Ghana relative to her neighbours). What explains the disappointing performance of exports?

As part of a ten-country study of foreign trade regimes and economic development sponsored by the National Bureau of Economic Research (N.B.E.R.), Leith (17) has studied the Ghanaian experience with quantitative and exchange controls and liberalization of trade. (Other countries studied included Chile, India, Korea etc.) In Ghana the control period characterised the years from 1961 to 1966, while gradual liberalization was attempted between 1967 and 1972. As Leith notes, "in the ultimate test - survival - the liberalization experiment failed", (18) for since 1972, Ghana has reverted to controls. The most interesting aspect of Leith's study, however, is his demon-

stration that between 1955 and 1969 the effective exchange rate (i.e. the exchange rate after allowing for all import taxes and subsidies) facing exporters consistently remained below (at about one-half of) facing that importers! (19) In a review of the synthesis volumes of the ten N.B.E.R. country, studies Mckinnon summarizes their conclusions in the proposition that: an export-unbiased strategy is preferable to an import-substitution one on grounds of static efficiency, growth and employment, and the single most important policy factor is the effective exchange rate. (20) He also stressed the need for a 'forward commitment' regarding the stability of this rate.

Once more it is necessary to be wary of oversimplifying: the effective exchange rate facing exporters is only one, although perhaps the most important, factor explaining Ghana's poor export performance. By the same token, it is not sufficient to improve this performance. But enough has been said to demonstrate that it is necessary.

State Entrepreneurship and Controls

The Seven Year Plan was without a doubt, a plan with a vision. The vision was a socialist one. And the role of the state was, in the long run, expected to be primary. Thus, although it foresaw Ghana remaining a mixed economy in the subsequent seven years, the relative share of the state was to rise very rapidly. It is an indication of the lasting impressions made by Nkrumah that, to this day, despite many other changes in economic policy and approach, Ghana continues to believe in a primary role for the state. This point of view has been most convincingly argued by Killick, (21) who demonstrates that despite other changes, the post-Nkrumah period has, contrary to impressions, been characterized by a faith in the efficacy of controls and state entrepreneurship. In fairness to Nkrumah's successors, it must be said that they favoured the private sector more than he did, and certainly encouraged the Ghanaian private sector: they did not swing to the other extreme,

it is true. But with the possible exception of Hong Kong, what other country inhabits that end of the spectrum? Certainly not the other recent success stories in development, mainly Japan, Korea and Taiwan. (21) The state, then, in our opinion, has a definite role to play in the development process, as Gerschenkron (23) has so well argued, and as the emphasis of Rosenstein-Rodan (24) and Scitovsky (25) on external economies in development makes clear.

With this discussion as background, what can be said about the relative contribution of this set of factors to Ghana's past and future performance? There are two aspects to the state's role: entrepreneurship and controls. Killick demonstrates very clearly that as entrepreneur, the state has been very disappointing. (26) Our analysis of the 7-year plan also suggests the same conclusion. However our background discussion suggests that the answer is not, as Killick would seem to imply, to privatize the public sector, but to reform it. In a recent survey of public enterprises in developing countries,

Choksi (27) offers the view that a possible solution (and one that is clearly consistent with the views of Scitovsky and Gerschenkron), is for the state to retain ownership but to contract enterprise-out to private management. Other evidence regarding improving public enterprise performance comes from India, (28) where such enterprises have recently shown greater productivity growth than the private sector.

Killick (29) also argues that as controller, the State's performance has been disappointingly different from its stated objectives - as in its role as import controller, or has been negative in its effect - as in its role as price controller. In a sense, Killick exaggerates the limitations of the state in Ghana: although he places himself at a distance from Price's (30) thesis that cultural norms in traditional Ghanaian society almost necessitate a malfunctioning of the state's role as controller, Killick is closer to Price than to Healey. (31) Healey's argument, one which is difficult to object to, is that planning experience around the world demonstrates that the state is capable of much less in the economic arena than had been thought in the heady days of post-Independence plan-making, and that a much greater role for private and market initiatives is called for.

The upshot of these observations is that: (i) Ghana has in the past overemphasized the state's role and underemphasized that of the private sector and of the market, to her detriment; (ii) however, the development process is one in which the state has some role to play; and (iii) Ghana's problem is to strike the right balance and ensure thereby that the role of the state is benign, not malign.

Short-term Policy Management

We have so far described development plans and their treatment of various activities (agriculture, exports) and their instruments (state entrepreneurship, controls). However, we have also noted that the most 'successful' plans seem to have been the shorter ones, and endorsed the view that the instabilities of export earnings and fiscal revenues that the economy is subject to

(as a result of its structure) make longer-term planning a hazardous exercise. The long-run however is a series of short-runs. The question of short-term policy management assumes even greater importance in an economy as unstable as Ghana's. What has the performance on this score been?

Table 4 gives various indicators of fiscal and monetary policy. (Exchange-rate policy management, as noted by Leith, (32) was largely absent except for one-shot massive devaluations in 1967 and 1971, and a revaluation in 1972; since then, although there have been some revisions of the rate, the exchange rate is presently believed to be overvalued by about 500 percent). The important indicators are the budget deficit/GDP ratio which, except for the 1967-69 stabilization years, has been over 5%; the money supply growth rate which again, except for 1967-69, has been between 15 and 70 percent; and the inflation rate, which in recent years has peaked at 104%. These data do not **conclusively** demonstrate the poverty of short-term economic management because they are averages for long periods; but it is difficult to see how they can be consistent with prudent economic management. We are justified in agreeing with Killick (33) that short-term economic management in Ghana has not been directed at what is the economy's major short-run problem - namely unstable fiscal revenues based on unstable export prices for cocoa.

This will remain the Achilles heel of the Ghana economy for as long as it is neglected. Stop-go policies, at the constant mercy of international trends in cocoa prices, will spell doom for any long-term planning effort unless economic management improves. The suggestion that a **foreign exchange reserve fund** be built up during export booms and run down during export recessions is an attractive idea that, for political reasons, seems not to have been tried yet. It offers a short-term tool of management that is crucial. In addition, the obvious medium-term objectives of a broadening of the tax base, and of export diversification will make the economy more stable and more amenable to planning.

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Table 4: INDICATORS OF FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY

Indicators (%)	1958—651/	1967—692/	1970—713/	1972—776/	19786/	19796/
Tax/GDP Ratio	15.3	15.8	n.a.	13.75/	7.8	7.0
Expenditure/GDP Ratio	19.8	16.0	n.a.	21.25/	18.1	12.2
Budget Deficit /GDP Ratio	4.5	0.2	n.a.	7.55/	10.3	5.2
Money Supply Growth Rate	15.8	9.9	n.a.	35.55	69.4	30.4
Domestic Saving/GDP Ratio	14.4	10.0	11.5	11.4-4/=	n.a.	=n.a...) ³
Investment/GDP Ratio	18.07	11.6	11.77	11.44/	n.a.	n.a.
Ratio of Inflation (CPI) (%)	7.7/	7.9	20.3/	41.95/	104.0	79.8
Nominal GDP Growth Rate (%)	11.8	9.5	11.6	-4.18/	0.6	
Real GDP Growth Rate (%)	4.1	1.6	6.1	n.a.	n.a.	

1/ Source: N. Ahmad, *Deficit Financing Inflation and Capital Formation: The Ghana Experience 1960-65* (Weltforum Verlag, Munich, 1970), pp. 93-101, pp 136-7, pp. 149-50.

2/ *One-Year Development Plan* & (,) pp 1-10.

3/ *Five-Year Development Plan* Part I, p.8.

4/ 1973-74 data only.

5/ 1973-77 only.

6/ Source: 1979-80 Budget Proposals

7/ GDP Deflator.

8/ 1974-77.

Conclusions

The problem of development is as much a socio-political one as it is an economic one, and the emphasis on economic factors in the preceding discussion ought not to be misconstrued. Policy-making is an inherently political process as Hirschman has demonstrated with admirable insight, (34) and so therefore is the process of planning. Moreover, planning and policy making are subject to implementation difficulties. These two factors suggest the need for a consideration of the ideas on dependency and imperialism (35) that were so important in Ghana in the 1960s and continue to lurk in the background today, and of the problem of public administration and decision-making (Hirschman, after all, sees decision-making as the bottleneck in developing countries (36) But space permits only a mention of these factors here.

On the economic front, we have distinguished four areas which have thwarted development in Ghana: the neglect of agriculture, the downcasting of exports, the overemphasis on state entrepreneurship and controls, and the poverty of short-term economic management. These are the most important but by no means the only economic culprits. Other factors such as the declining saving rate (see Table 4), the high inflation rate (see Table 4), and the deteriorating equity picture (on which there is no data, but inflation permits us to conjecture on) must also figure in a package of policies for successful development planning in Ghana. The 1979-80 proposals have not attacked most these

problems - the emphasis being primarily on reducing the budget deficit and inflation rate. It is a start but the end of the tunnel is miles away. It is a testimony to, among other things, poor economic planning and management that Ghana which was

structurally similar to the Ivory Coast and Sri Lanka in the fifties, fell behind them both in its quest for growth and equity. At least, the Ivory Coast attained much growth, and Sri Lanka much equity. It would not be too far from the truth to suggest that the Ghanaian development experience demonstrates some of the costs of overambitious planning. The attempt to bypass agriculture, rely excessively on import substitution, over emphasize state entrepreneurship and controls, and treat short-term economic management as a minor irritation are all evidence of unwarranted and excessive zeal. 'Realism' is clearly the watchword of economic strategy and policies in the 1980s. The lessons of her experience suggest that Ghana will have to console herself with Mao's dictum: "even a thousand mile journey begins with a first step".

(1) (i) *The Development Plan, 1951* (Accra Government Printer)

(ii) *The Second Five Year Development Plan, 1959* (Accra, Government Printer)

(iii) *Seven Year Development Plan 1963-70* (Accra, Government Printer)

(iv) *Two Year Development Plan* (Accra, State Publishing Corporation, 1968)

(v) *One Year Development Plan* (Accra Ghana Publishing Corporation, 1970)

(vi) *Five Year Development Plan 1975-80* (Accra, Ghana Publishing Corporation 1977)

(2) E. N. Omaboe, "The Process of Planning,"

- in E. N. Omaboe et. al., **A Study of Contemporary Ghana**, Vol. 1, Chapter 18 pp. 439-463.
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- (4) A. O. Hirschman, **The Strategy of Economic Development** (New Haven, Yale U.P., 1958) passim.
- (5) **Seven Year Plan**, passim, and Omaboe, **op. cit.**
- (6) Killick, **op. cit.**, Chapter 3, pp. 33-65.
- (7) T. M. Brown, "Macroeconomic Data for Ghana", **Economic Bulletin of Ghana**, 1972, Nos. 1 and 2.
- (8) N. Ahmad, **Deficit Financing, Inflation and Capital Formation: The Ghana Experience**. (Munchen, Weltorum Verlag, 1970), Chapter 3, pp. 93-118.
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- (10) See especially I. Bissie, "Ghana's Seven-Year Development Plan in Retrospect", **Economic Bulletin of Ghana**, 1967, No.1
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- (17) *ibid.*
- (18) *ibid.*, p. 156.
- (19) *ibid.*, Tables II.1 and 11.2, pp. 11-13.
- (20) R. McKinnon, "Foreign Trade Regimes and Economic Development", **Journal of International Economics**, August 1979.
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- (22) L. Jones, **Public Enterprises and Economic Development: The Korean Case** (Seoul, Korean Development Institute, 1973).
- (23) A. Gerschenkron, **Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective** (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1962) Chapter 1.
- (24) P. Rosenstein-Rodan, "Problems of Industrialization of Eastern and South-eastern Europe", **Economic Journal**, June-September, 1943.
- (25) T. Scitovsky, "Two Concepts of External Economies", **Journal of Political Economy**, April 1954.
- (26) Killick, **op. cit.**, Chapter 9, pp. 214-262.
- (27) A. Choksi, "State Intervention in the Industrialization of Developing Countries: Selected Issues", **World Bank Working Paper No. 341**, July 1979, pp. 5-75.
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- (32) Leith, **op. cit.**
- (33) Killick, **op. cit.**, Chapter 6, pp. 134-166.
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- (35) K. Nkrumah, **Neo-colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism** (N.Y. International Publishers, 1965).
- (36) Hirschman, **Strategy**, **op. cit.**

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Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the following appointments in the Noguchi Memorial Institute For Medical Research, Legon:

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Virology
Bacteriology
Immunology
Animal Care
Pathology

(i) **Technician**

Salary Scale: C5,796 x 150 - C6,696 per annum

(under review)

Qualifications:

Candidates must possess:

- EITHER (i) The Science Laboratory Technicians Ordinary Certificate of the City and Guilds of London Institute in the appropriate subjects;
- Or (ii) The Ordinary National Certificate in the appropriate subjects;
- Or (iii) An equivalent qualifications;
- Or (iv) Such relevant experience or skill as may be judged by the Appointments Committee to be equivalent to any of the above qualifications.

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- Or (ii) The Higher National Certificate in the appropriate subjects with at least 3 years experience as Technician or in an analogous grade.
- Or (iii) Such relevant experience or skill as may be judged by the Appointments Committee to be equivalent to any of the above qualifications.

Grade of Appointment and Point of entry in the salary will depend on qualifications and experience.

(d) **Hospital Laboratory Technologist/Senior Hospital Laboratory Technologist** in the following Units:

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Salary Scale: Hospital Lab. Technologist C7716 x 200 - C8,316
Snr. Hospital Lab. Technologist C9712 x 250 - C10,962
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- EITHER (i) Fellowship or the Associate Certificate of the Institute of Medical Laboratory Technologists;
- Or (ii) The Higher National Certificate in Medical Laboratory Technology;
- Or (iii) Such other qualifications and relevant experience or skills as may be equivalent to any of the above qualifications.

Grade of Appointment and Point of entry in the salary will depend on qualifications and experience.

(c) Administrative Assistant

Salary Scale: ₵5,796 x 150 - ₵6,696 per annum
(under review)

Qualifications:

Candidates

- (i) Must be confirmed officers with not less than 3 years continuous and satisfactory service as Senior Clerks or Stenographer/Secretaries; the Universities;
- or
- (ii) Must have served in Government or non-Governmental organisation
- or
- (ii) Must have served in Government or non-Governmental organisation of good repute for not less than five years in the Executive grade;
- and
- (iii) Must possess the minimum educational qualification of School Certificate with credit in English Language, or the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) with passes in at least five subjects, including English Language, or an equivalent educational qualification;
- or
- (iv) The Final Certificate of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries or Final Certificate of the Corporation of Secretaries, or an equivalent qualification.
- Ability to type (and possibly take shorthand) will be an advantage.

(d) Private Secretary

Salary Scale: ₵7,116 x 200 - ₵8,316 per annum
(under review)

Qualifications:

- (i) Candidates must possess the minimum educational qualification of School Certificate with credit in English Language or the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary Level) with passes in at least five subjects, including English Language or an approved equivalent;
- (ii) Must be able to type at the rate of 60 words a minute for 10 minutes, and take shorthand at the rate of 120 words a minute for 5 minutes. In addition, they must have passed an examination in (a) Advanced Secretarial Practice and (b) General knowledge, and possess a certificate to that effect issued by the Principal of the Government Secretarial School, or any other recognised Institution;
- and
- (iii) Must have a high sense of responsibility, initiative, accuracy, integrity, discretion and a good working knowledge of office management;

and

- (e) **Stenographers**

Salary Scale: ₵4,866 x 126 - ₵5,622 per annum
(under review)

Qualification:

- (i) Candidates must possess the minimum educational qualification of School Certificate with credit in English Language, or the G.C.E. Ordinary Level with passes in at least 5 subjects including English Language or an approved equivalent;
- (ii) Must be able to type at the rate of 40-50 words a minute for 10 minutes and take shorthand at the rate of 30-110 words a minute for 5 minutes and must have passed an examination in Elementary Secretarial Practice conducted by the Government Secretarial School, and must have a certificate to that effect;
- (iii) Must possess a sense of responsibility, initiative, integrity and discretion, and a good working knowledge of office routine, and be able to take minutes at meetings.

Point of entry in the salary scale will depend on qualifications and experience.

- (f) **Typist Grade I**

Salary Scale: ₵3,072 x 66 - ₵3,468 per annum
(under review)

Qualification:

- (i) Candidates must possess the minimum educational qualification of the Middle School Leaving Certificate or its equivalent, such as a signed statement from the Head of a Government approved or recognised Secondary School to the effect that the applicant satisfactorily completed Form II or some higher form at that School;
- (ii) Must be able to type at the rate of 40 words a minute and must possess a certificate to that effect issued by the Principal of the Government Secretarial School.

- (g) **Accounting Assistant**

Salary Scale: ₵5,796 x 150 - ₵6,696 per annum

Qualification:

Candidate must possess any of the following qualifications:

- (a) Final C.I.S.
- (b) Final A.I.A.
- (c) Section II of A.C.A.
- (d) Section III of I.C.W.A.
- (e) Intermediate C.A. (Ghana) Or Must possess the Intermediate

C.I.S. or Intermediate A.I.A. or Section II of I.C.W.A. with at least 3 years experience as Senior Accounts Clerks or in analogous grades in a higher educational institution or commerce and industry or the public service, and practical knowledge of the preparation of Final Accounts.

- (h) **Stores Superintendent**

Salary Scale: ₵5,796 x 150 - ₵6,696 per annum
(under review)

Qualification:

Candidate must possess the Final Certificate of C.I.S., or A.I.A., Section III, or the Final Certificate of the Institute of Public Suppliers or Purchasing Officers Association with at least three years experience in the grade of Senior Storekeeper.

(i) Senior Accounts Clerk

Salary Scale: ₦4,866 x 120 - ₦5,622 per annum
(under review)

Qualification Candidates

- (i) Must be confirmed officers with not less than 3 years satisfactory service as Accounts Clerk Grade I in the University or in a similar organisation;
- (ii) Must possess the minimum educational qualification of School Certificate with credit in English Language, or the G.C.E. Ordinary Level, with pass in at least 5 subjects including English Language, plus considerable experience in the financial administration of a higher educational institution or commerce and industry, and a practical knowledge of the preparation of Final Accounts;

Or

- (iii) A good general education preferably up to the School Certificate level with at least credit in English Language or a pass in English Language at the G.C.E. Ordinary Level, plus the intermediate certificate of any one of the following professional bodies: C.I.S., A.I.A., R.S.A. (Stage III) in **Accounts Economic; and Statistics, or Accounts Economics and Commercial Law; A.I.B., F.I.B.,** or an equivalent qualification with considerable experience in the financial administration of a higher educational institution, or commerce and industry, and a practical knowledge of the preparation of Final Accounts.

(j) Estate Officer

Salary Scale: ₦5,796 x 150 - ₦6,696 per annum
(under review)

Qualification: Candidate must

- (i) have passed the Housing Manager's Certificate Examination; or
- (ii) have passed the Intermediate Examination of the R.I.C.S. (Housing Management Section); or
- (iii) have passed the Inter B.Sc in Estate Management or its equivalent.

(k) Senior Estate Clerk

Salary Scale: ₦4,866 x 126 - ₦5,622 per annum
(under review)

Qualification:

Applicants must possess the G.C.E. Ordinary Level or its equivalent with passes in at least 5 subjects including English Language. In addition they must have and not less than 3 years experience with an estate organisation.

(l) Clerk Grade I

Salary Scale: ₦4,050 x 102 - ₦4,704 per annum
(under review)

Qualification:

Candidates must possess the minimum educational qualification of School Certificate with credit in English Language, or the G.C.E. Ordinary Level with pass in at least 5 subjects including English Language; be able to type at the rate of 50 words per minute and take shorthand at the rate of 100 words per minute and must possess a certificate to that effect issued by the Principal of the Government Secretarial School.

(m) Storekeeper Grade I

Salary Scale: ₦4,092 x 102 - ₦4,704 per annum
(under review)

Qualification

Candidates must possess:

- (i) The minimum educational qualification of School Certificate with credit in English Language, or the G.C.E. Ordinary Level with passes in at least 5 subjects including English Language, and must have had at least 3 years relevant experience in storekeeping;
- (ii) A good general education preferably up to the School Certificate level with credit in English Language or a pass in English at the G.C.E. Ordinary Level, **plus** the Intermediate Certificate in Storekeeping of either the Institute of Public Suppliers or Purchasing Officers Association.

Applications (eight copies) stating the grade of appointment and giving details of qualifications and the names and addresses of two referees should be sent to the Secretary, Noguchi Memorial Institute For Medical Research, P. O. Box 25, Legon, not later than 27th February, 1981.

Politics

COMRADE IVAN'S INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

By

Kwame Abaka Pobee

Recently a national newspaper reported a lecture given by Dr. Ivan Addae Mensah, General Secretary of the People National Party (PNP), on: 'The PNP, the CPP and the Ideological Question.' It is of course manifestly unfair to comment on a newspaper report without the benefit of the full perspective of the lecture. But since the General Secretary has not commented on the report it could be assumed that he is satisfied with it. It is on that basis that this particular comment on the report is being made.

What Happened In Socialist Ghana

In the report, the General Secretary gave reasons why the 1962-66 Socialist Experiment in Ghana failed. From what one can gather it failed because of the evil deeds of some of the leaders of the CPP, excluding Kwame Nkrumah. There should be no argument as to whether the CPP Government did in fact try to establish socialism. That is a system whereby the ownership of the means of production was placed in the hands of the Government in the name of the people in a centrally directed economy. There were the State Farms, State Construction Corporation, State Housing and State Laundries, State Trading Company (GNTC), to name a few. There was a free non-contributory State health service and there was also the fee-free primary education system. The secondary and tertiary cycle schools were heavily subsidised from State funds.

It is however interesting to note that the exploitation of the mineral wealth of the country was largely in the hands of expatriate companies. Certainly a

full blooded socialist government should have nationalised those firms and certainly also the recent controversy on the bauxite exploitation by Valco is a damaging commentary on socialist pretensions of that government. The Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards (KNRG) would have no option but to label it as the deeds of 'capitalist roaders'. Then look at agriculture. The biggest foreign exchange earner for the country was and still is cocoa. That was and is still in the hands of private enterprise. Why could not the CPP government occupy that particular commanding height of the economy? It could be argued that there was little time for everything to be done or that pragmatism dictated that the expatriate exploiters of our mineral wealth and the farmers should be left alone. But the general trend was that the CPP government institutionalised socialism. It is of course legitimate to ask whether the left road was the right one for us at the time or not. It has been said that Houphouet Boigny and Kwame Nkrumah had a bet as to whose politico-economic management would come out in the end better. The Ivory Coast experiment was thought to be the rightist road and Ghana's leftist. The queues being formed now in Ghana as a matter of history started in 1963. Ivory Coast is yet to experience its queues.

The General Secretary must answer categorically whether the socialist road was the right one. If it was, then, in spite of the human failings of the apostles of socialism, the party that claims inspiration from Kwame Nkrumah would have no option but to follow that road. Now to the unsavoury aspects of the Nkrumah regime. The General Secretary was reported to have complained that "corrupt, inefficient and even dishonest officials and bureaucrats did not hesitate to misuse the name of the Osagyefo with the threat or actual use of the Preventive Detention Act (PDA) to silence their opponents and genuine critics even within the hierarchy and rank and file of the party. Hiding things from the oldman was the pass-word in the Flagstaff House and other high places long before the 1966 coup".

It is humbly being submitted that this aspect of

the CPP regime is strictly not relevant to the question of socialism. In point of fact it was the spin off from the arrogance and lack of accountability that accompanied the one party state. People tend to inform on themselves to curry favour and to do the other in. The PDA was bad. Nkrumah used it and his followers used it too. The Osagyefo was much aware of the life styles of his party functionaries and Ministers. That was the meaning and significance of the Dawn Broadcast. He had known all along about the comfortable socialists amongst the suffering masses, since the golden bed days. He must have known of the existence of Caprice Hotel with its Casino, a capitalist decadent enterprise if there was one which was the property of the chief party theoretician for economic affairs. He knew about the bribery and corruption. The statement that the Savundra affair was dead and buried, and that both the giver and the receiver were at fault, was not calculated to make people aspire to socialist purity.

The country remembers also the admonition of the people when the cry of one-man one-car was becoming strident to stop that particular cry. History would record that there was not a single party man who was removed from office for living the life of a comfortable socialist, even though the Osagyefo like the General Secretary knew that "basically true and committed socialists with exemplary life styles did not exist in the system in adequate numbers to implement the socialist programmes of the party". Perhaps the General Secretary might consider the proposition that they did not live the life styles of committed socialists because the leader did not live the life style of a committed socialist.

Life Style of Kwame Nkrumah

There was a private school in Flagstaff House for the children of the Leader and the children of some of the elite of the country. It was said at the time that for security reasons the President's children could not go to state schools. That was reasonable. Socialism in practice should have seen some of the children from neighbouring Nima, a disadvantaged area of Accra, attending this private school with the President's children. Nor can the country ignore the fact that a commission of enquiry established that the Leader of the Party had £200,000. in the bank at the time of the coup. In 1966 that was a lot of money. History remembers the Indian Prime Minister Shastri leaving behind only 200 rupees at the time of his death. If Houphouet Boigny leaves such a sum it would not be surprising but it was a surprise that the Osagyefo had that. It sounded odd for a socialist to have that.

It is being submitted that these two examples might well be the reason the socialist pretensions of many of the people on whom the Osagyefo relied therefore became a mere facade or a big cruel joke very carefully or systematically hidden away from the Osagyefo himself. He made it possible for the cruel joke to be played on him, and practising ostrichism, he hid things from himself perhaps so that he party would remain supreme. Not! Mr. General

Secretary, Kwame Nkrumah cannot be exempted from those in the party whose life style caused the party to lose direction and momentum. If the PNP and the country must not lose direction and momentum then we should all learn from the lessons of our history and that of others. The ideological question cannot be wished away or dealt with superficially. It cannot be dismissed just by blaming everybody other than the Osagyefo for what went wrong.

Future Direction

It seems to me the KNRG must be faced squarely. Tell them that the successor party to CPP is proud of the socialist achievement of the CPP. Tell them that at the time socialism was the only way out and that amidst great odds there was some advancement; or if the General Secretary thinks the socialist experiment failed let him say so. The problem of life styles is an unnecessary and irrelevant obfuscation so far as the question of socialism for Ghana is concerned. The stand of the present leader of the PNP and the Vice President that this is no time for isms or that Ghana is our ideology is meaningless. It ill befits the man who has claimed he would follow the footsteps of the Osagyefo. You cannot say the PNP is a successor party to CPP and then turn round to say you will not go along the socialist road.

The General Secretary has argued for the PNP embracing all the sundry, Nkrumahists, pragmatists, empiricists and socialists. Mercifully he left capitalists out and hopefully there are none in the party. This argues for the kind of socialism that exists in Scandinavian countries and in European countries. Mr. General Secretary, be bold and tell the KNRG that the party would follow the road of socialist democracy, or democratic socialism. They will not be satisfied but at least your stand will be honest. In summary, the Nkrumah Government carried out a socialist policy. It did not and could not bring monopolistic capitalism to its knees so far as the mineral wealth of the country was concerned. The thesis that it was Nkrumah's followers who sabotaged his socialistic effort cannot stand the light of day. He helped to sabotage it. May be it was a case of doing what the preacher says and not what he does himself. Or may be his Messianic Dedication was human after all. That is the main reason why his achievements as a human being were phenomenal and as Ali Mazuri, that astute political commentator, says of him, he was one of the historical giants Africa has seen and probably will see.

It is a risky game insinuating oneself between Comrade Ivan Addae Mensah, the General Secretary of the PNP, and the KNRG or Ideo Boys. They can take care of themselves. But a short catalogue of the facts is necessary to put history in the correct perspective.

READ THE
LEGON OBSERVER ALWAYS

International

NORTH - SOUTH: A PROGRAMME FOR SURVIVAL

The Report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the Chairmanship of Willy Brandt

(Pan Books, London and Sydney, 1980)

Review Article

By

Kwaku Adu

Calls for a thorough re-examination of the world economic order had for years been made by many developing nations. These appeals did not elicit any positive response from the industrialised countries until the OPEC countries' demonstration of oil power with its crippling effects on the economies of the advanced nations. The OPEC move arose directly out of the 1973 Arab - Israeli war and vividly demonstrated that it was within the powers of some developing countries to hold the rest of the world to ransom by virtue of their control over certain strategic raw materials. If a repetition of such an incident was to be avoided, many concerned world leaders began to argue, a proper co-ordination of the world economic order must be made to ensure fairness to both the industrialized and developing countries.

Choice of Chairman

It was in line with the above thinking that early in 1977 the former President of the World Bank, Robert McNamara, in an address to the annual meeting of the IMF, urged the establishment of an independent international organ to review the current international economic system. In fact, McNamara might have been influenced a great deal in his call by the activities of Willy Brandt and his name might have been on his mind as a person who could do a lot for the realization of this objective. With his reputation as a man who perhaps deserves more credit than anyone else in formulating the 'Ostpolitik' policy, a well-known international socialist and a leading European statesman who appeared to be at home with most developing and third world countries, it was not surprising that McNamara thought of Willy Brandt as the most likely chairman of such a body if it could be established. In any case, at a press conference in New York in September 1977, Willy Brandt announced his readiness to chair any commission that would be established along such lines to investigate the problem. This was followed by a statement by the Secretary-General of the UN, Kurt Waldheim, to the effect that he was prepared to receive the first copy of any report coming from such a commission.

With strong support from all sides and the urgency of the situation, it was no wonder that the

Dutch Government pledged to guarantee the total cost of a such a body's work. The governments of Denmark, Finland, Saudi Arabia, Norway, South Korea, India, the United Kingdom and Japan came in with unconditional and handsome financial contributions. Additional monetary contributions came from such international financial institutions as the Commission of the European Communities, the OPEC Fund, the German Marshall Fund of the US, the Ford Foundation, the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, the Friedrich-Naumann Foundation and the Canadian International Development Centre. Private financial support was also received, while the Swiss Government agreed to defray the cost of office accommodation and equipment for the establishment of the commission's secretariat in Geneva. As regards its composition, invitations were sent throughout the world to leading personalities inviting them to serve on the commission in their own private capacities and not as agents of their governments. Those who accepted the invitation and were subsequently appointed included the former Prime Minister of Britain, Edward Heath; the then Vice-President of Indonesia, Adam Malik; the former President of Chile, Eduardo Frei Montalva and the former adviser to the President of Upper Volta, Antoine Kipson Dakoure. All in all, the commission was made up of eighteen prominent personalities with ten of them coming from the developing countries.

"The task of the Independent Commission on International Development", it was noted, "is to study the grave global issues arising from economic and social disparities of the world community and to suggest ways of promoting adequate solutions to the problems involved in development and in attacking absolute poverty". In addition, the commission was charged with the singular task of raising any aspect of the international situation it considered pertinent and to make recommendations for its solution. Furthermore, it was empowered "to identify desirable and realistic directions for international development policy in the next decade, giving attention to what in their mutual interest both the developed and developing countries should do".

By December 1977, the commission had established its secretariat in Geneva with an Executive Secretary and a Director who were charged with the responsibility of drafting and preparing other documents for the use of the commission. In spite of this, most of the commission's work was done outside Switzerland. Indeed its first meeting was held at Gymnich in the Federal Republic of Germany. Subsequent ones took place in Mali, the US, Malaysia, Switzerland, France, Austria, Belgium and in Britain. While at these places, the commission met and had discussions with political leaders and experts of those countries. In addition, some members of the commission travelled to and held top-level discussions with experts and leaders of Japan, Upper Volta, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Norway, Finland, Portugal, Canada, South Korea, Sri Lanka, China and the USSR, where the chairman met leaders of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Bulgaria. High level consultations were also held with the Com-

monwealth Secretariat, the African Development Bank, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, various agencies of the UN, the Group of 77, the Asian Development Bank, the OPEC et cetera.

Content of Report

By December 1979 the commission's report had been written. One of its major concerns appeared to have been an attempt to dispel the erroneous impression that the 'Newly Industrializing Countries' of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico among others, and the oil exporting countries of Kuwait, Nigeria, Qatar, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Gabon et cetera are quite different from the rest of the poor or third world nations. "The future progress of the newly industrialising countries," the commission notes, "depends considerably on the trade and financial policies of the North. They may suffer new setbacks with the development of micro-processors, which could reduce some of their advantages. While they owe much of their expansion and technology to the multi-national corporations, they

remain very vulnerable to the corporations' trading practices". As regards the rich-oil exporting countries, it observes that "whether rich or poor, almost all oil producers still have serious economic difficulties. The better-off (Gabon, Iran, Iraq, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela) depend heavily on oil and most of them lack the infrastructure and amenities of countries which have been prosperous for longer". Apart from these, the commission points out that both the 'Newly Industrializing Countries' and the oil producing states suffer from the same ailments as their less fortunate non-oil exporters viz poor health facilities, lack of housing, inadequate trained manpower et cetera. Thus whether newly industrialising or oil-exporting, the very fact that a country lacks certain basic economic structures qualifies it as a third world or developing country.

From the above position, the commission made a thorough review of the current world economic order in terms of the difficulties of the developing countries vis-a-vis the affluence of the industrialised nations and the problems of development. It also tried to elucidate the various aspects of such issues

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as food and hunger, population dynamics, commodity trade and development, energy, trans-national corporations, investment and the transfer of technology. These problems, the report points out, cannot be solved by individual countries alone. "The only way to achieve major improvements in these areas is to help the economies of these countries to grow and industrialize so that they will increasingly be in a position to help themselves; and this can only be brought about through a change in the international economic environment; through purposeful collaboration between the North and South, and much more systematic assistance from the North". But what forms should such collaboration and assistance take?

Forms of Collaboration and Assistance

According to the commission, the industrialized countries can do much to promote economic growth and development in the third world states by removing protectionism, stabilizing the prices of the products of the poor countries, offering access to the third world on their manufacturing markets, expanding world markets and trade, transmitting their 'engine of growth', encouraging, "energy exploration, research and development in the South" et cetera. "For home countries", it notes "profitable and secure overseas investments are desirable; the industrialized countries would benefit particularly from the development of energy and other mineral resources in the third World countries. The host countries also have much to gain, provided that the effects of the involvement of multinationals which bring cost and its advantages can be regulated. Under such regulation the technology, skills and the capital of the multinationals can assist the expansion of developing countries' industry and exports of manufactures, and their mineral development; commodity trade could also be rendered more profitable to the producing countries". Since fluctuating disparities in the exchange rates of currencies create trade and investment problems, the commission called for a change in the international financial and monetary systems by making "Special Drawing Rights the principal reserve assets. The issuing of SDRs must be geared solely to the agreed need for international liquidity, and will not create any additional element of international inflation". But then it cautioned. "The distribution of those SDRs that are issued should also be related to the financial requirements of the developing countries".

Such institutional readjustments by the North will only have meaningful impact on the South if the latter properly harness their available resources and are prepared to take certain decisions. Experience "in China has shown that the combination of a strong political commitment at the top with broad participation and shared benefits at the bottom can provide a basis for rapid reformation" the report observes. Quite apart from these, the commission calls for regional cooperation between developing countries not only in combating sources of poverty but also in terms of monetary and credit facilities for development. "Sub-regional intergra-

tion' and other forms of close cooperation", it notes, "offer a viable strategy for accelerated development and structural transformation in many contiguous developing countries". For "schemes of sub-regional integration emphasize the freeing of regional trade and the establishment of preferential trading arrangements to assist development, by promoting specialization and allowing advantage to be taken of economies of scale. This form of cooperation is particularly useful for countries with small domestic markets, which cannot in isolation sustain efficient industrialization over a wide spectrum of activities". In addition, the commission urged third world countries to develop farming methods that are conducive to their own local peculiarities with a view to increasing food production and reducing the drift from the rural centres to the urban areas. But the success of this will depend on the political will of individual governments to institute agrarian reforms commensurate with local conditions without sacrificing equity and fairness. The report also spelt out the relationship between birth rate, economic growth and development, and recommended government efforts aided by international assistance in achieving equitable balance between them.

Concluding Remarks

To all intents and purposes, **North-South** is a well written report. Of particular interest is the introduction written by the commission's chairman, Willy Brandt, and the last chapter both of which neatly summarize the commission's recommendations. The report also provides a critical summary of both the arguments of the third world countries for a fairer deal from the industrialized countries and the latter's counter arguments. In assessing both sides of the issue, not only did the commission take into account the economic realities of the situation but also made use of moral arguments. "We do not believe that mutual interests alone provide an adequate basis for all that are needed. As far as the poorest people and the poorest countries are concerned, the principal motives for our proposals are human solidarity and a commitment to international justice. There must be an end to deprivation and suffering. It cannot be accepted that in one part of the world most people live relatively comfortably, while in another they struggle for sheer survival". Whether morality has ever been a crucial element in the determination of foreign policies remains very much in doubt. Again when the commission marshalled arguments for readjusting certain economic factors within each individual country for the benefit of all nations, it seemed to have under-estimated the factors behind every governmental decision. For instance, while a trade union organization may have fine words in respect of unity and solidarity of all working classes in the world, it may strongly oppose any government policy at home which might be perceived as detrimental to its members but would prove beneficial to the people in a developing country. In trying to understand government decision, one must go deeper into the sources of its power and strength, and to influence such decisions one must try to influence these very sources. The commission's

failure to address this question seems to be the basic weakness of the report for it is very doubtful whether the arguments which were advanced are sufficient to convince those varied sources. To be able to do so one ought to be in a position to identify them - something the commission never attempted to do.

Another fundamental question is how acceptable will the report be to the international community, especially the UN. It is clear from the composition of the commission that no member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon) countries was represented on it. And even though Willy Brandt travelled to Moscow and met some of the leaders of these countries, one can see the difficulties that would arise if attempts are made to seek the support of the UN to adopt some of the recommendations of the commission. If any of the recommendations can be implemented at an international level, the OCED and the Comecon will have to compete. Also how about drawing up an international code of conduct for transnational corporations and hope that it will be observed by all countries? Despite its shortcomings, the report does provide a framework for examining afresh some of the pertinent problems of the world economy.

Notebook

THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

We noted in Vol XI No 2 (16-29 November 1979) that one of the most serious obstacles to economic planning in this country since 1972 has been the almost total lack of professionally - compiled statistical data. The military period, 1972 - 79, has been a nightmare for Ghanaians and non-Ghanaians alike who have to use statistics on various aspects of our economy in the course of their work.

It was something of a surprise - a pleasant one though - when the 'Births and Deaths Statistical Newsletter' was published in 1979. We welcomed its publication, and it is with greater delight that we announce the publication by the Registrar of Births and Deaths of another Statistical Newsletter this year. This cyclostyled booklet, with a short introduction and containing extremely useful and interesting information, has well over ten statistical tables. The statistics on births and deaths cover the whole country and were compiled during the calendar year 1979 - from January to December.

Hidden in the statistics is a wealth of information on social and demographic characteristics of this country. In a developing nation like Ghana, it is perhaps not surprising that registered live births and death rates as computed by the Births and Deaths Registry do not represent the actual levels of birth and death rates in the country for coverage is just about 35% of the total population. As is to be expected, the coverage was fuller in urban than in rural areas. In Greater Accra, for instance, there were in 1979 21 Birth and Death registries in urban areas compared with 4 rural registration centres in this region. In Ashanti, for the same period, there

were 19 urban registries compared with 20 in rural areas.

Many people, notably highly educated ones, believe that babies are usually born in hospitals in this country. Nothing is further from the truth. Of the total registered live births in 1979, 61% of the births took place in hospitals, clinics and maternity homes. Almost 40% were born in places other than those stated above. About 58% of deaths occurred in hospitals and clinics, and well over 40% of deaths occurred in private homes and other places. Of the total deaths, 13.6% were infants aged under one year, and 20.4% children aged between 1 - 4 years. It would appear that infant mortality is still fairly high.

Taking all the nine regions together, it is clear that most women have children between the ages of 15 and 29. About 72% of all child-bearing women have their children between these ages, with those between 15 and 19 constituting about 12%; the 20 - 24 age group constituting 31.2% and the 25 - 29 age group, 29.2%. It is interesting to note that 3.8% of women aged 40 and above have children, with the Eastern Region having the largest number of such women. Once again we congratulate the officials of the Birth and Deaths Registry for providing up-to-date information and, in particular, we commend Messrs C. K. Honya (Registration Officer) and Albert Bortey (Assistant Registration Officer) for preparing the tables.

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON EDUCATION

On a previous occasion we urged through these columns the need for a National Commission to advise on the then topical issue of special and exclusive educational facilities for the people of the Northern and Upper Regions. We even suggested that the Commission, if one was appointed, might also undertake a review of the recommendations submitted in a report, which is apparently lying somewhere, on the establishment of a fourth University. We take this opportunity to add to the list of concerns that the Commission might address:

How is the constitutional guarantee of a compulsory fee-free primary education to be given effect?

Where do we get the teachers for the immediate future?

What is meant by "primary education":

Is it just opportunity to learn and write? Or is it also an education in the basic rudiments of survival - an opportunity to learn some trade, for instance?

What is higher education: Is it post-secondary education or is the definition confined to university education?

Given the definition of higher education, is equal access to be guaranteed or is access to be selective?

Does the community as a whole pay for the education of citizens or do the beneficiaries pay?

Large quantities of information including statistical and demographic data will be required. In addition to material on our particular problems,

there is considerable literature on how other countries have tried to provide answers to similar questions. Immediately, we can think of the Lord Robbins Report on Higher Education in Britain, 1961-62. There are also the reports on higher education in the United States sponsored by the Carnegie Commission chaired by Clark Kerr. We can also think of the Ashby recommendations on higher education in Nigeria. Other required reading will be found in those reports.

Who serves on the commission is of the utmost importance. In this country "national" seems to suggest representation from the different regions, tribes, religious organisations, Chamber of Commerce, the trade unions and the like. It is to be noted, however, that a body like the Ghana Football Association (GFA), for instance, is never worried by such considerations in the selection of the national football team. The Black Star Football team is not less national because the Volta Region or Upper Region is not represented at any time. "National" does not even mean a team, necessarily. It could be one man looking at the entire national scene. He will be wise to consult, of course, but this should not mean that whom he consults should be pre-determined. If, however, there must be a team we would suggest a very small team, indeed, one whose size would permit close interaction among members. The chairman should be a person who will not merely synthesise views expressed round the table. He should be capable of directing the team to think through education from philosophy to implementation. The Commission should be able to farm out some of its assignments to individuals or even groups outside it and take responsibility for the outcome. It should be capable of providing imaginative interpretation of authentic data covering the entire society undistracted by lobbyists, special pleadings or yarns spun by retired "educationists". Another thing: The Commission will take time and we had better get going, that is, if there is going to be one at all.

Letters

Children: One Nation, One People, One Destiny

SIR—In a letter of the December 10, 1980 issue of the Daily Graphic written by one F. O. Adarkwa it was stated: "It is pathetic to see children in Tema First Cycle Schools standing for long hours to listen to their teachers or to take the day's lessons". "Imagine a class of 52 sharing 17 tables and two long boards supported by the legs of broken chairs to serve as benches. How can these children write? Yet Ghana is among the top timber-producing and exporting countries in West Africa". Even though Mr. Adarkwa was commenting on a deplorable condition in a Tema public school, he was indeed conveying the sentiments of many citizens about the deplorable conditions in which our children in the public schools study.

The classrooms lack basic items like furniture, stationery and textbooks. The lack of textbooks is so acute that reading becomes virtually impossible. How does a class of 46 share five reading books for an effective comprehension exercise. Talk about chalk, and any Middle School teacher will confess that he has been borrowing from either a Primary School or the children have been buying them.

Yet in the face of all these shortages, the government finds it expedient to organise Christmas Parties for about 2,000 school children in each of the nine regional capitals where the children are given a bottle of minerals, a Christmas hat, sun-spot ice-cream and some gem biscuits. A head-teacher I talked to about these parties saw nothing wrong because "past governments have been organising it." Nonsense! If the Busia government organised it because the economy was bouyant at the time, does the same hold for today, when the economy is in shambles? Yes, a display of conservatism. Such are the people whose heads should be chopped off for they have indeed lost their sense of judgement when they should be making good use of it. Even if it is a necessity to ease the little minds of the strains and stresses of the academic year, why should these children in the rural areas be neglected? Children in the rural areas whose parents' sweat provides us with our almighty foreign exchange have been neglected for far too long and it is about time they also received their lot. At least their parents can be spared the ordeal of paying for their wards' school fees from class one to Form Five. Or they can be given C.M.B. scholarships for it is an open secret that the C.M.B. awards go to the wards of 'big shots' who might not have seen a cocoa tree since they were born. Enough is enough. The days of 'monkey dey work, baboon dey chop' are gone. Let the rural folk also enjoy their share of the national cake, for they form part of the Ghanaian citizenry.

Lest I forget. March 6th is not far off. Schools will soon open for second term activities. I pray feverntly to the Director of State Protocol or whoever is in charge to spare our children in the public schools the trauma of marching on the Independence day. Let the Voluntary Organisations do it for it wastes the time of these little children considering the fact that they have to train from January till the D. Day, and it is within this period that the Common Entrance Examination is held which eventually determines whether these little ones will be among the privileged or the drop-outs. For the sake of standards of education in the public schools, scrap the March Past. If it cannot be done away with, those children in the 'Preparatory Schools' should also be asked to take part for 'one nation, one people, one destiny'.

P. O. Box 1532,
Mamprobi, Accra.

J. F. Aduyaw

Fitih Is Not Government's Spokesman

SIR - The recent press statement made by the Majority Leader, Hon. Mr. C. C. Fitih, is most uncalled for because he is not the government's spokesman

Mr. Fittih's opinion can at best be regarded as the opinion of the majority party in Parliament but cannot under any circumstances be taken as the opinion of the government since he is not a member of cabinet.

It is therefore disturbing and confusing to hear him (a member of Parliament) speaking for the government on such an issue about which government's behaviour has been found questionable.

It is common knowledge that the Electoral Commissioner has been making serious efforts to re-open the voters' register in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, but his efforts have been thwarted by the executive and all freedom loving and decent Ghanaians expect that any statement purporting to exonerate the government from blame should come from either the President himself, the Minister of Presidential Affairs, the Minister of Information or any other member of the executive expressly authorised to do so.

It is pertinent to point out that there is separation of powers between the executive and the legislature and it is high time the P.N.P. members of Parliament realised that the house is not an extension of the Office of the President and they are well advised to refrain forthwith from encroaching upon the preserve of the executive. Consequently, to avoid any further misunderstanding it would be proper for the president to bring it home to the P.N.P. members of Parliament as well as the hierarchy of the P.N.P. the need to appreciate their respective roles in the present system. This is most important because the statement attributed to the Chairman of the Publicity Committee of the P.N.P., Mr. Kofi Batsa regarding government's investment policy during his recent visit to the United States and its subsequent denial by the government raises doubts in the minds of not only Ghanaians but also the prospective investors as to the credibility of the government.

It is hoped that this timely advice will be appreciated by the president.

Parliament House, Alfred Badu Nkansah
Accra. M.P.

Makola Market

SIR - In the *Sunday Mirror* of 6th February 1981, there is a report that two Makola Traders' Associations plan to rebuild the Makola No 1 Market demolished by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council in 1979, if permitted by the government.

At the moment, we are being bled white by women traders who are selling essential commodities at cut-throat prices, and I cannot imagine what will happen to this country if Makola women are allowed by the government to rebuild the market from their own resources, kalabule, I predict, will reach its highest level.

Liberty Press, Benjamin K. Idun,
Accra.

Public Confidence In Parliament

SIR—In his letter (L.O. of 5th-18th December 1980) the Honourable Member of Parliament, Mr. Badu-

Nkansah, made a futile attempt to prove that the frank and honest observation made by the Majority Leader, Mr. C. C. Fittih, about the attitude of our Members of Parliament towards their work in Parliament undermines the confidence the public has in Parliament.

Not only were the Hon. MP's argument ill-grounded but they also showed an attempt to promote and protect the interests of his colleagues. That our country, the forerunner in both political and economic development in Black Africa, should at this stage be wandering in the wilderness and falling far behind the countries she has helped to liberate is largely due to this sort of attitude of trying by all means to "maintain public confidence" in decaying state institutions. The earlier we stopped sycophancy, the better for us as a nation.

It is my candid opinion that the M.Ps were elected by their various constituencies to represent them in Parliament and they should be seen to be doing that for a colossal sum of C4050 per month, not to mention other allowances for committee sitting drawn on the sweat of the suffering people of this country. Is the Hon. M.P. saying that the people represented should not know how their representatives are behaving in Parliament?

...What is even surprising about Hon. Badu-Nkansah's letter is that he seems to be so aggrieved by the observation made by Mr. C. C. Fittih that he has vowed to say "all" and make us see that the so-called "angels" after all, have no angelic wings by pointing out that even Mr. Fittih does not stay beyond ten minutes a day in the House and the Speaker himself is a habitual late-comer. All these events in the life of Parliament point to one thing: that is, Parliamentarians are guilty of the main failing of Ghanaian workers: an easy-going attitude to work.

The Hon. M.P. should note that the fact that the "angel" Mr. Fittih and the Speaker either come late or leave earlier than scheduled does not mean they should not call attention to lateness.

Finally, to argue that the existence of Parliament is the only guarantee for the existence of democratic rule is to say that a visit to the farm per se is enough as a solution to our acute food shortage problem. The call by the Hon. M.P. to all freedom-loving people to frown upon the so-called attempts to shake public confidence in the legislature is therefore a comic exercise.

Anyone who thinks he can hide under the facade of any state institution to buttress his laziness while keeping the tea and the pay packet intact should be exposed and shown his proper place. There is too much suffering in the land and so no one should bloat himself to our annoyance.

Mensah Sarbah Hall, Victor F. Elebu
Legon.

Emoluments Of M.P's

SIR - Ever since it was published in the *Daily Graphic* on October 17th 1980, that Kwaku Baah strongly defended the C4,050 monthly emoluments for MPs I have been expecting at least one of the Managing Directors of State Corporations to come

out and challenge Mr. Baah's assertion that the taxpayer is spending as much as C78,305 a year as salary for a Managing Director.

I am coming out now to declare that what Mr. Kwaku Baah said needs to be carefully checked. Let me ask Mr. Baah a few questions, namely, Is the Managing Directors' emolument of C78,305 p.a. Gross or Net? If it is Gross then will he please ask his Accountant to work out how much the Managing Director pays in tax and what the net figure is? Is the MP's emolument of C50,000 p.a. Gross or Net? If it is net then will he please ask his Accountant to work out the gross figure so that we can compare MPs and MDs emoluments on gross and net basis?

Why is Kwaku Baah using MDs emoluments as basis for comparison anyway? Is he complaining that the figure is equally too high? If the figure is too high then surely is he not in a better position, as an MP, to advise the government to find ways and means of paying a fair salary. Can Mr. Baah tell us the number of hours an MP puts in sittings in parliament per annum as against the number of hours a Managing Director puts in his work? Here Kwaku Baah should be reminded that we have heard that many MPs do not attend sessions and many more just sign the attendance register and disappear. The other day, on two occasions to be exact, they could not form a quorum.

When Mr. Baah says 'it will be false to pretend that MPs should not be paid' is he trying to tell the nation that that is the only work he is doing? Almost all MPs, including himself, have been given dispensation to carry on their business and/or carry on exercising their trade or profession?

In my humble opinion, those who represent the people in Parliament should learn to talk straight.

P. O. Box 6745,
Accra - North

Kweku Mensah

Why The Investors Are Still Not Coming

SIR—It is rather very surprising that the President who is supposed to be the leader of the P.N.P. Government has not as yet realized that he and his party are the people responsible for preventing genuine foreign investors from investing in the country.

The President is reported to have said in Sunyani when addressing Officers and men of the Third Battalion of Infantry of the Ghana Army at the Liberation Barracks on Tuesday, 16th December, that foreign investors are still sitting on the fence because they are not sure of the country's stability and are therefore not willing to take any risk.

As far as I know, it is the President and his colleagues in the government who are making Ghana look like an unstable country before the eyes of foreigners. No one has threatened to destabilize or subvert the government, but the government being so "popularity" conscious has since its inception been found to be falsely accusing certain

individuals and groups of people of trying to subvert it. They are doing this so as to gain popularity from the masses because most people are fed up with "coups".

Now the President and his P.N.P. government are still telling us that investors are refusing to come. Yes, they will surely not come so long as he, the President, and his P.N.P. supporters do behave in the way they do. They will all invest in Nigeria, where they know the government is really grateful to its predecessor and more concerned about its citizens.

If President Limann and his government have realized the harm they are causing the nation by keeping away genuine foreign investors and now want them to come in, they should begin to do clean politics.

P. O. Box 19,
Achimota Village.

Albert Joe Pimpong-

The Media

PRESS FREEDOM, EDITORIAL POLICY
AND THE GRAPHIC ISSUE

By

Kofi Kumado

On the 28th of January, this year, the **Daily Graphic** newspaper reported that its Board of Directors had instructed the Editor not to come out with editorial comments in the paper until further notice. The justification allegedly offered by the Board for this order was that the Board was working on a new **editorial policy** for the newspaper. It was also reported that some members of the Board had criticised the content of some of the editorials published, claiming that the editorials lacked "meat".

Since then, various persons have expressed their views on the matter. Parliament has debated the issue and it was reported that the Parliamentary Committee on Information was studying the matter. The Ghana Journalists Association and the Guild of Editors have also issued press statements on the matter. Predictably, the views expressed have related to the constitutionality of the order issued by the Board. And predictably too, all the views so far expressed have condemned the Board's measure, some in very strong language too. I beg to differ. The purpose of this contribution is to appeal for a more sober reflection on the Board's order and to put the possible reactions in, what I consider to be, their proper perspective.

Board of Directors Acted Properly

At the outset, it must be stated that, in my opinion, the order issued by the Graphic Board, as a **matter of policy**, was well within the competence of the Board. The letter signed by the Chairman and addressed to the Editor was to the effect that the Board was working on a new **editorial policy** for the **Daily Graphic** and therefore editorials should be suspended. Under the Graphic Corporation Instrument, the Board is responsible for the formulation of policy for the Corporation. That,

in my humble opinion, means that the Board is responsible for formulating policies for all the various departments of the Corporation. The Editorial Department is, without question, part of the Corporation. Therefore, I fail to understand the hue and cry over the instructions of the Board.

Leaving aside the instrument of incorporation for a moment, it seems also clear to me that the Board's order can be defended on other grounds. Clearly, if as a result of wishy-washy editorials, consumers refuse to buy the Daily Graphic resulting in a loss of revenue to the Corporation, there will appear to be no doubt that the Board can act to deal with the situation. Once this is conceded, it becomes clear that the Board can take the steps which, in its opinion, are necessary to prevent a possible downward slide in the revenue of the Corporation. In this respect, it is important to remember that the Board is, in the final analysis, accountable to the people of Ghana for the performance of the Graphic Corporation. It was also reported that at a meeting between some members of the Board and the Acting Deputy Editor, some of the Board members complained about recent editorials published in the Daily Graphic. Reactions to this simple criticism tended to give the impression that some Ghanaians felt the whole polity was endangered thereby.

Absurd Reactions

Quite clearly such reactions are absurd. Everyday, in this country, employers criticise, or even rebuke, their employees if they are dissatisfied with the quality of their work. This happens in other public sectors as well as in the private sectors. Within the Graphic Corporation, technically, the Board is the employer; so if Board members complain about the quality of work in one department under them, why should there be so much fuss. Are the journalists in the Corporation not part of the labour force of the Corporation? It is even conceivable that as Editor and, therefore, head of the Editorial Department, the Editor has had cause, now and again, to be dissatisfied with work produced by some of his subordinates. It is also possible because of the poor quality of work, on occasions the Editor has refused to publish pieces written by his subordinates. Is it now being claimed that if the Editor criticises the work of his subordinates then it is the exercise of professional judgment and therefore permissible but if the members of the Board criticise the work of the Department of which the Editor is head, then it is interference? What is the justification for this kind of twist?

It must be conceded that it was improper for the Chairman of the Board to write directly to the head of a department. This should happen rarely and only in exceptional circumstances. The Board should therefore have communicated its decision to the head of the Editorial Department through the Managing Director. As is also predictable, some contributors to the debate have made uninformed assertions to the effect that the Board's order violated press freedom as enshrined in the Constitution. This is nothing but crying wolf.

What Is Press Freedom?

In my contribution at the recent Workshop held at Legon on the Mass Media, a contribution which has been ignored largely by the journalists who

covered the Workshop, I tried to explain the nature of the press freedom guaranteed by the Constitution.

Perhaps, it is better to quote the relevant section of my paper:

"All too often when people talk about **press freedom** we get the impression that the talk is about freedom for the press men alone. However, the provisions of the Constitution...show clearly that the Constitution is concerned with freedom for every Ghanaian, including pressmen in the publicly-owned or privately-owned mass media establishments, to receive and impart ideas and information undoctored and uncensored."

Put into proper perspectives therefore, the press freedom guaranteed by the Constitution is not opposed to criticism of the work of journalists employed in the state-owned media facilities.

As for the views that the Board ought not to complain about editorials because if individuals are aggrieved the courts are there for them to seek redress for their grievances, the least said about it the better. It is a claim for irresponsibility. Assuming that the courts in any such litigation made monetary awards against the paper, where will the money come from to satisfy such judgments? Should the Board sit by while the Corporation loses money in such a manner as to satisfy the exaggerated sense of importance of some of its employees? I think not.

Problems Of State-Owned Media

Now the difficulty, as I see it, with the state-owned media establishments, especially those involved with newspaper production, is one of identity, that is to say, image. What is the image of the Daily Graphic? The Mirror? The Ghanaian Times? When the Daily Graphic is put on the newsstand what kind of reader is it aimed at? For a very long time, this simple business question, has never been sufficiently addressed, in this country. If the Graphic Board through its policy-now-in-formulation wants to deal with matters of this nature, it has all my blessing. Personally, I would consider it offensive if the Board attempts to impose **prior** restraints on the writing of editorials. That is to say if the Board insisted on reading **every** (or even any) editorial and approving it **before** it is published, then I will agree that press freedom is at stake. But I have no doubt in my mind that the Board or individual members of the Board can criticise editorials which have already been published.

I admit that the last point can be criticised on the grounds that, if as I have tried to argue elsewhere in this article, the Board is free to lay down editorial policy, why should that policy not require that editorials be approved by the Board before publication? My short answer will be that the Board will be involving itself in the actual writing of the editorial if it laid down any such requirement - that requirement will not be justified as **policy**, in my opinion. The views expressed here are intended to enable us focus properly on the true meaning of press freedom in present-day Ghana. For, in my considered view, it is absolutely important that press freedom should not be used as a cloak for shoddy work by our journalists.



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Editorial

ALIENS COMPLIANCE ORDER REVISITED

The conjunction of two recent events - the death by suffocation of 46 Ghanaians in a police cell in Abidjan, Ivory Coast; and the exodus, since mid-February, of Ghanaians from Nigeria, following the decision by the Nigerian Government to enforce existing laws on immigration - has raised the question of emigration of Ghanaians to neighbouring countries into a major debate in the country.

One of the really tricky aspects of inter-African relations is the migration of people from one African country to another, usually from relatively poorer to relatively richer countries. As either refugees from political persecution and wars or as people in search of employment and good life, such migrants, historically, have resolutely ignored the existence of national boundaries. They moved and still move from country to country without valid travel documents: as for example, the migration of Nigerians and Upper Voltarians to Ghana during the period of the cocoa boom in the 1920s to the 1950's; the exodus of Malians, Mauritarians and Upper Voltarians to the Ivory Coast, during the same period and, more recently, the influx of Togolese, Chadians and, notably Ghanaians, to Nigeria. Apart from holding firmly to the view that national boundaries drawn by the departing colonial powers are inviolable, the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has hardly discussed this issue. In raising the issue of the exodus of Ghanaians from Nigeria for discussion one must eschew emotionalism and try for some perspective.

About five or six years ago, Ghanaians began to trickle to Nigeria for jobs, and by 1980 large numbers of Ghanaians were literally flooding the job market in Nigeria. As Bashir Idris Usman, a feature writer, noted in the 10 January 1980 issue of the *Daily Times*, the 'scenario of desperate Ghanaians seeking to enter Nigeria from Aflao at the Ghana - Togo border is reminiscent of people fleeing from some horrors of some kind in their home country'. Though the alien population in Nigeria is large, it is extremely difficult to estimate their numbers since the majority of immigrants enter the country illegally. The Director of the Immigration Department of Nigeria, Alhaji Lawal Sambo, stated before the Aniagolu Disturbances Tribunal that 1,000 foreigners enter Nigeria illegally every day from neighbouring countries. By all accounts, the majority of them are Ghanaians.

The problem is not that there is a large alien population in Nigeria or in any other African country for that matter. Most nationals all over the world co-exist peacefully with foreigners, as Ghanaians did before the Aliens Compliance Order was passed by the Busia regime in 1969-70. Before then not only did aliens constitute about 25% of a population of about 8 million, but also the more enterprising of these aliens were well-established in retail trade and the diamond industry. The real problem arises whenever a country with a large immigrant population begins to experience social, economic, and political difficulties, or when it perceives threats to its national security.

In circumstances such as these, the nationals of the host country become xenophobic, and aliens are not only made scapegoats for these real or imagined difficulties, but also, invariably, become targets of physical violence. When economic conditions began to deteriorate under the Busia regime, the Aliens Compliance Order was passed and, in justifying it, Busia noted that 90% of convicts were aliens, and 75% of aliens in the country were under 15, and thus put pressure on social services. In the Ivory Coast, when bread prices rose in 1980, the Mauritians were attacked as the Mossis were in 1969, and the Ghanaians in 1981.

In the specific case of Nigeria, anti-Ghanaian feeling has been developing for sometime, but what suddenly led the Government to pass an Aliens Compliance Order may be traced to a number of factors. The high incidence of crime in Lagos has often been attributed to the influx of aliens. Also, the outbreak of the Kano riots in which Chadian and Cameroonian nationals were popularly suspected to have been the ring-leaders and instigators was also partly contributory. Furthermore, many Nigerians have felt over the years and still believe that Ghanaians in particular are competing with them in their own country, a competition in which it is popularly felt that the cards are heavily stacked against Nigerians, since Ghanaians are prepared to work for low wages and salaries.

Writing for *Labour Punch* of 5 June 1980, Segun Abilana, puts this third point forcefully: 'Starting from the unholy trade of prostitution and robbery, it is an open secret that Nigerian men have been forced ... to offer protection to our women by becoming polygamists. The reason is chiefly because the fun zone in hotels has been dominated by sisters from neighbouring countries. It is also being said that the influx of aliens cannot be isolated from the rampant cases of robbery in our country. The most annoying aspect of the 'calamity' is that the Nigerian jobber is now being denied employment in his own country. There are ripe rumours that certain companies now operate it as a policy to employ only Ecowas jobbers, especially for unskilled duties ... Unofficial reason for the preference for alien jobbers is that it would save labour costs. Some of the alien jobbers are being offered, in most cases, less than 50% of the existing minimum wage ... Whoever doubts this, should take a trip to the industrial zones of Ikeja and Ilupeju in Lagos. The same situation exists in Kano textiles (Sic) industry'.

Writing for the *Daily Times* cited earlier, Segun focuses more narrowly on Ghanaians and the problem their presence in Nigeria poses for the Government. 'Ghanaians now compete with Nigerians in every imaginable job - from the most menial jobs like garbage collection to the professions such as law, medicine, teaching and accountancy'. He asked a most pertinent question: 'Presently the relationship is cordial, but is this cordiality between the host and the teeming uninvited guests bound to continue for ever?' He did not answer, but went on, 'One cannot but be of candid opinion that it would neither help our Ghanaian brethren nor Nigerians by the latter donning the gown of the

proverbial ostrich which buries its head in the sand, and pretends that Ghanaians do not constitute a liability'.

The question he posed was answered by the Nigerian Government. Like the Busia regime before it, the Shagari Government, as a democratically elected government, simply recognized the growing anti-alien feeling in the country and passed the Aliens Compliance Order, a month or so after the Kano riots in December 1980 in which well over 1,000 people were reportedly killed. The Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a public notice, published in the *New Nigerian* of 11 February 1981, on the Procedure For Admitting and Employing Expatriates in Nigeria. In doing this, the Government has done no more and no less than what the Busia Government did in 1969-70 and what other African governments have done in the past. What this order seeks to do is to enforce the Immigration Act of 1963, its subsequent Amendment in 1972, and the various Immigration Manuals and Circulars on amendment to the Regulations and Procedures effected over the years.

According to the laws and regulations, anybody may enter and stay in Nigeria for a maximum period of six months as a visitor, provided he has an Entry/Permit Visa. In accordance with the Ecowas Protocol on the free movement of persons, Ecowas nationals (including Ghanaians) - during the period beginning from May 1980 - are accorded free movement in Nigeria for a period of three months without a visa. They are expected, however, to be in possession of valid travelling documents, such as passports and laissez-passer

However, all aliens, including Ecowas nationals, who wish to take up employment in Nigeria need entry permits/visas. These include (i) those taking up employment with Government Departments, Corporations and institutions of higher learning (not subject to expatriate quota restrictions); (ii) those coming to work with partially-owned government organizations and private companies, usually subject to expatriate quota restrictions, and (iii) those coming on short visits to undertake specialized jobs, such as auditing of accounts, conducting of feasibility studies or erection or repair of machinery. While in the case of (i) and (ii) aliens will have to apply for visa in a Nigerian Mission, in the case of (iii) applications in respect of such aliens must be made in Nigeria by the organization responsible for bringing in such a person who can stay for a maximum of six months.

Nigeria has resorted to the use of this legal device in the face of growing anti-alien sentiment as Ghana, Zaire, Gabon, Uganda, Sierra Leone etc. have done before. Since right now a substantial proportion of Ghanaians perceive Nigeria and the Ivory Coast as lands of opportunity, people will continue to emigrate to these neighbouring countries. The real change will come, not through exhortations on the need to stay at home, but when the economy of the country improves sufficiently to immunize Ghanaians from the lure of a better life in these countries.

Equally, we do not have to delude ourselves into thinking that Ghanaians who leave their homes

in search of a better standard of life will not, from time to time, become objects of harrasment - legal or otherwise. Whether national frontiers exist or not Africans will continue to move around from one country to another. Also, when host countries with sizeable immigrant populations confront problems, their nationals may become xenophobic, and thus provide a reason for their Governments to resort to the use of Aliens Compliance Order for controlling the situation. We strongly urge that in such situations the governments concerned deal civilly and humanely with aliens, remembering always that ordinary people care little about valid travel documents in their unceasing quest for the good life which has eluded them since independence.

Politics

TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS OF THE 1979 CONSTITUTION AND POLITICAL STABILITY

By

S. O. Gyandoh Jr.

At the beginning of December, 1980, I expressed certain views on the Transitional Provisions of the 1979 Constitution at two public lectures, given respectively at Tema and Accra. My expressed views apparently provoked a section of the state-owned newspapers of this country to call on me to elaborate on my views. In particular, an editorial of one of the state-owned newspapers appeared to be genuinely baffled by my expressed views, in the light of Sections 15 and 19 of the Transitional Provisions. That editorial's own paraphrasing of the substantive content of Sections 15 and 19 was as follows:—

"Section 15 of the Transitional Provisions explicitly states, inter alia, that no court shall have power to entertain any action against any decision of the former Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) or its Peoples' Courts.

Section 19 of the Provisions adds that notwithstanding anything contained in the main body of the Constitution, Parliament shall have no power to amend Sections 15, 16, 17 and 18 of the Provisions."

More recently, a knowledgeable and highly-respected member of the Council of State, Prof. C. O. Quarcoopome, has, in the Daily Graphic issue of January 12, 1980, offered some well-informed and penetrating comments on the Transitional Provisions.

The specific purposes of this article, then, are: first, to react, albeit belatedly, to the editorial already mentioned; secondly, to comment more generally on the Transitional Provisions against the background of Prof. Quarcoopome's penetrating and timely comments. More generally, I consider my present participation in the national

debate on the Transitional Provisions of the Third Republican Constitution as a duty which I owe, by virtue of my training, to the government and people of this country. I must emphasise, however, that the views I express are entirely my own and are not meant to be those of an authoritative decision-maker on the complex problems posed by the Transitional Provisions.

I begin by fully endorsing the eminently sensible view expressed by Prof. Quarcoopome to the effect that no meaningful discussion of the Transitional Provisions can proceed without a thorough familiarisation with the actual provisions of the Constitution, including the Transitional Provisions. I also share his view that the rationale for the Transitional Provisions, as well as for the provisions of the main body of the Constitution, is to be gathered largely from the political history of this country, more especially from our recent political history. In this, we are no different from any other country under the sun, for Constitutions are invariably the embodiment of the prevailing political wisdom of a people. They also invariably point out the modalities by which community goal-values may be pursued and preserved.

Some Confusion

Next, I must, with respect, point out that the editorial of which I have made mention somewhat confuses discussion of the Transitional Provisions by presenting what is really an unofficial interpretation as a self-assured statement of what the Transitional Provisions say. I believe that the editorial should have clearly separated what the Provisions say from what the editorial **thinks** they mean.

Professor Quarcoopome has done a good job of correcting the defect I have just pointed out by quoting what Section 15 says, and then offering an interpretation with which one may, or may not, agree. The editorial by contrast, puts forth its own interpretation as though it is the last word on what Section 15 says and means. I propose presently to demonstrate that the controversial portions of Section 15 need not be given the absolutist meaning the editorial ascribes to them. Meanwhile, I will only urge that we should be careful not to substitute our interpretation for actual provisions.

The editorial's assertion of what Section 19 is supposed to say suffers from the same defect. In a rather cavalier fashion the editorial mysteriously writes of "the main body of the Constitution" where the Section just mentions "Article 210". This has the effect of preventing the editorial from presenting an arguable issue.

Having unburdened myself of my mild discomfort with the way in which the editorial presents selected portions of the Transitional Provisions as non-issues, let me now address myself to the genuine issues, some of which Prof. Quarcoopome has so clearly and admirably brought out.

Before I do so, it should be emphasised that there are several parts of the Transitional Provisions which are non-controversial, largely because, without them, there could not have been a smooth

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transition from military to civilian constitutional government. These provisions have been neatly categorised by Professor Quarcoopome, and there is no need to go over them. I also consider it unnecessary to comment, at this stage, on the fact that the Constitution was indeed promulgated by a military regime in exercise of its self-assumed power to issue decrees. The plain fact of the matter is that we have lived under a Constitution since 24th September 1979, and that Constitution includes certain Transitional Provisions, some of which have already spent their force by natural effluxion of time. In these circumstances, it is futile and rather unedifying to call for "a scrapping of the Transitional Provisions", as some have done, in order to give validity and legitimacy to the Constitution.

What we need to do is to focus enlightened and informed attention on the issues raised by:

- (a) those parts of the Transitional Provisions which **appear** to insulate all acts of the AFRC, including any instances of possible miscarriage of justice during the AFRC rule, against any redress whatsoever; and
- (b) those parts of the Transitional Provisions which **appear** to have been rendered completely unamendable.

The first of the two categories of provisions mentioned above are to be found exclusively in Sections 15 and 16 of the Transitional Provisions. We may, for convenience and also for the purpose of technical clarity of expression, refer to Section 15(2) - (4) of the Transitional Provisions as "ouster clauses," whose intended effect is to deny, in Prof. Quarcoopome's apt words, "the normal process of judicial review to an aggrieved person."

Ouster Clauses

What should be borne in mind when addressing ourselves to these "ouster clauses" is that our Constitution (and this includes the Transitional Provisions) does, and is intended to, operate in a legal environment of the taught traditions of the common law, typically expounded and given form and content by the Courts. It does not, and cannot be expected to, operate in a legal vacuum. That is why the power to interpret the laws, including the law of the Constitution, is given to the Courts by the Constitution itself. The consequences of this bestowal of the power to interpret the laws are enormous. It means, in particular, that "ouster clauses" are themselves subject to interpretation by the very courts from which these "ouster clauses" appear to take away the power to interpret a given law.

Let me illustrate the point I am making with an old colonial case, *Tamakloe v. Mitchell*, decided in 1892. In this case, a somewhat officious British District Commissioner caused the arrest and imprisonment overnight of a "native" at Keta for showing what the Commissioner considered as gross disrespect to one who was the Queen's representative. After his release, the 'native', a Mr. Tamakloe, brought an action in court claiming damages for false imprisonment. By way of defence,

Mitchell, the District Commissioner, relied on an "ouster clause" contained in Section 50 of the Supreme Court Ordinance, 1876, which stated, inter alia: "no action shall be brought against any Commissioner in respect of any act or order bona fide performed or made by him in the execution, or **supposed execution** of the powers or jurisdiction vested in him". The Divisional Court at Accra, presided over by Chief Justice Hutchinson, reached the conclusion that from the nature and circumstances of the Commissioner's act he could not have reasonably "supposed" that he had power or jurisdiction to do what he did. For this reason, he could not claim to enjoy the protection afforded by the ouster clause. In the result, damages of £15, a princely sum in those days, were awarded against the District Commissioner.

In more recent cases, the Courts in England and elsewhere have construed ouster clauses so strictly as to render them almost ineffective, in practice. Thus, in a 1969 leading case, the House of Lords sitting as the highest Court in England considered an ouster clause, contained in an Act of Parliament, which stated that a determination by a Compensation Commission set up by Parliament "shall not be questioned in any legal proceedings whatsoever." The House held that this clause was ineffective to protect a "determination" by the Commission which took into account irrelevant facts. This decision, popularly referred to as the *Anisminic* case, has been followed by other courts. Its significance for the legal problems posed by the Transitional Provisions of the 1979 Constitution is that in British constitutional doctrine, an Act of Parliament is the expression of the sovereign will of the people, and has, thus, the same effect as a provision of our Constitution, which also expresses the sovereign will of the people. It is binding on all institutions of government, including the Courts, and only Parliament may itself change that will. Yet this cardinal British Constitutional principle has not been found by the Courts to be inconsistent with intelligent and courageous interpretation of that sovereign will by the Courts.

What I am saying, in effect, is that in spite of the tightly-phrased ouster clauses of Sections 15 and 16 of the Transitional Provisions, those clauses are still capable of interpretation aimed at redressing grievances occasioned by serious miscarriage of justice. What is needed is a courageous and imaginative judiciary, as well as a cadre of imaginative, informed, and highly-principled legal practitioners, who are determined to uphold the finest traditions of the law. For guidance, the judiciary can rely on a whole panoply of gems of the taught traditions of the law derived from cases decided all over the world as well as from our own traditional systems of justice. Among the taught traditions of the law to which I have just referred is the cardinal principle that the rules of natural justice cannot be taken away by mere inference. Simply stated in skeletal form, these rules of natural justice require: first, that a decision-maker must be free from bias and caprice, or must not be a judge in his own cause; and, secondly, that no one shall be condemned to suffer punishment or

other deprivation without being given a fair opportunity to be heard in his own defence.

Natural Justice

The Transitional Provisions, it should be noted, do not expressly oust the Rules of Natural Justice. On the contrary, the Decree (AFRC Decree No. 3) which set up Special Courts (popularly called the Peoples Courts) to try various specified offences states that a People's Court "shall, in its procedures and decision, be guided by the rules of natural justice." Furthermore, AFRC Decree No. 23, which established a Special Tribunal to continue the "House Cleaning Exercise" begun by the AFRC during its short rule, also makes the rules of natural justice applicable to the Tribunal's adjudicatory work. It is instructive to note that in a 1964 case (*Aidoo v. Commissioner of Police No.2*), decided by the then Supreme Court of this country, the Court cited three indigenous sayings-in Akan, Ga and Ewe respectively—to show that there is a well-settled customary law principle, which co-incides with one of the rules of natural justice mentioned above, that it is unjust to condemn a person without giving him an opportunity to answer any complaints made against him.

This is the point at which Prof. Quarcoopome's misgivings about Section 15(2)-(4) and Section 16 of the Transitional Provisions raise genuine issues which should be of supreme concern to all who profess a commitment to a regime of ordered liberty under the rule of law. In his view, the ordinary meaning he can gather from the ouster clauses of Section 15(2)-(4), which he quotes in full, is that they deny "the normal process of judicial review to an aggrieved person, and (offend) one's concept or sense of natural justice." Similarly, he is unhappy with aspects of Section 16, which "seeks to preserve the confiscation of properties and other penalties imposed by the AFRC in relation to the purging exercise." As he puts his objection: "It will be difficult to convince me that in the rush and speed with which decisions were taken and judgements made under the AFRC exercise, no cases of miscarriage of justice occurred." He then adds: "If one admits that some cases of injustice, albeit unintentional, have occurred, then it makes no sense to deny such persons access to judicial review."

That, indeed, is the crux of the matter. A regime of ordered liberty must constantly balance the collective interests of the state against the individual interest in liberty. The judiciary is the primary, though not the only, agency through which this delicate balancing act is done. To oust the jurisdiction of the Courts to review all cases of possible miscarriage of justice is to inflict grievous violence to the ordinary citizen's sense of justice and fair play. At the same time, it is a notorious fact, acknowledged expressly by Prof. Quarcoopome, that at least part of the justification that can be offered for including ouster clauses in the Transitional Provisions is that "those with huge fortunes made at the expense of the economy would, if allowed,

buy their way out."

The problems raised by the clauses of the Transitional Provisions, then, are not only legal, but also sociological and political. Do our prevailing values of public morality and social attitudes ensure that those with huge fortunes who may be guilty, legally and or morally, are not able "to buy their way out"? Can we feel reasonably sure that the administration of justice in this country and the general conduct of public affairs by public officials are carried out in a way that commands the respect and confidence of the generality of the people? These are some of the crucial questions to which the Constitution of the Third Republic attempts to address itself. And, those parts of the Transitional Provisions which are the subject-matter of the present discussion also seek, in my respectful submission, to address those issues. There is thus a profound unity of purpose running through the entire Constitution, as it stands.

In the short run, it is the courts which will give the stamp of final legal authority to the provisions of the Constitution, including the Transitional Provisions. But, in the long run, it is the people who must give the stamp of moral authority to the decisions of the Courts. The courts cannot, therefore, shirk the grave responsibility of ensuring that their final determinations are also given the stamp of moral authority by the generality of the people.

Political Considerations

An important clarification that must be made at this stage is that the fact that a decision is said to be **not subject to appeal** does not mean, in law, that judicial review to correct a substantial miscarriage of justice is also ruled out. Indeed, as we have already noted, both AFRC Decree No. 3 and AFRC Decree No. 23 expressly provide for the application of the rules of natural justice to the procedures and decisions of the People's Courts and the Special Tribunal. What this means, as a matter of practical law, is that where it can be clearly demonstrated that there has been a failure of natural justice, the courts are in duty bound to offer appropriate redress, if such failure has also resulted in a substantial miscarriage of justice. This is a far cry from saying, with Prof. Quarcoopome, that "the Courts of Law are definitely rendered impotent on this issue."

Prof. Quarcoopome also thinks that the President cannot take action on the Transitional Provisions "without laying grounds for his impeachment on the grounds of violating the Constitution." This assertion, in my view, reveals profound political wisdom, firmly grounded in the lessons of our political history. Indeed, my own thinking on the matter is that, having regard to our recent political experience, a President who takes precipitate political action on the Transitional Provisions could lay himself open to a more serious sanction than constitutional impeachment. I say this in spite of the President's seemingly unfettered discretion to exercise the prerogative powers of

pardon and remission of sentence granted under Article 59 of the Constitution. The fact of the matter is that as a matter of law, as well as of politics, Section 16 of the Transitional Provisions which seeks to preserve the confiscations and penalties imposed by the AFRC in relation to the "purging exercise" can be interpreted to constitute a qualification of the President's powers granted under Article 59. In any case, the whole idea of unfettered discretionary powers is unacceptable in a constitutional democracy, wherever it may be.

Lastly, Prof. Quarcoopome cautiously asks whether Parliament cannot "put a time factor to those aspects of the Transitional Provisions which need to be time-related or which should be given a specific time dimension." I suspect that this may be an oblique invitation to Parliament to exercise its residual powers under Article 216 to provide for "any matter, whether arising out of this Constitution or otherwise," and for which the Constitution does not provide expressly or by necessary implication. Clearly, the question of giving a specific time dimension to some parts of the Transitional Provisions is a matter which arises out of the Constitution. It can also be argued that the Constitution has not provided for this matter expressly or by necessary implication. At the same time, it is also arguable that, far from its being silent on the matter, the Constitution deliberately removes any time factor from certain parts of the Transitional Provisions.

Now, it is true that no organised political society can afford to close all doors for all time to the peaceful ventilation of genuine grievances, especially those arising out of allegations of miscarriage of justice. This consideration may well render the invitation to "put a time factor" to certain parts of the Transitional Provisions seductively attractive to Parliament. Yet, it must be borne in mind that Parliament cannot exercise its residual powers under Article 216 in a manner which is inconsistent with any provision of the Constitution. This is clearly stated in Article 216 itself. More importantly, the problem posed by those parts of the Transitional Provisions which are not "time-related" appears to be one which is incapable of immediate resolution by resort to the language of the Constitution. It is, in short, a political problem, not a legal one. I am inclined to the belief that it is a problem which is best left to be resolved by the benign influence of Time and Providence. As an old Akan adage goes: "Wongyina nkran mu ntutu nkran," which may be freely translated as "You cannot successfully remove stinging ants from your body while standing right inside the advancing columns of such invading ants."

We may now turn attention to the second category of provisions on which enlightened and informed attention must be focussed. It is said that some parts of the Transitional Provisions have been rendered totally unamendable, and that this is intolerable. Here again, it is more a matter of appearance than substantive reality to state

that Section 19 of the Transitional Provisions **absolutely** forbids for all time any amendment of specified sections of the Transitional Provisions, including Section 19 itself.

We should begin with some knowledge of the basic principles of the amendment process to be found in Article 210 of the Constitution. Article 210(1) clearly states that "any provision" of the Constitution may be amended, and paragraph (2) adds that such amendment must be "in accordance with the relevant provisions of this article." The remaining two paragraphs of Article 210 then divide **all** the provisions of the main body of the Constitution into two groups. The first group which is larger, is made up of all those provisions not specifically mentioned in the last paragraph (4) of Article 210. This group of provisions can be amended by a process which involves (i) initiation of action by Parliament by ordinary Resolution, (ii) publication by the Speaker, (iii) deliberation by all District or other local government Councils followed by a two-thirds acceptance, (iv) approval by a two-thirds majority of the Council of State, and, finally, (v) adoption of the proposed amendment by a two-thirds majority of Parliament. All these stages must be gone through within the life (5 years) of one Parliament.

The second group of provisions comprises three named Chapters (**Four Six** and **Eight**, which deal respectively with Directive Principles of State Policy, Fundamental Human Rights and the Executive) and 24 named Articles, which include Article 217, the last Article of the main body of the Constitution. Amendment of any provisions in this group requires a special type of Referendum **in addition to** all the procedural requirements mentioned above as applying to the first group provisions. In the words of Article 38 of the Constitution, the special type of Referendum required for the more difficult amendment procedure is one in which "no results shall be declared by the Electoral Commission unless fifty **per centum** or more of the persons entitled to vote cast their votes, and at least forty **per centum** of the persons entitled to vote cast their votes in favour of, or against, any, of the issues to be determined by the referendum." The reason for this rather strict Constitutional requirement, which was fiercely debated in the Constituent Assembly before adoption, is to ensure that amendments of this second group of articles truly reflect the clear desire of the generality of the people of Ghana for a change.

It is instructive to note that the basic principle is that every provision of the Constitution is amendable, though some provisions are more difficult to amend than others. This principle is not significantly touched by anything in the Transitional Provisions. While Article 217 incorporates the Transitional Provisions into the Constitution "notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Constitution," that same Article is itself specifically mentioned, as noted above, as one of those Articles of the Constitution which can be amended by the more difficult amendment process. In these circumstances, the rationale of the Constitutional Commission in unambiguously opting

for a Constitution, every provision of which is capable of amendment, would appear to have been accepted by the final promulgators of the Constitution. That rationale bears repetition by direct quotation from the Proposals of the Constitutional Commission, 1978, paragraphs 317 and 318:-
 ".....We do not accept that any generation has or should be deemed to have a monopoly on political wisdom nor that any Constitution, however well-drafted, can be considered as constituting a perfect and unalterable blue-print for all time....."

"But we also believe firmly that, to maintain the basic character and fabric of the Constitutional system, the fundamental provisions of the Constitution should not be capable of being changed easily or hastily. Therefore, matters should be so arranged that the fundamental provisions of the Constitution can only be changed through procedures which ensure that any changes will be effected only where there is in fact genuine and adequate support, or desire, for such changes."

It may be mentioned here, in passing, that the Constitutional Commission had grouped all the provisions of the Constitution into three categories, but the Constituent Assembly reduced the categorisation to two. The Assembly, however, did not disturb the basic principle of amendability of all parts of the main Constitution. What the Constituent Assembly did was to introduce a drafting refinement which makes it easier to distinguish between the **entrenched** provisions of the Constitution and the rest of the Constitution, which can be amended more easily.

Amendment and Entrenchment

The upshot of all this is that, contrary to some popular misconceptions, the present Constitution is, in fact, a much less rigid Constitution than, say, the 1969 Constitution. Those who may feel inclined to doubt this assertion are simply referred to Article 169 (3) of the 1969 Constitution which unequivocally foreclosed any amendment of large parts of that Constitution, including Article 169(3) itself.

But it is more important to point out that the Constituent Assembly of 1979 also saw it fit to entrench against future amendment those parts of the Transitional Provisions of the Draft Constitution which dealt with indemnity in respect of the coups d'Etat which had taken place up to the time that the Assembly presented its Draft Constitution to SMC II. This is contained in Section 9(8) of the Draft Constitution which provided as follows: "Notwithstanding anything contained in article 210 of this Constitution Parliament shall have no power to amend this sub-section or sub-sections (3) (4) (5) and (6) of this section". Thus, the principle of non-amendability, which was abandoned in the main body of the 1979 Constitution, and remains abandoned, was partially re-introduced by the Constituent Assembly through the back-door, so to speak, when it came to the question of Indemnity for coup makers. The AFRC simply took advantage of this partial introduction of non-amendability to add to the list of sections

of the Transitional Provisions which cannot be amended, unless a major political decision to repeal or modify Article 217 is first taken and acted upon.

The crucial question then is: Why do successive promulgators of Constitutions beginning from 1969 think it so important that certain parts of the Constitution-whether contained in the main body of the Constitution (as in the case of 1969) or in the Transitional Provisions (as with the 1979 Constituent Assembly and the AFRC) - should be entrenched against any amendment by Parliament or even the People, in exercise of their constituent power and right at a referendum? The basic answer, in my view, is that this is done in order to preserve the spirit, or the more enduring values, enshrined in the Constitution. This may be rephrased legitimately as a passionate concern to preserve the imperative community demands, dictated by the collective experience of the community.

No one will deny that the traumatic experience of this country in recent times clearly points to a community demand for accountability and probity in public life on which the people are not prepared to compromise. The exposures and revelations of Commissions and Committees in our recent history, and the hardships under which the people have groaned, and continue to groan, point irresistibly to the need to eradicate corruption, graft and non-accountability from our national life as a pre-condition to the political stability of the nation and the preservation of the public interest. The advent of the AFRC on the national scene merely served to underscore - rather graphically and forcefully- this crying demand of the people. For, even before the advent of the AFRC, the draft Constitution presented to SMC II had committed itself to meeting this basic demand.

Problem Of Legitimacy

I suspect that at the base of the objections to the Transitional Provisions is a deep-seated rejection of the legitimacy of military rule in general, and the AFRC's traumatic presence on the national scene in particular. This problem of legitimacy is a real one, as the debates in the Constituent Assembly on indemnity to soldiers who had taken part in coups and the subsequent public discussions on these debates clearly show.

The problem of legitimacy is also a political one, which can only be resolved by balancing the public interest in stability and public order against the private interest in protecting the liberties of the individual. It is obvious that neither the State's collective interest in maintaining public order nor the individual's interest in the protection of his political liberty can be absolute. And it is equally true that the balancing exercise which inevitably results from the non-absolute character of the competing interests need not be maintained in the same sanctified and fossilised proportions at all times. That is why Emergency Provisions in a Constitution such as that of the Third Republic give more weight to the need for public order during times of Declared Emergency than would be

expected in more normal times. And, it does not make much sense to say that because the Constitution authorises, say, imprisonment without trial during a period of Declared Emergency, therefore Emergency Regulations offend against the spirit or letter of the Constitution and must never be resorted to. The truth of the matter is that the legitimacy of a government does not depend exclusively on legal criteria. It is a matter of political judgement, affecting the very existence of the State as a viable political entity.

In conclusion, then, I would not advocate, at this stage in our national life, any hasty **political** action which could lead to totally unanticipated and, perhaps, disastrous results. We must cultivate an organic view of our society and its institutions, with the lessons of our history and the basic structure and content of our Constitution as the starting

point. The basic wisdom of the Amendment Process, defined in Article 210 of our Constitution, would appear to teach that unless it is absolutely necessary to change any part of the Constitution, it is necessary **not** to change.

I have tried, in this contribution to the national debate on the Transitional Provisions, to show that the present Constitution, taken as a whole, provides the nation with a Charter of good government, founded on accountability and probity in public life. The Constitution also considers the individual citizen's rights as worthy of protection, for like the Sabbath, the State is made for man, and not man for the State. I have, I hope, shown the way to ensuring adequate protection of the individual's liberty, while preserving the collective interest of the State in political stability and national advancement.

ADVERTISER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

By

ASAKUM ENGINEERING AND CONSTRUCTION LTD ACCRA

Our attention has been drawn to an unfortunate attack on the competence and integrity of our Company by the Hon Mr. Hyde, MP for Okaikwei Constituency in Parliament during the debate on the Bill for Increases in Water Rates, as reported in "Today in Parliament" on Radio Ghana on Friday 30th January 1981 at 18.15 hours, repeated at 7.15 hours on Saturday 31st January 1981, and in the "Daily Graphic" of Saturday 31st January 1981.

In Radio Ghana's "Today in Parliament", the Hon. MP was reported to have said specifically, in his contribution to the debate, that his investigations into the water problems in his Constituency had revealed that the contract for the Accra Water Project had been given "as far back as 1973" to "a man called Mr. Asakum", who had "no equipment" and was, therefore, performing poorly, hence the long delay in executing the Project.

We should like to state the facts of the case for the information of the general public as follows:

- (1) We are a construction Company known as "Asakum Engineering and Construction Ltd" and that there is nobody in our Company called "Mr. Asakum".
- (2) We are at present executing only part of the Accra/Tema Water Supply Project, which concerns the construction of
 - (a) the Weija-Accra Transmission Main and
 - (b) the New Water Treatment Works (Civil Engineering Works) and the McCarthy Hill Storage Reservoir. Contracts for these two jobs were awarded to us on competitive tender basis and the contract documents for (a) and (b) were signed in February 1978 and April 1978, respectively. Work on them started a few months afterwards and is progressing within schedule
- (3) We are a Company with competent Management and well-qualified technical staff and we have adequate plant and equipment for the above-mentioned and other specialized jobs we are now undertaking.

These are the facts which can be verified from the Consultant, Associated Engineering Services Ltd. of Canada (A.E.S.L.), at their offices at the Weija Site and at the ATMA offices of G.W.S.C., Mile 4, Accra.

(G. K. Asafu-Adjaye)
Managing Director

Social

OF SPEECHES AND GEMS

By

Ebow Daniel

Our gold fields are richer and more extensive than South Africa's, apparently. An initial intimation by the Vice-President (Veep!) has been confirmed by some technical committee: An investment of a mere three billion should yield, at least, twenty billion dollars in twenty years, assuming the current ounce-price of gold, of course. But are we being fair to our expectations to assume a favourable constant? Whence **Veep**, incidentally? And what might the Vice-Chairman of the Veep's favourite political party be called? **Veech**? **N-o-r-nor**, they would say in Fanteland along with a not-too-vigorous a shake of the head to register disapproval.

We had heard before that we were rich. Many a visitor in the past had remarked how our streets were littered with "gems" and how we did not seem to know how to collect the "litter". And yet this writer had always fancied himself as a collector. Witness his collection to date:

Lapsus

There is many a slip between the cup and the tongue, says the bard. And happy are they who have it to drink, slips notwithstanding. Some slips are not so easy to manage, however; for instance, that famous after-dinner speech in which **from the bottom of my heart** was rendered **from the heart of my bottom**. How does one unsay that? Some people who were not even at the dinner insist that the speech-maker made reference also to the anatomy of his wife in that immortal rendition. Whatever the exact particulars, the speech was probably the result of one more drink that should not have been.

But slips have been known to occur even in the sobriety of the court room. In his summary of the proceedings of a much publicised rape trial, His Lordship said of the accused that a man with as odious an occupation as his suffered enough to make it unnecessary to be sent to prison for punishment. Sympathy for the suffering of a fellow human being is not to be deprecated in a judge, but the accused was not a **washerbottom** as his Lordship wrongly supposed. He was only a **washerman** who happened to bear the name John Henry **Winterbottom**. Somehow, occupation and cognomen got mixed up in His Lordship's long hand such that **Winterbottom** the washerman became **Winterman** the washerbottom. Did someone say something recently about the **inscrutable** ways of judges?

The Daily Graphic of Wednesday 17th December 1980 invited sympathisers to a designated chapel for the burial service of a beloved deceased and thence to Osu cemetery for **entertainment** (!) Many who showed up at Osu, out of curiosity, perhaps, could not see any sign of a reception, however.

But they noticed that the bereaved family left the cemetery directly after the **internment**, just like any other burial, after all. The **entertainment** came after the **metrication** at the University of Ghana which the Daily Graphic again was kind enough to report. Those who were supposed to have been present said they saw only a **matriculation** ceremony.

We were touched the other day by the sympathetic concern of an editorial which sought to explain that the recent shortage of fuel was only **temporal**: which explanation helped, no doubt, to dispel fear that the shortage might be **spiritual** in origin. We are pleased to see the writer of the said editorial back at work following a vacation, **temporary**. of the editorial chair.

Could it have been a "lapsus" too? One of our chiefs said in 1966 that he was not **probable**; by which he seemed to be saying that he was not subject to the decree of that year requiring various individuals to submit to a **probe** of their personal assets. While the public debated the fairness of an exercise which required victims to indicate precise spending from the very first time they began to earn a living (how much on funeral donations in 1948?), our chief remained unperturbed: "I am **improbable**"

Detail

A public servant, who shall be nameless, has a reputation for meticulousness which often leads him to details that many would consider pointless. On being told that the Pope was to visit the country, two years ago, he wanted to get the details right: **Which Pope?** And we can imagine the follow-up to that question: **Which Vatican? Which Rome?**

Some detail is often necessary, however. His Lordship had no choice but to acquit the man in the dock, the prosecution having failed to press home the charge of bigamy. "You may go home now", said His Lordship. The man in the dock looked genuinely perplexed: "**Which home, my Lord?**"

At a recent reception, our hostess urged us to arrange our chairs in a **round circle** so we could dance in the middle. Obliging was easy enough, since we were not particularly disposed to forming any other type of circle, anyway. But the dancing was later. Earlier, our hostess had had opportunity display her crockery: the **four-square** item was a wedding present, she said.

The chief clerk of the organisation with which we used to take vacation employment was always asking for favours on the telephone: "**Could you be able to...**". Since he had to ask a particular favour ever so often we could only guess the response: "**No I cannot be able to...**".

There are other species of "gem detail" which the reader should find amusing. Unfortunately, this writer **cannot be able to** recall them directly except this one about the school chaplain who found it necessary to assure his youthful congregation in his inaugural sermon that he knew all about adolescence, being a parent himself. He had **five daughters** he said, adding that **they were girls, all of them**.

A young lady who came for an interview the other day was obliging with a detail that she obviously feared might escape the panel: "I am an Ewe from the Volta Region". Ah zo! Even she was surprised to be asked her nationality after this. Of course, she did not know the chairman of the panel, the meticulous public servant who shall remain nameless, the very same.

A friend who recently travelled by Ghana Airways' latest acquisition, the DC 10, said he threw up when they were **descending downwards**. **Ascending upwards** was without mishap, presumably. When this writer was last in an aircraft, the machine merely **took off** and **landed**, but that was only a VC 10.

Antique

At the approach of every Christmas, a communication from the only surviving octogenarian in the family comes to remind us to do the necessary. The communication invariably begins with a statement of how pleased the author is to **indite** us; how the opportunity to **pen** a few words to his grandchildren was always welcome.

Why is not **inditing** or **penning** in currency any more? Rather reminiscent of the ancient world of quills, aren't they? Aren't they reminiscent also of fountain pens, of ink, of blotting paper for dabbing superfluous ink, of cursive penmanship, a world sadly superseded by the ball pen? Writing is now any child's play. Who could afford in that ancient world to leave a fountain pen in the hands of a mere child? No more Parker, no more Spot, no more Platignum. O Quink where is thy beauty? In the new world of the ball pen are we surprised **indite** is not remembered and that **penning** is forgotten? Forgetting is, after all, human. To think that we have to be reminded through broadcasts and seminars that there is gold in this country, children of the Gold Coast!

Doing the Christmas "necessary" for the octogenarian always involved the assemblage and shipment of **provisions**. The dictionary meaning of **provisions** refers to "food supplies" generally. But it was always understood that if the old man sent for **provisions** he did not expect kenkey, fried fish, plantain or cassava. Oats, (Quaker), ovaltine (beverage and biscuit), sugar, milk, butter, sardines, corned beef - yes.

"Government has decided that **cornered** (sic) beef will attract a duty of..." announced a cabinet minister in the Second Republic. With the steady dwindling over the years of personal fortunes, many had lost the appetite for corned beef (any pronunciation), indeed, **provisions** and were not interested in costs; and for a long time **provisions** were not available anyway. Thanks to a more liberal import policy, **provisions** are re-emerging from antiquity and oblivion. Corned beef is in evidence again, to our embarrassment. Some of us still love it, but dare not look, at C50! And we hope the old man doesn't look either. Did anyone mention that at C30 an American tin, not even gari is easy to look at? What then? **Cornered beef! Cornerstone!** And what happened to agriculture, "the **corner-stone** of the development policy of my Administration?"

The octogenarian's annual communication often included lists of who had **passed away** since the previous missive. We can understand an old man's preference for the euphemistic where death is the subject. It is as though by avoiding mention, the dread event itself could also be avoided. But what reason has the Commercial Service of immortal Radio Ghana for ... "who **passed away on ...**" **N-o-r-nor.**

We always noted carefully the old man's list of **passed away**, but it is not as if we do not see enough of the phenomenon where we are. There is plenty. It was indeed one such **passing away** which according to the **Daily Graphic** of 17th December was to be marked by an **entertainment** which turned out to be a hoax.

Lists of the **passed away** were particularly long in the "Yellow Corn" era. They should be short now, since we have gold richer than South Africa's. Will management be in the hands of those same experts who need government subvention to run even endowed public corporations, incidentally? Month-long management-improvement courses can be arranged, of course, any time, at Cambridge. At C62, 000 apiece! Never mind who pays.

Whoever manages, the new discovery is, apparently, so VAST that it ought to make a difference to health services, at least, even if corned beef (however pronounced) and gari remain painful to look at. And then this column could peacefully **pass away**, for isn't keeping readers healthy by exercising the lungs the only purpose?

Inapplicable

"You won't believe a hair-raising experience I have had within the last twenty-four hours," said the preacher. The eight year old International School pupil protested to Mummy rather loudly: "How possible? He is bald and what little hair he has is kinky like mine". Reporting Junior's conduct to Daddy later, black mother of kinky hair said she felt so embarrassed that she **blushed**.

"It happened rather suddenly", said the witness, "Before I could say '**Jack Robinson**', he was gone". The Coroner had been listening patiently and now spoke:

"What did you say your name was?"

"Kwesi Boateng".

"Your father's name?"

"Kwame Oduro"

"Your mother's?"

"Esi Basa.

"Do you have brothers?"

"Yes two, Kofi Ofori and Yaw Adu"

"Any sisters?"

"Only one, Yaa Kyere"

"And when did you last say **Jack Robinson**?"

The "Titular", a variant of the "Inapplicable", is such a rare "gem" that it is only appropriate to serve it last, like dessert, as it were. Has anyone noticed how office titles seem to follow public

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LEGON OBSERVER ALWAYS

Jubilee Celebrations. The topic: "The Transitional Provisions are inimical to Ghana's present situation", was defended by Mr. Gyeke-Dako, Legal Adviser to the Police, and Mr. K. Addae-Mensah, M. P. for Bantama. I spoke against the motion.

Among other things, I said that the Transitional Provisions (T.P.) were important as a specific reaction to the politico-economic tragedy that was enacted on the Ghanaian national stage between 1974 and 1979. I also said that section 15(1) of the T.P. relating to indemnities for all the coup-makers since Independence was meaningless, since the Constitutions and Proclamations which the coup-makers subverted had been abrogated.

I stated further that much as objection to the A.F.R.C. trial procedures may be taken, those procedures could also be seen as a logical culmination of a process of disenchantment with the accusatorial system as operates in our Courts. I supported this by arguing that the proliferation of Commissions and Committees of Enquiry long before the A.F.R.C. was an indication that our trial system was failing us, a fear which had been voiced by the present Chief Justice, Mr. Justice F. K. Apaloo, in a 1979 speech to the Annual Conference of the Ghana Bar Association held at Sekondi-Takoradi.

I explained that two different strands of the argument relating to the T.P. must be isolated: (i) the argument of legal positivism and (ii) the argument based on a certain conception of natural rights. I argued that from a positivistic point of view, any apparent conflict between the T.P. and the fundamental human rights provisions of the Constitution as contained in Chapter 6 had been resolved by Article 217 which accords supremacy to the T.P. I said that it was only Chapter 6 that was given an extra-Constitution root of validity that one could talk about a possible conflict. Even then, I argued, the language of natural rights is not absolute.

In response to Mr. Gyeke-Dako's submission that the T.P. as ouster-clauses (esp. ss.15 (2) (3) (4)) failed because of the English Courts' hostility to ouster-clauses (and here he referred to the English Case of *Anisminic Limited v. F.C.C.*), I referred to two cases from Pakistan and one from Australia which had decided that a properly and tightly-worded ouster-clause would be given effect to. I also argued that far from the ouster-clauses protecting illegalities, their formulation had been dictated by judges themselves through a long line of cases.

I however conceded that in my view, none of the ouster-clauses could cover outright criminal acts of any A.F.R.C. member.

I stated that the Transitional Provisions are an example of what is known in criminal jurisprudence as 'deterrence by example and suggested that even if the Transitional Provisions were expunged, I did not think it would affect the validity of acts done before the expunging any way, since such an act cannot be made retroactive in view of the provisions of Article 89 of the Constitution.

I argued that the Constitution, as a dynamic document and the Basic Law, should not be construed literally with the aid of so-called 'rules of

interpretation' like an Act of Parliament, but must be interpreted against the background of the social, economic and political forces that gave birth to it, and also present-day realities.

I suggested that Parliament, utilising its residual power under Article 216, could however put a limit on the period of transition, since this period was not defined in the Constitution and since it was my view that the T.P. were not meant to be permanent.

Finally, in answer to Mr. Gyeke-Dako's submission that the A.F.R.C. did not pass any Decree giving it a legal basis for making amendments to the Constituent Assembly's Draft Constitution and therefore their amendments lacked legal basis, I pointed out that paragraph 1 (1) of A.F.R.C. D 24 which promulgated the Constitution expressly states that "The Constitution set out in the Schedule to this Decree shall be the Constitution by which Ghana shall be governed. The only Constitution set out in the Schedule is the one with the A.F.R.C.s amendments. The suggestion of an absence of a legal basis therefore was misconceived.

The *Ghanaian Times* reported this debate in its issue of January 30, 1981. After devoting nine long paragraphs to Mr. Gyeke-Dako's address (Mr. Gyeke-Dako incidentally was also used in the headline), the report mentioned in one brief paragraph that "Mr. Kwamina Ahwoi, a lecturer in Law at the University of Ghana, ... said one ought not to look at a constitution as if it were an Act of Parliament and said it was up to Parliament to determine."

Surely, not only was this attribution grossly unfair (considering, for example, that in his summing-up, the Chairman, Mr. J. N. K. Taylor Justice of the Supreme Court, had spent 3 minutes on Mr. Gyeke-Dako's submissions and 10 minutes on mine), but its meaninglessness and illiterate content suggested that I did not know what I was talking about.

It is my belief that press freedom does not only mean setting up neutral institutions like the Press Commission and ensuring security of tenure for journalists. It also means giving adequate coverage to opposing views, or at least being fair in the presentation of dissentient views. The content of a newspaper is as much an indicator of the degree of press freedom as the continuance in office of an editor whose editorials may "lack meat."

It is obvious to me that there is an orchestrated campaign to get rid of the T.P. and restore peoples' confiscated properties to them, and the *Ghanaian Times'* efforts on behalf of a particular individual especially is no secret. I have no quarrel with this position. But in the process, I do not want to be made to sound like an illiterate. Mr. Justice Taylor, I am sure, must have been as surprised and shocked as I was when he read what I was alleged to have said.

Many a time University teachers have been accused of living in ivory towers and not getting involved in societal matters. It was my desire to get involved in debating an issue of national concern that I agreed to take part in the W.A.S.S. debate. I thought that I deserved better treatment than the words that the *Ghanaian Times* put in my mouth.

Notebook

COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY

In our Notebook of 19th December 1980 (Vol. XII No. 15) we noted a report from the Public Accounts Committee of Parliament to the effect that for the period 1978-80 alone commissions of enquiry cost the nation some C15 million in running expenses. We noted further that the outcome of many a commission of enquiry of the past was of doubtful value for what it cost. We return to the subject once more to raise further questions and to make some suggestions for the future.

The public could not have failed to notice that all of the various commissions of enquiry that we have seen in this country share rather peculiar characteristics. Besides acquisition of office space, purchase of office equipment and the hire of secretarial staff, all of which are necessary, perhaps, transport must be obtained for the chairman and various other members of the commission, all of whom are also entitled to sitting allowances. And if the commission is sitting in Accra lunch, sometimes, is available at the State House. Of course, everything must be paid for. If there is a deadline to the assignment it is often ignored. It was reported from Parliament the other day that one commission had taken more than seven years already.

The professional orientation of the chairman of a commission often attracts costs of its own. If he is a lawyer, and almost invariably he is, then the Commission assumes court-room atmosphere and procedures: witnesses must be sub-poenaed and there must be counsel to ask questions; fairness demands that persons appearing before the commission must also have counsel; in order to represent clients effectively, adjournments must be sought and granted, and somebody must keep a diary of who is appearing for whom and when. The legal presence leads to a larger secretariat. And at the end of the day, all we know is who has "chopped" money or abused his office. The remedies, where they are exacted, are standard: dismissals, redeployment, individuals being surcharged for monies mis-spent or prosecutions for indictable offences.

That there are dishonest people must be taken for granted as much as that dishonest people will take advantage of the weaknesses of an organization. Therefore, a finding that an employee had embezzled funds, for instance, should not engage us. We should be more interested in organisational and management systems that will give dishonest people as little room as possible, systems that, given all the weaknesses in an organisation (cheats and incompetents et cetera), enable the organisation to operate well enough. And that, of course, requires expertise in the business of the organisation, not just a legal mind. Enquiries into the operations of our educational institutions, financial institutions, the commercial houses and

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nearly every national activity have been typically "legal".

The more recent of these commission of enquiry was appointed only last month to look into the operations of the African Timber and Plywood Company (ATP). Samreboi—based ATP formerly belonged to the UAC conglomerate and was acquired by the Government in 1976. At the time of acquisition many suspected that UAC was probably anxious to sell because the enterprise was no longer profitable, there being problems with machinery which needed to be replaced for which foreign exchange could not be obtained, et cetera. But some of our compatriots are rather enamoured of seizure of the means of production by the State; they won the day. And now four years later a commission is to find out why ATP does not seem to be doing well. We are pleasantly surprised that this assignment has a short deadline—three months. But predictably, the chairman is a lawyer.

The employees of the company are, apparently, happy with the appointment of the commission to investigate ATP having sent congratulations to the Government. As far as workers generally are concerned, if state enterprises do not do well it is because the big men are "chopping" money and probes are especially welcome because workers think some big man is going to be found out. Somebody will almost certainly be found to have "chopped" money, but that will not tell us whether we were wise to have bought off UAC in the first place. In any case, the private sector also has people who "chop" money and yet private sector survives without annual subvention from anywhere. So why does the private sector succeed where the state fails? That to our mind is not a legal matter, not in the least.

We wish to invite the Government to consider that there could be other types of commissions besides the "legal". In place of the multi-member commission chaired by a lawyer, as always, knowledgeable individuals from other professions could be engaged from time to time to go into organisations to ask questions of whomever not in the spirit of an inquisition but in the spirit of finding viable alternatives for the effective running of the organisation. Whatever happened to the Organisation and Methods branch of the Civil Service? The point we seek to make is that some of our state enterprises have rather peculiar management problems that go beyond the "chopping" of money by big men, and they need the attention of management-consultancy agencies more than a "legal" probe. As for dishonest public officers we can take consolation in the fact that such people are playing a game of dice which is heavily weighted against an eventual win, anyway. Sooner or later their luck will run out, the sooner with the streamlining of organisational controls.

We wish to suggest further that we dispense forthwith with the "elaborate" where commissions are concerned. Televised inaugurations and formal presentation of reports do not add to quality; on the other hand, they add to costs about which we wish to say further the following: Investigations could be commissioned for a negotiated fee. That

way we know in advance how much is to be spent. If the fee is excessive it may well be decided that the assignment is not worth it. At any rate, public servants could be released for an assignment while still receiving salary from their normal place of work. At the end of the assignment the individual may be given a suitable honorarium and his organisation reimbursed for use of resources that may have been encroached upon in the execution of of the assignment.

Letters

Smuggling And Cocoa Price

SIR- The argument that paying cocoa farmers more would be inflationary is not a valid argument. The truth of the matter is that cocoa export earnings which account for about 60% of the country's total export earnings, command real goods in return.

It is estimated in the 1979 - 80 budget that Ghana lost about C465,000 million through smuggling. The growth of the cocoa industry in the neighbouring countries, and the large scale smuggling of cocoa across the borders are due largely to the fact that neighbouring countries pay at least 50% of the world price of cocoa to their producers. If the producers or the smugglers find it profitable to take the risk in crossing the borders then I suggest that the P.N.P. government should buy the cocoa at the same price as the smugglers receive when they sell them to the neighbouring countries. If this is done our farmers would be motivated to rehabilitate their cocoa farms and produce more so that Ghana would export more cocoa. Let us have the slogan of "winning more cocoa for more export earnings which in turn would command real goods". And this can only be achieved by satisfying the producers.

According to my recent research at Yawmatwa, one of the smugglers's spots near Essam in Western region, the smugglers and the farmers made it clear that they are no fools to sell their cocoa in a neighbouring country and use the proceeds to expand their cocoa farms. But if the government can buy the cocoa at the price they receive in neighbouring countries that is, about C800 - C1,000 a bag (that means in black market rate it is 8,000 CFA and 10,000 CFA respectively), then they can get enough money to buy goods they need.

I am, therefore appealing to the P.N.P. government to increase the price paid to the cocoa farmer. If the price is either equal or close enough to that paid to cocoa farmers in the Ivory Coast or Togo, Ghanaian farmers would not think it worth their while to smuggle cocoa across the borders.

University of Abidjan Joseph K. Asante
Abidjan.

Mad Rush For Wealth

SIR- It appears that every Ghanaian to-day wants to make money by all means. Owing to this unrealistic

aspiration people have resorted to all kinds of means for amassing wealth quickly.

The youth of the country particularly those between the ages of 15 and 25, are also keen on making money, and they have started to travel to neighbouring countries for this purpose. The youth especially the girls, resort to immoral practices in order to achieve their aim. Unfortunately some of our young people leave this country without informing their parents. When some of them die, identification becomes difficult since parents are not aware of the whereabouts of their children.

Although we all need to live comfortably I do not believe that this mad rush for money pays in the long run.

Liberty Press Ltd.,
Accra.

Kwame Nuamah

Cab-Addae Misreported

SIR—Having returned to Accra after a short leave in that part of the country where the **Legon Observer** is a rare commodity, I have just had opportunity to look at L.O. Vol. XII No. 15, and would humbly like to comment on Kojo Yankah's report on the Workshop on Development, Democracy and the Mass Media.

Kojo's account of the paper I presented on the Relationship between Government and State-owned News Media - the Case of the **Ghanaian Times** said; "Mr. Cab-Addae reluctantly admitted a strong pro-government attitude of the paper". Kojo tries to justify his assertion with a quotation from my paper in which I said "one thing I have personally experienced is that so far the public press has been treated merely as part of the public services whereby you take regular instructions

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MANAGEMENT BOARD

from Government."

I find Kojo's conclusion quite misleading just as the quotation he used from my paper was out of context in his analysis. In the first place my paper traced the establishment of the "Ghanaian Times" (and of the Graphic) and the relationship of the two papers up to the AFRC era, and to say I admitted a pro-Government (which government?) attitude is confusing. Secondly I stated it quite explicitly in the preamble to my contribution that "quite a number of points I will make apply to the media as a whole - private and public, broadcasting and print". I said this to show that not only the Ghanaian Times had been subjected to interferences from government quarters in the past, but in fact all the public media have had that experience as summed up by the quotation used by Kojo Yankah.

If anything I tried to show that the Ghanaian Times was specifically established to chart a nationalistic and Pan-Africanist course while the Graphic from its origin had been in private (foreign) hands and was consequently dedicated to interests other than those of a new nation struggling to find its identity. The School of Mass Communication should be able to provide a copy of my script for anybody who wants a full account. I must add however that I don't impute any ill-motives to Kojo. For, apart from the fact that we knew each other long before Kojo came to join me on the staff of Adisadel College, we share about the same philosophy of life and common upbringing.

Ghanaian Times
P. O. Box 2638,
Accra.

K.Cab-Addae

Passports And Birth Certificates

SIR - It is now a requirement that one has to present a birth certificate in order to obtain a Ghanaian passport. I would be very grateful if the Ministry of Foreign Affairs could tell us about the relevance of birth certificates to the issuing of passports.

Does the Ministry need the birth certificate to establish beyond doubt that an applicant for a passport is a Ghanaian? If this is the case, why not ask instead for baptismal certificates or identity cards? Or is it meant to discourage the rush for passports these days? It is extremely difficult to get a birth certificate from the Births and Deaths Registry.

78M Queen's Hall, Oppong Mensah-Aborampah
University of Science
and Technology,
Kumasi.

Congratulations To G.J.A.

SIR—It is gratifying to note that the Ghana Journalists Association has chosen a President in what can be described as very mature and fair election. He is Mr. Gustav Kofi Tay of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation. The members showed

maturity because in spite of all the ceddis that were going round, they did not move even a hair's breadth from their determination to choose the man who would ensure the independence of the association and earn them respect. As Mr. Tay rightly put it, his success is a "victory for the independent and politically uncommitted."

All attempts by the P.N.P. to politicise the association have ended in a smoke. It is a lesson for those who think that they can repeat what went on in the First Republic when almost all our independent institutions were politicised. Even if Nkrumah himself were alive today, he would find it difficult to influence independent institutions because he would be struggling against knowledge which is the most formidable weapon against political excesses.

I am appealing to all independent institutions to reject any pecuniary overtures from anyone who wants to politicise them. We look on such institutions as the surest prop for democracy.

Parliament House,
Accra.

Alfred Badu Nkansah

The Effect Of P.D.A.

SIR - Mr. Mike Oquaye must be congratulated on his article in L.O., Vol. XIII No. 1.

It is never true that there is something within the Ghanaian nature which makes Ghanaians reluctant to report cheats. We are being visited by our own sins and mis-deeds. Nature has given Ghanaians all the necessary freedom to live as other human beings. But our rulers have reduced us to the level of animals.

What we are seeing in Ghana now is the cause and effect of that dangerous Preventive Detention Act of 1958 which has put fear in us. We fear to tell the truth, we fear to report the cheats, etc. P.D.A. helped some Ghanaians (because they knew what they wanted) to plunder the nation.

We asked for Independence with danger. We have lived in DANGER for the past 24 years. If we are now reaping what we have sown, why should we cry? Until we eliminate DICTATORSHIP from our society we shall continue to reason like animals.

Ghana Water and
Sewerage Corporation,
P. O. Box M. 194,
Accra.

K. G. Adumata

Discrimination Against Private Schools

SIR - Daphne Hereward of Ghana Empire School, in her article on discrimination against private schools which appeared on page 17, Volume XIII No. 1 of the Legon Observer, stated that:

"Proprietors have to pay taxes on their own incomes and that of the school"

This piece of statement, I am afraid, cannot be said to be correct as far as income taxation is concerned. In taxation all sources of income relevant to a particular year of assessment for an individual or a limited liability company are aggregated for purposes of assessment. Rent income however

is assessed separately. I am inclined to believe that the proprietors in question suffer tax at source, as employees, under the P.A.Y.E. system, and in addition pay standard assessment tax of C2,000 per annum as proprietors of private schools. As proprietors, they are self-employed and not employees, and they should not be under the P.A.Y.E. system. Rightly, they should pay the Standard Assessment Tax, for no person pays tax twice on the same income. Perhaps such proprietors need professional advice.

P. O. Box 5845
Accra.

P. O. Andah
Tax Consultant

Comrade Ivan's Interpretation Of History

SIR - I have read with interest "Comrade" Pobee's reaction to my recent lecture on the Ideological question.

Dr. Pobee, in his very first paragraph, admits that he has not read the full text of my lecture. But it is a great pity, and a big blow to the fathers of Logic, that he asserts that my mere non-reaction to a newspaper implies acceptance of all that it contains. I hope Dr. Pobee is not seriously contending, or would not contend, that my non-reaction to the reaction of the KNRG to my lecture, published in the *Ghanaian Times*, is also a tacit acceptance of all that was contained in that article. Such assumptions are dangerous, and could do a lot of injustice to a person.

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General Manager, State Publishing Corporation, Tema, was formerly Lecturer, Library and Archival Studies, Legon.

Kojo Yankah:

Deputy Public Relations Manager, GIHOC, Accra

I would have given a full reply to Dr. Pobee's article if it had been based on a close study of the full text of my lecture. But since he admits to not having read it, I am taking the opportunity to send him a FREE copy of the published work. If after reading it, he still finds the points I made in the lecture "irrelevant to the failure of the Socialist experiment in Ghana", then I shall be prepared to take him on, point by point.

At this stage all I wish to say is that I have given certain reasons for the failure of the Socialist experiment in Ghana. He has not refuted my reasons. He has also given his reasons, which to me are a mere expansion of the reasons I gave, to include others whom, to his mind, I ought to have mentioned. He is entitled to his opinion. But the fact still remains that the reasons I gave for the failure of the socialist experiment in Ghana were, and are, still valid. Merely adding to them, or subjectively pronouncing someone else as equally guilty, does not invalidate those reasons. Whether Houphouet Boigny should leave behind £200,000 on his death, or Nkrumah should have had 200 cedis on his overthrow, is absolutely irrelevant to the basic question.

Chemistry Department
Legon.

Ivan Addae-Mensah

Police Uniform

SIR - The Inspector-General of Police needs to have a second look at the new police uniform he has just introduced for the rank and file. The new uniform looks very shabby and un-Ghanaian. The black leather belt on the so-called gaberine looks more like a bus conductor's dress than a police uniform.

I wonder whether the I.G.P. himself was satisfied with the look of his men in that dress during the Independence Parade. It is a big mistake on his part to try to change the traditional blue-black uniform which Ghanaians are so used to without any reasonable cause.

Apart from looking shabby, the uniform can hardly be kept neat by the junior ranks. Unlike the blue-black uniform, the gaberine needs weekly washing and one wonders whether in this period of high cost of soap, his men will be able to afford that extra taxation on their meagre salary.

By the way, will the I.G.P. tell the nation the necessity for changing the uniform which by my estimation will involve thousands of cedis when the police are crying for basic working tools like vehicles, bicycles and even stationery. When will Ghanaians in position of trust learn to have their priorities right?

P. O. Box K. 45
Accra-New Town

J. T. Ahunu Jnr.

The Way We Speak

SIR - If Mr. Patrick Quarcoo of the School of Administration thinks the expression "AGITATING THE PUBLIC'S MIND" is unpardonably too Ghanaian (*L.O.* Vol. XIII No. 1 P. 18), let him compare it with the following on p. 204 of

"The Listener" (a BBC publication) of 12th February, 1981:

"... what is paramount ... is satisfying the public's thirst for news..."

Ghana Secondary School
Box 129
Koforidua.

G. A. Frempong

Opinion

THE MAN THAT WAS J. B. DANQUAH

By

K. Nyarko

Sixteen years ago this month Dr. J. B. Danquah, one of the greatest Statesmen this country has ever seen, died.

In normal times the news of his death would have been received with the wringing of the hands and cries to the heavens — 'Odupon atutu' — 'a genius has taken leave of us'. But the times were not normal and if there were cries they were registered largely in the visible but painful silences of the people of this country. That the times were not normal was borne out by the very circumstances of his death — in a condemned cell in Nsawam prison even though he had not been tried before any court of law. Indeed such were the times that though Danquah deserved a state burial the powers that were even decreed that the body of this great son of Ghana should not be brought to Accra where he had worked for almost 40 years. It was further decreed that his body should be taken straight from Nsawam prison to Kibi his hometown and before 6.00 p.m. that very day; and those who took the body, including Mr. William Ofori Ofori Attah who, having been just released from

detention in the same prison looked more of a ghost than the dead J. B. Danquah, were made to sign an undertaking to that effect. Yea, the times were not normal, for, even a student who, conscious of the immense contribution of the late J. B. Danquah to this country and in the founding of the University of Ghana, asked for a two-minute silence for him received a sharp rebuke from another student who shouted "who ordered you to do that?", as if in Ghana one ordered another to weep for the dead! The former student was detained two days later and was not released until the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime. The latter (student) is now a Member of Parliament — one of the institutions whose existence in this country Danquah so cherished and fought for. Truly the times were not normal because the newspapers whose columns should have been filled with tributes to the man not only disdainfully reported the news of his death but later heaped colossal insults on him! The most shocking piece of blatant lies and insults came naturally from Nkrumah's paper, *The Evening News*. It wrote:

"On the night of February 4, the heart of Dr. Joseph Boakye Danquah (alias Kwame Kyeretwie) ceased to beat. The news about the confusionist's passing away - as a result of heart attack - was received by the masses of this country in town and village with a sigh of relief..... Here lies a historic figure that fought in desperation not one man, but a whole generation of his countrymen, a brilliant bourgeois philosopher who misdirected and misused his talents for intrigue, subversion and unprincipled political self aggrandisement. Amidst Mr. Nkrumah's tolerance and forbearance there never was a plot that had not always Danquah in the midst of it".

This was not only a brazen distortion of facts and an insult to the intelligence of Ghanaians as a whole, it was also a reflection of the standard of journalism of the times. There is something evil about it and could only have come from a diseased mind. Surely things were strange for it was even reported that some University Lecturers who did not have time to attend the funeral were later on visited by security agents and asked to explain why they attended Danquah's funeral! I remember standing by Mr. William Ofori Attah who on seeing his brother Mr. Aaron Ofori Attah (now deceased) then a Minister of Justice and Local Government in the Nkrumah regime asked him whether he had received permission from Nkrumah to attend the funeral—a brother asking a brother whether he had permission to attend his uncle's funeral in the heart of Akanland! A sure sign of the times indeed! So quickly but sadly on that fateful day we laid him down while security agents mingled with the crowd of mourners to record any cases of "anti-state mourning"! They would have had plenty of it if only they had understood the soulful dirges of the women of Akim Abuakwa.

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Basic Question

For me then the question, as it is now, was "why did President Nkrumah hound Danquah to death

and did not even appear to be satisfied when the man lay dead?". I must confess this question has haunted me ever since. I do not believe that Nkrumah hated Danquah as such. No, it was not hatred! If not, what must have driven Nkrumah to persecute Danquah even to the extent of ordering that while in detention he should be fed on garri like a convicted prisoner or refusing to release the man on grounds of ill health, or more shockingly setting a time limit to the man's burial. Nkrumah and Danquah had worked together for sometime and knew each other well. Indeed each recognized the genius in the other, until they parted ways politically. So Nkrumah's attitude towards Danquah could not simply be explained away on grounds of political differences or security! It had a rather deeper psychological dimension to it. I have lately come to the conclusion that this dimension was fear. Nkrumah was scared stiff of J. B. Danquah. He was scared of him because he could not cow him down. And he could not cow him because his (Nkrumah's) psychology which mesmerised so many people did not work with Danquah. To that extent Nkrumah felt his genius rebuked in the presence of Danquah. Coupled with this was Nkrumah's tortured conscience about Danquah because of the calumnies he caused to be circulated about him. Fear of a person compounded with a tortured conscience about the same person is a dangerous form of paranoia. In the case of Nkrumah this led to the persecution of the object of his fear.

The Man and His Works

Like many who came into contact with Danquah, Nkrumah was amazed at the depth of the man's learning, his indomitable spirit and his sheer capacity for work. Danquah had great industry. Above all he thought and worked at many levels at the same time. The catholicity of his thought, work and interests baffled many people. While preparing a learned memorandum on the Volta River Project or the PDA he would at the same time be composing a letter to the *Sunday Mirror* praising it for some feature article or drawing attention to some incongruous juxtaposition of some photographs in an issue. He could do any of our traditional dances, play any of the drums, recite and interpret the lyrical language of the drums with the finesse of an accomplished "Okyerema"—master drummer—while engaging in the profundities of Kantain philosophy.

Educated as a lawyer and philosopher, he found time besides his legal practice to do continuous research; he became a historian, sociologist, playwright and journalist and as far back as the fifties was talking of "Linguistics in Ghana", long before linguistics become a fashionable discipline. Unlike many educated men of today he could speak and write in Twi with the same facility as he did in English as his play in Twi *Nyankonsem* clearly shows. Yet all this time he was very actively engaged in nationalist politics.

Danquah's academic achievements have never failed to impress me, for here he was a man who in the beginning failed three times in his attempts

to pass the London Matriculation. To have attempted the examination in those days was in itself no small achievement. But to have persevered after successive failures speaks volumes for his singular tenacity of purpose, particularly as there was no real incentive for higher education in those days. Having completed standard 7 in 1912, he was one of the "few scholars" in Akim Abuakwa, if not in the whole country. Above all he was the brother of Nana Sir Ofori Attah 1, one of the most powerful chiefs of the times, and this in itself was dist incentive to higher education; for many in that position would have been content just to sit in the Ahenfie, in their polished native sandals, where they would be assured of their daily supply of schnapps and mutton from litigants and those who contravened customary law. It was against this background that J. B. sought to "drink deep of the Pierian Spring".

The truth of the matter was that J. B. was born researcher and a restless inquirer and he achieved his academic laurels more through his own efforts than the simple fact that his brother was a powerful and enlightened chief. Even before he set out for Britain in search of university education in 1921, he had completed the manuscripts for two books, subsequently published in 1928 as *Cases in Akan Law and Akan Laws and Customs* which have since become standard works. This alone must have convinced his brother of his capacity for higher education.

Danquah was a very organized person, thoroughly methodical and had a tremendous historical sense. He filed and indexed every printed matter that came his way. He bought the records of Kwaa Mensah, Akwasi Manu, Appiah Kubi, E. K's etc not only for music which he loved but also because he regarded these as aspects of the historical and social development of the country. In this regard he properly labelled and indexed these for easy retrieval when the need arose.

Man and His Ideas

While Danquah did not have a classical education he had an essentially Greek mind (ancient not modern as the latter lost the spirit of their forebears). Analytical and methodical as he was, he did not think in categories. On the contrary he saw hings in their manifold relationships. To him the political kingdom did not mean merely independence from foreign domination but an opportunity for an all round development in every facet of our national life. Hence his invitation to Sir Sydney Abrahams to come to the country to organize at the national level. What could be more Greek in conception than this? Yet his political opponents used this to vilify him. When later Nkrumah set up the Central Organization of Sports he was merely building on the groundwork prepared by Danquah. He appreciated the many facets of social development, a phenomenon which was not linear; it was like a tree yet constituted an organic whole.

"All my life" he wrote, "I have been engaged in bringing scattered wholes together, not just the elements of a class

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Editorial

DEEDS, NOT WORDS

The recent announcement that a Moral Reformation Movement headed by a whole minister of state has been set up to inculcate a sense of morality, decency, responsibility and other civic virtues in the citizens of this country provides further evidence that the government of President Hilla Limann has not even begun to understand the problems of this country, much less find solutions to them. To prescribe a moral reform as an antidote to the grave malaise afflicting the country sounds almost as obscurantist as the repentance week prescription of the late Ignatius Kutu Acheampong a few years ago. It is as inappropriate as prescribing paracetamol for an affliction that requires major surgery.

In almost all his public speeches, the President has never left anyone in any doubt about his awareness of the extraordinary harsh conditions under which people in this country have been living for the last six or seven years. He has also recognised that the patience of the people cannot be over-taxed. But after this frank acknowledgement, what practical solutions does the President offer? None as far as one can see. We all know the problems but they can bear repeating: the hospitals are desperately short of drugs and equipment; despite huge increases in boarding fees, secondary schools cannot provide adequate food for students; driving on our roads is a hazard; telephones do not work; and cost of living is forever soaring.

In the face of these enormous problems, the government appears helpless; solutions where they are forthcoming tend to be ad hoc and not properly thought through. The most glaring case in point is that policy masquerading under the name of trade "liberalization." The effect of this so-called "liberalization" has been to throw the ordinary people of this country into the hands of unscrupulous traders. Since the introduction of that undigested policy, prices have predictably shot up. In order to survive, normally decent citizens have had to resort to cheating, receiving bribes and various other forms of dishonesty. Those who are not in a position to squeeze something from the "system" have become cynical and apathetic. It is our view that the solution to a problem which is economic does not lie in verbose homilies, or exhortations by the President, his ministers or even by professional preachers. On the other hand, the decision recently announced to the public by the Minister of Trade to import in large quantities fifteen identified items offers some hope, if the minister would pursue the policy with zeal.

In this connection we urge the government to enforce strictly whatever rules and regulations that will govern the new distribution system through the various consumer cooperatives. There should be very strict monitoring of the system to ensure that the total amount of goods allocated to particular institutions gets to them without managers or other functionaries diverting them to other outlets. One very simple but effective way of doing this is to publicise the quantities allocated as widely as possible to members of the various organisation

so that they can themselves oversee the local distribution. Those caught trying to cheat should be handed over to the appropriate authorities for swift, ruthless and exemplary punishment as a deterrent to others.

Whatever action the government takes to bring some sanity into the distribution system can only work if we as citizens exercise vigilance over our own interests and denounce those who attempt to cheat. Complaining or suffering in silence without reporting cases of cheating and fraud to the appropriate authorities for corrective action will do us no good. It is therefore incumbent upon us to supplement the government's efforts with our vigilance so that the avaricious ones among us can be effectively neutralised for the public good. The law enforcement agencies can only function well if we cooperate with them by giving them information about wrong-doing. Meanwhile, the public is waiting to see what happens to the GNTC officials who appear, on the basis of the facts available so far to the public, to have set a new record in financial irresponsibility and recklessness by their purchase of watch-straps and dog-chains while people are starving and the shops are empty. We believe that such absurd situations can be avoided if ministers and boards of directors of corporations will take their responsibilities more seriously.

Indeed, a lot could still be done if Ministers would exert themselves a little. Transportation problems perhaps remain as intractable as our various other problems, but it is heartwarming and inspiring to see the Minister of Transport and Communications showing so much concern. In the event we are beginning to see some results. We are seeing some results also in the combating of crime and this is largely because the Minister of Interior is literally on his feet. We wish we had praise for the Ministry of Industry as well. It is painful to observe that while our sugar factory is idle for lack of raw materials sugar of dubious cleanliness is being imported. After the elaborate launching of the two-year agricultural development programme at the beginning of this Administration we have not heard anything again of the programme, or of its results. Our roads are a shame considering that we have a Vice-President who is a trained engineer and for years was the Director of Building and Road Research Institute.

Perhaps, acknowledging the stupor and inertia of his government for the first year, President Limann promised us a year of action for 1981. To date we have seen no action; and if the President is not to lose his credibility then the earlier one saw meaningful action on behalf of the common man, the better it will be for the Limann Administration and the stability of the country as a whole. Actions, they say, speak louder than words. As one international columnist recently wrote, "good intentions are useless unless leaders knit them into a new pattern of social order." The social order we want is one in which a self-confident leadership will offer an example of discipline and courage by keeping ministers and other public officials regularly on their toes. The situation is grave and calls for less talk, fewer

alibis and exhortations and more and more action all the way. In short, we want deeds, not words, not Moral Reformation Movement either.

Politics

THE MERGER OF THE MINORITY PARTIES

By

A. Adu Boahen

I have closely been following the debates that have been raging on the issue of the merger of the minor political parties. Powerful arguments have been advanced for and against it. However, I have no doubt in my mind at all that a merger of all the minority parties will be the most sensible, the most practical and the most positive step that can and should be taken now, and that no stone should be left unturned to accomplish this.

One of the commonest arguments being advanced against a merger is that in many European countries, as well as in Israel, there are many minority parties which have made virtually all governments coalition governments. There is no doubt that at one time or the other in the history of a country, a coalition government may become absolutely necessary for a variety of reasons. The coalition or National Government formed in Britain in 1931 was precipitated by the serious economic problems which faced the world in general and Britain in particular, while that of 1940 was necessitated by the outbreak of the Second World War. About a year ago, I myself and many others advocated the formation of a coalition government because of the dangerous socio-economic and serious political problems facing the country, though unsuccessful attempts were made to bring this about. Since the socio-economic conditions have grown worse rather than better, there is still a very genuine and urgent need for a coalition government at this very moment - and not just an alliance between the ruling party and one other minority party. But what the advocates of this school of thought forget is that in none of the countries where such governments are formed in peace time is there as monolithic a party as the PNP, and as long as this remains so, the formation of a coalition government, as the failure of the move in that direction about a year ago shows, should be ruled out. Nor is it really true to say that coalition governments are necessarily stronger and more stable than single party ones. Surely, the experiences of both France and Italy immediately after the Second World War prove quite conclusively how fragile coalition governments can be. Some have also argued that what the country needs is a third political force but not two, and therefore that only the UNC, ACP and possibly SDF should come together to form the buffer between the PNP and the PFP. For reasons to be advanced below, this contention cannot be acceptable.

Compelling Reasons For A Merger

Another argument is that each of the minority parties has its own message for the country and therefore each should continue to exist so as to propagate that message. But the simple answer to this argument is that as far as some of us are concerned, a political party should not merely preach but it should also be able to win power so as to implement or practise what it preaches, and that as will be shown below, there is not the ghost of a chance for any of the minority parties winning any election as long as they remain divided. But there are even more compelling arguments for a merger. As I have pointed out repeatedly, parties do not spring out of the blue or at least should not. They must be the product of the political and historical circumstances of the time. In Ghana, ever since the late 1940s, there have been two main political traditions, namely, the UGCC and the CPP traditions. However, while the CPP has always been able to maintain its unity and solidarity, the UGCC group has always been plagued by disunity, conflicts and divisions arising out of personal animosities and overambition. It was these divisions that partly account for the defeat of the UGCC forces in 1954 and 1956. Incidentally, it was because of my firm conviction that the UNC belongs solidly to the UGCC tradition that I was so uncompromisingly opposed to the UNC-PNP alliance.

In 1969, for the first time, all the forces of that tradition did come together to form one single front hence its overwhelming victory at the polls. The next time that those forces came together again was during the time of the Peoples' Movement for Freedom and Justice which, in particular, won back into the mainstream the UGCC forces in the Volta Region which had defected and joined NAL. Any careful study of the present composition of the PNP, on the one hand, and the minority parties, on the other, reveals by and large that the PNP consists basically of the 'Unigovists' while the latter consist by and large of the anti-unigovists. Had the PMFJ, then, been turned into a political party, there would have been just a single strong party against the PNP. But history did repeat itself. As in the fifties, the UGCC forces broke up into all the groups that we see today. By merging, we will merely be reverting to the PP position of the 1960s or the PMFJ position of the 1970s and it is only in this way that I can see any hope of success.

That there has been no other new political or socio-economic force since the late forties was amply demonstrated during the last elections by the performance of the SDF. Probably, with the example of the Labour Party of Britain in mind, the founders of SDF thought they could do what Ramsay MacDonald did in the 1920s in Britain. But, alas, what they forgot was that since no industrial revolution has taken place as yet in Ghana, there is lacking that strong working-class base on which the Party could have been built, hence its rather poor performance in the 1979 elections. A third political force may indeed emerge one day in this country but we are very far from that day. The only realistic and practical thing, then, is for

all those of the UGCC tradition to come together to form a common front.

And at no time has the need for a single united front become stronger than now. If the Limann Administration has demonstrated anything beyond any doubt, it is its inability to deal with the socio-economic situation in the country. Of course, nobody in his right senses would expect the PNP Administration to have solved all the economic problems of the country in so short a time. But what is particularly lamentable is that this Administration does not appear to have any plans, long or short term, for their solution. It appears to be jumping from one measure to the other and from one desperate move to another without any systematic programme or plan in view. At first, it was very rigid price control and the Vigilante. Today, it is the so-called liberalization policy, but with the main shops including even the Government's own GNTC completely empty. At first, all emphasis was to be on agriculture but it seems it is to be rather on gold and oil hence all this hullabaloo and the international seminar about Ghana's gold resources. Which child did not know that Ghana has enormous gold resources and that what was lacking were the necessary inputs, machinery, expertise and capital to tap them! Surely, everybody, then, must be looking for an effective alternative to this drifting, listless and rudderless Administration, now that the idea of a coalition government has been rejected, and this can only be provided by the merger of all the minor political parties.

National Interest and a Merger

Not only that. The world has so far been saved from a Third World War, and the most fundamental reason for this has been the perfect equilibrium of military and nuclear forces between the United States and the Soviet Union. And in the interest of world peace, this equilibrium has to be maintained at all costs until a workable and realistic agreement on disarmament or arms limitation has been achieved. In the same way, in order to ensure the stability that we have enjoyed so far, in order to keep the PNP Administration constantly on its toes and in order to deter it from embarking on any reckless ventures, there must be in existence a strong political force that can not only provide a meaningful alternative but act as a counterweight. Such a weight, I humbly submit, can only be provided by a merger of all these minority parties. Can anybody doubt the fact that most of the existing minority parties are really regionalist or ethnically-based parties? If there is any Thomas here, let him look at the seats won by each of these parties in the 1979 elections. The PFP won seats mainly in Brong Ahafo, Asante and Eastern Regions all of which are dominated by the Akan people; the UNC won seats in Accra, Volta and Eastern Regions the home of the Ga, the Ewe and the Akan people. The SDF won all its three seats in the Northern Region, the home of the Mole-Dagbane peoples, while the ACP gained all its seats in the Western and Central Regions again the home of the Akan. Is the existence of these essentially regionalist parties really in the best

all, and they are supported in this by their parents. It is said by a Headmaster that some of these students during planting seasons have been seen putting a whole handful of, say maize, into one hole thus frustrating the group effort. This type of student left to himself is likely to perpetuate the erroneous idea that farm work or manual labour is a curse. Such a student needs the kind of sustained group influence which is most likely to be found in boarding institutions, since students are in residence twenty-four hours a day. For every student to participate fully, plots of land must be allocated to groups with every individual student having a specified role to play. Sanctions must be applied much in the same way as prizes are awarded at the end of the year. More important: with the immediate gains of improvements in the quality and quantity of food, farm work in the schools is likely to gradually develop into a joy rather than something from which to shy away. In this case, other things being equal, some if the students are likely to want to stay on the exams during the holidays to do part-time work

Some Problems, Some Effects

Land for farming is likely to pose a problem and should be referred to Town/Village Committees to resolve. These Committees should provide the plots of land for this exercise. In fact, visits to some of the second cycle institutions in the Volta Region reveal that most of the schools have adequate plots of land which can be used. Land acquisition may pose a special problem to schools on the coastal strip where farm land is relatively scarce. The arrangements may be varied to take into account fishing which is the main occupation of many people on the coast. For crop production, seedlings should be supplied by the Ministry of Agriculture. If the Ministry of Agriculture is unable to rise up to this challenge, then the students should fall on their own resources to make seedlings available for planting. For instance, farmers in the areas can be requested to help supply seedlings. Cutlasses and hoes should be similarly procured. Poultry farming and piggery may also be promoted. Of course, all the inputs, except land, will have to be paid for by the institutions. Teachers, appropriately trained, should be given every encouragement to do their work. Properly handled, it will be possible for schools to feed themselves as well as those of their localities. Furthermore, the students may eat their fill and may not be able to sell all the surpluses of the food items, especially those which are perishable. This situation poses a challenge to the students and their tutors. The moment they start thinking of ways of storage and preservation of such perishable items and implementing the preservation programme, to that extent industrialisation has started.

A student who undergoes this agricultural training for, at least, four years will come out in the end to have a positive attitude to farm work. Those who hate farming will be the exception rather than the rule. To that extent the school's objective as a socialisation agency which gives education for living will be enhanced. If teachers and students

get honestly involved in farm work, and governmental agencies give support when it comes to providing the necessary aid and inputs, it might become totally unnecessary to ask school leavers to go back to the land. Thus the needed attitude change would have been effected to some extent. The influence second cycle school leavers wield in this country is great. It was through errors and omissions in the school curriculum that the negative attitude to work on the land spread and became deep-seated. In the same way a positive change in the attitude of school leavers to agriculture as a result of under-going the changes in curricula discussed above is likely to yield a positive effect in the society as the majority of these students do not study beyond the secondary or technical school. In fact only a few school leavers are needed as teachers, doctors, lawyers, tally clerks, preachers and administrators in any society. It is therefore wrong to educate people to believe that they are only good for white-collar jobs. Serious and concerted efforts need to be made to reverse the trend effectively in Ghana. The teacher training institutions which are normally residential must start immediately. They must lead the way because in the final analysis it is the commitment and involvement displayed by teachers which will influence the students and spread to others outside the school system.

In view of the fact that only a few are needed as white-collar workers, the training scheme for the youth, including these who may become white-collar workers, will have to insist on the type of training that will enable all of them to contribute meaningfully to both personal and social development. For social development now it is necessary to have educated people in farming as our illiterate farmers are dying off. It is further suggested that the day-school system in Ghana is woefully inadequate for the level of involvement required to change the negative, deep-seated and widespread values and attitudes regarding farm work and manual labour. Numerous examples show that with the appropriate orientation boarding schools should be the answer. Having longer periods as a group they only need to be properly and appropriately organised and managed, taking into account the needs of the society which the products are to serve. All the students must be involved in this exercise. The argument that the current negative attitude to farming and manual work cannot be reversed is misleading. As in the army where everybody, including the doctor and the priest, must know how to shoot, so also must all students be involved in manual labour because we are living witnesses to the fact that our society's survival depends on vocations which are related to the soil. Pursued systematically and seriously, the school's food supply will be assured, full-term work done and boarding expenses reduced, if not eliminated. The implications of the successful implementation of these suggestions for the other educational institutions, particularly the Universities, which are boarding institutions, and the wider society will be far-reaching and beneficial.

Social

HE CAME UNTO HIS OWN

By

Ebow Daniel

While waiting for the flight to be called he reflected further on the matter: His standing in the profession and in the community was high and the family had been happy. On the other hand, he had trained on the taxpayers' money since Ordinary Level (C.M.B. Scholarship), Advanced Level (Government Bursary), Bachelor's Degree (Government Scholarship), Postgraduate Studies (CMB again). He had a moral obligation to make his services available to his people. The team which came from home to interview him had emphasized that much and he could not agree the more. There was also the old man. Although he had been on scholarship throughout school, there had been clothes to buy, books, examination fees, pocket money. The old man had obliged, always. He had not been well lately, according to reports from home. Going home would make him well again, he was sure. The family had gone ahead. He had delayed to see to the shipment of his car and luggage which remained unshipped. But the Embassy would see to it; they had promised.

Home? Where had the smiles gone? Whence the masks and faded clothes? Or were they costumes in some unfamiliar pantomime that would soon run out? The queues were at once fascinating for their novelty and saddening for what was at stake, often no more than a packet of candles, a bottle of groundnut oil or two pieces of pig's feet, trivia! The emptiness of the shops! And the prices for what there was! But his decision to return home was the right one, he was sure. The old man was already getting better.

It was a little crowded in the family house, but the Estate House for which he had paid foreign money three years previously was still not ready. Why? "Lack of inputs", the Estate Officer had said, just that. It should be more comfortable in the bungalow. The one initially assigned had an occupant, a pharmacist, who had resigned from the Service. He had six months of accumulated leave, however, he said. The next bungalow was not any more available. The occupant had retired two years previously, but he did not propose to decamp until every pesewa of his retiring award had been paid. They had ran out of claim forms at the Treasury, apparently, but he was willing to wait. And the third bungalow? The man had been on study-leave abroad for the past thirty months, true, but he was due back any moment, she explained, all charm, little ones clutching at the cloth hanging from mother's chest, as if they suspected she would run away with the visitor.

Lack of inputs, accumulated leave, retiring awards, study leave - what had they got to do with his wanting a place to settle his family so he could begin to work? He accepted posting up-country.

But going up-country had taken some time. The official vehicle to convey the few belongings had broken down and the Service was not favourably disposed to the hiring charges of private transport. Meanwhile, the pay-vouchers had preceeded him up-country and he could not be paid anywhere else. But could they not give him something while he was still here and reconcile the books later? And invite an audit query?

The journey itself had taken three days. It was not so much distance, long enough though, or the condition of the official vehicle, some rattling contraption that emitted a lot of smoke, as the state of the road, a dip every few seconds, a rising, and a dip again, a veritable **oware**, long stretches of it.

But living up-country had advantages which more than compensated for everything else. The children had a lot of room to play in the very large old-fashioned bungalow. You were listed among VIP's and the citizenry tended to make rather much of a fuss over his kind. The woman had not particularly liked it in the family house although she had not complained. She was a lot more relaxed now and she seemed to like her work at the library. But the luggage had not arrived yet. He was even more anxious about the car.

Settling

He had not expected much, but not this. It was obviously intended to be a fully-equipped establishment, but not even the smallest instrument or machine worked any more. He had learnt to improvise and it helped. It was more the attitude of the staff which distressed him. Payment was demanded for every little service. Although not liking any of this he had refrained from doing anything that would upset anyone, especially since the clients did not complain.

Before long he was beginning to think that he should be asking for some payment himself, perhaps. How else was he going to continue to pay fees at C300 a term for three children at the preparatory school? The children of the District Education Officers (D.E.O.) attended the same school. The parents would often chat while waiting to collect the children at mid-day. As far as he could make out, the D.E.O. was unaware of the absurdity he represented: if his children had to go to an expensive private school, then what sort of free public school system did he preside over? And how could he afford it? In his own case, the little foreign money he had brought helped; a mere handful could fetch wheel-barrowfuls of cedis. But he was running out of supply. The trip abroad was not, however, to replenish stock, not exactly. It was more to bring back his car and luggage. The Embassy was very apologetic: the national shipping line would not accept cedi-payment and the Embassy was short of foreign money, even for salaries.

In three months at his old place he had more than enough for freight. But he had not anticipated his battery going dead soon after his return home, or he would have brought a stand-by. C800 or nearly two months' salary for a mere twelve-volt

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battery was rather much, but it could be managed, only there was no battery in sight anywhere. The old man was unwell again, according to reports from home. He should be all right, because he had left all the drugs he needed with him. Or should he bring him up to spend some time? The change of environment should do him good. He would persuade him to it when he was down next time. Little did he know what plans others had. He found out one morning: an empty house - furniture, cushions, carpet, sound-system, crockery, books, - gone. All that remained was the old chest freezer he had found in the house and even that without its contents.

Of course, he went directly to the Police Station. A lot of paper work needed to be done and he had cooperated, listing all the missing items carefully. Whom did he suspect? No one in particular. In that case, would he keep his ears to the ground and let the Station know as soon as any useful information came up? The Inspector was very solicitous. He would have liked to investigate the matter himself, but the Station had no transport to take him round, he confided.

When the telephone rang later in the day, he believed that, in spite of lack of transport, the Police had news for him. The Police, indeed, had news: a radio message just received said his old man was dead. Dead? When? What of? As if it mattered. Battery dead, he could only go by public transport. It was not exactly easy obtaining a bus ticket, but being a VIP up-country was not without advantages.

He was greeted by a chorus of wails, which was to be expected, but that the old man had been buried! Buried? When did he die? And why could they not wait for him? It had happened rather suddenly. The hospital's cold room did not function any more. The Dispenser they had called in to embalm the body said he had ran out of chemicals and the body was beginning to "acquire scent" and they did not know when he was coming and.... He was not conscious of people talking any more.

Au Revoir

As he sat waiting for the flight to be called, he reflected further on the matter, the family having gone ahead: It was not as if he was asking for opportunities to take his vacations at the Riviera, for instance; he wanted no more than to be able to attend to his trade without too much distraction; and there were no facilities here for any meaningful practice, anyway. But things would not be like this all the time; there would be an improvement, everybody seemed so sure. Of course, there would be, some day! But a man had only one life and already at two score he had barely half as much to go, possibly, much less. How about the old lady? Step-mother really, but yes, how about her? He would be more helpful to her away than at home, he decided. And if it came to the worst, no flight would take three days to bring him home. He had always been a strong character, emotionally stable. If you did not know this, you might infer from misty eyes behind sun glasses that our doctor had been weeping.

Notebook

WHO DESERVES STATE BURIAL?

The public was informed by an announcement from the Castle on 1st April that Alhaji Imoru Egala had died of heart attack, at 67. We have reason to mourn the Alhaji. At great odds he founded a political party from diverse elements and amidst bickering held the party together to win the majority of seats in Parliament in addition to securing the presidency for the party's nominee. The accolade "Founder and Father" of the People's National Party befits no one better. The announcement from the Castle said Alhaji Imoru Egala was to be given a state burial, and a state burial it was on the afternoon of Wednesday 1st April.

We do not begrudge the dead the honour of a state burial. We only wish to suggest to Government to refer to the Council of State or some other nationwide body determination of criteria respecting who gets a state burial. Elsewhere state burials are reserved for persons who attain the highest offices of state, Presidents, Prime Ministers and and the like. Even in this country one thought that was the position. Lately, however, two individuals who attained leadership of the Civil Service have been given state burial. If it should be decided that founders and leaders of registered political parties are also candidates for state honours on their death, we shall not quarrel. Burying anybody these days is an expensive business and an assurance that the state will underwrite the burial of founders and leaders of our favourite political parties should be most welcome to both party and family. We cannot help recalling the demise of the founder of the United Gold Coast Convention, the first mass political party in the country, the party which first aroused national consciousness for freedom from colonial rule. J. B. Danquah died in prison, the reason for his incarceration never having been established in any court. And by order of the Government he was released to his family for burial the same day under heavy police guard.

The public life, death and hasty burial of the founder of the U.G.C.C. contrast sharply with the career of the founder of the P.N.P. On the basis of previous performance as a public officer, a commission of enquiry decided in the late sixties that the later should not hold public office. We are not aware that the courts overturned that decision, that is, if an application was ever made. By order of Government, flags flew at half-mast for one week; diplomats and other dignitaries filed past the dead at the State House. It is, indeed, ironical that alive the founder of the P.N.P. was precluded, by law, from holding any office of state, but dead, he qualified for state burial. That other founder to whom no legal prohibition whatsoever applied died unsung. It was not even given to the family to decide how best to bury their royal dead. Such discrepancies can occur only in the absence of objective criteria for determining who deserves state burial; and we seriously urge that such criteria should be clearly formulated now.

CRY, BELOVED GHANA

Once again, the people of this nation have been called upon to absorb humiliation. After the Lagos 'Black Maria' barbaric incident, Abidjan has shown that any people who allow a section of their citizenry to pillage and whittle away their investment on childish frivolities should be prepared to pay a very high price indeed, even the supreme penalty, for their carelessness. Today, Ghanaians feel perplexed and indignant; we know that our brethren who have elected to sojourn in other lands expose themselves to real danger. However, we are so much aware of what drives our people away that we feel powerless to do anything about this unprecedented exodus. And while we mourn the tragic death of yet another batch of Ghanaians, we cannot even console ourselves with the knowledge that the atrocities will not be repeated on other Ghanaians, law-abiding or not. It is this feeling, and our apparent helplessness which adds to the lingering pain we suffer today. We of the Legon Observer ask the Government to resolve to ensure that the circumstances at home which have made us so vulnerable on this continent and elsewhere will not persist. This, we can do if we are prepared to be honest with ourselves, and identify the real causes of our present predicament; who were the real murderers of those Ghanaians who died in Lagos and Abidjan?

The records say that Ivorians and Nigerians needlessly and carelessly caused the untimely death of Ghanaians in circumstances which are too ugly for the twentieth century. However, if we are to face the truth, we have to admit that the real murderers are certain Ghanaians. It is the activities of these people which continue to endanger the lives of us all, whether we stay at home or leave Ghana in desperation. We refer to those Ghanaians who so systematically robbed this nation and spent the wealth on the most mundane of frivolities. We have to realise that it is these same people who caused the tragic death of many Ghanaians at Asuoyaa; this time, by depriving the Ghana Railways of money for spare parts and general maintenance of the service. They have been guilty of many deaths in our hospitals arising directly from some shortage or other; they are guilty for the shortages in schools, colleges, universities; for the unprecedented reduction in the purchasing power of the cedi, which fact has compelled the innocent, the naive and the desperate to leave their motherland for strange and sometimes hostile domains. They are guilty for heart and mental ailments of many a Ghanaian. But above all, they must stand indicted for bringing into this society certain vile-ness and viciousness which this nation did not know before, and for bringing into ridicule many of our cherished values.

It is extremely disturbing to find that this guilty Ghanaian now either lives in luxury and comfort in London, Paris, New York, or is still among us being allowed to continue to wreak havoc on the economy. We are told daily of the massive smuggling of our diamond and gold to other lands, and yet except when London or Paris or some such 'organised' city arrests the odd Ghanaian gold/

diamond smuggler, we seem so unconcerned about it all.

We cannot plead alibis any longer. Recent events have painfully and adequately taught us the fate of people who prostitute their national wealth and heritage. For a start, we urge Government to take steps to stamp out the evil of gold and diamond smuggling. Part of our objective should be to cause the closure of diamond and gold markets built by countries around us which do not have a single gold or diamond mine within their frontiers. We have adequately helped to rebuild Africa and the African; let those whom we helped and who are very much richer than us spend some of their resources to continue from where we left off. Let us restrict ourselves to what we can still offer in abundance: common sense, decency and expertise, if and when solicited.

CONTINUING PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION

In previous columns of this paper (L.O. Vol. XII No. 12 and L.O. Vol. XII No. 2) we tried to draw attention to some of the difficulties facing our educational system and called for the setting up of a National Commission on Education to look into the whole issue. Among other things, we recommended that such a body once established should be charged with:-

Looking into the current disparity between "Northern" and "Southern" students in terms of awarding of Government scholarships. Restructuring the system with a view to reducing the number of years one spends between the attainment of the 'O' Level and a Bachelor's degree without necessarily sacrificing standards..

What courses are vital for our middle manpower and the levels to which they may be taught? Up to what levels should the Government be responsible for financing one's education? A redefinition of the omnibus term 'higher education' and whether access to such institutions should be guaranteed to every citizen no matter the constraints that may exist. Should we encourage the establishment of more boarding or day schools and at what levels should either be emphasized?

While making such recommendations we pointed out the volumes of information that are available from which we can take a cue. Among these are the Lord Robbins Report on Higher Education in Britain, the Clark Kerr commission on Higher Education in the United States and the Ashby Report on Higher Education in Nigeria. By making references to these reports, we are bound to be accused of being imitators by not taking into account the peculiarities of our own situations and circumstances. Much as this may be true, it must also be remembered that our current educational system did not evolve on its own but that it had its roots in those countries on which such reports were made.

The failure of those responsible for education in this country to look seriously into the problem

is the cause of the premature closure of virtually all our second cycle educational institutions not on the orders of the Ghana Education Service GES but on the unilateral decision of the Conference of the Heads of Assisted Secondary Schools. (CHASS). This decision was the cause of the failure of the Ghana Education Service to honour its side of the deal-sending in the vital subsidies. Almost all these schools have been operating mainly on the scanty school fees that each student pays which the government has fixed at a time when the cost of living is rising daily. Our information is that those schools that were lucky initially to have received cheques from the G.E.S. were disappointed at the last moment when the banks refused to honour them. When, therefore, the available resources were completely depleted, CHASS had no option but to recommend to its members the closure of their institutions until the government fulfils its side of the bargain.

No sooner was the G.E.S. informed of the decision of CHASS than it issued a statement ordering the schools to continue in session. But the order was ignored. While not holding brief for CHASS, certain salient aspects of the problem must be laid

before the general public. Every student in a boarding institution from the second cycle school to the University is supposed to be fed on C6.00 a day on government orders. Who can subsist on C20.00 a day in this country not to mention growing up children? Notwithstanding this, could the schools not have gone ahead and borrowed money from the commercial houses while waiting for the government subsidies? That is a possibility, but then who pays the interest on these loans? Surely, any Board of Directors or Headmasters who take such an action will be treading on very dangerous grounds. For the G.E.S. will honour only the principal as part of its subsidy and the interest will fall on the shoulders of those decision-makers. Again, it is worth mentioning that a circular had just emerged from certain quarters of the G.E.S. to the effect that any Headmaster who spends more than the institution's quota of the subsidy and the school fees will personally be surcharged for the over-spent amount. We hope by this decision, the government will take all the necessary steps to supply every institution with all the necessary requirements that will go into feeding the students throughout the academic year as CHASS is demanding. And let it be noted that

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Applications are invited for

2 SENIOR LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications in **Techniques of Social Research and Political and Social Theory** and show evidence of interest in government and politics in Africa especially.

3 LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications in **Public Administration, Political Sociology and Comparative Politics** and show evidence of interest in government and politics in Africa, especially.

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Further particulars, including the salary scales for the positions and forms of application should be obtained from the Registrar, University of Ghana, P. O. Box 25, Legon, Accra, Ghana or the Senior Assistant Registrar, University of Ghana Office, 321 City Road, London EC1V 1LJ with whom applications (8 copies) should be lodged not later than 30th April, 1981.

we are entering the leanest season when prices of foodstuffs become uncontrollable.

Feeding and financing aside, reports have it that the G.E.S. has decided that every institution will have to complete the 33 weeks required of it every academic year. This is a laudable decision. But, then, most schools have spent not more than 12 weeks in session already. This being the case, should we take it that they are going to be in continuous session for 21 weeks? What will this mean in terms of strain on both teachers and students? Students in general become bored the longer they are in session and this sometimes finds outlet in strikes and boycotts. There is therefore a real possibility of long mid-term holidays. We should be wary of creating more problems for the very few teachers that we have left; they may soon be packing up as well for neighbouring countries. Again, it is our hope that parents will not be asked to pay additional school fees because of the length of time that their wards will be in session this term for the government has not reimbursed them for the amount they paid for those periods their wards have lost. This and other complex issues can be investigated by the proposed National Commission on Education.

Letters

Smuggling and Cocoa Price

SIR—In L. O. Vol. XIII No. 3, one Joseph K. Asante wrote in respect of the above, which contained some errors and inaccuracies and I write to set the record straight and also to call attention to some facts relevant to the issue. Mr. Asante stated that in the 1979-80 budget Ghana lost C465,000 million through smuggling. This figure should have read C465 million which is about half of the annual earnings we obtain from the exportation of cocoa.

Mr. Asante also stated that according to a research conducted by him in the Western Region if the Government can buy the cocoa from the farmers at the same price they receive when they smuggle it to the neighbouring countries i.e. C800.00 to C1,000.00 a bag or 8000 to 10,000 C.F.A., then "they can get enough money to buy the goods they need". The figure quoted, that is, 8,000 CFA to 10,000 CFA is for one load of 32 kilos not one bag. He also suggested to the Government that it must pay about 50% of the world price, which he believes Togo and Ivory Coast are presently paying for our smuggled cocoa. The fact is that the world price of cocoa fluctuates. It plummeted from £2,000 per ton in 1978 to just over £900 this year, and if the farmer is to receive 50% of the world price, he would find that what he received per ton in 1978 had been more than halved this year. No amount of explanation would satisfy him. What the Ghana Government did through the C.M.B. was to stabilize the price to save the farmer from the shock of annual price fluctuations. There is no doubt that if the C.M.B. raises the price too high for the farmer to enjoy, there will be a time when it (C.M.B.) will be involved in paying large sums of money to make up for the difference in case the world price falls to abysmally low levels.

I wish to add that I conducted a similar research some few months ago in the cocoa producing areas in the Volta Region, where I was made to understand that when the farmers sell their cocoa at Togo, they use part of the money in purchasing their cutlasses, which are displayed along the streets, in the markets and stores in villages, town and cities in Togo. In Ghana, however, cutlasses are presently obtainable in cities only, but farmers who are the real users reside in the rural areas. The farmers also purchase their barest necessities of life such as cloth, soap, utensils etc. which are also not obtainable in the rural areas of Ghana. Finally if Ghana can import goods and regularly flood her market, so to speak, the black - market exchange rate between the cedi and the C.F.A. would change dramatically in favour of the cedi, as few people, perhaps mostly travellers, would need to change their cedis for C.F.A. This would bridge the gap between the price Ghana is presently paying for cocoa and what her neighbours are paying.

We must not forget that C10.00 was worth 1,000 C.F.A. in March, 1979, just after the change from the old to the new cedi, but now it is worth between C105 and C120 to the 1,000 C.F.A. because anxious traders are continuously rushing down to Togo, Ivory Coast and Nigeria with millions of cedis to purchase scarce goods and commodities to satisfy the Ghanaian market. If we had maintained that rate (10.00 to 1,000 C.F.A.), a load of 32 kilos which now sells at 8,000 to 10,000 C.F.A. would fetch the smuggler only C80.00 to C100.00 whilst the local price per load is C120.00. The

A. Adu Boahen:

Professor and Head, Dept of History, Legon

Ebow Daniel:

Senior Assistant Registrar, Registrar's Offices (Academic Section), Legon

Carol De Graft:

Has a degree in French, and is now a Graduate Diploma Student, School of Journalism and Communication, Legon

L. K. T. Dorvlo:

Resident Tutor, Institute of Adult Education, Ho

T. H. Ewusi - Brookman:

Director of News and Current Affairs, Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, Accra.

E. Laing:

Professor and Head, Botany Dept., Legon.

smuggler then would not find it worth his while to sell his cocoa across the border.

P. O. Box 285
Madina, Accra.

Shaw K. Zormelo

It Is Unworthy Of The Observer

SIR - The Notebook entry on GHANA's GOLDEN PROSPECTS (L.O. Vol. XIII No. 1), an otherwise well thought out advice to the authorities, was marred by its unbalanced references to the VALCO agreements. I can only think it slipped through your check system.

A large section of the Ghanaian public, call them uninformed, do not share the view that the "Valco Agreement has proved so INIMICAL to the interests of this country". The agreement has many defects - No one says it is perfect or even the best that could be obtained under the circumstances. But some of us wished we had a few more of such bad agreements which yield tangible results.

The Volta River Project which owes its existence to the VALCO agreement has given the country many problems, not least the River blindness problem. But so has it given us many opportunities including the Volta lake and fish potential, the River transport potential, the hydro electric power which made it possible for the establishment of several factories and lessened our reliance on diesel engine generated power and its attendant oil bills, the limited employment opportunity at VALCO and VRA; and other aspects of the project, not excluding the permanent infrastructural development associated with it - barring any future group of lunatics prescribing the makola market treatment.

Ghanaians may choose not to regard the Volta River Project as a national asset, but to describe it as a disastrous venture so inimical to the interest of this nation is rather unfortunate and definitely unworthy of the Legon Observer. It is one thing calling on VALCO to pay more for power and quite another calling such a project inimical to our national interest.

P. O. Box 5269,
Accra.

K. K. Nyame

Ouster Clauses

SIR—I do not disagree with Prof. Gyandoh, but I think he was not exhaustive in his discussion of Ouster Clauses. After reading the section on Ouster Clauses one gets the impression that in spite of the strong wording of Sections 15 and 16 of the Transitional Provisions a courageous and imaginative judiciary can make them ineffective. He quoted the *Anisminic* case to support his argument. In this case, the House of Lords accepted that their jurisdiction would be ousted if the commission's finding was *intra vires* the Act of Parliament. The House held the ouster clause ineffective because the Commission took into account irrelevant facts. The purported decision of the Commission was not a 'determination' under the Act of Parliament and could therefore not come under the ouster clause; an imaginative informed and highly principled decision, I would say.

In *Smith v East Elloe RDC*, decided in 1956 also in Britain (land of courageous judges), the court considered its jurisdiction ousted. The clause which did the trick run: a com-

pulsory purchase order shall not be questioned in any legal proceedings whatsoever. Smith went to court on the grounds that the District Council had acquired the property in question in bad faith. The acquisition had therefore been made and confirmed wrongfully. The court decided that not even the allegation of bad faith could render the ouster clause ineffective. Courts in other countries have considered their jurisdiction ousted in similar circumstances. I do not expect anyone bred in the traditions of the law to be sympathetic towards ouster clauses, but is it not a principle of construction that plain words must be given their plain meaning? Sections 15 and 16 of the Transitional Provisions, I submit, are plain, unambiguous, clear, and can only mean what they say. It is held by many people that the provisions under discussion were aimed at establishing probity in public life. Granted that they were designed to promote probity, is it not a duty of the judiciary to put on it such construction as will help to achieve this aim?

106 Legon Hall
Annex A,
University of Ghana,
Legon.

Kofi Kyeremeh

Brutalities Meted Out To Ghanaians

SIR—Of late, Ghanaian nationals have been subjected to all manner of maltreatment and degradation all over the world, particularly in neighbouring West African countries. The most recent examples are the *Bjoack Maria* incident in Nigeria, the maltreatment of Ghanaian fishermen in Liberia immediately after the *coup d'etat* of Master Sgt. Doe and the death of 46 Ghanaians in the Ivory Coast.

It is also worthy of note that immediately such incidents occur and are brought to the notice of the Ghanaian authorities, the speed with which they rise to the occasion is commendable. The typical example was how the Minister of Interior rushed to the Ivory Coast immediately he learned of the news of the death of the 46 Ghanaians. This is quite appreciable, but the pertinent question is whether that is all the authorities can do to remedy the situation when they do arise? Or does it prove the inability of these authorities to deal efficiently with this kind of situation? Will the authorities only wait to be told about these brutalities which often end in deaths and thereafter engage in such fanfares like declaring a week-end of mourning, and sending "heartfelt condolences" to the bereaved families? Are they only interested in the grandiose publicity usually made when such sorrowful incidents are reported? There is no gainsaying that such fanfares, publicity, protests and boycotts will not put an end to these sudden and sorrowful occurrences.

If these are not the proper antedotes, then what should be done? As is obvious to every Ghanaian, including the authorities, the current exodus of Ghanaians to other parts of the world is not done for its sake. People are leaving the country not because they love to stay away from home and will not want to help rebuild the nation, as most officials in "high circles" often say. They are leaving because they cannot survive to "help rebuild the nation"; they cannot make ends meet. Faced with such a situation, and in their desperation, the choice is made in favour of seeking better life somewhere else. This is the dilemma of most lecturers, professionals, civil servants, and even unskilled Ghanaians. But it is rather unfortunate that the fortune they seek in their desperation often eludes them. However, given the

alternatives, they would prefer to die in a foreign country as a result of hardship and inhuman treatment, than stay in their own country and suffer the same. It sounds absurd, but it is true.

Are such inhuman treatment and neglect not seen on our own soil? Don't we often see people insane because of hunger, beaten to death for stealing food items in the markets? And yet Ghanaians do not call this inhuman. This is more of a degradation and neglect than what is happening to them in foreign countries. This is because no foreign power, unlike our Government, owes any duty to maintain a Ghanaian sojourner.

In effect, therefore, the pertinent problem which the authorities have to address themselves to seriously is the amelioration of the economic hardship facing the citizens. Of course, this does not sound new to them; but what are they doing about it? We are promised a Christmas which will be "superb", but it turns to be just the opposite. We are told of a year of action, but "we" are still dormant. We are told not to despair, but why shouldn't we when the future is so bleak? It was even more shameful when a parliamentary delegation was sent to Nigeria to negotiate compensation for victims of the Black-Maria tragedy. But is that a solution to the problem? It is about time the authorities under our present Constitution put their heads together and found a lasting solution to our economic and social woes. And so as far as our economic and social well being does not improve we will continue to hear reports of atrocities perpetrated against Ghanaians, even worse ones than the present; and at any time that we hear of any fanfare and publicity, as well as of messages of "heartfelt condolences" from the authorities, all this will be seen as sheer hypocrisy. The government wants us to perish and we are perishing!!

C.41, Fellows' Flat,
Mensah Sarbah Hall,
Legon.

Paapa Dadson

Review Ghana's Relations With Neighbouring States

SIR—Permit me to register through your highly esteemed paper my disgust at the way Ghanaian nationals have been subjected to harsh treatment of late by neighbouring West African States. It is rather very unfortunate the way most of these West African States have taken our leniency to be our weakness and so are able to treat us in any manner they like with the idea that "as for Ghana, she is a peace loving nation and so if we maltreat her nationals and later render an apology, she will forgive us." This seems to be the attitude of almost all the governments of the neighbouring West African States.

A country like Nigeria, apart from having the idea that we are a peace loving nation, also believes that Ghana cannot live without her since she is responsible for our crude oil supply. With these in mind, they feel they can do anything they like with us since we cannot at anytime think of breaking diplomatic relations with them. Apart from Nigeria, which is using its oil and naira power to maltreat Ghanaians, the other states such as Ivory Coast, Zaire, and those that will soon follow suit, have capitalized on our poverty to strangle us. They have taken us as "lunatics" who need to be put in isolated areas so that we will not 'ruin their countries'. I cannot help but lament over my beloved country:

"Oh Ghana, why do you sit solitary,
Why have you become a widow

You who were once great amongst the nations,
And Princess amongst Provinces,
How have you become a tributary?
You weep sore in the night,
And your tears are on your cheeks
Among all your lovers,
You have none to comfort and protect your
children;
All your friends have dealt treacherously with
you
They have all become your enemies."

My dear Mr. President, Honourable Ministers, Members of Parliament and fellow Ghanaians, a time has come for Ghanaians to review their relationship with unfriendly neighbours. We have to prove to them all that Ghana can live without them so long as our God who richly blessed our land lives. Let us bury our differences, come together and work to make Ghana a better place to live in. Long live Ghanaian Solidarity, Long live Ghanaian humanitarianism.

P. O. Box 19
Achimota

Albert Joe Pimpong

Passport—Agony Of The Ghanaian

SIR—The expulsion of Ghanaians from Nigeria for 'lack of valid papers' and the callous murder of nearly 50 Ghanaians' without identity cards in the Ivory Coast raise the question of acquisition of passport in Ghana.

Without arguing for or against the persistent emigration of Ghanaians to relatively better living conditions in neighbouring states, I think that the acquisition of a passport should be made just as easy as opening a savings account. Newspaper reports and people's account of the kind of ordeal applicants go through, including threats, beatings (*Daily Graphic* Wednesday 11 March) and even curses, before they are issued with passports is indeed a shame to the Director of Passport in particular and to the nation as a whole. People who do not wish to lose their respect, have no other choice but to go away clandestinely from the country.

It is an open secret that Ghanaians are refused jobs in their countries of residence just because they don't possess 'the necessary documents' which in most cases mean a valid passport. At best, they are content with jobs not commensurate with their professional standing.

If people get locked up in overcrowded cells, beaten, suffocated or even murdered because of lack of valid papers, including of course, passport or identity cards, then it would just be proper and reasonable to send a strongly worded protest note to the Director of Passports, instead of sending out delegations to Presidents of neighbouring countries.

Unnecessary strict rules on passport acquisition expose the Ghanaian to hostile neighbours keen on settling old scores once and for all.

Commonwealth Hall,
Legon.

Dan Dzide

Policy Statements In Ghana

SIR—If there is anything disturbing in Ghana, it is our inability to focus on one policy for any length of time. It is sad that the present Limann Administration should be

no exception. Suddenly our salvation is in nothing else but mineral resources, specifically gold—no longer agriculture or even oil.

My belief is that what this nation needs is a group of sane thinkers with courage to see one programme effectively through to serve as a springboard for other exploits. It is pathetic the way we are virtually killing the cocoa farmer in this country, just because we had at first oil on our shores and then suddenly gold. Please, cannot this nation give the necessary attention to the cocoa industry to ensure at least the stable conditions needed by the government to concentrate on our problems. I submit that instability does not always mean someone in khaki giving a dawn broadcast to change the destiny of politicians.

The Government must be told to stop the scrap talk about cocoa being neglected because its price has fallen. Whoever heard of a primary product with stable prices on the world market. Gold has had its ups and downs too. It could even be oil just tomorrow.

In any case, what use is it preaching diversification of the economy when in the end we shall soon forget about it. In other words, how do we diversify when to promote gold or oil we destroy the cocoa industry.

We keep going even when we are uncertain where. Heavens only know what next we will be clutching at for national salvation. My guess is that it will be a frantic effort to revive the cocoa industry when next its price rises on the market.

121 Casely Hayford Hall
University of Cape Coast.

Seth E. Terkper

The Experts Of Trade Liberalisation

SIR—Experts and theoreticians of trade liberalization told us that liberalization of trade would be the salvation of Ghana.

Governors of Banks exhorted us to make "deliberate and courageous efforts... to free (our economy) from Controls", and businessmen, business Consultants, Lecturers, New Year School participants, all nodded their approval in unison: "just remove price controls, let the forces of the free market operate, and goods will flood the market at reasonable prices."

Yet now, long after day-break, the realities of the market tell us an entirely different story. Prices are far from reasonable at least to the majority of us. Milo is selling at C42.00; Gari at C30.00 per 'American tin'; Flour at C1,200.00 per bag and a loaf of bread at C25.00.

In the face of all this, the expert-apostles of trade liberalization have kept mysteriously silent. Unless by their silence, the experts wish to imply that the economic salvation they foresaw was a salvation only for the few to whom the present prices are reasonable. They cannot remain so quiet as though all is well with their theories. As consumers, we have a right to an explanation as to what went wrong. Or may be they have lost faith in their theories?

G. 31, Commonwealth Hall,
Legon.

T. Homeku-Ajei

Public Confidence In Parliament

SIR—Recent press and other criticisms of Parliament and for that matter Members of Parliament have been seen by some MPs as undermining public confidence in Parlia-

ment. One such criticism by Nana Essilfie Conduah in a radio commentary was so "serious" as to attract a personal statement and a brief debate in the august House. The matter apparently is being dealt with by the Privileges Committee of the House.

To my mind the starting point for the MPs should have been to question themselves what public confidence they have built in the House in themselves that is being undermined. Honourable Members of Parliament have been elected to safeguard our interests, to help better our lives, to bring some happiness to us. The honourable MP's themselves directly and indirectly, at various times, tell us that this is why they were elected as MP's. Since 24 September, 1979, prices have jumped up two-fold, three-fold, four-fold and, in cases, eight-fold. Our roads have more pot-holes; hospitals have even fewer drugs and, schools, for lack of funds, are closing prematurely. And against poor current services, with no strong hope of improved future services, technical and conventional approvals have been granted the Water and Electricity Corporations to increase rates two-fold and three-fold that is to worsen our plight.

MP's have complained that motions adopted and observations made in the House are neglected by the more powerful executive and the organisations directly affected. An example is the passport office. Even some of the motions are amended and well diluted for fear someone, perhaps again more powerful, might be hurt. The handling of the Justice Apaloo affair, like that of the opening of the Voters' Register, did no credit to the House. Was it not the Appeal Court which came in to "discipline" the House. A Minister told lies to the country and to the House; he went "scot free", as it were. Another minister answering questions in the House, admitted having sold above the so-called controlled price (ironically approved by Parliament itself); he was only told to "go and sin no more."

Minority MP's label those in the majority "yes-men"; we are told some MP's absent themselves from sittings or leave the House after signing in. Some MP's are not heard making contributions or are not seen helping to promote development in their constituencies or both. I am not sure whether their remunerations are the only ones that take account of the present cost of living.

We are yet to see a very strong, independent and nationalistic Parliament capable of taking bold decisions and acting firmly in the interest of the people. It seems strengthening the effectiveness of the House should rather be the concern of MP's and not whether criticisms jeopardise public confidence in Parliament. But if they believe honestly the House has any public confidence which is being undermined, then, I suggest the MP's themselves, in spite of their parliamentary privileges, are, by their own words and deeds and even omission, helping to undermine confidence in Parliament—confidence which has to be strengthened for stability.

Ghana Education Service
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Koforidua.

Ben K. Kpodo

"Of Speeches And Gems"

SIR—Mr. Eboe Daniel's articles of late make interesting reading, especially the one entitled "Of Speeches and Gems" (L.O. Vol. XIII No. 3).

Following his usual style, the writer shows a good sense of humour and this is spread all over the article. No doubt

the said Ewe girl attending the interview was bent on identifying herself first and foremost, tribally before thinking of her nationality. "Even she was surprised to be asked her nationality _____"?

Similarly, as if it were contagious, Mr. Daniel also had to think of himself first as a Fante, and quote sayings from Fanteland, before realising that we are all in Ghana. One may call it throwing stones from a glass house but it all forms part of the humour, you see?

School of Translators,
Ghana Institute of Languages,
Accra.

Alfred Benony Cudjoe

The Media

RADIO, OTHER MEDIA AND GHANAIAN CULTURE

By

T. H. Ewusi-Brookman

The attempt to write on the subject was prompted by a desire to put in an essay form oral answers given by me to a colleague who had been approached by a researcher. The question was: "How did the choice for radio (that is, its establishment in the country) fit within the history of the development of other media forms (e.g. newspaper, film, telegraph, etc.) as well as the Ghanaian culture generally." On 31 July, 1935, Station 'ZOY', which was the name coined from a call sign, and which was really a wired relay station in Accra, was established in the Gold Coast. Since the programmes were mainly relayed from the BBC, it was easy to assume that one of the factors which influenced the establishment of the station was to enable the Governor and the expatriate administrators, predominantly British, to be abreast with current news and other world affairs through the BBC. Of course, it was also important to keep the local people well-informed about what was happening in the Empire and in other parts of the world. The first broadcast was made by Sir Arnold Hodson, Governor of the Gold Coast, on 31 July, 1935. In this he told his listeners the reasons for introducing broadcasting into the country. Part of the broadcast, produced below, conveyed the objectives of the service as a means of social communication. It ran thus:

"Ladies and gentlemen in Accra, good morning.

I have been looking forward to this occasion, that is, the official opening of our broadcast service for a long time with intense pleasure. I consider, and think you will agree with me that a new broadcast service opens up a new vista of life for all of us who live in Accra. Few can realise what this new service will mean. It opens up a new horizon. It brings the latest news to our doors. It is very similar to the magic stone we read

about in fairy tales. We press a button and transport it to London. Again we press it and hear again an opera from Berlin. In fact nearly the whole world is at our beck and call. You can imagine what an influence this will have from the psychological point of view; mothers when the children have been fractious or when they have had a trying day cooking and washing clothes or men who have had a day's work will sit down and listen to first class music which will banish their cares and make them forget all their worries. At present, we intend to give two receptions a day. The first will be from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. which I trust will amuse and interest the ladies when their husbands are away at their offices. This reception is generally an excellent one and it includes occasional music from London and any important speeches which are being made by Cabinet Ministers and others at official luncheons in England."

Meeting Needs of a Colonial Administration

A few days more of continued interest in the topic, I was fortunate enough to stumble upon what seemed to be a very authentic document that dealt with some of the reasons for the introduction of broadcasting, in particular, to the country. In an address given to the Royal Society of Arts on 4th December, 1979, Professor E. G. Weddell discussed "the transfer of Western, in our case the British, models of broadcasting to developing countries. In the former British Colonies and protectorates, the early development of broadcasting was a product of three incompatible policies: the transfer of BBC structures, the extension of BBC services to expatriates and the development of local broadcasting services to meet the needs of colonial administration. The problems caused by this incompatibility led to the establishment of a Committee under Lord Plymouth to consider and recommend what steps could usefully be taken to accelerate the provision of broadcasting services in the colonies and to co-ordinate such services with the work of the British Broadcasting Corporation." The Committee, reporting in 1936, recognised that the Empire Services of the BBC could not serve the indigenous needs of the colonies. They felt that colonial broadcasting services should provide a means of education and enlightenment in addition to providing entertainment. The Committee strongly recommended that, wherever possible, broadcasting services should be developed . . . as a public service by the governments concerned."

Professor Weddell's address appears in the March 1980 edition of COMBROAD, a quarterly journal published by the Secretariat of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association, London. Professor Weddell is a former Joint Director of the Ford Foundation Study of Broadcasting and National Development in the Third World. He is also joint author with Professor Elihu Katz of **Broadcasting in the Third World**. His address quoted is relevant to the development of the subject matter of this essay. Looking at the three "incompatible policies" which underlined the development of broadcasting in the colonies and protec-

torates, what is more striking about them is that part which deals with the "the development of local broadcasting services to meet the needs of colonial administration. "But much more so is the foresight shown by the Lord Plymouth Committee which "strongly recommended" that broadcasting services in those areas should be developed as a public service. It is revealing that the Committee said that the Empire Service of the BBC could not serve the indigenous needs of the colonies, and that the services should provide a means of education, enlightenment and entertainment.

It is not known whether there were individuals owning their own radio sets or whether there was any in the Gold Coast at all apart from the wired boxes. But if there were radio sets the number must have been small indeed, and would be confined to only the Governor and other expatriates as well as the local elite. The wired relay station, ZOY, which was only a small relay equipment continued in service until 1939 when a more fitting Broadcasting House was built in Accra. It was provided with a 1.3KW transmitter, the first of its kind, which carried programmes for local consumption and to the neighbouring West African countries. The present, more modern Broadcasting House 3, was built in 1958 for sound broadcasting only, until 1965 when separate buildings were provided for Television which came into service on 31 July, 1965, the 30th Anniversary of broadcasting in the country. Providing such a facility at the Government's expense was therefore the most that could be done since it would be used as a service for the community by ensuring that a means of information, education and entertainment was available for the benefit of the people. Whatever the motives, the idea of public "service" was justified when in 1936 and 1937 the service was extended to Cape Coast, Sekondi, Kumasi and Koforidua, the regional centres of the Admini-

stration. The outbreak of the Second World War saw the introduction of broadcasts in four Ghanaian Languages in use then (Fanti, Twi, Ga and Ewe) through which the people were given the news about the war. Although this was four years after the establishment of broadcasting, it showed the need for placing the medium at the service of public. Another point worth considering is that the British Empire was at War (1939-1945) and, as colonial subjects were involved in defending an "Empire" on which "the sun never sets", it was deemed fit to inform and educate the people on the reasons for and the course of the war, as well as how the Gold Coast soldiers were faring at the war front. Thousands of Gold Coast soldiers served in the Gambia, Nigeria, India and Burma. Those at home, including women and school children, contributed to the Spitfire Fund, and the Buy-a-Bomb-to-Bomb Berlin campaign by producing palm kernel for export and taking part in other activities that might help win the war.

Backward Glances

To be able to understand properly the question, How did the choice of radio fit into the history of the development of other media forms (e.g. newspaper, film, telegraph, etc.) as well as within Ghanaian culture generally we need to go further back to the past.

For instance, the period from 1822, when journalism was said to have first started in the Gold Coast, can be conveniently described as one of intellectual ferment: nationalism and 'Pan-Africanism'. The late Professor K. A. B. Jones-Quartey of the University of Ghana used the phrase 'Pan-Africanism' in his book, "A summary history of Ghana Press, 1822-1960", to describe the period because of the great role played by Mr. J. E. Casely-Hayford in the formation of the National Congress

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TREASURER	—	CHIRSTIE AMOAKO-NUAMAH
EDITOR	—	YAW TWUMASI

of British West Africa, as well as the great expectations that the movement raised. He noted that there was a growing number of professionals, chiefs and merchants. He further noted that there was the first expansion of the Legislative Council, under the Governorship of Sir Hugh Clifford, as well as an "Opposition of the Gold Coast Africans to government without popular, elective representation." The tenure of office of Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1919-1927) with the landmarks of progress, also saw a growing number of articulate personalities. Correspondingly was the period under review, from 1822 to 1935, blessed with a good number of newspapers, including the following: **Gold Coast Independent** 1929-49; **Gold Coast Spectator** 1932-1935; **Times of West Africa** 1931-1935; **Gold Coast Observer** 1932-1942; 44; 49; 51-54; **African Morning Post** 1935; 36; 38; 39; 42-54; and **Gold Coast Times**, 1933-1935, 38.

The publication and ownership of these newspapers by Africans demonstrated the degree of enlightenment that prevailed at that time. It also showed an intellectual quest for freedom of expression that was welling up in the hearts of Africans. "What had happened" or "What was the latest news" was what the educated young men and women needed to quench their thirst. According to the records, there were between 1870 and 1900 only one daily paper, 5 weeklies, 4 fortnightlies, 3 monthlies and 3 others with irregular dates of issue. In between 1901 and 1930, there was no single daily but, but 7 weeklies, 2 fortnightlies and 3 monthlies. It is also important to know the circulation of each of these papers of the total circulation of all the papers as compared with the readership population, their distribution and mode of distribution. The figures are, however, not available. A point to note also is that economic and technical factors took their toll of these papers and threatened the appearance of new faces on the news-stand. It is probably against this background of local circumstances which were political, economic and social, that the colonial administration, decided that the time was ripe to establish broadcasting in the country on July 31, 1935. A sizeable population of scholars, administrators and civil servants, merchants and businessmen; a mature political climate with Chiefs and politicians serving as members of a Legislative Council; an additional or a new channel and source of information which would serve as a new vehicle of culture—these may be seen as some of the conditions which favoured the choice of radio so that the news could reach a greater number of people spread over a much wider area at the same time without the difficulties encountered by the newspapers and other media forms.

The introduction and development of broadcasting in the Gold Coast came later after other forms of media, like the telegraph and the newspaper. The records say that the first telegraph circuit was established in 1881 between Cape Coast and Elmina, a distance of eight miles and this was used by the Governor in transmitting messages to settlers at Elmina. Later in the same year, the line was extended to Christiansborg Castle, Accra, and the sanatorium at Aburi. In 1882 the first

public telegraph line of 2½ miles was established between Christiansborg and Victoriaborg in Accra. In 1890 the first telephone exchange opened in Accra with 70 lines, and 12 years later the second exchange with 13 lines was opened at Cape Coast, which had the privilege of getting the first post office in 1873 when it was then the capital of the Gold Coast. Today, Ghana has sixteen (16) automatic telephone exchanges and many towns have subscriber trunk dialling. A 5-year plan begun in 1978 envisages expansion and modernisation of telephone exchange, radio links and new telex exchanges, an Intelsat Earth Station, almost completed, at Kutanase on the Accra-Nsawam road and an International Switching Centre, which will facilitate direct calls to the outside world.

The Satellite Communication system will also make it easier to have more facilities for telex, cablegrams etc, as well as for instantaneous television transmissions from country to country, thousands of miles apart. It is interesting to note that through the microwave Satellite repeater station, the Posts and Telecommunications enables people at home to listen to radio commentaries on events outside Ghana, such as football matches and boxing tournaments. Again without the P & T, the press and broadcasting cannot receive news items transmitted to them over the teleprinters from the GNA, not to mention the familiar telephone, telegram and cablegram. The importance of the telephone or telegraph system in the development of Communications in this country cannot be under-estimated. The telephone, for example, ensured a more inter-personal, private link between individuals etc, for trade, business and social purposes.

Other Media And Ghanaian Culture

Compared with the others, THE FILM was rather a late comer. Established as a medium of mass communication under the Ghana (Gold Coast) Film Unit in 1948 within the Department of Information Services and the African Pictures Limited, it was succeeded by the Ghana Film Industry Corporation in 1971. Its impact has been made through its many productions in newsreels, features, advertising, educational and documentary films which are high quality films concerning all aspects of Ghanaian life. There are films on health and industry. The GFIC has also an exhibition division which runs some cinemas throughout the country. The State has a body, the Film Censorship Board, which censors films before they can be shown. The aim is to prohibit showing of unsuitable films and ensure the maintenance of high standard of films offered to the public. How did the choice of radio fit into Ghanaian culture generally? As stated earlier, broadcasting was introduced into the country as a new vehicle of communication to supplement the activities of its fore-runners, the telegraph, newspaper and the film. But it was a mode of communication that had (and still has) a greater power to beat time and distance. One of the advantages of radio (and television) over the newspaper etc., is the intimacy formed between it and the listener. This

is, perhaps, radio's greatest asset; that the listener feels a greater sense of involvement in whatever is being conveyed to him through the medium. Radio has changed the habit of the people in their desire to know more about themselves, their environment, and people in other lands with the minimum of delay.

The acceptance and recognition of radio as a medium of information and education have been supported by the quality and size of patronage that the medium enjoys. There are now over a million wireless sets in addition to about 60,000 rediffusion boxes. GBC Radio audience is conservatively estimated at over six million. More than a status symbol, the average worker or the farmer thinks of a radio set as a prized possession among his priorities. Either at the individual level or in groups, improvement in methods of farming, livestock raising and other skills that will help raise the standard of living of the farming community, are learnt also through radio programmes organised under the auspices of the radio farm forum which has become popular throughout the country. The old concept of developing local broadcasting services to meet the needs of colonial administration survived through post independence Ghanaian administrations. With its almost limitless power and influence, radio was and has been used to replace the traditional gong gong and the talking drum for announcements, as well as for rallying and mobilising the people for purposes of development, whether economic, social or political. It has not been altogether a one-way traffic. Among both literate and illiterate, there is strong awareness of the use of radio to let the people speak their minds about issues that affect them. This does not mean that in certain areas the gong gong is not used for local purposes by traditional rulers. What is not common is the drum-language which is used only at the chief's court and understood by the initiated few.

One healthy effect of the penetration or intrusion of radio into peoples homes is that although the language used in any particular programme may not be one's own, and therefore may not be understood, yet there is the tendency for one to listen with interest and become aware of the beauty of the sounds of the words uttered. Another positive result is that listening to other languages can help remove narrow-mindedness and sectionalism. It generates awareness that there are other people, who together form the population of the country. Such awareness urges one on to search to know more about other people, other tribes, and show more interest in them, and thereby contribute towards the development and promotion of national integration. If culture, the sum total of a way of life of a people, is not to remain static, but is to develop through inter-action with other cultures, then, radio's "contact" with Ghanaian culture has been a blessing. Ghanaian culture has not been assimilated into the radio culture. Rather it has inter-acted through a learning process and become enriched rather than impoverished. I have found it difficult to say anything that is precisely the opposite of the title of this essay: that is, that the choice of radio did not fit into the history of the development of the media as well as into the Ghanaian culture generally. Maybe it because time

has not been on my side to enable me to do more research into this.

Nevertheless, there has been the temptation to ask whether it has been a bane or a blessing to culture that the development of radio and other media forms has ushered in an era of liberty in thought and speech by which our press will cease to be complacent but, if possible, play the adversary role instead of the advocacy role all the time. Ghanaian culture permits or approves of the advocacy role, because when the chief, the elder and the family head had spoken there was nobody to say 'nay' to authority. But by means of cultural interactions or influences, we are now in a position to say 'nay' through the media—everybody expressing his viewpoint on national issues. It remains to be seen whether this is a disadvantage in the development of social communication. In retrospect, it can be said that those who introduced radio broadcasting had foresight. In a country with an economy which has gone to rack and ruin, broadcasting is the undisputed medium by which the government reaches the people most effectively. It transcends physical and ethnic barriers. This is in a situation where road transportation has almost come to a stand-still owing to lack of spare parts to repair broken down vehicles; and where the few "brave" vehicles which dare yawning potholes shorten their own life-span in the process. And this is also in a situation where the telephone and postal services are in no better shape, and the shortage of newsprints has emaciated the newspapers. And this still is in a situation where broadcasting itself is in constant danger of break-down in transmissions due to old and obsolete equipment. Its survival is a miracle.

The Arts

CONCERT AT ROYAL CINEMA, ACCRA

By

Carol De Graft

The walled-in enclosure slowly fills up as men and women, teenagers and children file in to occupy the wooden benches facing the stage. As they wait, a brisk trade in cigarettes, oranges and chewing gum begins. This is the Royal Cinema in central Accra. The time is 8pm, on Saturday, Jan. 18. Nana Ampadu and his African Brothers International are scheduled, as the popular jargon goes, to "storm Accra tonight!" It will be one of many such concerts that take place at the weekends in villages, towns and cities all over the country.

The popular concert of today has, over several decades, remained the major form of entertainment for the vast majority of Ghanaians. It has its roots in the small "concert party" comprising actors, comedians and musicians of guitarband music. It has now taken on a slicker, more commercially inclined, form. In a typical night, one or two

musical bands play for a while as a prelude to the appearance of the main guestband. After several hours of music the audience is then entertained to a play and a stream of funny stories told by a comedian. Tonight's concert begins at 8.30. Kwasi Frank and his Radicals play a series of reggae and disco-type songs. Says the Master of Ceremonies after the last disco tune has been played: "That was for the young people." There is a brisk change of bands. Capt. Newman and his Gay Brothers start blasting out a couple of the better-known Highlife tunes. And the M.C., obviously more comfortable with the Twi language, stops speaking English and warms up to his role.

The audience, which by now has swollen into a crowd of over 2000, responds to the livelier performance of the second band. A whole ceremony is made of the gesture of appreciation. A member of the audience walks up to the stage and "dashes" a coin or a crumpled C5.00 note to his favourite performer. The Highlife music is loud, generally characterised by two or three voices singing at once with a lot of guitar in the background. The lyrics clearly reflect the male attitude to life and love. "Stay with me," says one song, "even when poverty affects our marriage". Or, "If your lover does you wrong, do not take it to heart. Forgive him." Traditional Ghanaian story themes such as orphan abuse, the sorrows of bereavement and sin and the inevitability of death fill the songs.

African Brothers Take Over

Come 10.30, and the first portion of the evening's programme ends. The African Brothers International takes over. Here is the band everyone has been waiting for. There is a change of M.C.'s. The new one, a member of the African Brothers, uses an intriguing style of non-stop rap in Twi to introduce his colleagues. His language is colourful and humorous. Each bandsman is mentioned with a chain of appellations in good proverbial language. Significantly, the players' home and ethnic origin aren't forgotten. Most of them seem to be Kwahu or Akim. The only non-Akan, the shekere shaker, is Togolese. There is a marked improvement in sound quality as the African Brothers take over the instruments. Drums, an electric organ, a rattle, three electric guitars, conga drums, a gong and a large shekere strung around it's player's neck.

After two or three lyrics, there is a long pause. The drums roll loudly, and Nana Ampadu makes his dramatic entry. This is the climax of the show. The little man in his broad straw hat spends the first few minutes prancing stiffly about the stage, arms raised to form odd poses. Then he begins to sing. His whole manner reflects the strength of his personality. Nana Ampadu's songs seem to point to a conflict of beliefs. "Give your life to Almighty God", he sings in one song, and then... "I have gone to get some Juju so as to protect myself." In a later conversation, however, Nana Ampadu states that his songs are not in any way intended to reflect a personal philosophy. He has none. Several of his songs are moralistic. At times they talk of love, lightheartedly. A large section

of the audience is now on its feet, dancing vigorously in the back. A steady stream of people goes forward to make gifts of money.

Then, interestingly, a tune is played that gives a special opportunity to the players of the shekere and the conga drums to show off their skill in long solo performances. For once, all attention is deliberately focused by the band on these otherwise little-noticed bandsmen. The drummer's face breaks into a proud smile as his hands race over the drums. The shekere player, on his turn, dances wildly as he swings the strung gourd in complete circles around his body. Predictably, their music is quickly drowned in yells and shrill catcalls.

How Ampadu Began It All

At this point Nana Ampadu retires offstage to take a rest. Tracing the history of his musical development, he says he first began to sing in the school choir. After a ten-month stint as a messenger for the Ministry of Agriculture at Mpraeso, he came to Accra in 1960 to play with Yamoah's Band. In 1963 he bought a guitar. And together with his brother, using local instruments, formed the African Brothers Band. They played for Hausa weddings and at weekend dances. Nana Ampadu went professional in 1966 but it wasn't until two years later when, after having sold eight 45rpm records to Mr. D. K. Nyarko, that he made enough money to become wholly independent. For these records he had been paid 850 pounds sterling. Since then, he has become a successful feature of the Ghanaian Highlife scene, with 25 long-play records and over 120 "singles" to his name. Fairly recently, his wife Lady Mam'B, began to sing with the African Brothers International.

The lyrics to her songs sometimes suggest a very independent spirit, a desire to be considered different from other women. "Don't count me in with the other women" she sings in one song. She says that she wrote this particular song as a reply to the negative views Ghanaian men generally have of the kinds of women that enter show business. Many of her songs speak of love, pain from male deception, unfaithfulness and the other problems of female-male relationships. These songs, she explains, are written for particular people who pay to have their stories told. Otherwise what experiences does she draw on for her songs? She just looks at life and tells what she sees. Although Nana Ampadu is happy to have her singing with him, she expresses the desire to have her songs billed under her own name instead of that of the band.

Concert Begins And Ends

By midnight the crowd shows signs of tiredness. The children are stretched out on the ground under the benches. Many of the women, wrapped up in their cloths, and the men, bent forward in their seats, have fallen asleep. Nana Ampadu sings his last song, then makes a quiet exit. Interestingly, no one mobs him as he is escorted out of the cinema. Somehow hero-worship seems out of character with this crowd. It is 12.30 and the third part of the concert, the drama section, begins. A

comedian dressed like the classic European clown walks onto the stage and in a relaxed manner, begins to tell several long-winded jokes in Twi packed with hilarious details and observations. He draws his humour from the normally unamusing struggles of the average man in the street. The audience, which can relate to these experiences, understands and responds earnestly to the jokes he makes. Many of these jokes are at the expense of authority, the police especially, and of the children present in the audience.

He is replaced an hour later by the Five Star Concert Party. This twelve-member sub-group of the band, directed by 25-year-old "Lawyer" Sarpong, begins a long, loosely plotted drama which is to last three hours. Sarpong, who has spent all his working life with this group, says the members of the Party are all primarily musicians. He has refused to use women in his group because, according to him, they are too quarrelsome to work with. So women's parts are played by men after they have been appropriately powdered and padded up into caricatured impersonations. The themes of his stories revolve around the social and economic conditions in Ghana, the recurrent moral being that evil always gets punished in the end. The subject of this evening's drama, which, like the other plays, put up by the group was put together in four afternoons, is sorcery, murder and a struggle over inheritance.

The acting is indifferent, rather unskilled, with much of the dialogue held in front of the single microphone. Attempts at humour are not very successful. But the actors do succeed in getting the audience to react actively as the story unfolds. Several times, for instance, the witch in the drama taunts the audience. Naturally, the audience jeers back at her. There are frequent pauses in the action during which the personalities tell the story in song. A sense of reality is lent to the story by occasional references to real places and events known to the audience. As can be expected right does win in the long run. And the concert is brought to an end as day breaks. A good part of the audience has either gone home or fallen asleep on the benches. Concerts are lucrative business for band leaders like Nana Ampadu. He however refuses to say how much he makes annually. What he does admit is that he has been exploited in his time by record producers. Many times, he says, he was cheated of his fair share of the royalties that came in. Today he is on the road most of the time. His band regularly performs in cinema halls and community centres all over Ghana. The group has also travelled outside Ghana to Lome, Abidjan, Lagos, Britain, the United States and Canada. But Nana Ampadu admits that audience response outside Ghana usually isn't very good. Will he retire very soon? Yes he will, eventually, but he cannot say when. For the moment he is satisfied with the continued good reception he enjoys. So ends another of these concerts that have become so much a part of Ghanaian life. The words stamped on our palms when we bought our tickets suddenly seem relevant as we leave. They read: "Bye Bye Till Next Time".

Book Review

A HANDBOOK OF ADULT EDUCATION FOR WEST AFRICA

Edited By

L. BOWN AND S.H.O. TOMORI
(Hutchinson, London, 1979, £7.95 in U.K.)

Reviewed By

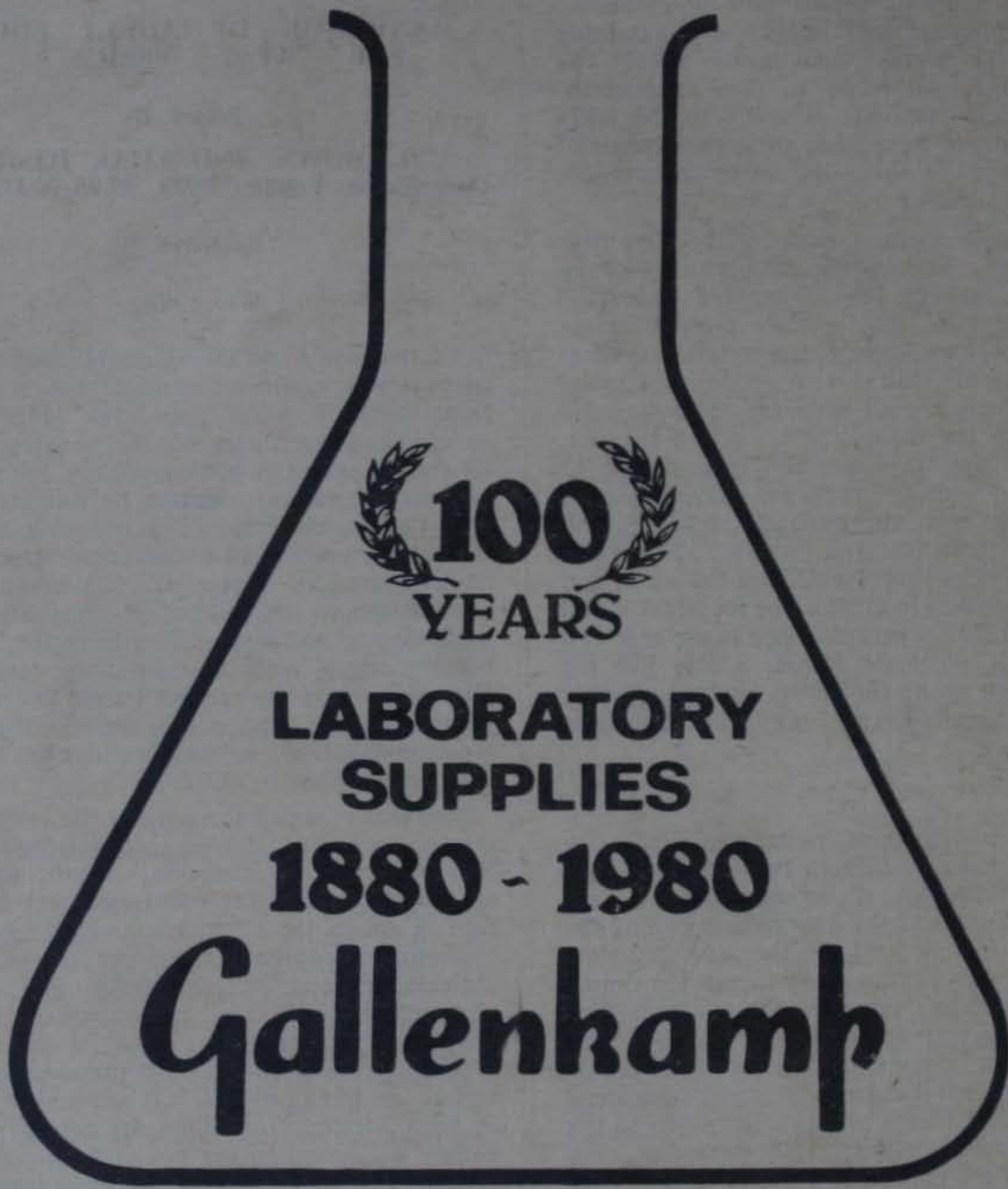
E. Laing

To the many and increasing number of participants and sponsors of adult education in its various forms in Africa, this book will come as a very welcome addition to the growing literature on the subject. The book is clearly organized and various chapters are written by different authors. Part One defines the scope of adult education, the adult learner and institutional structures for adult education. Part Two considers planning, administration and evaluation. Part Three treats methods and techniques, Part Four the history of literacy efforts and of community development. Part Five succinctly reviews trends, problems and prospects. The Appendices include the Unesco Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education, Nairobi, 1976.

The reader senses throughout the book a stress on the similarity of roles of adult education in different sectors (education, health, agriculture etc.), and the need for integration and co-ordination of effort; the attempt to combine traditional and modern approaches; respect for the learner's individuality and cultural background; the role of governments, especially as regards commitment; and an awareness of the need for research and evaluation. Adult education is presented as a vital and an on-going endeavour. The problem, in parts of West Africa, of a multiplicity (wealth?) of languages is referred to but not quite completely resolved. It is not clear what the adult learner is to master: literacy in his local language, oral competence in the official language or literacy in the official language? Perhaps the tendency towards practical (oral) bilingualism or multilingualism in many places should offer partial clues to the problem. Perhaps the proposals for generalizing the introduction of training in adult education to be extended more fully, in the direction of the Unesco recommendations (see p. 280), to all tertiary level institutions. The book was a pleasure to read, and I recommend it to all, especially the research and extension workers in agriculture, health etc. as well as to adult educators, the audience the editors had in mind.

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Editor, Journal of Socio-Economic
Development, ISSER, University of
Ghana, Box 74, Legon.

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NOTEBOOK 119

We Are Disappointed, Mr. President

Editorial

WHAT DO WE DO FOR THE NATION'S SILVER JUBILEE?

In March this year, the Leader of the Action Congress Party (ACP), Colonel Frank Bernasko, called a press conference to alert the public to plans for what, in his view, was an unnecessarily elaborate and expensive celebration for the occasion of the nation's Silver Jubilee, in March 1982. The Minister of Finance, Dr. George Benneh, promptly denied the report, asserting that only a "modest" celebration was intended. The Minister did not say how modest, but that should not engage us for the present.

We now know that as far back as a year ago, to be precise, in April 1980, the Secretary to the Cabinet wrote to various public servants, twelve in number, informing them that they had been appointed to membership of a Technical Committee which was to plan celebrations "to mark Ghana's Silver Jubilee in 1982". In a 90-page report, inclusive of appendices, dated 30th November 1980, the Technical Committee recommended Thursday 25th February to Monday 8th March as the celebration period, the celebration to include special religious services, bonfires and torchlight processions, sports and games, parades by school children, military tattoos, agricultural shows, film shows, symposia and debates, a lecture on Ghana's post-independence achievements, launching of a civic education programme, essay competition, special broadcast by the President, cocktails and picnics; persons to be invited include all heads of African States, all heads of African Liberation Movements recognized by the OAU, all heads of major international organisations and representatives from countries with which Ghana maintains diplomatic relations; facilities in all State hotels and in select private hotels to be updated for the comfort of foreign guests; a special allocation of consumer items to be guaranteed for the hotels; funds to be provided to complete the Labadi Pleasure Beach and the renovation of the Kwame Nkrumah Conference Complex; reconstruction of the stands at the Black Star Square to be undertaken; regional capitals to be given a "face-lift", and the main streets both in the capital and in the regions to be decorated; special shops "well-stocked with goods" to be opened in the capital; one hundred Mercedes Benz 200D to be imported to augment existing fleet of Government vehicles. Estimated cost: C120.5 million, one-fourth of which is to be provided in foreign exchange.

Money can be too much or adequate or too little, depending on the financial circumstances of the spender. There are certain expenditures which are permissible only for the well-to-do, birth-day parties, for instance. On the other hand if you can barely hold body and soul together, a birthday party, however little it costs looks frivolous, but we have heard it said in this country that even a debtor must eat. What the debtor chooses to eat is, of course, another matter, but the debtor's preferred menu is undoubtedly an indication of his sagacity where spending is concerned. We are saying the same thing, we believe, when we assert that the state of the national Treasury,

the purpose to which the sum of C120 million is to be put, the urgency of the purpose, its usefulness, short-term and long-term, constitute an appropriate yard-stick by which to assess the wisdom of the projected expenditure. There is no doubt that as a nation we are broke and we are, of course, happy to learn that there is C120 million to be spent. The sum in question is not too much, we venture to say, if it is to be applied to the rehabilitation of our health facilities, for instance. Indeed, given the general state of disrepair and the general acknowledgement that a healthy population is the nation's best asset, C120 million, only a fourth of which can be guaranteed in foreign exchange, is probably too little, for restoring health facilities to the condition we knew it in the past.

On the other hand, C120 million can be too much for the purpose conceived in the 90-page report of the Technical Committee, for instance, and that because we cannot appreciate the importance or urgency of the celebration. We cannot imagine what harm could possibly befall the nation if in 1982 we did not invite heads of state for whose comfort hotels must be refurbished and Mercedes Benz saloons imported. To be sure, some of us would be invited to attend the anniversary cocktails and other state functions; the refurbished hotels would be available for our use after the foreign dignitaries have left. We can all buy the left-overs from the special shops, unless foreign currency would be demanded; and if we are lucky, some of us would be able to buy or have allocated to our offices some of the imported cars. Even those who are not visible enough for invitations to state functions can still enjoy the beauty and excitement that will be generated by the celebrations. And the President's party, the People's National Party, should be able to take advantage of the temporary wave of excitement to launch its campaign for the presidential election only a year thence. But in real terms what would the nation have got for C120 million. Not much, as far as we can see.

All this is not to say that there should be no celebration at all. Certainly the occasion should not go unnoticed. We would suggest a different order of the celebration, however, that is, if the Government has not already committed funds on the basis of the recommendations of the Technical Committee. The President should make a national broadcast by all means, preferably, on the eve of 6th March. In this broadcast, the President should recount our efforts at nation building since 1957. We hope that it will not be one of those speeches which eulogise the period of 1957-66 and denigrate the post-1966 period. It is certainly not true that all had gone well in this country until 1966 when things turned awry and recurrence of this theme in official pronouncements induces nausea which should be the last thing we want on the anniversary of our Silver Jubilee. If the speech is to be objective, we expect to be reminded that we have come to a sorry end partly because of our love for pageantry, the flamboyant and the extravagant. The President should, therefore, pledge, on our behalf, that things will be different in the next twenty-five years; that as a nation, we will, as the saying goes, mind our own business;

we will be guided in everything we do by concern for our own people; that we will stop foolish experiments especially in the political and economic spheres, untried measures having proved rather costly in the past. So much then for a national pledge.

We further suggest a Silver Jubilee celebration spanning a five-year period instead of two weeks. In the base year, namely, 1982, the C120 million earmarked for the celebration should be allocated to the Ministry of Health. In more precise terms, let us identify one hospital and provide it with all its requirements. Let us call this hospital the **Silver Jubilee Memorial Hospital** and let us make a whole ceremony of its dedication. In the following year, we could have another Jubilee Memorial item in a different sector, education, for instance. By the fifth year there should be five well-equipped and well-functioning Jubilee Memorials. It would be time then to invite heads of state and other foreign visitors to the country, for there would be something of which we would be justly proud to see. Fidel Castro postponed Christmas celebrations the other day because agricultural production targets for the year had not been met. Obviously, we do not want to postpone anniversary celebrations, but we ought to see the point that such anniversaries should be low-key events until we have something to boast of. We, therefore, urge whoever has the final responsibility for deciding the form of celebration for the Silver Jubilee Anniversary to reject the recommendation of the Technical Committee for a more sensible alternative.

Economy

THE PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT AND EXTERNAL AID IN GHANA

By

J. H. Frimpong Ansah

The article below was originally delivered as an address to the Ghana Institution of Engineers on the occasion of the 13th Anniversary of the Institution on 19th February 1981. In view of its importance we decided to publish a slightly edited version of his address.

Editor

If there is one single subject that currently engages the people of Ghana in constant discussion, it is the state of the economy and the prospects of growth. I should like to discuss the prospects of economic growth by focusing on one aspect of this general problem, that is, the relation between aid and development in this country.

It will be appropriate to introduce my subject with a definition of development and a brief description of the recent trends in the indicators of economic growth in Ghana. I shall then proceed to discuss how the impact of certain domestic and external policies acting through the balance of payments and its financing have affected the rate of economic growth in recent years. I shall then describe the implications for development and welfare of the current low level of economic growth and the external requirements of a hypothetical real per capita growth rate, say 3% per annum in the next five years. In defining external

Table 1

(Net disbursements, Gross disbursements, less amortization of long-term capital flows to developing countries and territories in Africa, and Latin America. Payment of interest and profit remittances by developing countries and territories are not deducted, in million, of US dollars)

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Concessional									
DAC bilateral ODA	5,449	6,065	6,258	6,691	8,033	9,266	8,712	9,082	11,909
Socialist countries of Eastern Europe	780	790	1,110	1,270	1,110	880	850	780	820
Multilateral institutions	881	1,084	889	1,179	2,041	2,791	2,635	2,754	3,003
Developing countries	350	470	450	1,145	3,504	5,473	5,269	5,920	3,791
Total concessional	7,460	8,359	8,707	10,285	14,688	18,410	17,466	18,537	19,523
Non-concessional									
DAC: Official and private export credits	2,206	2,788	1,796	1,894	2,616	4,518	5,937	8,520	10,816
Private direct invest.	3,501	2,979	3,771	4,248	1,008	9,441	7,038	7,911	10,296
Other bilateral	800	900	800	180	180	540	620	855	1,135
Socialist countries of Eastern Europe	110	100	110	100	90	90	120	110	100
Multilateral institutions	477	665	568	559	—12	1,204	1,434	2,187	2,674
Developing countries	244	100	300	446	4,057	5,984	3,739	1,746	1,592
Bank lending	2,550	2,805	4,080	8,245	8,500	10,200	12,750	13,175	18,870
Bonds	250	250	415	580	300	250	910	1,910	2,740
Total non-concessional	10,138	10,587	11,840	16,252	16,769	32,227	32,548	36,414	48,223
Grand Total	17,596	18,946	20,547	26,537	31,457	50,637	50,014	54,951	67,746

Source : UNCTAD secretariat, based largely on data from OECD and multilateral institutions. See, in particular, OECD, *Development Co-operation : 1979 Review*, Paris, 1979, statistical annex.

aid, I shall approach the subject from the wider angle of the transfer of real resources from the developed and the rich to the poor and underdeveloped; and then describe Ghana's chances, if it were so decided, of securing some of these transfers for her development. I shall conclude by making suggestions for the possible stimulation of debate generally on certain matters concerning Ghana's development that touch on policy on international economic relations and the philosophy of self-reliance.

The general term, national income, is used by economists to describe the value of the flow of goods, services and investment in an economy. Within this general term there are more precise and descriptive terms such as the Gross National Product and the Gross Domestic Product in market and real terms as well as in per capita terms. These terms have now become so acceptable and definitive that if you asked an economic statistician how developed a country was he would say; "Oh, it is underdeveloped because its per capita GNP is \$250." And to avoid offence he might use the term low income country rather than underdeveloped. Ghana's per capita Gross National Product

in 1978 (the last year for which information is available to me) was \$390 which placed the country among the middle income group in the world

If you asked the economic statistician how well a country is developing or growing, he will answer in terms of the annual growth of the per capita Gross National Product adjusted for inflation. If he said the rate of per capita real growth were say 5% per annum then that will be very satisfactory economic performance. Ghana's annual per capita real growth rate between 1960 and 1978 is known to have averaged -0.5%. That would be described as unsatisfactory performance. By comparison, the average for all middle income countries was 3.7% between 1960 and 1978, and that for all low income countries was 1.6%. Ghana in 1978 was near the bottom of the middle income league table having dropped with regularity throughout the preceding five years.

Important Trends In Growth

If at this stage of your enquiry you became more curious and asked the economic statistician to talk about the components of growth then he

will turn to the term, Gross Domestic Product, which gives information on the relative contributions of the various sectors of the economy by output. Then it will be revealed to you that in Ghana it is agriculture and manufacturing that make the really significant contributions to the national income. According to recent performance, agriculture contributes around 45%, manufacturing 11% and mining 8%. It will surprise you that electricity and water are the lowest contributors at 0.5%. But then statistics are often misleading. These contributions are valued at the prices at which they sell. In an unstable and un-uniform price regime, such as we have, the valuations are not comparable. For example, agricultural prices are largely uncontrolled and therefore higher in our present inflationary situation. Manufacturing output is generally subject to price control and therefore lower. Mining production is valued in terms of the prevailing official exchange rate which currently is lower than the market. And then electricity and water are heavily subsidised, which means they are priced at even less than the others.

Nevertheless, there are certain important trends in growth that price distortions cannot explain away, and which highlight Ghana's poor performance in recent years. Between 1974 and 1977 the value of the Gross Domestic Product fell by 16% in real terms. Again, between 1973 and 1979, agricultural output dropped by 15.4%. Mining production dropped heavily by 50.4% between 1973 and 1979. Manufacturing output also dropped by 27.3% between 1973 and 1979, and, for purposes of comparison, the GDP grew at an average annual rate of 5.7% for all middle income countries of the world between 1970-1978, and at 3.6% for low income countries. Ghana's performance was well below the average.

The levels of savings and investment are also useful indicators of growth. Everyone knows that the willingness to save from one's income and the ability to invest these savings wisely, in the longer term, determine one's prosperity. So it is with a nation. The level of Gross National Savings and the Gross Capital Formation help to determine the proportion of national income that is re-invested for the longer term growth of the economy. To ascertain Ghana's performance through savings and investment, the following points need to be borne in mind. Ghana's Gross Domestic saving in the year 1960 was 17% of the Gross National Product. In 1978, this percentage had dropped to 6%. Gross domestic investment in 1960 was 24% of the Gross Domestic Product. In 1978, this percentage had dropped to 5%. For purposes of comparison, the Gross domestic savings as a percentage of the Gross national product, averaged for all low income countries of the world was 11% in 1960, and 15% in 1978. The corresponding data for middle income countries were 20% in 1960 and 22% in 1978. Similarly, the rate of the Gross Capital formation to the Gross Domestic Product averaged for all low income countries was 14% in 1960, and 21% in 1978. Corresponding data for middle income countries was 21% and 25% for 1960, and 1978 respectively. These performances for Ghana are rather poor indeed. In point of fact,

the reduction in savings and investment recorded by Ghana is the worst in the whole of the Third World region. These rather unhealthy trends in economic growth have, in recent years, induced considerable intellectual discussion on the policy factors contributing to our economic decline as well as on methods to halt the trends. Some of the questions, to the extent that they may have a bearing on the subject, may be summarised as follows:— First, has Ghana's reduced ability to import, particularly manufacturing, mining and agricultural inputs affected economic growth? Secondly, has the rather difficult national economic management problem been partly induced by a lack of fulfilment of the philosophy of self-reliance, which has contributed to the slow rate of growth? Finally, how justified is the unwillingness of sources of international capital to aid Ghana, except under very strict terms? And does any delay in obtaining external aid constitute a serious threat to economic recovery and development?

Reduced Import Capacity

There is considerable evidence to support the argument that Ghana's ability to import has significantly reduced in recent years. At a level of 30% of total imports (5% in 1960) the Oil bill adds about £600,000 extra burden on the import bill, and to that extent continues to erode the country's foreign exchange purchasing power. This source of reduction of growth is almost completely beyond the influence or control of Ghana. The combination of world recession and inflation by reducing the price of our traditional exports and increasing the price of imports, can only have a damaging effect on reserves. This is also a factor outside the control of Ghana. Added to a generally reduced external capital inflow, these two factors combine to impose a considerable limitation on our ability to import. Statistical evidence shows that after wide fluctuations since 1966 imports, at fixed prices in 1979, were declining at an annual rate of 15.4%. There is also evidence that a larger proportion of this adjustment was borne by the manufacturing and mining sectors. These two exogenous influences on Ghana's ability to import will continue to erode Ghana's resources to the extent that OPEC countries continue to carry out their six monthly price review and world recession and tight monetary policy persist in the industrialised world.

An important consequence of these trends is the question whether the exogenous factors now do constitute a greater constraint on economic growth than those other factors that may be within the control of Ghana, such as the level of domestic savings, agricultural production and the allocation of resources. This is an important subject which the lack of information has not enabled me to study sufficiently. The results would have been useful to our discussion, for if those external factors now significantly reduce resources for growth, then it becomes logical that national economic policy should include measures to recycle such funds back to aid our development. However, there remains another relevant question, whether

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the decline in imports generally has had an adverse effect on growth. My investigation of this question has shown that there has been a positive correlation between imports and the overall Gross Domestic Product. However, the relationship is less pronounced than might have been thought. This is due to the large agricultural content of the Gross Domestic Product, a sector depending principally on factors other than imports. On the other hand, the correlation is quite strong in the case of manufacturing, mining and transportation.

There are, however, other aspects that the statistics do not reveal. In cases where recorded agricultural output does not reach the markets due to lack of transportation, the contribution of agricultural output is diminished. Where agricultural produce destined for further processing finds its way elsewhere, particularly across the border because of other competing and perhaps more rewarding demands, then the contribution of agricultural output may be further diminished. Or where imported food prices are lower than domestic food prices there would be a cancelling inverse relationship between imports and agricultural output in the GDP. The following relevant factors also need to be noted:—

With the rather big reduction in domestic savings, the level of which now stands at about 6% of GDP as against 17% twenty years ago, external capital inflow as an aid to growth cannot be ignored, because a domestic savings rate of 6% without external assistance can barely result in any growth at all. Furthermore, even if domestic savings could be increased, the rate at which it can be converted into foreign currency to purchase capital goods is limited by the inconvertibility of the cedi. On the other hand, the trend in external capital inflow to finance gross capital formation has declined substantially in the past years, from 33.2% in 1970 to almost nothing in 1979. It would appear then that the need for foreign currency enrichment of the gross capital formation is going to be important in any effort to resume economic growth. This is how the relationship of capital imports to growth becomes clearer.

National Economic Management, A Problem

There cannot be any doubt that economic management results in the period from 1973 have been adversely affected by the economic situation. Nevertheless, there are certain decisions and actions that may have aggravated the situation in so far as external economic relations are concerned. One such decision was the unilateral declaration on external debts in 1972. And another was the philosophy of self reliance. Most of the debts that were unilaterally extended have become the subject of an international conference, and an acceptable solution has been agreed upon between Ghana and her creditors. Nevertheless, the incident has left its mark on Ghana's external relations. The older generation of officials and bankers in the developed countries have to pass on before a new generation will come who will not be sensitive to the

memory of Ghana's decision to repudiate her debts. In the circumstances, it has required a higher than average performance on our part to prove creditworthiness. Rather very high grades will for a long time be required of Ghana for average access to international capital. In such situations, the capital market is justifiably not concerned with the moral justification of the action of the then Ghana Government, even though the circumstances at the time were such as to win sympathy for Ghana.

The philosophy of self-reliance was an unavoidable consequence of debt repudiation. In itself that philosophy was praiseworthy; however, the economic results during the period of the NRC/SMC government indicate either unwillingness to adhere to the conditions in the principle of self reliance or showed that our leaders had no faith in self-reliance. It has not been possible to discover any code of national behaviour pertaining to self-reliance, or any official rules in self reliance. The statistical results on the country's economic performance during the period of self-reliance go contrary to what would have been expected of a country pursuing that policy. The indicators on fiscal and monetary policy and on external management were such as to suggest that Ghana was under a regime of maximum international co-operation. The budgetary imbalance was the highest in history. Short-term external debt was the highest also; and import bills were the highest on record so that the record international price of cocoa did not result in any domestic or foreign savings. The philosophy of self-reliance was unfulfilled. Nevertheless, it did foster a strong sense of nationalism in Ghana's international economic relations which even the most adverse local economic conditions may fail significantly to modify.

International Action Towards Ghana

The other factor that will significantly affect policy towards economic growth is the nature of international attitude towards Ghana in her period of recovery. Faced with the events I have just described, our economic managers have now to contain the twin problem of retaining the nation's sovereign power in decision making and fostering at the same time those policies which are seen by international institutions to be conducive to improved creditworthiness. It would, for example, appear more acceptable if policies towards internal and external balance, were to be conceived and initiated by ourselves. Yet, even though the general thrust of policy change towards the achievement of stable growth may, in several respects, not differ whether locally conceived or promoted by external suggestions, government may be reluctant in embarking on such a policy. Indeed, some rather drastic policy changes have been taken, such as on the 1978 devaluation or the 1979 demonetization without the benefit of international co-operation and financial support and therefore with limited usefulness in generating internal and external confidence. In these discussions, it is always useful to bear in mind one important fact:— That growth only takes place through the use of savings for viable

investment. In situations where the level of national savings falls below the requirements for growth the options are only two: to allow the rate of growth to drop or to sustain growth by drawing upon the savings of other people in other lands. In the case of the latter option, such borrowing can only be made on the terms of the lender.

Having said this we may pursue our discussions by assuming that Ghana wished to halt the current fall in the growth rate and embark on a policy that, for example, will achieve a growth rate of say 3% per capita per annum in the course of the next five years. In that case, Ghana will have two options: to attempt to achieve this target relying solely on her own efforts, and to do so with external assistance. Briefly, the crude arithmetic will run as follows: Given our annual population growth of 3%, per capita growth rate of 3% implies an overall 6% growth. Given a capital output ratio of 3, the growth in investment that will be required to produce the 6% GDP growth will be 18%. Since the investment rate converts to less than the savings rate it means that to grow at 6% GDP annually, Ghana ought to be able to increase her savings rate by more than 18% (i.e. roughly to the level in 1960). But let us consider that savings cannot be expected to exceed the present 6% level, then the required external assistance should be at least 12% of GDP or S600 million per annum.

This figure does not include the initial cost of rehabilitation. Without rehabilitation, Ghana cannot be expected to have the capacity to absorb the inflow of S600 million annually. Assuming that there will be long-term funds for rehabilitation, the reconstruction of this largely social infrastructure will take some time. The implication, therefore, is that a rise in the growth rate immediately to 3% per capita is physically not possible. Another reason why it will be difficult to embark on a growth or development programme envisaging a real growth rate at 6% in GDP is that the real domestic savings rate cannot grow at anything near 18% for a considerable number of years yet. This is because, given the official rate of inflation of 30% one should expect a rate of return on savings of the order of 48% to induce a saving rate of 18%. It is doubtful that in the near future monetary policy could be embarked upon and accepted based on such a high interest rate.

What the argument is leading to is that wide ranging measures of monetary stabilization cannot be avoided if economic growth is to be resumed. **It would now be obvious to many that whether monetary reform takes place at Ghana's own instance or whether it becomes a condition set by sources of international credit, the painful processes of monetary stabilization and fiscal reform cannot be avoided. The danger is that the longer it is delayed the more painful it will become.**

Having established the need for increased domestic savings and external aid in order to effect economic stabilization what requires to be pointed out is that the international capital markets and official aid have changed in character since Ghana's last

active participation in that market ten years ago. The classification of aid has substantially widened. Official aid from Western countries has grown in the 1970's at a slower rate than in the 1960's. Substantial official assistance now comes from OPEC sources. Aid from socialist countries of Eastern Europe has stagnated in value and dropped considerably as a percentage to total flows. Currently, the type of aid that has shown spectacular growth is private sector lending through banks, direct investments and bonds. This is largely because the banks are the depositories of OPEC funds, and the Third World has been prepared to pay higher charges. Finally, the inflexibility in their management and the sources of their funds continue to moderate the ability of the multilateral institutions and international development banks to expand their activities. (Table I in the appendix gives the statistical evidence of the trends I have just described).

Against this background we can discuss the various types of external assistance and determine those that may be most suited to Ghana's needs and those markets that Ghana can enter. External aid is no longer narrowly defined as Governmental capital and technical assistance. It now covers the broader definition of the transfer of real resources to developing countries, and thereby includes all of the following: Official development assistance in both concessional and non-concessional forms; private capital—including direct investment, bank lending and bond issues; the activities of multilateral and financial institutions; commodity price stabilization schemes which have the ability to stabilize and increase export earnings; freer access to international markets for third world manufactured products; the transfer of technology and, technical assistance. I do not intend to discuss all these sources of aid. My emphasis will be on the types of aid which involve financial flows

Official Development Assistance

In monetary terms, this is the cheapest form of aid, its conditionality could be severe, being tied to projects and chiefly available to naturally poor low income countries. The rate of expansion in this source of assistance in the past decade has not been spectacular, and many major countries have failed to attain the agreed budget of 1% of GNP. Total disbursements to countries in Africa and Latin America have only doubled in the eight years from 1970 to 1978, from S5,449 million. Official development assistance received by Ghana for the three years, 1977 to 1979 amounted to only S432 million i.e. S144 million per year. This is equivalent to a little over 1% of total disbursements. This is a source Ghana could explore perhaps for the rehabilitation of her social infrastructure. It cannot be a major source for the finance of growth in terms of what we have described earlier and in terms of previous experience. The performance of official assistance from socialist countries of Eastern Europe has been rather poor during the last decade. Concessional assistance grew in the decade by only 5%; non-concessional assistance fell by 9%. And the total amount involved in 1978 of S920 million for all Third World countries in Africa and Latin America was a mere token. This,

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likewise, cannot be the principal source of development assistance that Ghana needs, perhaps not even for minor infrastructural needs.

Multilateral Institutions:- Their efforts have been steady with concessional flows increasing by $2\frac{1}{2}$ times to top \$3 billion. Non-concessional lending, though at below market, has also increased by about 5 times to another \$3 billion. This source of financing is known to demand some of the often uncomfortably publicised condition of economic behaviour, and even though development assistance from these sources are in themselves large, the activities of these institutions can generate larger official and private assistance. Ghana's experience with these institutions, principally, the World Bank and the IMF, has varied over the years, and if Ghana were to negotiate seriously for international assistance, it is not expected that the bargaining will be easy. On the other hand, if an understanding could be reached, it is possible that one of the international banks could lead Ghana to raise the external requirements we have discussed earlier, i.e. up to \$600 million, from a consortium of sources.

Private Capital—The flow of private capital to the Third world has shown spectacular growth in the past decade. Even though direct investment has only doubled, bank lending has increased seven times and access to the bond market has increased ten fold. These flows are based purely on market conditions, perhaps even on higher charges and interest rate to Third World countries. These, however, more than compensate, in the minds of many Third World borrowers, for the financial reforms demanded by multilateral institutions. From my observations, the impression is given that this is a market Ghana may prefer. This thinking will not be wrong in the long term for a number of reasons: First, it is the fastest growing market. Secondly, as middle income countries cease to qualify for concessional assistance and their growth needs expand, they must move to where resources are largest, and it appears that surplus OPEC funds find their way into the private market. However, through the private market, a country cannot escape the test of merit. And it will be useful for me to explain briefly the analysis international commercial banks make of country borrowers.

The two most important factors that international commercial banks employ are: the economic base and political trends in the borrowing country. Next in order of importance are the balance of payments and external debt. The level of international reserves occupies the last place of importance, not because it is the least important but because its accuracy is often in doubt. High reserves do not therefore always confer high creditworthiness. As evidenced by the great desire of Western banks to lend to China last year, a country's ideological stance is not in itself a very important factor in assessing creditworthiness. There is however a high degree of sophistication in assessing other components of political risk. They include such considerations as ethnic friction, threat to

stability due to poor or falling living standards, tensions caused by income inequalities and ideological and power struggles. Other important factors are the quality of political and economic management, the soundness of short to medium term management, and of development strategy. In these assessments the difference between international commercial banks and multilateral institutions is that while the latter may suggest certain changes in approach to economic management, a commercial bank, being a private institution, will take the domestic political and management conditions as given and will decide accordingly. **A private source will not influence the borrower's policy, but the borrower's characteristics will greatly influence the decision of the private institution.**

The economic base simply describes the economy as it functions, and not how it is managed. Banks will normally undertake an equilibrium analysis to determine whether an economy is expanding faster than its productive potential and whether it will have the absorptive capacity for the goods it is trying to obtain. It will also include an analysis of the rate and cause of inflation and the manner in which such problems are being tackled—competently or otherwise, with or without the full co-operation of members of the government. The level of economic development is important in this analysis as the base of development. All the major growth indicators are considered—the size and growth of the GNP and GDP, size and growth of population, the proportionate strength of the economic sectors, the proportion of GNP accounted for by the less and non-productive sectors, the level of unemployment and under-employment. As would be realised, most of this information about Third World countries is derived from indirect sources and could contain considerable inaccuracies. Authoritative public data are often several years late. Country credit can therefore often be influenced by hearsay, press reports and rumours.

The size of the external debt is not the most crucial indicator. What are important are the maturity distribution of external debt, broken down by term of loans, and the debt service ratio. If, for example, unreasonably large short term maturities are bunched together in a few succeeding years, no bank will be interested in lending to such a country. Debt service ratios are interpreted differently for countries with varying levels of access to the capital markets. For example, a country's debt service ratio may be low merely because it has not got the ability to borrow. Another important consideration is the recent external debt history of the country. A country that persistently defaults on repayment gets struck off the market. The one which unilaterally abrogates its debt obligations takes itself off the market and encounters an uphill task returning to it. Thus, even though theoretically the private market may be the most attractive to Ghana in terms of size and need, our external debt history will not make access to that market easy.

In considering the balance of payments, international banks are more interested in trends rather than levels in any one year. This is due to

the volatile nature of the major components of the balance of payments. Some banks use a series as long as 10 years. Generally, banks look at the rate of growth of exports and imports and those of the major components of exports and imports. In studying the structure of imports they are interested in currently important items such as the oil bill, industrial inputs, and investment goods. Items of considerable interest are the servicing of debt and the sources and structure of aid. Large accounts from multilateral institutions could be advantageous.

It is erroneous to think that the current level of international reserves is of crucial importance to international banks. Of greater importance is the trend in the level of reserves over a period of time. What banks look for in this trend is stability or volatility. If it is the latter, the banks ascertain how it is caused, such as external uncontrollable factors, as oil price or fluctuations in commodity prices, and bad economic management. Like the level of international reserves, the number of months imports covered by reserves in any year is of less value than the trend of this relationship. For decision-making on international loans, credit lines available to the country are treated in conjunction with reserves. It would be clear from what I have said that a country that regards the private capital markets as a major source of development assistance will gain access to this market only when most of the criteria I have described are judged satisfactory by the capital market. Most of these criteria could be judged as needed by the borrowing countries for their own economic health. Some criteria, needless to say, could be rather stiffly judged and may be considered to be prejudiced by the style of economic management in the source of finance.

Conclusion

I will summarise what I have said in a manner that may assist further debate in the country. First, all economic indicators point to a decline in our economy over the past decade. **The low levels now reached imply that any serious attempts to halt further decline and to resume development cannot avoid far reaching fiscal and monetary reforms.** Secondly, there should be no hesitation about embarking on such a policy because it cannot be avoided and also, in our present circumstances, the longer it takes to commence well considered and viable reforms, the more difficult and costly, those reforms will become. Thirdly, the low level of domestic savings and exchange rate inconvertibility imply that economic recovery cannot be achieved by relying on our own efforts only. External aid of certain types will become necessary. But before Ghana can gain access to those markets, positive economic management style and results must be seen by the capital markets. Fourth, in considering a review of the philosophy of self-reliance a code of practice will be helpful. But what will also be necessary is a clear distinction between what Ghana can achieve relying on her own efforts and what is required from external sources in order to sustain economic growth at a reasonable level. Self-reliance is not school-boy nationalism. What

it really means is harder work and conservation of national resources, i.e. higher domestic savings, higher investment, and in the longer term, a sustainable growth relying more on local resources. It does not mean financial and technological isolation. Fifth, therefore, to enable Ghana to grow, a revised international economic policy is necessary, which should aim at those strategies that will better integrate Ghana into the world economy so that the country may pursue her development with dignity as an integral part of the world economy, contributing to the world what she has and deriving from it, at fair prices, what she needs for her growth. Sixth, the world is passing through a difficult economic phase almost similar to the depression of the 1930s. This trend continues adversely to affect attitudes to real resource transfer in the three countries that in the 1960's were the largest sources of assistance to the Third World i.e. U.K., France and U.S.A. Aid from the developed socialist countries of Eastern Europe has also stagnated. **Whatever ideological stance Third World countries may wish to take, it must be borne in mind that the less expensive types of development aid from either the West or the East are no longer available to cover the currently expanded development needs.** Seventh, particularly, for middle income countries whose growth requirements are high, it is becoming increasingly clear that their best source of development assistance will have to come from themselves in the form of good economic management and thereby better access to the international capital markets. Eighth, for non-oil producing Third World countries that unfortunately find their external reserves dwindling due to high energy costs, world recession and inflation, an unavoidable preoccupation should be the pursuit of measures to recycle reserves lost through these exogenous factors, if a disastrous decline in economic growth should be avoided. Ninth, **for other countries that may find adjustment measures not so easy to take, it is for them to weigh carefully as alternatives the dangers of economic decline and decay and those of economic stabilization, bearing in mind that the losses of economic decline are less recoverable than the cost of financial reform.** Finally, it may also be noted that even in some least creditworthy countries, there may be certain sectors that could, for the time being be rendered creditworthy by a more encouraging and liberal attitude. The export sectors are the best candidates for liberalization. External aid in such situations would become easier to mobilize.

Social

TO AGEGE AND BACK

By

Africanus Owusu-Ansah

To Ghanaians, 'Agege' has become synonymous with not only Lagos city of which it forms a part, but also with the whole of Nigeria. In the sprawling Agege township, good and bad, the shoddy and

8th May, 1981

the genuine, the beautiful and the dirty co-exist. It is a melting pot of people of heterogenous backgrounds, ideas, attitudes and values, just like Nima in Accra, Aboabo in Kumasi or, maybe, Treichville or Koumassi in Abidjan. Agege may have attracted Ghanaians for several reasons. It is the terminus for Lagos-bound Ghanaian buses; cheaper accommodation and meals can be obtained there; it possesses a high degree of anonymity; later sojourners readily get assistance from the earlier ones who make it a pastime to visit the bus station to satisfy their curiosity about who are arriving as well as to learn about latest developments at home.

Ghanaians in Nigeria may number a million or more, as some people think, or 133,000 as recent registration figures in the Ghana High Commission would make us believe, or 800,000 as 'conservative' estimates put it. For Nigeria as a whole, working Ghanaians are to be found in almost all professions and jobs, there being doctors, engineers, university lecturers, teachers, journalists and nurses; also, footballers, musicians, typists, electricians, technicians and polaroid cameramen. Among the Ghanaian women, one can find teachers, nurses, bank-clerks as well as 'chop-bar' keepers. Others do a lucrative business in prostitution which some claim could yield an average daily income of some N35. Lagos city, being the Federal capital, with so many Government departments and factories has a large population and is also the first major city on reaching Nigeria from Ghana. It tends to attract unskilled Ghanaian youth who easily get employed as factory hands and construction workers; some mend or polish shoes; others sell ice-cream, or blacken hair or pots.

The emigration of Ghanaians to Nigeria which began on a modest scale around 1975, gathered momentum, especially in 1977-78, when the military maladministration and the Union Government campaign with their concomitant destruction of the economic and social fabric of this nation kept people, especially the youth, wondering whether Ghana had any future for them. Thus, in spite of the strident sermonizing against the "exodus" of people "trained with the taxpayers' money", the exodus to Agege continued unabated.

The great variety of reasons underlying this mass movement of Ghanaians to Nigeria can be analysed under Everett Lee's postulate which presents four factors influencing migration decisions, be they internal or international. These are: i) **origin factors** which constitute those factors that influence migration from one's home. There may be "attractive" factors to "pull" the prospective migrant towards his home, or "repulsive" factors to "push" him out; (ii) **destination factors** with their corresponding "pull - push" forces; (iii) **intervening obstacles** that relate to obstacles lying between origin and potential destinations, the most important being distance (both physical, including artificial barriers, and socio - cultural, including languages); and (iv) **personal factors** which constitute the individual's perception of the above factors. It will be stating the obvious to say that Ghana's economic decline has strengthened the forces "pushing" people away from the country. With most factories operating at less than 20% capacity and the mi-

nistries placing an embargo on the employment of school leavers, etc, the local job market has ceased to expand. High cost of living has made nonsense of any increase in salaries and wages. It is becoming increasingly difficult for a lot of people to survive on whatever salaries or wages they receive. Consequently, the local "push" force is quite strong. Less than a thousand kilometres away is a country enjoying new oil wealth. With the mushrooming of factories, the construction of new state capitals, the expansion in social and educational services, Nigeria is conceptualised as "Sweet Mother" by not only the "unbeez" Ghanaian but also by the frustrated doctor or lecturer, the harassed teacher, the underfed labourer and the unemployed young woman. Passport or no passport, they are all lured into the land of 'black gold! Recruitment is sometimes done locally, even in the Nigerian High Commission offices. Assurances are given, and, in fact, the money "pull" is so strong that on getting into Lagos, one could afford to disregard the warning notice on the fly-over at Mile 2 (the crossroads into Nigeria) which reads "No brother in Lagos".

Complementary Needs

It needs stressing that what has given this emigration to Nigeria further impetus is the phenomenon of "international complementarity of needs" While Nigerians need teachers, nurses, factory hands, etc, and has money, Ghanaians need money and apparently have an over-abundance of teachers, nurses and unemployed youths. Among the professionals, the teachers seem to preponderate: There is such a keen demand for Ghanaian teachers that Ghanaian sojourners who can show the least evidence of knowledge of teaching get immediately appointed. A certificate covering a 6-week in-service training for pupil teachers or an appointment letter as a pupil-teacher in Ghana suffices, in some cases. Why then one might ask, should a university lecturer "waste" his time teaching here for a paltry C450 take-home pay, and be tempted to turn his private car into a taxi just to be able to pay a son's termly school fees of C250 when Nigeria beckons with a salary of at least N500 which, at the official rate of exchange, gives him C2,500 a month or as much as C12,500 a month, if he should change it at the Black Market No wonder, someone remarked to a teacher friend that the current situation has come to "save" teachers, and that any teacher who does not take advantage of it will have to answer in future a question his children might possibly ask: why did you choose to live in poverty in Ghana while others sought their fortune in Nigeria?"

The Journey To Lagos

One with valid documents may decide to go to Nigeria by plane or by State Transport bus. All others might fall on the common 'Daihatsu' or 'Toyota' buses. It could be by "short - short" (a kind of relay) method: from Accra to Aflao-Lome; Lome to Lakoji; Lakoji to Badagry; Badagry to Lagos. Faster and less costly this method may be, it is riskier in case of being found out as an illegal immi-

grant. The "straight" Accra - Lagos buses charge ₵400-₵600, depending on the season and there is always a fare differential of about ₵100 between those who have valid documents and those who have not. The promise is always given the sojourner of being carried to Lagos without any question about papers being asked; one may find this, to his chagrin, to be deceptive, for even at the Aflao border, the courier boys charge our new sojourner ₵20.00 for his safe conduct. The drivers who ply the route know how to deal with the immigration officials on the way, and even the insatiable Benin Border Guards are softened with something passed under the hand. But the sojourner without valid documents could have a rough time at Badagry where, as at Aflao, he is left on his own to cross into Nigeria. A courier boy may help him for a fee of about N1.00 along the coastal path (sometimes on a motor-bike for a higher fee); sometimes he may be asked to feign local citizenship by carrying, say, water or coconuts over to the Nigerian side; but while waiting for his bus to go through Customs, he is expected to avoid detection which could lead to trashing or an extortion of about N2.00. Inside Nigeria, the authorities, (Border Guard and Policemen), like their counterparts in Ghana, are not so fussy; they merely go through the motions of checking papers and passengers, and give the green light immediately the driver does his normal duty!!

"All men are equal but some are more equal than others". All Ghanaian sojourners may be equal, but the professionals appear "more equal" than the unskilled and the semiskilled. Accommodation constitutes a major problem for the Ghanaian sojourner, especially in Lagos, and the earliest sojourners who came to grips with this problem had to rough it out sleeping in the open, under fly-overs, in vehicles, in chop-bars, and in abandoned or uncompleted buildings. These are places where many came into contact with indigenous and alien layabouts who initiated the Ghanaian unemployed into drug-taking, pick-pocketing, burglary and other anti-social activities.

The lucky ones and those who are "chaperoned" may get a room to share with some eight or so others; the real occupant being the only one sleeping on the sole bed in the room with his wife or girl-friend. These indecent and overcrowded places are favourite spots for constant attacks by Nigerian rogues, and sometimes by law-enforcements. agents. Such attacks are frequent at the end of the month when people receive their salaries and wages or buy new items. For fear of losing their life, these unfortunate Ghanaians have to "scatter", but may fall into further trouble when the "genuine" law enforcement agents get attracted to the scene; they may get the worst of it as in the 'Black Maria' incident. Among the Ghanaian sojourners, there is always the effort to save money. The price of an item to be bought is balanced against its cedi value on the Black Market. To be able to afford these, they eat relatively cheaper meals—gari, eba, semorita, kokonte, rice, fried yam or cocoyam—which, of course, are not very different from what those back home eat.

The first important item of property the sojourner usually buys is a steel trunk in which he keeps every item he buys: clothes, footwear, electrical gadgets like stove, a small TV set or a tape-recorder. The general idea is to keep the items bought in good condition for use only when the sojourner returns to Ghana. Apart from eating cheaply, many Ghanaian men may be seen shabbily dressed. All this enables them to save money. With wages of around N3 or N4 a day, some Ghanaians doing menial jobs manage to save. Allowing for daily expenses of, say N2.00, some can save about N30-N50 a month. This can buy a standing-fan (N45) or the following items at one go: an electric iron (N10); 3 pieces of trouser material (N12); 4 dozens of Geisha (N10); 20 cakes of toilet soap (N4); 2 tubes of family size toothpaste (N3); 4 packets of St. Louis sugar (N4); and 2 dozen tins of milk (N5). Alternatively, if this amount is brought to the Black market the possessor could be richer by ₵1, 250 at an exchange rate of ₵25.00 to ₵1.00!

Attitude to Ghanaians

The attitude of Nigerians towards Ghanaians ranges from respect to disdain, in between which one could discern jealousy, indifference, disregard or even hatred. Different Nigerians may treat Ghanaians differently. An Ibo who has much in common with a Ghanaian (religion, dressing, etc.) and whose relations were granted refugee status during the days of the Aliens' Compliance Order of late 1969 and early 1970 may be better disposed towards Ghanaians than a Yoruba whose relations were among the victims of the Compliance Order, and whose states of Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Kwara and Ondo attract the largest number of Ghanaians. Northern Nigerians may have some amount of respect and sympathy for Ghanaians because of the Ghana - Nigeria-Hausa-Fulani connexion.

To talk in plain language, Ghanaians, especially the unskilled youth, do not enjoy a modicum of respect in Lagos city (as contrasted with Kano, Enugu, or even Ibadan). Taunts of "omo - Ghana which means more than a "Ghana-nian" (Nigerian pronunciation, assail anyone who incurs the displeasure of a Nigerian market-woman, a "musholosh" ("tro-tro") mate, or Grammar School students. A way out of hiding one's identity in conversation in public is for Ghanaians to substitute "Ogyakrom" in any discussion that demands the mention of "Ghana", as one teacher in Progress College, Agege, told this writer. A Ghanaian cannot tell when he would be suspected of being a thief and the moment one is called 'ole'-(thief) he should say his prayers, especially if his dressing and speech reveal his Ghanaian identity. Manhandling and torture may start the gruesome show: an old lorry tyre would emerge from nowhere, and when it is placed on the suspect's shoulder, petrol is poured over him and he is set on fire, while a large crowd watches in gleeful malice. Anyone who attempts either to save the victim or to put in a word in his favour stands the risk of getting burnt himself. Even if he is your brother, you either share in the "fun" or take to your heels, for there is no brother

in Lagos! It must be said of some reasonable Nigerians that they abhor this type of mob-violence and lynch behaviour.

Several reasons may account for this behaviour. First, in a fast-growing city like Lagos, all kinds of characters seek their fortune: rapid urbanisation has the tendency to engender anomic behaviour, a common affliction in Lagos City. Secondly a nation that has witnessed a grisly and protracted civil war has most probably made Lagos insensitive to human suffering. Also, the unfortunate Ghanaian youth who, for lack of accommodation, make themselves comfortable at odd places, are usually taken for brigands. Nigerian suspicion of Ghanaian youth as thieves is further strengthened by the fact that Ghanaian unemployed resort to the drinking of 'ogogro' or 'kaikai', or 'akpeteshie' and to the smoking of 'wee' etc. Some claim they do these to get themselves steeled to withstand the tension they are daily subjected to, especially, during "scatter" moments. Some Nigerians, not appreciating the self-denials the Ghanaian youth, often undergo, find it difficult to believe that the items they buy within a short period of stay are genuinely acquired. There is a general jealousy of Ghanaians: Ghanaian teachers and lecturers have taken the lustre from their Nigerian colleagues; the "mmoborowa" Ghanaian youth work harder in the factories and construction works, and are satisfied with less pay; they can be laid-off easily at the whim of the employers without any fear on the part of the employer of violating labour regulations or of inviting union strikes. The jealousy is evident among the "free women" as reflected in the 25th - 28th April, 1980 issue of **Lagos Weekend** which reported the unhappy feeling expressed by a Nigerian "free woman" at Oso-gbo against the influx of Ghanaian girls into the trade. She is said to have lamented: "You know the Ghanaian ladies are very young, and our men rush on them like mad." Some Nigerians seem unwilling to welcome in their midst, citizens of a country that had thrown out their relations a decade ago. Stories—true and untrue—told and retold have had the effect of making Nigerians develop a feeling and desire for retaliation.

Aliens' Compliance Order

Because of the constant references made to the Busia Compliance Order, it appears pertinent to compare and contrast the two Compliance Orders. Both countries were enforcing immigration laws that had been on the statute books since 1963. Ghana's move for enforcement was initiated by the NLC in July, 1969. Nigerians were in the majority of the aliens affected by Ghana's Order. Ghanaians have been affected most by the Nigerian Order. Both governments were responding to long-standing agitation by the electorate. The returnees faced hardships on the way: Nigerians had to be camped (for a week, sometimes) when Benin closed its borders because of the military coup; and Togo would not allow Nigerians to enter for fear of an epidemic, difficulty in policing them and the pressure they would put on the scarce food supply in the country. Some Ghanaians have found it

difficult to pay their fares back home, and are stranded in Lagos, Badagry or Aflao. The Nigerian government made attempts to resettle the returnee (the Western State Government voted N58,000 as relief fund). The Ghana Government has plans to form a planning committee to plan a resettling scheme for the Ghanaian returnees. The Ghana Government later relaxed the law to enable some of the aliens in viable employment (including farm labourers, mine workers, Armed Forces and other security personnel) to remain. Similarly, the Nigerian Government, and especially the State School Boards, are making efforts to obtain valid documents for teachers and other professionals.

By way of contrast, Ghana, as a unitary state, had little difficulty in implementing the law in every part. It is doubtful whether Nigeria, as a federal state, could do it with equal ease. The Ghanaian labour force in Nigeria, consisting mostly of professionals, contrast sharply with the Nigerians in Ghana (up to 1969) who were mostly traders, private diamond winners (most of whom smuggled the gem out of Ghana) cocoa brokers, and dealers in kola and groundnuts. Ghanaians are not bitter about the repatriation of their countrymen as Nigerians were about theirs: because Ghana has for a long time been advising her nationals outside to return home; there has been constant pontification on the virtues of remaining at home to "assist in the reconstruction efforts"; the "exodus" of teachers and doctors has often been condemned as contributing to the falling standards in Ghana's schools and in medical care. There was no such "return home" crusade for Nigerians in Ghana.

But the most important difference seems to be that whereas Ghanaians have been in Nigeria for only six years or so, Nigerians had (up to 1969) lived in Ghana for more than half a century (some of the second generation Nigerian returnees could not trace their way back home, but the Ghanaian returnees have not broken the family tie). During the short period of stay, Ghanaians in Nigeria have been subjected to all manner of harrassment, culminating in the "Black Maria" tragedy in which six Ghanaians and other aliens suspected of crime died through suffocation. The long period of stay by the Nigerians in Ghana was quite peaceful: they enjoyed the greatest share of "Ghanaian hospitality". Their children enjoyed Ghana's fee-free education (and some are still enjoying it) and they had free medical attention as well.

Home at Last

As early as December last year, word had been spreading in Nigeria that things were going to be tougher for Ghanaians (and all aliens) who did not have valid documents. This partially accounts for the large number of the "Agege Boys and girls" who came home during last Christmas - to deposit some of the wealth they had acquired during the sojourn. But they went back, and with them many more left. The announcement came: aliens were to procure valid documents before being allowed to stay and be employed. Many Ghanaians who had already suffered much maltreatment at the hands

of Nigerians even when there was no such order' naturally grew apprehensive of the prospects that lay ahead. There was panic in some cases, and anxiety in others. Some Nigerian rogues set in and, constituting themselves into self-appointed law enforcement agents, harassed and taunted the Ghanaians wishing to return home. However, many Ghanaians who returned home from January to the beginning of March had a nice word for the Nigerian authorities. They suffered no harassment on the way, even some with very huge boxes full of expensive items claimed that their boxes were not opened for examination - but, of course, they had to bribe their way through.

This peaceful tide, however, subsided when writing under the caption "GHANAIS KILL NIGERIANS", the *Daily Times* of March 7, 1981 noted: "Two Nigerians have been reported killed in Accra, Ghana, in a new wave of anti-Nigerian campaign sweeping through the country. One of them identified through his heavy tribal marks (and a Yoruba man easily gets the message), was clubbed to death outside the Accra Stadium after a football match." The subsequent account discussed how Nigerians were "living in fear" in Ghana. "What a crafty way of resurrecting anti-Ghanaian feeling in Nigeria", a friend remarked. Another felt that the authors of that story did not see why Nigerians should not deliver the coup de grace to the fleeing Ghanaians for their "last show" of the macabre entertainment. Reports describe the speed at which this issue of the paper was bought, even by some illiterate Nigerians! From that moment, any act of harassment or maltreatment was "justified". Ghanaians owe their apparent safety to the opportune visit of the Nigerian Inspector General of Police to Ghana and the good sense of the Nigerian High Commissioner in Ghana, both of whom immediately denied the allegations, along with the denial by the Ghana High Commissioner in Nigeria. But the man in the street may not have been convinced: "They always deny such stories; that is international diplomacy."

Returning Ghanaians have several stories to tell after these developments. Some claim that they have been robbed of their property and cash. Some assert that they did not have any money on them, to pay their fares back after having been pushed out of their jobs. A naval captain recently brought down a number of Ghanaians stranded in Lagos, and the Okukuseku Band played the 'Good Samaritan' by conveying free of charge to Accra a number of them stranded at Aflao.

Reception

Some of the returnees have not readjusted to a normal life back home; some seem to have been broken by their experience and find re-adjustment difficult.

The Government is said to be arranging for the establishment of a Planning Committee which would work out the modalities of resettling the returnees. In the meantime, reports have it that a number of young men and women rushed to the Eastern Regional Administration to register their names, expressing their willingness to work on

farms like Kwamoso, Okumanin and Huhunya. Doubt is expressed as to whether the returnees perceive themselves as "unfortunate": what of one who managed to bring down electrical gadgets and appliances sale of which could fetch, say C5,000. There are other people who are dragging their feet on this question of resettling the returnees since the "good" ones who remained at home to keep Ghana going are finding it difficult to "resettle" themselves. Another opinion has it that we may be making an unnecessary fuss about resettling them, but only end up establishing another huge bureaucratic machinery which would further increase our huge recurrent expenditure. At any rate, since the returnees had not broken any links with their relations, many can go back to their people. Furthermore, the Labour Offices could conveniently deal with such matters, and government agencies that require the service of these youth could work through them. Much needs to be done to improve conditions at home. As things stand now, many of the returnees may, like the Magi, be reflecting on whether it was worth their while coming home after all. Over in Nigeria they may have thought about returning to their country, their Kingdom. They have come home, but where is their Kingdom?

Opinion

ACADEMICALLY SPEAKING

By

Ebow Daniel

Taking the floor at a noisy Forum is by no means easy. But possession of the word helps; and the word is "Allow". If the noise level remains more than can be tolerated, resort to reduplication of the word is allowed: "Allow, Allow". Thus allowed, the speaker can proceed in the style of the leader of the "June 4 Movement": "Like I said..." The speaker may not have said anything previously, but it does not matter. The speaker has the floor for as long as he does not say anything Forum does not want to hear.

"Forum", incidentally, refers to the general assembly of students hastily convened for an *aluta* (their word) or something revolutionary. If the mood of Forum favours a march round the university in a demonstration in place of attending classes, the speaker may contribute by suggesting a route for the march, for instance. If he were misguided enough to suggest that the measure proposed was a waste of the taxpayers' money he has what is coming, an expletive, for sure: *wo sh*... The singing of one particular chant could also render the speaker inaudible: "All we are saying don't waste our time....."

And if after the expletive and chant the speaker is still on his feet, several pairs of hands would

probably take hold of his person, and he may end up wet, that is to say "ponded". The architects who designed our universities would probably be pleased to know that the several ponds in evidence have acquired uses besides the decorative: forcible emersion in a pond will make a conformist of any student who thinks he has a mind of his own.

For a long time Forum has been the single most resolute force in the country. The military takeover of 1972 was successful largely because of support from a Forum that had become disenchanted with the civilian administration that was inaugurated in 1969. On the other hand, "Union Government" and the regimes which sponsored it failed partly because Forum would have none of them. If national governments shudder when Forum thunders, is it surprising university "authorities" (their word) are nervous when Forum coughs? Forum's cause is always a just cause, one which cannot possibly fail: "We shall overcome....." As a matter of fact, however, Forum's demands are often disruptive of academic life. And yet modification of demands is made impossible by a strident chant that takes no teaching: "No com-

promise, no compromise....."

Waste within the institution, misunderstanding among constituents and endless efforts at settlement, occasional conflict with sponsors, not to mention impoverishment, personal and institutional, are among other factors which undermine institutional effectiveness. It is surprising we have survived this far.

Aren't We Rather Unique?

Like I said, we do things uniquely in the University. Only the other day, we interviewed a number of students who, it was alleged, had gone on a rampage, destroyed University property and molested staff. If the interview did not tell us precisely who did what during the demonstration, it left us in no doubt that we are, indeed, unique, at least, in speech:

Question Were you in the demonstration?

Answer As for me **de** I was not among.

Question If you were not part of it what did you think of it?

Answer It was **hu**

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Applications are invited from persons with administrative and accounting experience for the post of:

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Applicants should be graduates or possess equivalent qualification.

The successful candidate will be responsible under the Master for the supervision of the various sections of the Hall administration, accounts, cash, stores maintenance of the fabric, furniture, equipment and any other property of the Hall, catering and domestic management. He will furthermore be required to maintain certain accounts, and to perform any other duties which the Master may require of him from time to time.

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Further particulars, including the salary scale for the position and forms of application should be obtained from the Registrar, University of Ghana, P. O. Box 25, Legon, Accra with whom applications (8 copies) should be lodged not later than **15th May 1981**.

Question Hu?
Hu, which in Akan means frightening, is, indeed, a frightening phenomenon on first encounter, but to press on:

Question What would you say was the cause?
Answer You mean the cause of the demo?
 It was the delay of the millions.

Question Millions?
Answer Yes the "allawa"
Question What of it?

Answer Forum decided that if the allawa was not going to flow a we reserve the right to advise ourselves.

Question And so you advised yourselves to go on a rampage? Was that a decision of the entire student body?

Answer Except the girls
Question Why not them?
Answer Oh as for them *de* they are alright.

The admixture of English and the vernacular, previously thought to be peculiarly a Cape Coast phenomenon, is the pervasive form of student speech in our universities: "As for you Charlie *paa de*, you are something *oo*" means that Charlie is approved of, or indeed, that the contrary is the case. "As for that professor *koraa mpo*" is definite disapproval. "When he came *nonn*" translates "as soon as he came," the *nonn* being Ga.

A glossary of the "unique" should be useful, as long we choose to be part of the University. Among members of some societies that relate to the esoteric, everybody is a brother, apparently. Among university students, on the other hand, it would seem that one is either Charlie or Jack: "Jack have you heard the info....?" The "info" turns out to be news that the "millions" are to be paid earlier than was feared. The further "info" that on account of inflation twice the normal allowance or "allawa" is to be paid is an "apo", namely, that the news is too good to be true and yet ought to be true because we want it to be. The word probably derives from "apocryphal", but differs from it in harbouring elements of wishful thinking. Any suggestion that a failing economy could no longer sustain the normal allowance and that only one-third thereof should be expected would be an "alarm info". "Alarm info", therefore, refers to that which we do not want to hear. Rumour that each student would be expected to contribute his entire allowance to pay for damage caused during the demonstration is unwelcome news: "Charlie, you too you like 'alarm info' too much". When SMC passed the decree banning rumour-mongering, a defiant Forum responded uniquely: "As for rumour we shall monger". And it must be acknowledged that in the context of official news censorship "mongering rumour" was the only way one could express oneself politically.

As the subject of a sentence, especially if it occurs at the beginning of the sentence, "fact" does not take the article, definite or otherwise, a sort

of allergy, evidently: Fact is this writer who is part of the university is neither blind nor deaf. "Chewer-on", a direct translation from some Twi expression whose meaning is not too obvious, refers to one who is unlucky in love. While escorting his paramour Sunday after Sunday, a friend of this writer used to knock on the door of known "chewers-on" in our hall. "Alone is miserable," he would tease. His prowess as an athlete was widely acknowledged, but not unlike some of the nation's inscription-happy professional drivers, he was not particularly strong on grammar, this friend, but that was then. You may not press your attentions on a female who is attached, but an "unguarded missile" is fair game. Bus-loads of "unguarded missiles from the Nurses' Training College used to be hurled at us during annual dances of the halls of residence. You had to be at the bus-stop early, if you wanted to put an end to your misery, temporarily, however. Often the dancing was preceded by a formal dinner which was always an occasion for shouting oneself hoarse. The mere presence in the procession to the High Table of a hairless pate, easily betrayed by the shine, was enough spark: "Motor-way-waay-waaay-waaaay...." Even a partially nude pate deserves recognition: "Way-under-construction-waay-under-construction-waay...." Formal dinners call for the gentleman in all of us, we have to wait patiently to be served the food from the counter, for instance, but the temptation to rush and grab is rather strong and we often succumb: We "charge". And we are not a light brigade!

The more picturesque form of expression has a very high premium. Subscribers to the "June 4 Movement are particularly fond of the picturesque: Either you are a part of the problem or a part of the solution". Being in a university is certainly

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being part of it, but whether that makes you a problem or a solution is far from clear. Fact is the picturesque is often unfathomable. A group of students complained the other day that the chaplain of their university was selfish. "There are only three people that Chaplain Christian cares for", said they: "Christian and Christian and Christian". Considering that Chaplain Christian had not given his name to anyone, being celibate, some of us thought that a pun on the christian doctrine of Trinity was intended and we were close to being impressed. Recently, however, we have heard the same thing said of as secular a functionary as the Manciple: "There are only three people that the Manciple cares for — self and self and self." What a shame!

Like some students, words begin to behave rather strangely when they enter the University. "Flow", for instance, seems to keep the strangest company. Blood flows, which is only to be expected. "Let the blood flow" was the general student response to the deliberate but happily selective termination of life inspired by the "June 4 Revolution" (dare you call it an "uprising"!). The "gains of the Revolution," namely, confiscation of "ill-gotten wealth" and incarceration of "enemies of society" could be frustrated by a "courageous and imaginative" interpretation of the Transitional Provisions of the Constitution of the Third Republic, says the academic lawyer in L.O. Vol. XIII No. 3. The implications for "next time" should be obvious: Power to the people! Next to blood, the weekly allowance given to students for feeding flows; and toilet rolls, supplied by the halls of residence, also flow. The only thing which does not always flow, and that because it is often restrained, is respect for authority, regrettably. "Brutal" as in "the girl is brutal o" might not necessarily refer to lack of sensibilities anywhere. On the contrary, the comeliness of the damsel may well be the subject of comments. Allow!

And Wasteful?

Waste is plentiful; or you might say there is a plenitude of waste, if you are given to dressing things up, as academics like to do, statistics being the favourite costume: "We achieved one hundred per cent passes in classics" is fine; and anyone can see why it should be preferred to "the two students presented for classics passed." "The whole university including everyone of four thousand students..." has the advantage or magnifying the "whole". Surely, there could not be "the whole university" which did not include its four-thousand students! If one had to pay for every word uttered, as one does in sending a telegram, who in our universities would not be destitute? All for putting messages in costumes! **Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.**

Universities pride themselves on being democratic. There must be consultation in committees on every issue. And "consensus" is a word much beloved in the milieu of consultation. The Dean of one of our several Faculties announced at a public meeting that a recent decision on entry qualification to his Faculty reelected the "general consensus" in

the Faculty Board; which announcement startled us into contemplation of what the Faculty Board might have done, if it had not reached a "general consensus": Partial consensus? Marginal consensus? Evenly split consensus? The possibilities are so frightening that some of us would rather have our consensus naked, no adjectives, no dressing up, all of which is wasteful anyway. The point simply is that either there is a consensus (a view presumed to be generally held) or there is not. But if you want your consensus magnified you could not do better than to "general" it. In other circumstances, however, you might be the poorer for it.

There are other forms of waste, knowledge of which could incense the public against some students, especially those students who insist on writing every examination twice before advancing to the next stage of their course; meanwhile, others who also satisfy the entry requirements must wait outside the door for those within to repeat courses. The waste is there even before students enter the University. It is evident, for instance, in the decision which makes the Bachelor's Degree a five-to-six year course following 'O' Level. Almost everywhere else, the Bachelor's Degree is a four-year course after 'O' Level. How superior is our Bachelor's Degree? The chief executives of our universities should be able to tell us from their travels. Who is it who insists that the collective noun of the chief executives of our universities should be "a flight of vice-chancellors" seeing how often they are air-borne? Seriously, the matter ought to engage the attention of the Committee of Vice-Chancellors (authorised reference to the collectivity): Would not the outcome of university education, such as we have come to know it, be the same or nearly the same if we dispensed with Sixth Forms and stipulated an 'O' Level entry requirement for a four-year Bachelor's Degree?

But to return to less speculative waste, there are university students who finish one course and go on to a never-ending-succession of courses, the public including members of the United National Convention, paying "all the way". One individual remained in the University for eleven years only to become an apostle of "Union Government". And of course, there are public servants who steal away from work to attend a class or two and run back to work. It is good to see public servants keeping up with their reading, but some of them do claim those allowances meant for full-time non-resident students who are not in receipt of salaries. Of course, somebody is paid to see that allowances go to only entitled persons, but why waste paper making the claim? And what are we getting, anyway, in return for sponsoring 10,000 students at a time in our universities? There are not enough teachers; not enough books either. One student was heard to remark that in his first year the only time he did a written assignment in a popular and a rather oversubscribed subject was when he wrote the end of year examination!

University students do waste energy on causes of dubious value. If only such energy could be applied more to games whose importance, happily, is recognised by many more than used to be the

case. Only the other day, there was an athletic meeting in front of the cafeteria of one university which, for an event that had not been advertised, attracted a lot of attention. It was all discus, however, but we were impressed to see students who had not specially trained for the event breaking records. We were a little worried though that the normal discus disc could not be secured for the meeting, but plates from the cafeteria, each of which on landing broke to loud cheers, substituted well enough. Afterwards, we learnt from leaflets that were circulated that the event signified protest against "bad quality" food!

Misunderstanding

"Bad quality" (which is a contradiction) is not unlike "sweet-bad", the Ghanaian name for a cookie made from flour; or, if you are addicted to Chinese dishes, you might say the expression compares with "sweet-sour" which, far from being offensive in smell or taste, is the gourmet's delight. The chairman of the Board of Directors of Graphic Corporation said the other day that the editorials of the **Daily Graphic** lacked meat. Wouldn't they? For months we have not seen meat in our soup and that should be the more obvious place to look for meat. Incidentally, food of "good quality" (redundant by one word), is better guaranteed in our universities by the presence in the kitchen of meat and various items of "essenco" (their word) than by assurances of good-will, verbal or scripted, extracted from the "authorities". Throwing the discus is useful training, no doubt, for occasional skirmishes on the grounds of diplomatic missions which displease us, but it could hardly be expected to produce food of any description. As for the mounting of road blocks at the entry-points to the universities, when protesting about food, it is definitely counter-productive. Why, it could delay the arrival of the meat-van, for instance. And the **Daily Graphic** was to suspend the serving of meatless editorials while an editorial policy was being cooked, according to the chairman of the Board. **D'accord**, not all of us are vegetarians! But we were talking about waste.

If you do business with our universities you may come across an "Executive Secretary", the office being one in a hierarchy which tapers to the vice-chancellorship. A Secretary must, of course, execute, we venture to say unless, of course, the position is honorary. We are not unaware of the presence in the community at large, of Executive Directors and Executive Engineers. May it not catch on Executive Registrar might not be far off. Executive Dean too! And wouldn't an Executive Pro-Vice-Chancellor be too much? On the other hand, "essenco" for "essential commodities" is brief, commendably so. You are allowed to say "essential commodities" has been "brevitised" that is, if privatised" (turning over to the private sector) contributed to L.O. Vol. XIII No. 2 by its Special Correspondent, is permissible.

Misunderstanding abounds in our universities partly because students and the "authorities" do not even speak the same language. The "unique" remains unique to students until a published gloss-

ary should be forthcoming. It is the case also that there is too much Latin where there should be none at all, judging from curricular preferences dating from secondary school. First of all, students like to refer to the university site as **campus**. And then there is **Forum!** Latin is not supposed to be relevant for relevant studies such as economics, business administration, medicine, agriculture, science and technology. But Latin has the ring of learning. And so all of us begin to dabble: **Si monumentum**.....

While they are on **campus** students are "gentlemen and ladies in **statu Puppillari**". For posterity to know they were one time in **statu puppillari**, students have to sign the **matricula** for which they have to don academic robes in a special ceremony. The Senior Tutor of a hall of residence is in **loco parentis**, especially when favours are sought. We all know a parent is not to give a stone when asked for bread. But you cannot trust a Senior Tutor not to give a snake for fish or a scorpion for an egg unless you remind him of his in **loco parentis** status. Who wants parents on campus, otherwise? For the most part, we are mature adults and we resent the supervisory role of the Senior Tutor. Petitions are spattered with **per se, in toto et cetera, et cetera**.

Latin-based expressions are not any less erudite. A friend of this writer recently received an invitation from a student club to take the chair at a "bilateral debate" which turned out to be a debate with a team from another university. **Unilateral** debates do not require umpires, obviously, being exercises in soliloquy. **Multilateral** debates are also possible. They are better known as symposia.

It is not Latin **per se** which is the trouble, but the scantiness of it could obscure true meaning even from the dabbler. The Latin word for "man" apparently, is **honus**, so that **honus economicus** comes to mean "economic man", according to some publication that recently came to attention. And why not? Aren't words denoting masculine supposed to terminate in **u-s**? The publication in question is a text-book on advertising. What an advertisement for Latin grammar! **Honus sapiensus** is not altogether disagreeable. And who was it who believed that **carus-a-um** referred to "car" on the analogy that **longus-a-um** meant "long"? Alexander Pope may be dead, but "drink deep or taste not" is still sound advice. **Cara mea**: Oh my car!

There is also too much law and bad law at that. No petition seems complete without a flourish of "whereases to wit" that the President of the Students' Representative Council was merely carrying out a decision of Forum; and that, therefore, he is not personally answerable for his part in the "demo". Not even for slapping the face of the Domestic Bursar? At a student-staff consultative meeting the other day, the students turned up with a delegation twice the size allowed by the statutes. It was not ignorance of the statutes, as it turned out, but that a "preliminary objection" to representation which was not commensurate with student numbers on campus was intended. Considering that the consultative committee had been in existence for years, the "preliminary objection"

was coming rather late. "Fundamental objection", it might have been, if the leader of the delegation was not so steeped in law, being a fifth year student of the Law School and all that; and the consultation might have been less acrimonious.

But if students like to obscure meaning with Latinism, the legal and picturesque, the "authorities" are not to be outdone. The opaque seems to be their particular forte: "The University is now into phase", said one ancient authority the other day. The procurement officer in our universities is called "The Manciple". And who other than persons determined to conceal meaning would prefer **Michaelmas, Lent and Trinity** to First, Second and Third Terms respectively?

Town and Gown

The other day some students took a "weighty" and an "urgent" problem to the chief executive of one university. The weight of the problem was obvious from the number that carried it, almost the entire population of the hall of residence, 600-strong, and the urgency was implicit in the fact that the party arrived at the chief executive's residence at 2.00 a.m. And what did the chief executive do? He "abused" the students, that's what they said. He was "insensitive to students' problems"; nothing short of his removal would satisfy them, they said. There should be no sympathy for a chief executive who goes about calling students foul names, which is what "abuse" is about, probably in his pyjamas, but first the particulars of "abuse": unimaginative, he had called the students, said the prosecution; not quite, according to the defence, except in the sense that he was sure, he had said, that the students were not so unimaginative as not to know how to go about the particular problem themselves. Pause. Verdict: No abuse, but many a man has come to grief for a better linguistic effort than the chief executive's. We are not allowed to forget **Cinna**, him that was a poet. What indignity and pain did he not endure from the Roman public for the occasional infelicity to which we are all susceptible, he who spoke verse? Ponder the chief for his double negatives, pre-dawn!

Insensitivity to students' problems is a rather grave complaint. But don't we know, at least, one individual who could testify that students are themselves often insensitive to each other's feelings? He had left wife and children at home to study rather late in life. His mature status was confirmed by the fact that he had a car on campus. Everybody was welcome to ride with him until it happened: As he drove, the young "internalists" (their word) sat at the back of the car, bodies merged, tongues exploring each other's mouth and see it all from the driving mirror. Of course, the car began to stall, finally coming to a stop in the middle of nowhere. It must be the battery. Would the love birds care to give it a push? They pushed. He sped. They wailed.

"What could little boys do without little girls" is one of the captivating lyrics in that delightful musical, **Gigi**. The dependence of gown on town would also make a delightful lyric. Don't we love Pioneer Tobacco Company for paying for the

annual Aggrey-Fraser-Guggisberg Memorial Lectures? The Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Lectures too! And aren't we grateful to Government for providing monies for staff salaries and for students - tuition, board, lodging, vacation residence, dissertation allowance, examination fees—will the list ever end? In as much as it provides for the gown the town has often felt, not without some justification, that it should be able to direct affairs on campus, which is precisely what universities do not like: they do not like to be told whom to admit to courses or whom to engage as teachers or how to assess students; and often misunderstanding over who gives orders on campus has led to battles. It is usually a battle of words waged in the editorials of the state-owned dailies and from Congregation platforms.

Academic Year, 1963-64, was the **annus mirabilis** or, as advertising Latin would have it, **annus mirabilis**. It was the year that the nation decided by a referendum not to tolerate any party besides the one in power. One heard that the original draft proposed for insertion in the Constitution of the First Republic had a peculiarly biblical ring: "Thou shalt have no other party besides....." which was not altogether unfamiliar considering "Seek ye first the political kingdom....." 1963-64 was also the year that we amended the constitution to provide for removal of judges of the superior courts for any reason that appeared sufficient to the national chief executive. In that same year the national chief executive wanted certain changes in the universities including the transfer of certain departments from one campus to another. The decision was taken that the refusal of the universities to respond positively to all those momentous developments in the country required measures beyond mere editorial chastisement. The brunt of public anger fell heavily on one particular university. The assault of town on gown was led by a member of the central committee of the Party. It was a Saturday-long siege of the utmost ferocity; property was destroyed in student rooms which could be entered, but the episode was not without lighter moments:

Baritone (Angry): Who are you and how dare you enter my room without knocking?

Soprano (Defiant): We are here to demonstrate. I am a mass.

Baritone (Sweet): What a coincidence! I am a server, Catholic.

A mass calls for a celebration, of course. A bottle of wine materialised and a con-celebration duly took place, Baritone serving, Soprano demonstrating an uncanny knowledge of the ritual, both ecstatic, neither conscious of time. That is how it came about that the invading masses retreated without several of their number on that remarkable week-end in a remarkable year.

We survive thanks to the partiality of town-folk to gown-folk. What could little boys do without little girls? Oh for a Maurice Chevalier to say our gratitude in song!

Letters

Of Speeches And Gems

SIR—Congratulations to Ebow Daniel on his brilliant and amusing contribution to your esteemed paper of 13th March, 1981. I am sure he will be equally entertained by the following.

A guest thought that his host had been wonderful to him. So at the moment of departure he decided to give a little speech to show his gratitude, and began: "You have really been a wonderful host to me. To express my appreciation I only wish to say, "thank you very much for your hostility". Talking about Popes, Pope John XXIII of blessed memory was surely not being hostile when to a question: "How many people work in the Vatican" he quipped "Half of them". To me that answer proves papal infallibility and hospitality.

When I became a Bishop I did not have pretensions to infallibility. I accepted what I thought to be my elevation with philosophical modesty. Of the many letters of congratulations I received, one simply said: "I congratulate you on your "elimination". It took me only one day after my episcopal ordination to realise how perceptive, penetrating and truthful that statement was.

In a Religious Knowledge examination for Form 4 pupils in Catholic Schools one question was "Who are the four evangelists?" One admirable answer was direct and to the point: "The four evangelists are these three, Peter and Paul". Well, well, isn't that a real gem?

Catholic Bishop's House,
P. O. Box 99,
Kumasi,

Rt. Revd. Peter A. Sarpong

Misplaced Priorities

SIR - If I heard His Excellency the President of the Third Republic Dr. Hilla Limann correctly on the eve of the 24th Anniversary of our Independence, then, I wish to observe humbly that he seems to be misplacing priorities. We are faced today with enormous problems like the deplorable sanitation in Accra, the chronic drug shortages in our hospitals and a critical food situation. In the face of these problems how could the President be thinking of Silver Jubilee Celebrations?

Commonwealth Hall
Legon.

J. Kwasi Tega

Strange Happenings

SIR - The public could not have failed to notice a remarkable development reported from Cape Coast, Central Region, in the centre page of the Daily Graphic of Tuesday May 5, 1981. According to this report the Regional Minister, Mr. Kankam Da Coasta, and a Mr. Kojo Mensah who is popularly known as Kojo Alata had "smoked the peace pipe after the settlement of a political misunderstanding dating from the Minister's assumption of office in the region". The initial settlement, apparently, took place in the streets, to be precise, on the "London Bridge" (you can bet Cape Coast

to have a London Bridge!) where the Minister and his adversary embraced to cheers from on-lookers. Mr. Mensah is said to have promised to call on the Regional Minister at the Residency. The report continues:

"Mr. Alata called as promised in the company of Supi Munford and other P.F.P. executives with a carton of beer as a sign of courtesy to cement their long-standing political misunderstanding".

O-la-la!

P. O. Box 7202,
Accra-North.

Kobina Egyir

The Experts On Trade Liberalisation

SIR - In Vol. XIII No. 4 of your esteemed journal, one Mr. Homeku-Ajei wrote in respect of the above subject, which is worthy of my comments. Mr. Homeku-Ajei quoted some experts on trade liberalisation as saying "just remove price controls, let the forces of free market operate and goods will flood the market at reasonable prices". My view is that mere removal of price controls and operating a free market do not necessarily guarantee reasonable prices if it is not accompanied by importation of goods on adequate and regular basis. Most of the goods now displayed in our markets were purchased by our traders from Togo, Ivory Coast and Nigeria, by exchanging our cedis on the black market, at the rate of C120 to 1,000 CFA and C35 to the naira, since the Bank of Ghana is unable to satisfy them.

P. O. Box 285
Madina

Shaw K. Zormelo

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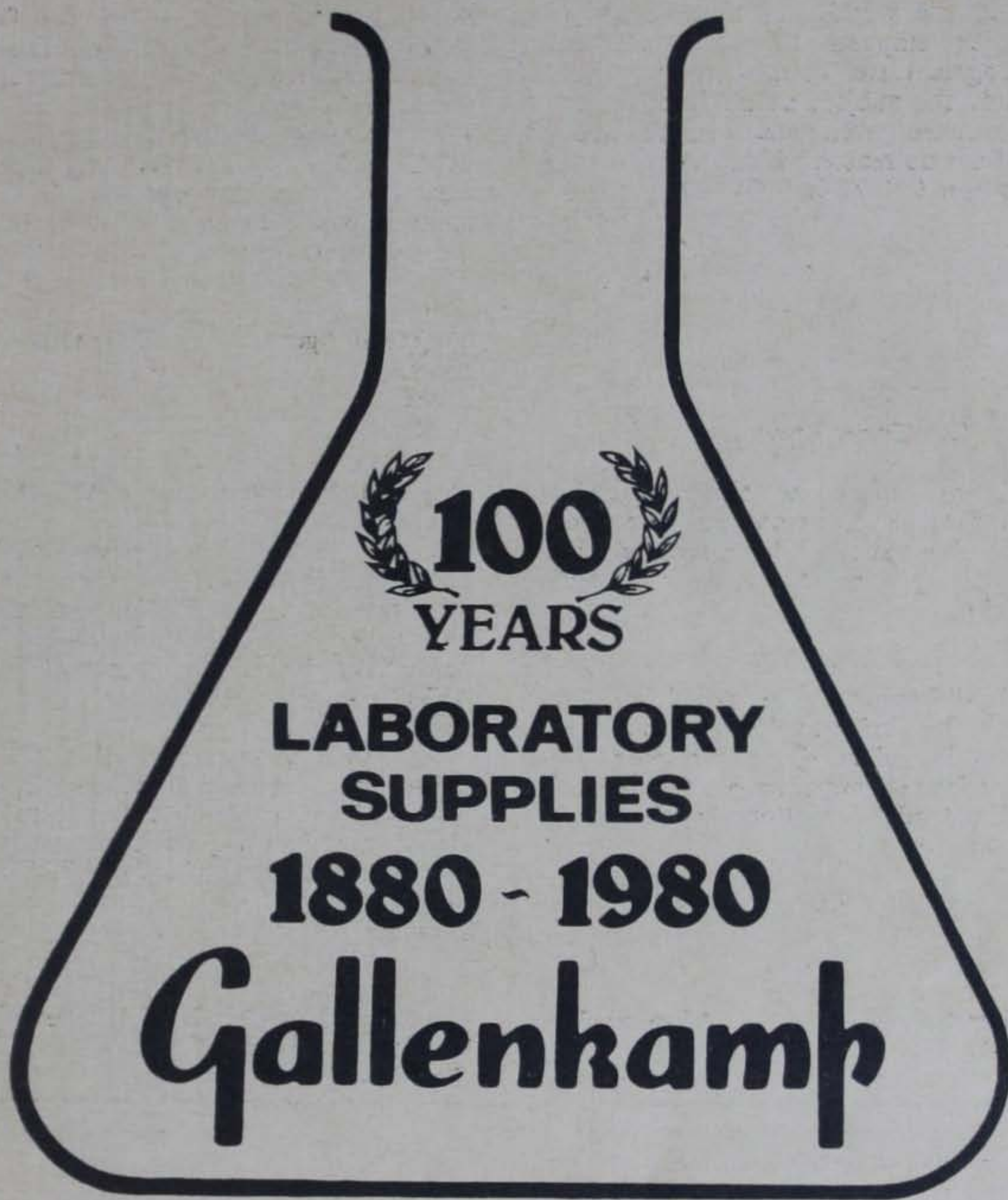
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Cutlasses And Agriculture

SIR - I am just wondering about how a potentially rich country like Ghana is now one of the poorest in the world. I think we should begin to put the emphasis in our development activities on agriculture. To this end, we should begin to teach the subject at all levels in our schools. Also, if the government is serious about agriculture, I see no reason why a cutlass should now sell between C30.00 and C40.00.

Liberty Press,
Accra.

B. K. Idun.

Let Truth Prevail

SIR - Almost everyone I meet these days talks about the strains and stresses of our time. After careful observation, I have realized that the strains may be traced to the lack of truth in our society.

Every nook and cranny of our society is plagued with dishonesty. The politician tells lies to survive, the student refuses to report on a friend who is guilty of wrong-doing, the accounts clerk fails to prepare a genuine balance sheet, and the trader intentionally sells goods at exorbitant prices.

We need to pray for truth to prevail in our society.

Fijai Secondary School,
P. O. Box 441,
Sekondi.

S. V. Mprereh Jnr.

Passport Forms

SIR — It appears that, unlike the 1960 - 1975 period, one can buy passport forms now only in Accra. This is most unfair for those of us who live outside Accra; and who, in these days of bad roads and high lorry fares, cannot easily travel to Accra.

It was once possible to buy passport forms at Post Offices. Since obtaining a passport is a right and not a privilege will the Government make it possible for all of us to buy passport forms at Post Offices?

c/o Postal Agent,
Bawku.

Atigutah A. S. Alfred

The President And AFRC Decisions

SIR — The President alleged just before the Easter holidays that a Member of Parliament, who travelled to London for medical treatment, had visited an AFRC convict and had apparently been bribed to champion the cause of AFRC convicts in Parliament.

It is well to remember that the President visited the Makola market demolished by the AFRC. During this visit the 'liberated' women inhabitants gave the President's party C100,000, and promised to rebuild the AFRC condemned city at a cost of C10 million. Are the women donating or bribing?

121 Casely Hayford Hall,
University of Cape Coast,
Cape Coast.

Seth E. Terkper

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Notebook

WE ARE DISAPPOINTED, MR. PRESIDENT

Speaking from a political platform one Saturday in February this year, the President of the Republic, made three significant statements: (1) The Government did not contribute even "a pesewa" towards the recent-management course in England attended by the Chairman of the Board of Directors of GIHOC. (2) Some members of the Minority Parties had gone abroad to dissuade potential investors from investing in the extraction of the country's mineral resources. (3) Some members of the Minority Parties had been bribed by AFRC convicts living abroad to plead their cause in Parliament.

The allegation that potential investors were being discouraged by members of the minority parties from investing in our mineral resources is a grave one, but it remains to be substantiated by the President. There does not seem to be any firm basis for the President's statement even on the other matters. According to an interview given to BBC by the Chairman of the GIHOC Board while in London, the Government paid only a part of the total expenses connected with his attendance at the management course. That there was a contribution by Government is further corroborated by a letter carrying the signature of the Secretary to the Cabinet, which letter was read in Parliament and subsequently reproduced in one of the dailies. The letter which was addressed to the Bank of Ghana authorised release of the foreign exchange equivalent of C62,050.00 to be paid for by GIHOC for its Chairman's attendance of the management course. About that other allegation, namely, that some of its members had received a bribe, Parliament was as concerned as could be expected. It referred the matter to its Privileges Committee for investigation. The Committee received written evidence from the Minister of Presidential Affairs. The "some" who had allegedly been bribed to plead the cause of the "AFRC convicts" in Parliament turned out to be one person. After deliberating them after, the Parliamentary Privileges Committee pronounced its verdict: the allegation cannot be sustained by the evidence placed before the Committee.

The decision of the Parliamentary Privileges Committee means that if the President did not have immunity from legal proceedings against his person, he would be liable for libel. The individual M.P. named by the President to have received a bribe has, indeed, instituted legal proceedings against some newspapers for indiscreet utterances similar to the President's. But the President does not seem to appreciate his luck; or probably because he knows he has legal protection, he proceeds to make even more reckless statements. As far as he is concerned, the Parliamentary Privileges Committee could come to the conclusion it did, because it did not take into account evidence that the M.P. whom he accused of bribery had taken from the Bank of Ghana money which he did not spend for

the purpose for which the money was given, namely, to pay hospital bills and provide for his personal maintenance while the M.P. was undergoing treatment in England; instead he had accepted hospitality from an AFRC convict. In other words, if the M.P. concerned is not guilty of receiving bribes, he is guilty anyway of not turning over to the Bank of Ghana monies which he had not used. The M.P. has replied rather brusquely, to the effect that he is not answerable to the President, but at the appropriate time he will give an account of his expenditure to the Bank of Ghana. It would be the height of accountability if the President could ensure that all public officers including ministers of state who travel abroad on official business would render accounts to the Bank of Ghana on their return surrendering monies *per diem* saved as a result of a free lunch or dinner or any item of hospitality provided by the Ghana Ambassador or a friend; and we would urge the President along on some such pursuit.

For the moment we can only place on record our disappointment with some of the President's utterances lately. Under the constitution of the Third Republic, the President is both chief executive and the first gentleman in the land. Dr. Hilla Limann occupies this exalted position temporarily and while he does, he should ensure that he does nothing that will lower the office in public esteem. Scoring points against the other party is the stock-in-trade of the politician and we expect the President to do some of it every now and then. There is no point scored, however, when the opponent is libelled. The President has tremendous resources for whatever he wants to do. He should put those resources to good use, at least, to ensure that what he says in public can be substantiated. Statements of rebuttal often border on the disrespectful especially where if the individual accused of wrongdoing feels he has been slandered but has no legal recourse. The President should not place himself in a position where disrespectful language comes his way.

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Editorial ^{13 JUL 1981}

WILL THE NEW DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM WORK?

In April this year, a new system of distribution, of what has come to be known in this country as essential commodities (milk, sugar, milo, soap, edible oil etc.) since the Acheampong days, was instituted. The main feature of this system is the identification of the population through professional and occupational groupings, and the bulk allocation of consumer goods to these groups for distribution among their members.

As is well known, the system was established by the government as a result of the minatory pressure mounted by the leadership of the Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.), which, in turn, was responding rather tardily to the dissatisfaction of workers with the system of distribution through the old commercial houses. Whatever the immediate causes for setting up the new arrangement, at bottom, the new distribution system is a reaction to a situation of chronic and acute shortages of essential items as well as to inadequate and continually dwindling supplies.

Whatever the reasons for introducing this new method of distribution, the urgent question is whether the system will work. Organizations which are for the first time going to distribute commodities will face exceptional problems in finance, storage, transportation and expertise, problems which have been discussed in our notebook entry.

A problem which immediately strikes anyone who looks at the list of organizations is the problem of definition. There is no clear definition of who a member of an identifiable group is. Because such a definition is lacking the vague possibility exists that a person can belong to three different identifiable groups. For example, an urban worker can be a member of a Worker Cooperative Association, the T.U.C., and the Civil Servants Association. In fact, since the system came into operation some people have managed - and quite legally - to collect goods from three different groups. On the other hand, the members of certain organizations such as private printing establishments, have never managed to get an allocation. The injustice in this is all too obvious.

Such institutions as universities, secondary schools and training colleges, hospitals and State Hotels Corporation which have pre-existing purchasing units manage to get their allocation at regular intervals. In the case of other established institutions like the T.U.C. and the Ghana National Association of Teachers (G.N.A.T.) the plans envisaged for handling distribution could create serious problems. The goods are not intended to be distributed directly by them; they are to be distributed, on their behalf, by the National Cooperative Wholesale Unit. An initial difficulty may lie in the woefully inadequate transport facilities currently available to the Cooperative Wholesale Unit. But the main problem they will face will have its source in the method of financing their purchases. The goods allocated to these institutions as to others will have to be paid for before distribution. Since deadlines must be met, if immediate payment is not effected whenever commodities are to be distributed the possibility exists that the goods will be clandestinely allocated to rich and well-connected

individuals - a phenomenon which has become all too familiar to Ghanaians in the past five years or so.

Perhaps the main weakness of the new distribution system is that its arrangements do not appear to cover large social groups in the rural areas as well as in the shanty towns of urban areas. It is envisaged under the system that these social groups will receive their allocation through the Food Distribution Corporation (F.D.C.), the Farmer's Council and the Cocoa Marketing Board (C.M.B.). It is difficult to imagine how the C.M.B. and F.D.C. can become effective distributing agencies given the formidable difficulties they have in discharging their primary and statutory functions.

It is not immediately obvious how yam and vegetable farmers in, say, Bimbilla or Nyakrom or the self-employed and the unemployed in Aboabo, Kumasi, or Madina in Accra will benefit from the system. They do not fall clearly into any of the identifiable groups.

The answer to this problem, particularly in the rural areas, would seem to lie in giving their allocation to trading and commercial houses. In the rural areas the new system is an untried venture. But it is in these areas that the commercial houses have evolved, over many years, well-established and relatively stable links with rural dwellers. Theirs constitute the only effective distribution system outside the cities and the towns. In our view, then, the essential items allocated to commercial and merchant houses should be increased to enable them to serve the rural areas.

There may be some objection to this in view of the disappointing record of the commercial houses in the past.

The most cogent case that has been made against the commercial houses is that they appear to have no answer to such well-known trading abuses as selling under the counter to rich and powerful traders, diversion of goods to areas the goods are not supposed to be sent, etc. But these constitute the consequences and not the causes of a situation of inadequate and dwindling supply of essential items. Moreover, the abuses are not peculiar to merchant houses; they characterise the activities of all who distribute goods in this country now. The innovation that needs to be introduced in an attempt to eliminate the trade malpractices is that the distribution by the firms should be systematically monitored. Also, all those representatives of identifiable public bodies who take delivery of the goods and supervise their distribution must be made publicly accountable to their members.

We have not argued that the new distribution system should be dismantled. It appears to be working for the well-organized in urban areas. The parts that are functioning smoothly should be maintained, and new arrangements should urgently be made for those social groups, notably in the rural areas, which are not benefitting from the system. The arrangements should be based on the distribution system of the merchant houses in the plain knowledge that such abuses as queuing and refusal on the part of managers to sell are endemic features of distribution of essential items in present-day Ghana.

Politics

WHO IS AN ALIEN IN GHANA?

By

Kofi Kumado

This deceptively simple question has since the launching of the Voters' Registration exercise assumed great importance. As a nation, of course, it can be said that we have never been really concerned about nationality. Among African nations, there is no doubt that our open door policy, particularly towards dark-skinned people, has in part contributed to this apparent lack of interest in confronting seriously the question of who is an alien.

It is true that we have had nationality laws; indeed nationality was the first subject on which our post-independent legislature promulgated law in 1957. Mention can also be made of the Aliens Compliance Order of the 1970's and the various legislations passed as economic policy designed to restrict certain sectors of the economy for citizens. But as has been observed in the opening paragraph, the question of who is an alien has to be confronted now largely because of the new voters registration exercise. And seriously too. Judging from the press releases coming from various political quarters, it is quite clear to some of us that there is an acute need to reduce the rather complex subject of citizenship to manageable proportions in order that the public discussion generated by the incautious and irresponsible but highly provocative statement of the General Secretary of the Peoples National Party (P.N.P.) at Ayawaso Constituency rally of his party over last week-end may have a chance of being carried on in an informed manner. That is, in part, the objective of this article.

1979 Constitution Is No Clear Guide.

At the outset, it ought to be pointed out that the 1979 Constitution offers little or no guidance in this exercise. It plays the kind of trick that the *renvoi* doctrine subjects the uninitiated to in the area of Conflict of Laws. For, for most of us, all that the Constitution says is that a person is a Ghanaian if he was so regarded by the law in existence before 24th of September, 1979. Anyone who assumes that Chapter 5 of the Constitution tells it all is in for a rude shock. It is therefore a bit simplistic to say as some have done that the present Constitution has settled the matter. It has not; particularly for those who are more than 2 years old. It has also been suggested that the question of citizenship is 'a purely legal' matter. This is also not entirely illuminating. In truth our citizenship laws are even now a mixture of history and law. That is to say if A wants to find out whether he is a Ghanaian, his quest must, to be complete, necessarily involve research into our statute laws as well as our history books with some amount of geography thrown in for good measure.

Who then is a Ghanaian?

Our nationality laws provide for three categories of citizenship.

- (a) citizen by birth
- (b) citizen by naturalisation.
- (c) citizen by registration.

Any child, under seven years of age, found anywhere in Ghana of unknown parentage is presumed by our law to be a citizen of Ghana. It should also be mentioned that our laws accord citizenship to adopted children. It is interesting to note here in passing that when it comes to proving one's nationality is Ghana, although citizenship by birth is the most secure of the categories, it will be easier for those who acquired citizenship through naturalisation or registration and those claiming through them than for those who claim to be citizens by birth. This is because the former group need only produce the naturalisation or registration certificates.

Mixture Of Birth And Descent

The first point to bear in mind is that whilst most countries choose to base citizenship on either birth or descent, our citizenship laws are a mixture of both birth and descent, with descent being clearly the senior partner. Thus the fact that a person is born in or outside Ghana does not by itself determine whether he is a Ghanaian. Secondly, it must be remembered that the concept of "a Ghanaian" is a recent development, though the process by which our various ethnic groups were brought together to form one unitary state began around the seventeenth century. Primarily, however, one is a Ghanaian because he is an Ewe (Northern, Central or Southern), a Ga, a Dagomba an Asante

or an Akwapim. It follows that, prima facie, any one who is Yoruba, whether he was born here or has lived here for whatever length of time, is not a Ghanaian. Thirdly, our citizenship laws have been affected considerably by the fact that we were once a British Colony. Since we have to prove, in order to establish our claim to Ghanaian citizenship, that our parents or grandparents, as the case may be, were Ghanaians, quite often to establish one's case, we have to prove that the people through whom we are claiming had some British connection in 1948.

The point being made in the immediately preceding paragraph simply illustrates the fact that our citizenship laws can be confusing. Often to decide whether a person, especially the older people, is a citizen, you have to go back to English legislation, namely the British Nationality Act of 1948 to find out whether that person was under that legislation a citizen of the United Kingdom and Colonies, a British Protected person or a British subject. Further, with people born before 1919, it may be necessary to consult the common law rules on nationality. This calls for an illustration. For example, a person born to Yoruba parents at Prampram in 1952. If such a person renounces any other citizenship he may be entitled to under any other law on attaining 21 years of age, then,

under our laws he is a Ghanaian. This is because his parents being Yorubas were British subjects at the time of his birth. The end result of all this confusion is that a Moshie whose parents hailed from the French section of Moshie-land (e.g. Upper Volta) is presumptively an alien; similarly, an Ewe whose parents hail from the French section of Ewe-land (e.g. Togo) is presumptively an alien. Thus the fact that you belong to a tribe which straddles both modern Ghana and another country does not mean that you are a Ghanaian.

Fourthly, our law accords citizenship to children born out of wedlock if either parent is Ghanaian. This is unlike the situation in other countries; for in some countries only the female parent can transmit such citizenship. The male parent cannot unless he marries the mother. For example, A, a Ghanaian woman, gives birth out of wedlock to X. But the father is a Sri Lankan Engineer working in Ghana. X is a Ghanaian at birth and vice versa. Note, however, that if under Sri Lankan law X is also a citizen of Sri Lanka, then he can only remain a Ghanaian if when he is 21 years old, he renounces the Sri Lankan citizenship. For this reason, it may well be that a lot of these "bastards" who pass themselves off as Ghanaian are in law not. Fifthly, the law allows men and women married to Ghanaians to be registered as Ghanaians. The only difference is that in the case of the men married to Ghanaian women, the marriage must have existed for 5 years before the application for registration, and must have been contracted under a monogamous system of marriage. This kind of citizen loses his or her citizenship when the marriage is dissolved (i.e. this applies to both male and female.) It must also be noted that our law permits citizenship by naturalisation if certain conditions are satisfied.

Citizenship And Indigenous Attitudes

From what has been said so far it is quite clear that long settlement in an area is not the basis for determining nationality in Ghana, however desirable this may appear to some. In so providing, our laws follow closely indigenous attitudes. All of us no doubt know of the quarters in our villages and towns which bear the ethnic names of the strangers precisely because they are strangers — Anlo-kodzi; Zongo, Fante-town etc. Furthermore, can one imagine a person succeeding before a traditional authority in his claim that he is Asante or Anlo unless he can establish his membership of one of the clans into which the society is divided? As the registration exercise gets under way, the present writer would like to appeal to our public information institutions to mount public education campaigns on our nationality laws all over the country. In the meantime, I would like to appeal to our politicians that our citizenship laws are not a fit subject for political rallies or press conferences.

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'AGEGEMANIA'

By

Maxwell Owusu

In his intelligent and interesting article - "To Agege and Back", A. Owusu-Ansah presents a discussion of some of the underlying reasons for the recent exodus of Ghanaians to Nigeria (see *The Legon Observer*, vol. xiii, No. 5, 8-21 May, 1981: 106-110). Gapo Publication has also put out a fictionalized account of the fantastic experiences of an Akim Oda-born Secondary School teacher who left Ghana in August 1980 for Nigeria to seek his fortunes. The 94-page booklet in the tradition of the famous Onitsa Market Literature is entitled **99 Days in Agege** and sells for ₵10.00. The title is misleading. It refers specifically to Yaw Brenya's ninety-nine 'hot days' rather than to his actual length of stay in Agege which was about nine months.

Both accounts identify the same **push** factors in Ghanaian emigration or migration, and come to more or less the same disturbing conclusions. The message is clear and unmistakable. That is, as long as the Ghanaian economy continues to stagnate and decline; as long as Ghana's Great Economic and Political Depression lasts, so will the Ghanaian Diaspora.

'Agegemia' Defined

Yaw Brenya's letter to Joe in **99 Days in Agege** explaining his decision to leave his beloved Ghana states: "As the economic situation in the country was growing from bad to worse each passing day, and life becoming unbearable, I had no alternative but to leave for oil-rich Nigeria to get the good things in life" (p.2). It is true the honest Yaw Brenya, the good Ghanaian citizen, the patriot (a rare breed these days) describes his sentimental journey to Agege as "foolish" (p.94) yet he returned to Ghana better off than he would ever have been if he had continued to stay at home. Owusu-Ansah also questions the wisdom, given the terrible conditions in Ghana, of Ghanaians rushing back to Ghana from Agege - "They have come home, but where is their kingdom?"

In this brief exploration, I hope to provide another crucial perspective on the 'Agege phenomenon'. Limitations of space and time, not to mention the absence of hard data, prevent a detailed, systematic and critical treatment here. Important arguments are just introduced without elaboration; assertions are made with little or no demonstration. The aim is simply to provoke further discussion of a critical subject initiated by Owusu-Ansah and others.

'Agegemia' is a mental or psychological condition, generated by the political economy of underdevelopment or auxiliary, peripheral or dependent capitalism. As such, it is a 'Third-World's Third

World' phenomenon. It is neither truly an incurable 'disease' nor an exotic, strange or unprecedented affliction. In an extreme form, the condition may be exhibited by the potentially suicidal behaviour of the Haitian "boat people" attempting to migrate to the U.S. for economic survival.

In Ghana it is found among all classes age groups (except perhaps the very young and the very old) ethnic backgrounds, sexes, irrespective of political persuasion or religious affiliation. Among the lower classes the condition is often exemplified behaviourally by high uncontrolled excitement whenever Agege is mentioned. It may be characterized by excessive enthusiasm or desire to possess the all powerful Naira (or some such hard currency) or to migrate or emigrate to Nigeria. In some extreme cases, individuals exhibiting symptoms of 'agegemia' may suffer from alternate periods of excitement and depression, occasioned by certain guilt feelings about leaving home, friends, loved-ones, relatives, to live and work among people whom not too long ago, one tended to despise or consider one's social or national inferiors.

The Political Economy of 'Agegemia' and 'Pocomania'

The Promised Land, (as Yaw Brenya describes, 'Agege', his temporary home) thus evokes in the individual afflicted with 'agegemia' intense ambivalence, - a love - hate syndrome, accompanied, in some instances, by severe mental stress and agony, identity crisis, loneliness, feeling of shame etc which is not easy to overcome.

Leaving one's home to settle and work (whatever the length of stay) in a foreign country has never been easy. It has always induced in some people strong feelings of self-hate, self-pity, as, well as the compulsion to justify, to explain away, to rationalize their seemingly unpatriotic expatriation, even when justification is not really called for. Yaw Brenya's **99 Days in Agege** recounts personal experiences filled with exploitation of Ghanaians by Nigerians, humiliation, unprovoked insults and attacks, and the shattering necessity to hide one's true national identity. Thus Ogyakrom' (literally, 'country on fire') is imaginatively substituted for Ghana, Nigerian pidgin for standard English, and one dares not speak one's native tongue, in Yaw Brenya's case Twi for fear of divulging one's true origins with disastrous consequences. As a result of the agony and stress produced by such experiences, there is often a strong tendency to fantasize about home, idealise Ghana coupled with a powerful urge to return home.

Coexisting with, but some-what more pervasive than 'agegemia' is 'pocomania' (a term borrowed from types of spiritual churches in Jamaica, West Indies. 'Pocomanic' ('little madness') is the compulsion to seek protection and salvation from seemingly threatening and insurmountable socio-economic woes and worries in new spiritual churches with their communal prayers, spirit possessions, and miraculous solution to every imaginable problem.

Just as the long period of the economic depres-

sion of 1913-1950 which followed the boom of 1880-1913 and deepened uneven development generated its own characteristic **search for security** among Ghanaians (Gold Coasters) and other West African populations, notably - (a) the mushroom rise of multinational or transnational cults (e.g. Tigare) and spiritual churches (e.g. The Harrist movement; The church of the 12 Apostles, Cherubin and Seraphin); (b) internal and external migrations to relatively more productive and expanding export enclaves and mines; (c) anti-colonial protests and demands for independence-so has the economic dislocation of the post 1970s, caused in part by world-wide inflation associated with sky-rocketing oil prices and in Ghana by years of political mismanagement and corruption and persistent economic decay, produced similar reactions.

What is new is the shift in the West African pole of attraction for immigrants, the distances covered by migrant workers and traders and the social composition of those migrating. My argument is simply that 'agegemanía' and 'pocomanía' are particular, historical instances of a more general or universal phenomenon generated to a large extent, by the laws of advanced capitalist development. The ups and downs of world capitalism, the cycles of depression or stagflation and boom, have a clear differential demographic, and psycho-social consequences. Populations are relocated and resettled within and across countries and continents in response to economic booms and bursts.

What is, perhaps, unusual about recent Ghanaian trends is not the fact of **migration** or emigration which is taken for granted (settled Ghanaian fishermen in Liberia have for many generations contributed significantly to the protein needs of their adopted country), but the social characteristics of the migrants and of course their huge size. To the more familiar **brawn** drain (of manual workers) has been added **brain** drain (of scarce professionals and technicians).

Regional Patterns of Migration in Africa

In the colonial and immediate post-colonial periods, four persistent regional patterns of migration could be identified. In **West Africa** the seasonal as well as relatively permanent flow of migrants was chiefly from Upper Volta, Togo, Northern Benin, sections of Nigeria into Ghana as Ghana's 1969-1970 Aliens Compliance Order was to demonstrate. The other significant movement was from Upper Volta and Niger into Ivory Coast. Ghana was and continued to be until 1969-1970 when her economy showed serious signs of depression, a powerful magnet drawing migrants from both English-and French-Speaking areas. Available figures for 1970 show that 15.2% of the population of Ghana consisted of Africans of foreign origin. The comparable figure for Ivory Coast was 45%.

In Ghana, of the foreign originated Africans, 77%, were farm labourers (mostly on cocoa-farms) 5% were mine workers and 10% were found in a variety of handicraft occupations.

In **Central Africa** the magnet was Zaire drawing migrants from Rwanda, Burundi and Angola. In

East Africa southern Sudanese migrants as well as some from Burundi and Rwanda poured into Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda. In **Southern Africa** migrants from Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Lesotho sought (and continue to seek) wage employment in the economically more buoyant Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. These migrants or emigres are not to be confused with the **refugees** from economic and political persecution, wars, and natural disasters. Most of these migrants leave home because of low levels of wages and living conditions, unemployment or under-employment associated with intractable economic and political problems in their countries of origin. These patterns of migration tend to acquire their own dynamism and momentum, subject as they have always been, to regional crises of world capitalism.

The New Emigres

As we have already noted, two broad groups of Ghanaian migrants could be identified, namely, in Yaw Brenya's words, (1) those actually living well as 'expatriate experts' - eminent engineers, university professors, lecturers, medical doctors, navigators and pilots etc., holding top posts in Nigeria and enjoying all the fringe benefits attached to their respective jobs as expatriates, (p.62, p.94) on the one hand, and Ghanaians breaking their backs at construction sites and other menial jobs, prostitutes - the employed - and the hundreds of thousands of idlers on the other.

As long as Ghanaian emigration to Nigeria or elsewhere was not in large numbers and was restricted to the poor, the illiterate, semi-literate, semi-skilled or unskilled worker, 'agegemanía' could be easily brushed aside as politically, economically and socially inconsequential. Of course, unfortunate incidents such as the "Black Maria" when six Ghanaians suffocated to death in a police van in Nigeria and the more recent case in Ivory Coast when 46 Ghanaians perished in similar circumstances, could always arouse popular protest and force parliamentarians and the government to demand apology and compensation for the families of the dead. However, the flight of expensively trained and indispensable professionals and technicians cannot be easily ignored.

There are unambiguous indications that the great success of the very aggressive on the spot recruitment in Ghana by Nigerians of Ghanaian experts in all fields has already had adverse and irreparable consequences on the functioning of critical modern public and private institutions and corporations - universities, elementary and secondary schools, the construction industry, the medical service etc. It is possible to see the brain drain to Nigeria as a form of political and economic protest - against weak and ineffectual government, unable, even if willing, to arrest a worsening economic crisis, and hence likely in the long run to have politically and economically destabilizing effects.

Every major economic crisis, sooner or later, produces in the countries seriously affected, a demand, a necessity for some form of escape from the increasing hopelessness and wretchedness of

everyday life. There are two major, well-travelled escape routes - in addition to the quest for a temporary refuge in alcoholism, gambling, (lottomania) drugs (indian hemp) sex, and organized crime, in the world of pop music disco, cinema - (1) 'agege-mania' - mass spatial migration in search of fortune or the good life on earth, and (2) 'pocomania' - migration into - self - into things spiritual, into a chiliastic Kingdom to come appropriately after the Apocalypse.

In Ghana's highly status-conscious and deferential society, any sudden, persistent and adverse changes in the economy, which tend to have a levelling effect must necessarily lead to widespread alienation and anomie, especially among the higher classes. Thus the erosion, virtual elimination or reduction of many of the traditional status symbols life styles and behavioural distinctions, separating the relatively rich from the poor, the uneducated from the educated, the 'big man' from the 'small man' occasioned by Ghana's hyper-inflation, and blackmarket prices, scarcities of essential commodities, the breakdown of the infrastructure - water, electricity supplies, roads, drugs etc - has produced predictable but bizarre results.

Not only are intellectuals and professional men and women caught in frantic life and death competition against their illiterate inferiors in the catch-as-catch can informal distributive trades - functioning as middlemen, migrant traders (found not only on the familiar West African Trade-routes but on new Euro-American routes covering London, Rome, Milan, Manchester, Birmingham, Amsterdam, New York City, Washington D.C, Chicago, Detroit etc.), but they are sometimes forced to work together as smugglers, dealers and speculators, in whatever can be sold which in Ghana these days is practically everything.

It is in this type of socio-economic and political context that Ghana's high society, status-conscious, self-respecting and responsible people as well as the more humble members become exposed to "agege-mania" and "pocomania" seizures. No fool proof immunity against these afflictions is yet available. Is the cure for the lower classes, at least, to be found ultimately then in ECOWAS or African continental economic and political integration as suggested by Yaw Brenya's *99 Days in Agege?*

Public Health

SHORTAGES, MALNUTRITION AND DISEASES

By

K. K. Oduro

Shortages seem to have become so much a way of life in Ghana that it would amount to insulting the intelligence of Ghanaians to attempt to define the term. What used to be a relatively simple exercise of conveying a sick child to a hospital, getting him seen by a doctor, followed by a quick hop to

the dispensary for the prescribed medicine, can constitute a nightmare in these hard times. These days, if our children fall sick, we do the best we can for them and then accept whatever fate befalls us; even if that amounts to losing a dear one. We know of course that hunger is not pleasant; and we therefore do our best to feed ourselves and our dependants, again even if that means our having to conjure up to four times what we legitimately earn for the purpose. However, on occasions when we actually hit rock bottom, we do manage somehow to live with our hunger - and these days such situations are a regular occurrence among all wage salary earners, including the so-called high salary earners!

Those of us who can remember the good book called 'Tropical Hygiene For Schools' may recall the admonitions about what not to do in order to avoid a whole host of plagues; and those who could not read had the sanitary inspector as a constant reminder of what we were supposed to do to keep our surroundings wholesome. But then these were the days when books like 'Tropical Hygiene For Schools' were displayed openly in bookshops; when soap and water were available to make the keeping of body and surroundings clean not such an arduous task. Today, we may have sufficient book knowledge to realise that intestinal parasites may be avoided if we wash both our hands and the fruits we eat, we nevertheless eat the unwashed fruit when the water stops running. In doing so, we hope of course that that book or television programme which exhorts us to lead clean lives merely talks 'booklong', and probably fruits do not carry parasites after all! The foregoing gives us some idea of the consequences of shortages which are clearly obvious. There are unfortunately other consequences of the perennial problem of shortages which may be a great deal more damaging to our health and future well-being as a nation; it is one such consequence namely **THE POSSIBLE INTERACTION BETWEEN MALNUTRITION AND TROPICAL DISEASES** that this article seeks to discuss. Even in times, not bedevilled with rampant shortages, malnutrition and tropical diseases constitute two of the most common health problems in developing countries. It can be safely asserted that practically all infectious and parasitic diseases have the potential to become endemic in times of shortages. When our garbage doesn't get carted away because conservancy vans are either broken down or not available; when the water people drink does not get purified for whatever reasons; when disinfectants and insecticides cannot be procured - such situations tend to encourage both the multiplication and the spread of disease - causing agents such as worms, bacteria and protozoa. At times like this 'Mr. Average Citizen' gets constantly assailed by these dangerous carriers of disease. Harassed and underfed, 'Average citizen' inevitably contracts his disease precisely at a time when hospitals can do little or nothing to help him. And what are the consequences of such a vicious circle.

In the short term, apathy, suffering and sometimes death; in the long term? Well, nature has arranged that the basic requirements for growth,

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maturity and multiplication are common to all living things. What your dear child needs to keep healthy and grow up are the very things that disease-causing organisms need to sustain themselves and multiply. So that, when supplies of food are adequate, bacterial and parasitic infections may do less damage simply because literally there is enough food to satisfy both the invading parasite and its human host. However, in times of shortages such as we have been experiencing these many years, there is competition between host and parasite which is definitely weighted in favour of the parasite. Most dangerous parasites establish themselves close to the sources of food supply or food elaboration, that is, they establish themselves at or very close to the sources for nourishment — the intestines and the bloodstream. Unlike most organs in the body which get nutrients taken to them through the circulation of the blood, the parasites are right at the scene of nutrient production. They are bathed in the nutrient as it is made available to the whole body. They thus have the first chance to 'dip' their hand into the supplies long before such nutrients arrive at the competing tissues in other parts of the host body; the whole thing works like the way the Ghanaian economy has been operating for the past decade or so. So just like their counterpart human Ghanaians, when supplies get limited, they simply take advantage of their strategic position and grab a lot more than their fair share. Deprived of adequate supplies, the host gets weakened, is less able to defend himself and succumbs more easily to the ill effects of the parasitic invasion as well as any future strain.

Alarming though the foregoing may sound, the long term effects of malnutrition and parasitic infections may be even more debilitating and therefore perhaps more dangerous. Most of us take pride in watching our children grow up. We don't need to be experts to know that the growing process is most dramatic during the very early formative years; the rate tends to slow down as we grow older, so that by the time we are about 16 years, growth may have ceased and the body from then on merely concerns itself with replacing parts that get destroyed or worn out. But growth and development depend directly on nutrient supplies, and our bodies (including such vital parts as the brain, the bones and the essential reproductive organs) may suffer permanent damage for lack of adequate essential supplies during those formative years.

To complicate matters, there could be direct damage to the liver, the heart and kidneys as a result of parasitic infestations, which will show in later life as a chronic disease state. How much longer do we want to expose ourselves, especially the children, to these dangers? Perhaps the answer is to find a way to make genuine work pay so that people could start to produce rather than concentrate on clandestine buying and selling. This writer believes that this should be the primary objective of our Government.

WHAT HAPPENS AT THE ACCRA SLAUGHTER HOUSE

By

Sammy T. Sackey

Three or four daily entries a week of the code, Sl. Hse, in an underutilized dairy serves as a reminder of a trip taken to the main Accra Slaughter House. This means the ring of an alarm clock at 5.15 a.m., a hurried toilet precluding a bath, and the donning of old cloths and a pair of Wellington boots. Main equipment: a polythene bag to hold a one and half litre sample bottle. Quick march to the main Legon entrance. Trotro or taxi, depending on which comes first, and the trip ends at the James Town Slaughter House at about 6.30 a.m. Purpose of trip: to collect the gut content of sheep and goats from which the vicious blood sucking worm, *Haemonchus contortus* (wire worm), would be isolated for an M.Sc. project. But that was not the purpose of this particular trip.

Facilities

The Accra Slaughter House at James Town is a couple of hundred meters from the light house and, like the latter, stands in danger of being washed away by the sea. The premises of the slaughter house are 'owned' by the Accra City Council, whose City Engineer's department stands sentry a hundred meters away. In return for the use of their facilities, the butchers pay six cedis per head of cattle, and one cedi for each goat, sheep or pig. It is not known what the slaughter house facilities used to be like, but presently, the least said about these, the better. Water, the most essential item in a meat processing set up like the slaughter house, is difficult to come by. There is no stand pipe within the building. What water is available in the ruminants section has been reached by a 'minor' excavation through a concrete wall to a one-inch underground pipe. The drip from the broken pipe, at the rate of may be a few litres per minute, collects in the excavation and is used for all cleaning purposes. The city council also provides cleaners, but in the absence of water and brushes, their presence often is merely an aggravation of a population explosion within the building. Then of course there are the senior staff, the Meat Inspectors, seconded to the slaughter house, from the Ministry of Health and the Veterinary Services Department.

From this building, a considerable portion of the beef, mutton and pork consumed in Accra and its suburbs 'flows' (excuse me). In the good old days (which in this case is some ten to fifteen years ago) a hundred and fifty to two hundred cattle, and twice or more of sheep and goats, got prepared for various cooking pots each day. Then, work started not long after midnight. These days thirty to fifty cattle, and only a few more sheep and goats are killed each day, the numbers rising on Saturdays and Sundays. The reason: the price of goats, sheep and cattle (beg your pardon, and pigs too) is rising. A medium sized sheep costs about a thousand cedis, the average price paid for a cow or bull is about fifteen thousand, and one bull that cost about forty thousand cedis was said

not to elicit a 'shiee' from anyone. The prices of slaughter house products have accordingly gone up: beef sells at thirty, mutton at thirty five cedis per pound, compared to four and twenty five respectively last month; but the profit margin is less than normal (normality here being the Ghanaian traders); one cow for which twenty thousand cedis were paid when quartered, weighed 723 lbs excluding the gut, heart and liver. Cheer up, the slaughter house operation is not yet at a total 'rip-the-consumer-off' stage.

Activities

The operations of the butchers involve going into the 'field' to buy animals. In theory, these should be inspected before and after slaughtering; in practice the inspection is done only after the slaughter. There are two working sessions, a main one in the morning, and a second in the afternoon. Inspection of meat starts at 7.30 a.m., and this means the butchers should be at work hours earlier. There are two main sections, a small one dealing with the slaughter of pigs, and the main one dealing with ruminants. In the pig section, women are the main buyers and sellers. They bring their pigs in all manner of vehicles to the slaughter house, and the men in charge work on them. This involves stunning the animal and then stabbing it in the throat to let out blood. The stunning can be gruesome. Apart from the almost human wail which is rather disconcerting, some pigs just won't go down. One pig took all of fifteen minutes and three shifts of able-bodied men wielding a heavy club before it went down. The animal is then tossed into a concrete tub under which is a blazing fire. Scalding makes the removal of the hair child's play. After all the pigs for the day have been thus treated, they are strung up on metal hooks for their entrails to be removed. Here, unlike the ruminants section, there is no flowing water at all. The women buy water from a house some fifty meters away for their cleaning. Apart from paying for the use of the slaughter house and its facilities, they also pay the men who work on the animals.

In the ruminants section, the cattle are usually worked on first. Each cow or bull is led into the slaughter house by means of a lead rope tied to its horns, and a 'tail' rope tied to one of its hind legs. When it is in a suitable position, the animal is tripped by means of its tail rope to fall heavily on its side, from which position it is incapable of getting up. The four legs are tied up; contrary to what the animal science books say, the animal is not stunned at all. A forward, backward and forward stroke of a murderous looking knife sends it on its way. Sheep and goats are similarly treated. Skinning of sheep and goats takes an average of six minutes, while cattle take two to three times as long. While sheep are strung up on hooks and their entrails removed, the cattle are cut up on the floor. The gut in each case is removed and handed over to the 'gut men' for cleaning. The cattle are quartered and the quarters weighed and strung up in pairs on metal hooks.

Judging from the amount of cleaning-up required, the amount of clean water available is

simply inadequate. But work must go on, and some ingenuity comes into play. The open drains within the building are blocked with the gut content of the cattle, and in the pool of water that forms behind the dam, the gut is cleaned. The goats and sheep section have all of the Atlantic ocean, but but then so also do the people who prefer the continually flushing action of the sea to the public toilet just opposite the slaughter house. The butchers, ninety plus percent of whom are of Northern and alien extraction, go about their work with a certain efficiency. Throat-cutting is done only by the malam present. This stems from the expectation that the malam, as a religious and hence honest man, would only put live animals to death. Any body else might want to give an already dead animal the privilege of entering the cooking pot. On a busy morning, therefore, the resounding cry of malam! or Ibrahim! calls the man with the frightening knife to deal with the cattle, sheep or goat.

Crude benches at various points within the premises serve as tables for inspection while the carcasses of cattle are inspected strung up on hooks; the smaller ruminants and their hearts, livers and other internal organs are placed on the bench. The liver attracts the most attention because its condition usually reflects the state of health of the animal under consideration. In theory, any part of the animal declared unfit for human consumption is impounded by the Ministry of Health for incineration. In practice, are you God to condemn a twenty thousand cedi animal to the incinerator? Chances are that such an organ or part of animal which is suspect does not get to the inspector's bench at all. The butchers know an unwholesome organ or meat, and such could be smuggled out of the premises.

Exciting and Sad Moments

There are exciting and sad moments. It takes time for the butchers to get used to a "contemptible and suspicious looking character" who instead of meat, is interested only in the contents of the abomasum, but once the cloud lifts, even the stench of the place is not so objectionable. Then some events, like a bull breaking loose, can be enjoyed in retrospect. A bull can break loose in one of two ways: when one or other of the ropes tied to it gets broken, or when the lead or tail rope is dropped. When it is the tail rope, the animal charges at the lead rope holder, who in fright lets go. Pandemonium breaks loose as everybody looks for cover, but this is momentary. The situation is quickly brought under control by getting hold of the tail rope and then tripping the animal. While the event is on, it is frightening, because there are only two exits out of the place for the hundred or so individuals present, and the bull may have its back to one of the exits.

But there are some sad moments too. It might sound squeamish to admit to feeling miserable at the number of unborn lambs and calves that are thrown out of their lifeless parents each day. Then also the conditions under which these men work seven days a week, at whatever cost, to feed

at least some of the people. The problem with being 'accepted' and called 'mbra' (my brother), and being a good listener because you don't have much to say, is that you are subjected to a barrage of complaints for the duration of your stay there, each day, by anybody who says good morning to you. Could be because the complaints might be communicated to the outside world. So now the complaints have progressed from the failure of city council to provide the Slaughter House with basic items like free flowing water, or brushes for their workers, while without fail they collect their dues; to the rising cost of sheep, goats and cattle; the ever rising cost of living; the exodus of Ghanaian youth to Agege, and the merits and demerits of the Limann administration. And to think that all I go to the Slaughter House to do is to collect the abomossal contents of sheep and goats for my precious worms.

Notebook

DISTRIBUTING GOODS THAT ARE NOT SO MANY

In Vol. XIII No. 4 dated April 10-23, 1981, we welcomed in our editorial the identification by the Government of fifteen of the most essential consumables required for every-day use in our homes. We expressed the hope that the new distribution system, involving bulk allocation to consumer cooperatives and other identifiable groups, would work if everybody cooperated by reporting to the authorities all instances of diversion. After nearly two months of the new system, we are beginning to think that our optimism is, perhaps misplaced.

In the first place, we expected importation in very large quantities of the specified items. We reckoned that since the list had been severely constricted, the money for the longer list, hitherto, would be available for the short list. We are not encouraged by what we see and hear to believe that the quantity of goods ordered by the Government meets the nation's needs. We are not sure, either, that links between urban and rural centres through the cooperatives are as well established as spokesman of the various groups would have us believe. It does not seem that representatives of any group from the regional and district levels could be summoned, at short notice, for instance to share whatever goods may have been allocated in bulk to the group.

There is also the question of money. One organisation, apparently, needed as much as two million cedis to take delivery of its first consignment of goods. How is any organisation supposed to raise money to pay for allocation except through subscription by members? And we should not forget that for many of these organisations collection of even monthly dues is possible only because Government permits such dues to be taken at source. To be sure, there are individuals or groups of individuals in the country who could lend two million edis for the purpose of taking delivery of allocated

goods but their interests, as far as the distribution goes, would not exactly coincide with those of the rank and file of the particular cooperative or union.

There seems also to be some basic assumption that everybody in this country belongs to one or the other of the identifiable groups. The President of the Republic does not belong to any of the groups; neither does the Vice President; Ministers of State, Deputy Ministers, the Speaker of Parliament, Members of Parliament, members of the Judiciary, senior civil servants - they all do not belong. Or are they recognised as constituting special categories for whom special provision has been made? If, indeed, they are specially catered for, it is because they are so visible, but what about the not-so-visible: road-side fitters, peddlers on street pavement, pensioners and the like?

We cannot run away from the obvious fact that the established commercial houses have a wider experience with distribution of goods than any of us. They have easy access to both transportation and storage; and their departmental stores are well distributed over the country. Lately, distribution by the commercial houses has been far from satisfactory, but they can hardly be expected to please everyone when the goods are not enough. And, of course, being Ghanaians they are quick to take advantage of the scarcity to further their own nests. But it should be possible to introduce a monitoring system that would minimise somewhat the anti-social propensity of our traditional distributors. There has been much talk of the need to introduce Identity Cards (ID cards) in this country. The usefulness of ID cards cannot be over-emphasized, but to limit discussion to the problem in hand, rationing could be more effectively organised if possession of ID cards was the practice, generally, in this country.

The present system of distribution seems to have been introduced on the promptings of the Trades Union Congress. It should be obvious to the Congress that there are too many problems with the system. Rationing, is not problem-free, either, but it is significant that in many places where shortage of goods is the rule rather than the exception, rationing is almost invariably the case, and insistence on ID cards the first step thereto. Organising ID cards for the whole country is itself a major exercise but if, as it seems, we are going to live with shortages for a long time to come, we might as well aim at the long-term solution. In any case, we should work towards a system that enjoys nationwide acceptance. We should consult all the political parties, for instance. We cannot guarantee continuity and confidence in any system, otherwise.

Letters

Addae-Mensah And Aliens

SJR—I felt very uncomfortable when I listened to the pronouncements of Dr. Ivan Addae-Mensah via Radio Newsreel on Sunday afternoon, 17 May, 1981. Dr. Mensah, a Senior Lecturer in Chemistry at the University of Ghana,

who also happens to be the General Secretary of the Peoples National Party (PNP), was plainly serious when he appealed to History to prove that the Ashantis and the Gas are all aliens.

It struck me at once that Dr. Mensah's history is bad, and that he is blissfully unaware of the great strides that have been made in African History since his school teachers taught him the history which he so unashamedly dished out from the soap-box.

It could still be argued, however, that Dr. Addae-Mensah, the serious academic, knew the right thing to say but that he was merely behaving like a politician. It could be argued, for example, that he knew of the existence of a large alien population in this country but that he was merely telling the gullible masses what they wanted to hear.

Mr. Editor, it is not my purpose to confront Dr. Addae Mensah the politician with Dr. Ivan Addae-Mensah the academic. My aim is to tell him that the question he posed and which he so carelessly answered, is mainly a legal problem.

I may also add that such loose talk coming from the General Secretary of a national party is not calculated to unify the country.

Institute of African Studies,
Legon.

J. K. Fynn

Cocoa Smuggling

SJR—We all know that cocoa is the life-blood of our country, but we seem to care little about the marketing of this precious cash crop. I have talked extensively with cocoa farmers in Brong-Ahafo, and these are some of my findings.

Secretary-Receiver are still issuing chits to farmers on the grounds that they have no money to pay them. After some time, the farmers are then paid in instalments. For this reason, most farmers are reluctant to market their cocoa through these Receivers. The farmers find cocoa smugglers much more attractive to deal with for the latter are prepared to pay a farmer C500 to C800 per a bag of cocoa. This money is paid immediately the farmer agrees to sell his cocoa to the smuggler.

Also, since cocoa purchased by the Secretary-Receiver takes sometimes a year or more to be transported to the coast for shipment abroad, the Secretary-Receiver is tempted to sell the cocoa to the smuggler at a profit, and finds no difficulty in accounting for cocoa purchased to the Cocoa Marketing Board. Because the marketing of cocoa is so badly organized, the cocoa smugaler will continue to play an increasingly important role in the marketing of cocoa.

MOD PG And Co., Audit,
Burma Camp, Accra.

Kofi D. Adams

Value Of The Cedi

SJR - It has recently been reported in the news that the President, Dr. Limann, has rejected any devaluation of the Cedi proposed by IMF officials. The debate on the present value of the Cedi should not be a question of devaluation or no devaluation. The issue is to work out a realistic official exchange rate of the Cedi in view of the present wide disparity between the official or the bank rate and the black market

rate - about C6.00 as against over C50.00 to the pound sterling.

There is one serious distortion this disparity is causing in the economy. It is no secret and is generally admitted that a substantial proportion of the goods sold in Ghana today are brought in at the black market exchange rate of the Cedi, and are thus sold at prices equivalent to the black market rate. In addition, certain goods are produced with imported raw materials and certain imported goods are brought in at the official exchange rate but are sold at prices reflecting the black market exchange rate.

The point being made here is that Ghanaians are buying goods at a lower exchange rate of the Cedi. In other words, a devalued (debased) Cedi is already operating in the economy. It is only few Ghanaians who are benefiting from the present overvalued official exchange rate of the Cedi and, in certain cases, at the expense of the majority of Ghanaians. The Governor of the Bank of Ghana might have this situation in mind when he pointed out recently in a TV programme that a more realistic exchange rate be worked out for the Cedi.

There is thus an important point to make which perhaps the Governor did not realize. The cause of the distortion in the economy is not price control. It is logical that when there is foreign exchange control this should of necessity be accompanied by price control. So, if one wants to remove or liberalize price control one has first to remove or liberalize foreign exchange control.

To the IMF officials devaluation is perhaps the only means readily available in correcting the imbalance in the exchange rate. If there is an opposition to devaluation then some other mechanism has to be adopted immediately to bring the Cedi to its proper value.

P. O. Box M.263
Accra.

S. E. K. Loh

Post Office Savings Account

SJR—The Post Office Savings Account (now the National Savings and Credit Bank) is a good banking system for it makes it possible for the holder of the passbook/savings book to withdraw money in any of the Post Offices in Ghana, provided the customer has funds in his accounts.

It is over 15 years ago since the Management of the Post Office Savings Account increased the amount permitted to be withdrawn at a time from the savings book from C10 to C40. Some years ago, C40 could take one from Accra to Kumasi (or it was enough for one to travel a distance of about 200km by road). But now, it can't take one from, say, Accra to Koforidua.

Since one of the purposes of saving with the Post Office Savings Account is to enable one withdraw some money when one is in need (especially when one is out of his station), I suggest to the Management to increase the permitted amount that one can withdraw at a time from C40 to C100.

Department of Psychology
Legon

J. Y. Acheampong

Let Truth Prevail

SJR - In L.O. Vol. XIII No.5 one Mr. J. V. Mprereh

lamented over lack of honesty in Ghanaian life. Similar sentiments had hitherto been expressed by other concerned citizens, both local and abroad. I do not believe that Ghanaians have, in any manner, lost their moral values. Six years ago, no one ever singled out Ghanaians in the whole African continent as morally degenerate people. But Ghanaians of 1975 are still those who inhabit this nation, with the exception of the few who are dead and those born since 1975. If within a span of six years a whole people have changed, it means there has been a sudden change in their economic and social set-up. Ghanaians are not a different breed of human beings. Persistent economic hardship has completely altered their social and moral out-look.

In 1975, one bunch of plantain sold for between 20p and 80p. Now the same sells for more than C50.00, and one finger for C2.00. In 1975 one bag of maize cost less than C20.00 in the producing areas. Now it is above C1,000.00. Kofi is a hard-working, God-fearing and honest young man with a wife and two children. He does not want to tarnish his good record as an honest man, but is equally anxious to maintain peace in the house. But Kofi's pay is C12.00 a day, while he must give about C50.00 each day to the wife as "CHOP MONEY". Kofi has no intention to leave his native land for 'AGEGE' either, for he wants to help in rebuilding Ghana. What must Kofi do? I believe Mr. Mprereh would like to provide an answer to the question.

P. O. Box 285,
Madina, Accra.

Shaw K. Zormelo

SIR—As a journalist I felt very sad when the President lamented over the alleged declining standard of journalism in the country. Though I had misgivings about the President's assertion it seems to me that the editorials appearing in the Daily Graphic, lately give credence to the assertion.

A case in point is a recent statement made by Mr. Kwaku Baah, MP for Nkawkaw on the distribution system. Without weighing the pros and cons or sampling reaction from workers on the issue the "Daily Graphic" instantly came out with an editorial on Mr. Baah's statement. A section of the public had an impression, real or imagined, that the paper was trying to champion the cause of a frustrated politician, contrary to the ethics of the journalistic profession. It must be noted that editorial comments of such nature have the inevitable result of eroding the very foundation of the democracy which every journalist extols.

To quote the Review Tribunal: "There is nothing wrong with a paper championing a cause or taking a stance as the conscience of a nation. But it must first start by demonstrating a true conscience."

Let us take a great lesson from this so that the public will accord us the respect that is due to us and regard the Press as the fourth estate of the realm. The 'Echo', 'Legon Observer' and the 'Catholic Standard' have set the pace for objectivity and analytical appraisal of national issues. This is worthy of emulation.

E 148, Boham St.
Nima, Accra.

Alphonse Kwesi Ghansah

Improving Conditions in Our Hospitals

SIR—We all know that many doctors have left the country. It is extremely important to find means of keeping the few doctors left behind happily occupied in constructive work.

The Ghana Medical Association has admitted that charging fees directly from patients is illegal. But the general public also knows that facilities in the Government hospitals are woefully inadequate. I am sure that the public will be most willing to pay reasonable amounts to be used for the improvement of the conditions in hospitals i.e. buying drugs, equipment, bedsheets, soaps, dettol etc. etc. Some of this money can be used for improving telephones and transportation (at least Ambulances) as well. When this is done the Government will be happy, the patients will be happier and the doctors will get a new feeling of usefulness in doing constructive work for the public—they will feel that it has been worth their while staying behind to build Ghana.

P. O. Box 3050
Accra.

A. Onymous

Short Story

RAIN RAIN, GO AWAY

by

Ebow Daniel

That it was an exceptional day was obvious from the flags hanging from freshly painted poles and the many individuals clad in white. That one who sold cloth at the market was not in white, however. She was known to be wealthy; a little eccentric too, perhaps. She always wore apparels in the tricolour of red, yellow and green. On this occasion white had been substituted for the yellow of the tricolour and the entire household, including those pretty teen-age girls of hers, was similarly costumed, talcum powder liberally applied to the body; even if you could not see, your nose told you all the same. And how could they be so provocative in front of the Reverend Minister's house:

Solo: It's cooked now,
Sure it is.
Your plate, where is it?
Chorus: **Yakagbomo**, come and eat;
Saboteur come and belch.
Solo: It's harvest time,
Sure it is.
Your basket, where is it?
Chorus: **Yakagbomo** take your share;
Saboteur, the rest is yours.

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JOURNAL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A CALL FOR PAPERS

The Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, University of Ghana, is launching a bi-annual journal on social and economic studies. Both theoretical and applied papers would be considered.

Procedure: Papers must be submitted for preliminary consideration not later than June 30, 1981. Articles should not be more than 25 typewritten, double-spaced pages. They should conform to the "Information for Contributors", which could be obtained from the Editor. Three copies of each submission should be mailed to Dr. A. A. Aboagye,

Editor, Journal of Socio-Economic
Development, ISSER, University of
Ghana, Box 74, Legon.

Papers will be reviewed by editors and those that are considered publishable will be sent for advisory review to one or two referees. Papers may be accepted subject to substantive or stylistic revisions.

It was a holiday, of course, and there was brisk business in all the bars: March 6, 1957; and we were only hours old having been born at mid-night, our name, Ghana, our national totem, black star.

Ghana? Why not? Hadn't it always been the custom to name the child after some ancestor? And who better than that illustrious ancestor of ours, Ancient Ghana, she that was famous for her gold? But had we forgotten that Ancient Ghana was always riddled with internecine warring? asked one man. Surely, we could not be so ignorant of the eventual demise of Ancient Ghana, wondered an old woman. Didn't we know the moral degeneration that finally over-powered that ancestor of ours? echoed another. We ought to know, somebody explained, that the child takes after the person after whom it is named. So why were we doing this to ourselves? Need it be said in so many words that we were doomed, if it had to be Ghana?

Ghana

But Ghana it had to be, it being the only thing that the founding fathers could agree on. No child, our dark pigmentation had been born before in our part of the world and there was no sure knowledge the child would survive; that the founding fathers had been quarelling was bad enough. So intense had been the feuding that it was proposed at one time that on arrival, the baby should be dismembered, the feuding parties retaining portions for which they would have absolute responsibility and control. The specialist flown from Whitehall was appalled at the proposition: the baby would not survive dismemberment; wasn't that rather obvious?

The preposterousness of dismemberment did not abate enthusiasm for the idea, however. For a long time, certain parts of the country were inaccessible, if you did not subscribe to dismemberment. You were hailed with flying objects, often with fatal consequences; cars got burnt, individuals got knifed and houses were dynamited. There were even reports of private armies being assembled to kidnap the baby, on arrival. The stories were too wild for belief until invoices mailed to private individuals, apparently, seeking to place orders for military uniforms from a firm of overseas manufacturers, fell into the wrong hands and were exhibited for our viewing. The chief was emboldened by the disclosure of secret plans for mischief to apply drastic measures to an explosive situation: whoever had the looks of an importer of military clothing or a bomb-thrower or an arsonist or an action-troper could be placed in custody without reference to the law-courts. The haul was large, predictably; and there were no tears except for those whose looks did not quite belong to the category of potential mischief makers who got caught in the net all the same, and there were many. Far from ending turbulence, however, the indiscriminate incarceration of persons generated panic and desperation.

But all that belonged to the past. That the individuals symbolising the sad polarization of the past had finally consented to keeping the baby undismembered and that there was even unanimity on

the choice of name both augured well for the future; and we were more impressed by this development than the thesis which convincingly disputed links with Ancient Ghana.

Our Star

But if it had to be Ghana, why the black star? questioned one person. Where is the prototype of this strange phenomenon? asked another. Who was it who was so enamoured of funeral symbolism as to prefer black anything? pursued yet another. Didn't we know black was the devil's own favourite? And which joker was it who responding to the muttering of the superstitious and the mystic suggested two crocodiles, separate heads, limbs, a common belly, however, as an alternative to the black star? It was not meant to be a joke really. What then? The idea was to emphasize the point that we may well be several heads but we were indeed one people with a common destiny. Ah zo! And was the common belly the most imaginative representation of that idea? Some people were determined to consume by themselves alone all that belonged to both the new baby and all of us who were relations, we knew, but did they have to make their gluttonous intentions so obvious. Well, if the choice of a new symbol was going to be the source of further quarelling, why not retain the good old elephant leaning against the all too familiar and reliable palm tree? Honestly! Anyone would think some of us didn't want the change that was surely coming. Must the relics of the Gold Coast follow us into the new Ghana?

We were all expected to be happy, but not every body was, our Reverend Minister, for instance. It was not just the taunting that was going on in front of his house. He did not even attend the naming ceremony. He was sceptical of our ability to look after the child. The white man was better at looking after people, children and adults alike, he was sure. And all those ear-breaking promises, were they meant to be taken seriously: free schooling, free medical care, free housing; what was not going to be free? Not even the white man could deliver that much. We should make haste slowly. If others were in that much of a hurry would they care to leave him one white man, at least, to continue to guide the Reverend's personal affairs? It would have been a nice story for retelling to generations unborn if the Reverend had not wept. Yes, the Reverend Minister wept in the pulpit because the white man was being sent away. But he was not alone; others wept too, even at the naming ceremony!

It was quite a ceremony. There were specially invited guests from distant lands. Special guest-houses had been built to receive them, and special limousines, several of them, had been imported to take them round; and they were all present at the mid-night ceremony, both humans and limousines. Long before mid-night, the chief was on the dais erected at the very large field where the ceremony was to take place. Flanking him on every side were those able lieutenants of his, all sworn enemies of the white man, understandably. Had not the white man consigned them, able lieutenants

as they were, to the same fate as the best of us, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" while he fed fat on the wealth of the land? And did he not throw them into prison for merely suggesting that it was time he returned to his own country? What did it matter that they had neither the experience nor training for the difficult task of governing a modern state? It was our privilege to mismanage our own affairs, if we so chose, they told the white man with an infectious confidence. How we wished we too had been bold and outspoken! If only we had gone to prison too so we could be called "prison graduates" and thereby qualify to wear those smart white caps which sat so pretty on each lieutenant's head! Oh that we too had a place on the dais so we could inherit the white man!

Downpour

The hired orchestra had been busy all evening every now and again returning to the chief's favourite:

Fire fire fire fire, fire de come,
Fire fire fire baby na fire de come.

The assembled crowd was no less busy, individuals vying with each other to see who could execute the most intricate gyration. It was exactly midnight and after the long succession of speakers the chief was now speaking:

At long last Ghana our motherland,
Is fre-e-e-e forever!

At long last this our dear land
Is rid of imperialism forever!

And then the torrent! He applied his handkerchief, white, to his face and held it there. To a man, the lieutenants pulled out their handkerchiefs: they were also crying! But the white man had not gone yet. If they wanted him to stay they had only to ask him. If you are not familiar with the crab's eye you might mistake it for a splinter. Children that we were, little did we know there was such a thing as crying for joy..

We are allowed to weep even as we approach the jubilee year of that memorable event, the birth of the new Ghana. But what shall we answer if we are asked why we weep? My brother, you who are no longer child, answer as best as you can. As for me, I want only to sing: **Fire Fire fire baby na fire de come**.....

Miscellaneous Reports

FROM THE PNP YOUTH CONGRESS

By

Kabral Blay-Amihere

They were 437 delegates from 140 constituencies, assembled at the Labone Secondary School, Accra, for the congress of the People's National Party Youth Wing. Their mission was simple, but one-

rous: how best could the PNP be organised along a clearly defined political and ideological line. The issue of ideology dominated the mood of all delegates and at the end of the three-day congress, Friday, April 24 to Saturday, the 26th, the youth succeeded in passing a 21 - point resolution, emphasising that their party and its government had no political direction. It called on the leaders to adopt Nkrumahism based on Scientific Socialism as the Ideology of the Party. This, the youth stressed, was **NOT NEGOTIABLE**.

Four main committees on Party Re-organisation, The Economy and National Development, Politics and on organisation of the Youth Wing were set to work and produced the 21-point resolution. That document could not have satisfied significant sections of the party, the "founding fathers" "and the old guards". The momentum and the tone of the congress were appropriately set by congress Secretary, Scientist-Lawyer, Ato-Austin. He charged the congress with a historic task: to revive the dynamism of the PNP and rekindle the flame of the struggle lit by Kwame Nkrumah. It was a task that only the Youth could perform, he concluded. On every committee, delegates lamented the lack of coordination between Party goals and the operations of ministers and public officials who appeared to owe no allegiance to the Party. From the document on politics abounded such views as: "the Party must have an ideology" the financial burdens of the Party have rested on the shoulders of individuals and a few rich groups. The practice must cease; "the present leader of the Party has not done enough to consolidate the power given by the people" etc, etc,.....

Radical Mood

The encircling gloom of the present economy was highlighted. Liberalisation, they all agreed, was a scourge destroying homes. Above all, the congress desired to see a prosperous Ghana, and this could be built by a party committed to the people. The second day ignited the radical mood of the Congress. That is when the party leader, President Dr. Hilla Limann, addressed the Congress. All the giants of the party were present - Deputy Father, Krobo Edusei, Mr. Kofi Batsa, Nana Okutwer Bekoe, The National Chairman and Dr. Ivan Addae-Mensah, General Secretary. The revered OLD GUARDS were there in their numbers. It also had an international colour. Also present were a delegate from Algeria and a section of the diplomatic corps.

After the usual welcome speeches, the Chairman for the occasion, Nana Okutwer-Bekoe III, who was introduced as an "active businessman" gave a speech that fittingly testified to the astuteness of the business class. Recognising the tide and mood of the congress, Nana rose to the occasion and gave a speech that even peddlers of revolutionary jargons would envy. Nana Bekoe talked about the re-awakening of the youth, the vision of an egalitarian Ghana shattered by the coup of 1966, about the youth who were prophets and champions of socialism, and so on, and so on. The youth appreciated his sentiments and sympathise;

Nana was given a long standing ovation. There is victory for us, oh yes, they sang and shouted. Then came the climax of the day - a keynote address by President Hilla Limann.

It was as obvious and clear as day that all present wanted to hear the President's position on the ideological question. The President had claimed 'Ghana' as his 'ideology'; he had said ideology was a pastime for unrealistic intellectuals. In a party with such an ideological past, what was the party leader's stand? Not a man to shy away from his views, Dr. Limann reiterated that he could not be bothered with ideologies and was only concerned with saving Ghana. "No ideology can save us, our problem is producing food." Worked up, he went out of text and ad-libbed - "I have studied political science for nine years and nine months and therefore most qualified to speak on ideology. But I repeat: no ideology can save us." "Man must live, eat and clothe himself before he can think," he quoted a Marxian reply. "But man must first think out how to live, eat and clothe himself," I heard someone murmur a retort. Silence, and not applause greeted this declaration. If delegates could not out of respect tell the President their discomfort, they did so when Mr. Kofi Batsa, Chairman of the PNP publicity secretariat and K. Agyei-Sakyi, Deputy General Secretary for party education, came out in their speeches against the adoption of any definite ideology.

Revival of Ideology Issue

It was Mr. Agyei-Sakyi who had to answer most of the questions. A Regional Deputy Minister, Mr. L. T. Ocran, wanted to know in one-word the political direction of the PNP. Mr. B. K. Senkyire, an 'old-guard', added his voice to the debate and said a party without an ideology was useless. "You are either on the left or on the right. The PNP has no choice than to move left." He got a long applause. The last day, Sunday April 26, was really memorable. It all started when nine students suddenly demanded that the ideology question be deferred for further discussion. All were aware of the fury that had built up against the nine students. They were accused of having been influenced by somebody to provoke the confusion. After peace and order were quickly restored, the congress room was cleared of non-delegates, and the 21 resolutions were read one after the other and unanimously adopted.

The programme for the day said that Dr. Hilla Limann was to be present at the closing ceremony and as delegates waited for him, Mr. B. K. Senkyire revived the ideology issue when we noted "that there can be no diplomacy in ideology". He was carried shoulder high amidst shouts of "B.K.!, B.K.!" Then came the turn of Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia, Interim Chairman of the CMB. Fireworks started when he mounted the stage! The PNP, he noted, has nothing to show to the people for the two years it had been in office. 1983 is just around and we have done nothing. Our ministers must sit up. By 1983 each minister must show evidence of what he has done with his office. "No money, no money should not be an excuse. With

initiative and planning we can all do better. The Youth must fight the leadership of the party until the vision of a better Ghana is realized." These were bold words, but Mr. Bawumia said he was worried and felt somebody had to say it. For five minutes after the speech the room was turned into a carnival with singing: "There is victory for us" "Nkrumah Never Dies;" "Nkrumah Show Boy," Alhaji Bawumia was borne shoulder high.

"Leadership," Mr. Kojo Botsio said "is earned not bestowed" The speech of Mr. Bawumia made it evidently clear that in the next leadership struggle within the PNP, Mr. Alhaji Bawumia could be a force to reckon with. Such was the view of all delegates. When Dr. Limann arrived for the closing session, the singing was still on and the pitch of singing even increased. Then it was resolution time. Mr. Agyei-Sakyi mounted the stage again and said he had a simple task to perform; to present the resolutions to the President. He said since everybody knew the contents there was no need to read them. 'No way, read it, read it' There was an uproar.

Such was the demand that the resolution had to be read, "That this congress calls on the party to adopt Nkrumaism, based on scientific socialism as the ideology of the Party and that this should not be negotiable." Overwhelmed by the will of the majority, Dr. Limann diplomatically congratulated the youth for their work, and said he will study their document and refer it to other wings of the party for discussion. The congress had ended. But not the rising progressive tide in the PNP, not the Nkrumahist wind that threatens all those who reject Nkrumahism. The leadership issue in the PNP and the party's unity will be resolved around a recognition of this tide.

PICK-POCKETING AND POLLUTION AT LEGON

by

Yaw Kwarteng

A dramatic wave of "pick-pocketing" is developing on the Legon campus. Let me give meaning to this assertion by recounting the prices of some commodities on the campus:

3 fingers of banana	cost	¢2.00
4 small tomatoes	"	¢4.00
3 garden eggs	"	¢2.00
1 orange	"	¢1.20
1 onion	"	¢4.00
8 little pieces of kelewele	"	¢1.00
1 tinned tomato	"	¢6.00
1 egg	"	¢2.50
1 small fish	"	¢5.00

It is obvious that these prices are terribly high. This is the "pick-pocketing" I am referring to. You are not forcibly robbed of your money but you are forced, under Hobson's choice, to part with more than you would have done. Whether this is exploitation, over-pricing or kalabule, the principle is the same: robbery without violence.

This social problem at Legon, I sincerely believe, is the practice in the other two universities and on the other students' campuses in the country. What amuses me is the tragic silence of the various SRCs and the NUGS about this remarkable exploitation. For I am aware that since 1974 the NUGS has made scientific socialism, which vigorously resists the exploitation of man by man, its ideology.

A few years back, students of Legon charged on a kiosk operated by the wife of a Deputy Registrar for allegedly exploiting students although, at that time, the prices of her goods were more reasonable than those of the Food Distribution Corporation nearby. I haven't forgotten the romantic and exuberant chants of "petty bourgeois," "capitalists," "imperialist agents" etc. etc. that characterized that march. Will somebody convince me that the SRC at Legon is not aware of this illegal and unsocialist maximization of profits? Or is it because this pick-pocketing is being done by the "lumpen proletariat"? It is no more the real meaning of exploitation of man by man but pick-pocketing of academic society by illiterates. Where then is our bluff of arrogating to ourselves the unsung moral duty to correct the wrongs of the general society by our disciplined training?

No student can claim that he has never fallen a victim to these vicious pick-pockets for they operate at every corner of the university. (From the main gate to the arrogant display of dirty tables in front of all halls of residence.) The trade is now so profitable that the pick-pockets themselves struggle for places of operation. The regular quarrels among them about the exact position of a table or stall of some sort is a testimony. We look even more funny with our insistence on food being served under hygienic conditions in our halls. The happy marriage of flies and fried fish, of worms and rotten fish, and of the dreaded scent from the gutters that engulf these selling places, surely militate against any form of cleanliness.

Student Pick-Pockets

But the illiterates are not alone in the pick pocketing, indeed some students are in the thick of it. Theirs is refined. Prices of almost all advertised goods are MODERATE. Indeed! A gentleman bought a shirt here last year for ₵105.00 which was being sold in town for ₵95.00. The smart intervention of fellow students prevented what would have been a nasty exhibition of the pugnacious instinct of the buyer. Students now pick-pocket their fellow students on assorted goods and services, ranging from ladies lipsticks, brassiers, and the latest in musical gadgets to random entertainment charges. All of us look on helpless as our monies are being constantly extorted from our crises-ridden pockets and turn round to accuse sellers elsewhere of exploiting the masses. Who are they anyway? No theories, please.

Student pick-pockets also operate at a more ungodly level. We may forget about the rampant misappropriation of J.C.R. and S.R.C. funds, fume over the whereabouts of the 2,000 dollars at the NUGS Secretariat, but the recent mutilation and unsolicited removal of pamphlets, magazines

and books from the various libraries, especially the Balme Library, simply are mind-boggling.

Beauty Of Nature

Carelessness, indifference, arrogance, and laziness have become an unfortunate feature of our university community today. We shamelessly outrage the beauty of nature. What was once the scenic pride of Ghana is now a decadent dumping ground for dirt, refuse and pollution. Almost every lawn, park and playground has been destroyed by the human foot. The worst victims are the lawn that spans the dual-ply road from the main gate to the entrance of the Commonwealth Hall, the once splendid park lying before the Snack Bar, the lawns in the courtyard of the Legon Hall and the hedged parks at the Akuafo (Main) Hall southern gate. Where human foot has pardoned nature, idle hands have taken over. One sees too many scattered papers, banana peels, orange left-overs and, in some cases, unfinished banku, kokonte or fried foodstuffs. And what do we make of the stray goats, sheep and dogs that disturb the beauty of Legon with faeces, bleating and barking? The central administration of the university may plead innocence to this irresponsible behaviour of the owners but that is to be expected.

The solution does not lie in sermons. There must be some real reorganization of our community. As a first step, all sellers - especially of food items - must be found a more hygienic place at the periphery of the university. On the question of prices, it should be easy for students and the other members of the university to boycott goods sold above accepted prices. The Sanitary Department of the university must wake up to its responsibility. Finally, the university must find more stringent punishment, including legal action, for theft of books from the libraries and mutilation of textbooks.

Opinion

INVESTMENT AND DEVALUATION

by

A. Van Dantzig

There is no doubt that Ghana could do with a fresh injection of foreign investment, and the PNP Government, whatever its pedigree, shows no prejudice towards capitalist investors. The President has gone to Europe to woo prospective investors from West and East, and a new Investment Code, although not yet outdoored, is already widely discussed. Whilst its clauses form the object of heated arguments, and misgivings are expressed about the prospect of Ghana selling itself out to neo-colonialist multinationals, the one element in Ghana's present economic problems which constitutes to my humble opinion the very basis of the continuing decay, the lighter-than-air Cedi, seems

to remain out of the range of panelists' discussions. This is probably so because these days one can hardly speak about that currency without thinking of the unmentionable: devaluation.

When Governor Ashiagbor of the Bank of Ghana made his "Black Is Beautiful" speech, telling the world that as far as he is concerned the people have already decided what should be regarded as the real value of the Cedi, and the trade liberalization policy was inaugurated at about the same time, one thought that it signified something like a gradualist approach to (the unmentionable) devaluation. For the average consumer it would make hardly any difference if the black market of the Cedi became the official one, for virtually all prices, including those of locally produced goods, seem nowadays to be based on the $\text{C}100. = \text{Frs CFA } 1000$ rate. But then, someone - was it the Government or was it the TUC?—put again a spanner in the works with the "15-commodities" project. Were we going back to Government Designated Supermarkets and other "SMC tricks"? Rightly, many people protested, pointing out that only a small percentage of the population would profit from these artificially low-priced goods, and that it may well prove to be another avenue for corrupt practices, favouritism etc.

Who Is Afraid Of Devaluation?

Then, news trickled through that the IMF is again willing to grant a large loan to Ghana, but on the condition that the Cedi be devalued. The President tells the world from London that Ghana is indeed interested in reopening negotiations with that organisation, but that he will not talk about devaluation. Why? Because devaluation never worked in the past and only led to coups. Indeed, whenever one broaches the topic, one meets with hostility and suspicion. The IMF, it is said, "always demands devaluation", it is a "tool of Western imperialism" through which the capitalists hope to continue their exploitation of Third World nations, getting their raw materials extra cheap. Tanzania refused to devalue on the orders of the IMF, so why should Ghana not do the same? Indeed, half-way measures, such as were taken in the past, would at best make hardly any difference at all, or, at worst, lead to further deterioration and eventually even military intervention. This time, the devaluation should be so drastic that the official value of the Cedi equals the current black market rate, so that it becomes possible to remove most of the existing currency regulations and restrictions: a logical step within the framework of the liberalization policy.

Since nowadays virtually all consumer prices are based on the black-market value of the Cedi rather than on the official one, the average consumer will not have much to fear from devaluation. If currency restrictions are lifted, there will be no reason for the development of a new black market in goods or currency; and if local prices exceed those in neighbouring countries, people will simply import products thus affected. Local manufacturers will indeed lose their artificial protection and will have to buck up and compete with foreign manufacturers in quality and price. But in exchange,

they will no longer have to work at quarter-capacity and will be able to import with ease the machinery, spare parts and raw materials they need from abroad. De-control means a free flow of goods and of prices. For the salary earner devaluation may offer a glimmer of hope rather than the despair everyone seems to expect. As he is already paying black market prices for virtually everything he buys, the cost of living will not much increase for him. But once there is no longer any pretence possible that he may live on his earnings by buying his needs at "control", the dire need of adapting his salary to the prevailing price levels may only become the more glaring. No doubt, major adjustments will have to be made in salaries, wages and pensions. This will be very expensive to the State and other employers, and a lot of labour may prove to be in fact redundant.

Private enterprise will be able to increase salaries and wages out of increased profitability, but the State can only do so by refining its revenue collection system. Of course, under the present system whereby many of the consumer-goods are more or less officially smuggled across the borders, taxes on these products are paid by the foreign sellers to their respective governments, but the Ghana Government gets nothing out of this kind of business. With respect to direct taxation, the loopholes have lately become so huge, that by now the only system which one can recognise is that of the loopholes! A systematic anonymity seems to have developed under the (Government sponsored!) motto 'No Questions Asked'. The numberless palaces in the unnamed streets of Dzorwolu stand there as a monument to this 'system of systemlessness'. How do people manage to get so much money in such a short time? The answer is nearly invariably: through trade. But what kind of trade is that? Very often, the answer can be found in the simple equation $P = SBM - CC$ or: Profit equals Sale at Black Market rate minus Cost at Control price. In fact, it is widely known that if one can, for example, get hold of one carton of milk at "control" and sell it on the open market, one can make on that single carton close to $\text{C}1000$ profit. All this will become impossible with decontrol and devaluation. Indeed, our black-marketeers will have much to fear from devaluation!

The argument that exports will become cheaper and imports more expensive (and that therefore the western capitalist exploiters will have the last laugh) as a result of devaluation, does hold water in a system without currency controls. But in the case of Ghana, whose currency has not exactly inspired confidence abroad or at home, most major export transactions take place in foreign exchange anyway. Even on board of Ghana Airways planes one can't buy anything with Cedis. So, the cocoa farmer will, like the salary earner, only get a better case for demanding an increase in the producer price through the devaluation, and there will no longer be any need for him to smuggle the cocoa to Togo or Ivory Coast. Similarly, imports are not really going to be "more expensive", because they, too, are invariably paid for in hard currency. Which overseas supplier would agree in 1981 to accept Cedis? In the present day "open market" prices,

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especially of goods brought in from Lome, Abidjan and Lagos, are calculated not only the original cost, but also foreign import duties, local import duties (traders do sometimes pay considerable amounts at Aflao!) and transport. It is therefore likely, that the price of such goods will be a little lower when they can again be imported by the traditional commercial houses once currency restrictions are lifted.

Then there is of course the case of the savers and pensioners who would be affected by devaluation. Very few people have been able to save anyway, these last years, and those who did manage have for years thought it safer to invest in mobile and immobile property rather than in savings accounts. Pensioners are really in the same position as salary earners: obviously, adjustments are long overdue. Such adjustments would of course also be necessary for students receiving scholarships and other officially allowed remittances. But, then, there would no longer be need for remittance quota anyway. As long as the present "controls" continue to operate there will be loopholes and they will continue to widen. What is worse, the kind of (much beloved) investors Ghana keeps attracting, are of the worst type: those who are out to play a fast one through black-Cedi-magic. The new Investment Code, with all its tax-holidays and other attractions will remain the proverbial "scrap of paper" as long as the official value of the Cedi remains anything like ten or twelve times as high as the real value. Obviously, no honest investor is interested in putting a lot of hard currency into a business only to find that he gets one twelfth as much return as his less honest colleague or competitor. If he pays his workers a salary based on the official value of the Cedi, they will run away (as indeed many Government workers do), and if he pays them at the black rate value, he will go broke, unless he joins the black-market bandwagon himself.

Vultures And Rotting Carrion

The erupting effect of the present currency regulations can be well observed in the behaviour of the few tourists who still have the stomach and stamina to visit Ghana. These unsuspecting and often well-meaning people are first compelled to buy "Cedi-vouchers" for a large amount of their own currency, which annoys them slightly, only to be assaulted upon arrival at Kotoka International Airport by swarms of money-changers offering the most fantastic rates. Soon the little devil which resides deep in the soul of all of us humans, will creep to the surface of our tourist's hitherto innocent mind, when he becomes aware that the official exchange rate of the Cedi is indeed meaningless in the present day context: imagine paying more than \$50. for a meagre meal in a second-rate restaurant or \$5. for a glass of beer. He therefore begins to change whatever foreign exchange he still has on him at the black market rate, and he may try to cover his losses on the Cedi vouchers by buying some gold or diamond in order to smuggle it home. In the end, our tourist friend may have spent more time in the company of doubtful characters trying to sell him articles of doubtful value (Cedis, false gold, diamond or ivory) than in

enjoying his holidays. And, what is worse, Mother Ghana can look down on the transmutation of another innocent (foreign) lamb into a hard-line crook.

It has been pointed out before in the L.O. that something should be done about the Cedi's value, and that it should be done soon. If the word "devaluation" is taboo, call it "reform", "redemption" or even "digitation": the digit has to move one position to the left in the case of exchange-rate, and one to the right in the case of salaries. The Government's insistence that "we shall not be hurried into it" is not a sign of wisdom, but of indecision; it apparently can't make up its mind whether it is "politically safe" to deprive some of the powerful party-members of their present excellent opportunities to enrich themselves quickly. Yet, the Government must also be aware that inviting investors to the country under the present state of affairs amounts to inviting a group of hungry vultures to a heap of rotting carrion.

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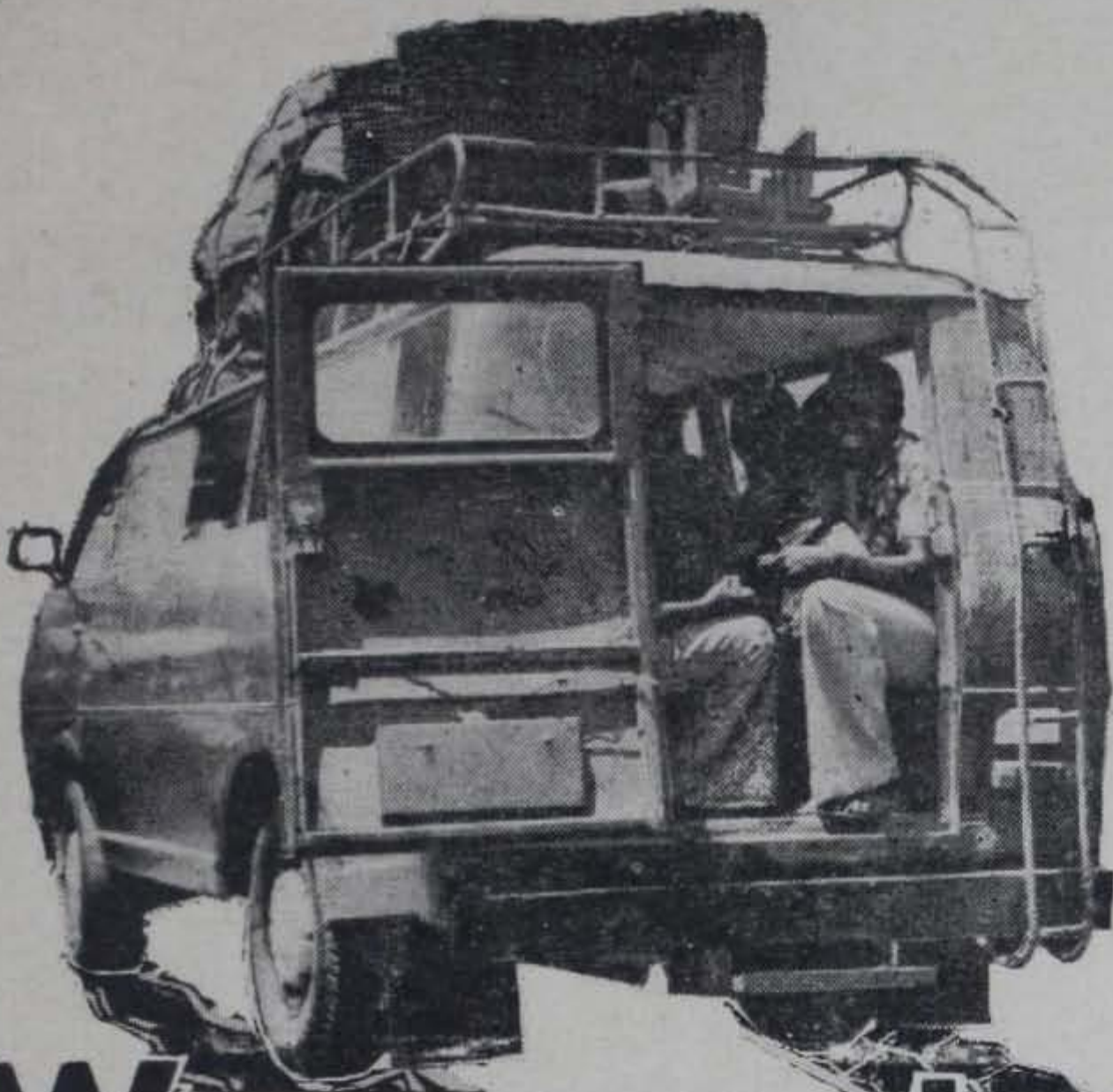
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THE SOCIETY FOR NATIONAL WELFARE

STATEMENT ON THE NEW DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

The Society for National Welfare would like to congratulate the Government, and all those through whose relentless efforts the intended strike action by the T.U.C. was averted. We note with considerable satisfaction the spirit of dialogue and co-operation in which the disagreements were resolved.

We should, however, like to point out that the new commodity distribution system should be regarded merely as a STOP-GAP measure - for two principal reasons:

- i.* the constraints inherent in the present morbid state of the economy; and
- ii.* the inequality built into the new system of distribution itself.

We should immediately explain however that we agree with the Government on the need to establish a hierarchy of consumer items. But the present economic situation is such that it may not permit the Government to procure adequate quantities of even those 15 items to meet the needs of the people of this country. The effect of this limitation has been underscored by the ludicrously meagre supplies allotted to the various identifiable groups and the commercial houses. In the event of the persistence of such shortages in any of the 15 important consumer items, the distortions and abuses, which the new plan was designed to eliminate, will continue to flourish and thereby aggravate an already disturbing situation.

The most serious indictment against the new system, however, is that it seeks to meet the needs of a minority of Ghanaians who happen to be organised, and are therefore very easy to identify. This is evident from the quotas for the organised groups and institutions on one hand, and on the other, the unorganised section of the Ghanaian public whose quota will be channelled through the commercial houses. The quotas for the organised and the unorganised groups are about 85% and 15%, respectively. This means that a large majority of Ghanaians, particularly farmers and fishermen who do not belong to any of their respective associations, the self-employed, the unemployed, pensioners, and the aged will not be adequately catered for by the new system. And even if we assume that the existing commercial houses and the other distribution outlets to be employed to serve this unorganised mass of people would get sufficient supplies of commodities, and also function effectively, there is nothing to stop the others from competing fiercely with the former group for the quota that is meant for them. It is equally important to note that there is no guarantee that no individuals or groups would take advantage of the open market situation to purchase more items than is allowed them, and thereby deprive others of their legitimate share of the goods on the market. Yet some of these neglected groups of people are equally, if not more, important than those who shall benefit most from the new distribution plan. But ironically, such people will be left at the mercy of the extortionate traders who now dominate the retail trade of this country.

Next, the announcement of the new system was not accompanied by a statement of an effectual monitoring system even though monitoring should form an essential component of any meaningful system of distribution, and in particular, one that is designed to meet the exigencies of our time. There is, of course, the radio announcements of various allotments for the identifiable groups, institutions and commercial houses. But even here, it requires a public that is well organised, informed and alive to its rights and responsibilities to act as an effective check on all shades of fraud in the system. We view this omission with grave concern; because it means further that the interests which have jeopardised successive distribution arrangements cannot be effectively checked, let alone eliminated.

Once this administrative framework has been established, the exercise could then proceed. But every possible effort should be made to get the people keenly interested in the running of their neighbourhood shops. In this connection, the Government has to give maximum publicity to all allocations made to neighbourhood shops. The emphasis should however be on the quantity of ration each person should expect to get from his or her neighbourhood shop. This should then be backed up with measures aimed at encouraging the people to attend neighbourhood meetings regularly so as to be able to check any sign of fraud in the sale of neighbourhood ration.

Lastly, it does appear evident that even the organised groups which have been identified and are to receive certain bulk allocations for their members lack such vital resources as capital, warehouses, transport, and the administrative personnel which are necessary if the new distribution system is going to work effectively; or they do not have any of these resources in sufficient quantities. But these aside, it does not appear that the Government itself has developed the necessary administrative capability for the success of the system.

In view of these and other lapses and omissions of the new system, as well as the constraints which inhere in the present state of the economy, we of the Society for National Welfare have reached the conclusion that nothing short of an innovative and bold solution to the present problems of shortages and distorted distribution of consumer goods, which seem to have become an enduring part of our national life, will exert the desired effect. We are persuaded that RATIONING can be the means for achieving an equitable and effective distribution of the few essential consumer items that the

Government will, at any time, take upon itself to make available in sufficient quantities. Accordingly, we urge the Government to subject this scheme (RATIONING) to a critical and dispassionate examination with a view to implementing it as a long-term distribution policy. In making this proposal, we of the Society for National Welfare are not unaware that RATIONING has its problems too. Nonetheless, in a situation of such perennial and harsh shortages, and where the black-market and smuggling have become aggressive and irrepressible features of the exchange and distribution aspect of economic life, RATIONING appears to be the only rational and equally aggressive response capable of confounding such cancerous social behaviour.

RATIONING requires certain mechanics to work effectively. For a start, we should like to recommend the following for immediate consideration and implementation:

- i.* the issuing of citizenship identity cards to every adult Ghanaian, and appropriate identification papers to every adult alien resident in this country. Because this is a cumbersome exercise, Government may consider issuing Rationing Cards immediately so that rationing can start without unnecessary delays;
- ii.* the zoning of all Ghanaian towns and villages into neighbourhoods. This must be based on existing electoral wards and or sub-wards, as will be found convenient, in order to reduce cost;
- iii.* the allocation, or provision, of a shop to each neighbourhood. These will serve as the distribution outlets from which every Rationing Card holder will purchase his or her allocation. The quotas for each card holder can be determined on the basis of data provided by the current registration exercise, and revised with subsequent registration and also population exercises. (In fact, registration for equitable food rationing could be a powerful issue around which a reluctant public can be mobilised to register).
- iv.* the election of a Neighbourhood Distribution Committee by each of the neighbourhoods. This body will be charged with the delivery and then supervision of sales of quotas to all Card holders of the neighbourhood. It will be answerable to the people at neighbourhood meetings which will have to be called regularly to receive up-to-date reports on how the neighbourhood's ration is being managed.

Once this administrative framework has been established, the exercise could then proceed. But every possible effort should be made to get the people keenly interested in the running of their neighbourhood shops. In this connection, the Government has to give maximum publicity to all allocations made to neighbourhood shops. The emphasis should however be on the quantity of ration each person should expect to get from his or her neighbourhood shop. This should then be backed up with measures aimed at encouraging the people to attend neighbourhood meetings regularly so as to be able to check any sign of fraud in the sale of neighbourhood ration.

In conclusion, we should like to repeat an earlier observation that the economy of this country is still ailing, and is not likely to start showing signs of immediate recovery soon. We are therefore impelled by this hard truth of our national existence to entreat the Government to take immediate steps to institute rationing as a matter of national emergency. We of the Society for National Welfare are, above all, convinced that the administrative capability and the high level of national awareness which may be developed in the course of executing this task could easily form the basis for a lasting and more effective administration of the nation's limited resources, including even locally produced food items which are also usually in short supply.

ISSUED BY THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY FOR NATIONAL WELFARE
WEDNESDAY, MAY 20, 1981.

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Editorial

MATERIAL INCENTIVES AND THE ECONOMY

'The lesson of history is that society does not learn from the lessons of history'. In the Limann administration's choice of economic policies, how long must this cynical view continue to find justification? The response of the present government to our numerous economic problems has been to exhort us to work hard, to trade less and to produce more. As in the recent past, under the military, moral exhortation rather than the provision of economic incentives forms the cornerstone of economic policies.

The fostering of pro-social behaviour is a laudable goal, but we must not be starry-eyed about its limitations in the economic sphere. To harp on socially-oriented economic behaviour and expect sustainable results is to fly in the face of all economic history. The self-proclaimed socialist states — Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, China and, most recently, Poland — have, one after the other, instituted their various economic reform movements. These countries have realized that if increased production is not to be an ever receding goal, then, after a degree, moral incentives must give way to material incentives.

The basic problem of the Ghanaian economy, as various correspondents have emphasised for some time now in the columns of the **Legon Observer**, is that of production. The history of Ghana as well as of other countries demonstrates that the best approach to the solution of the production problem is to assign a major role for economic incentives. Such incentives need to be tempered and leavened with social and economic regulations and institutional arrangements that will, at the same time, help to meet important social goals, such as social equity and the gradual satisfaction of the most important basic needs of all citizens.

Surely, the Limann administration is not ignorant of this basic fact. But does the administration have an economic vision for Ghana? Or does it truly believe the fiction that Ghana's economic problems are entirely the result of international economic trends? Or does it simply lack the courage to initiate the economic reforms that are so clearly overdue? If it is fear that is inhibiting the administration, we of the **Legon Observer** would like to ask who it is afraid of? Who, in our society, is afraid of an economic reform movement that will actually get the economy moving and spur the production process?

Certainly not consumers: for it would ultimately bring prices down. Not producers: for it would mean that production will become profitable once more. Not farmers: for their return too will increase. Not exporters; for their reward's too will rise. Not workers: for greater production

will increase employment and wages. Who, then, is afraid? Only the traders, smugglers and recipients of import licenses could possibly fear such a reform since they are the only beneficiaries of the present economic order. If this is so, are we right in presuming that the Limann government is an administration that is committed only to protecting the interests of these parasitic groups? However powerful these groups may be, the President surely can count on the full support of the people of Ghana in an attempt to initiate an economic reform movement that can get the economy moving, and moving quickly. This is what the people have been yearning for in the past decade or so.

What then should the Limann government do to gear incentives to production? In a variety of ways, the returns to all forms of production must be increased to outstrip the returns to all forms of trading. However, that is only a necessary step; it is not sufficient. The second major economic problem faced by Ghana is the extreme shortage of foreign exchange. Ways must be found to increase the availability of foreign exchange. Since the supply of foreign exchange can, ultimately, only be increased by increasing exports, all exports (notably cocoa) must be made more profitable for producers. The persistence of smuggling is testimony to the potential for increasing the supply of foreign exchange to the government, not to mention the contribution that could come from increased production if exports were to be made more profitable for cocoa farmers. If policies along the lines suggested below are adopted to increase exports then recourse to foreign loans in the short-run is not only possible but highly advisable. As surely as charity must begin at home, foreign investors, despite their paltry credits and promises, decide on a wait-and-see attitude until they have evidence that we have a clear and viable economic strategy and a sense of political direction. If we are fooled by their civility, and the Limann administration also decides to wait to see the next move of foreign investors, then, as a people we are destined to wait interminably.

Thirdly, and finally, to encourage the growth of production, a way must be found to increase the rewards for hard work and discipline. While decreasing the profitability of trade and imports and redirecting efforts towards production and exports, one must be keenly aware of the existence of a tremendous problem of morale among wage and salary earners in our society. Through a decade of unimaginably high rates of inflation,

while traders, importers and all manner of middlemen have made huge unwarranted fortunes over and over again, the purchasing power of wage and salary earners has fallen drastically. Production can take off if the problem of apathy is tackled through material incentives. It is only in this way that the purchasing power of this social group will be restored; and equity demands that this be done, and done quickly.

If the Limann administration is to get the economy moving it should re-orient incentives towards production. This can be done by rendering material incentives in production, in exporting, and rewards for hard work greater than the returns to trading, importing and indiscipline. At the same time important social objectives must be met. How all this can actually be done is a technical issue which the government's technicians can easily determine. Certainly, the recent economic history of the more successful small, export-oriented developing countries such as Korea, Colombia and Malaysia is instructive.

We of the *Legon Observer* would like the President to know in no uncertain terms that if he wants to get the economy moving, and moving now, then, he has to institute a programme aimed at increasing production through greater material incentives along the lines suggested above. Ghanaians will support such a programme if they have good reasons to believe that the beneficiaries will be consumers, producers, farmers, exporters and workers, and the losers will be those who have made fortunes over the past decade.

Economy

TRADE LIBERALISATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN GHANA

By

A Special Correspondent

To the untrained eye, the Ghanaian economy would seem to have been cursed, perhaps by an aggrieved god, with a perennial shortage of foreign exchange. While economists have debated the question: How far is a shortage of foreign exchange (contrasted with capital, skilled labour, land etc) a limiting factor in economic development?, Ghanaians have had little doubt that it lay at the very root of our economic difficulties. To us, the more important question

has been: "When shall we get over the foreign exchange shortage?". The purpose of this article is to attempt to re-orient Ghanaians away from the wishful approach that time will gradually do away with our economic problem, and instead to provoke Ghanaians to consider the question: "how can we get over this shortage of foreign exchange, and thus promote the development of our economy?". Since the supply of foreign exchange is the direct outcome of exports the subject matter at hand is the relationship between trade regimes and development.

The empirical relationship between the supply of foreign exchange and development has been studied most recently in a National Bureau of Economic Research project directed by Bhagwati and Krueger. Under this project, the relationship between trade regimes and changes in them on the one hand, and economic performance on the other hand, was studied for ten countries (Ghana, Brazil, Colombia, Egypt, India, Israel, Chile, Korea, Turkey and the Philippines). Taken together, these studies provide enough grist for our mill, and permit us to critically appraise recent policy measures and offer suggestions to steer them to success.

Liberalization of Trade Regimes: A Summary of the Empirical Evidence

Bhagwati Kreuger (BK) define **liberalization** as the replacement of quantitative restrictions (QR) or quotas by price-measures, as the instrument with which to influence and control the volume of trade in various commodities. For example, imports of luxury goods can be limited either by restricting, through licences or quotas, the amounts spent on them, or by levying high enough duties on them, and rendering them expensive enough, to limit the amounts spent on them to the same level as under licences. One can either allow only no Mercedes Benz cars into the country, or impose duties of C10 million (or 20) on each imported Benz, and end up having no Benz cars being imported.

The fundamental empirical conclusion of the BK project is that there is a strong relationship between liberalisation of trade regimes on the one hand, and economic growth and employment on the other hand. Conversely, the effects of control-dominated trade regimes on the development of such economies have been negative. In economic terminology, the static efficiency aspects of controls have been adverse in practice, while their alleged dynamic efficiency aspects

(such as a savings, entrepreneurship, income distribution etc.) have been negligible.

If this conclusion of a ten-country study warrants some consideration, and given that the Ghanaian experience with controls has itself tended to support this conclusion, then further thought needs to be given to the question: is a liberalization of trade the answer to the question of how to increase the supply of foreign exchange? In pursuing this question, one would wish to know: just what Ghana's own experience in this regard suggests and, **second**, what measures would be needed to ensure the success of such an attempt. An assessment of the experience of liberalization attempts and their consequences leads us to identify the following issues for analysing actual cases:

The Bias of the Foreign Trade Regime and a Forward Commitment to It.

BKs major conclusion is that the success of an export-promotion strategy (the only long-term & self-reliant basis for increasing the supply of foreign exchange in a small country) rests essentially on ensuring that the **bias** of the foreign trade regime is kept neutral between importing and exporting, and that a forward commitment be made by the government that the bias will remain neutral. In other words, after taking account of the exchange-rate, all import duties, surcharges and scarcity premia, the profitability of importing should be **at most** equal to that of exporting (after taking account of all proceeds to exporters, including business, rebates etc.) Thus, it should not be more profitable for the cocoa farmer to obtain an import licence than to grow more cocoa trees: if it is, he will seek to import, not export! What is more, he must believe that the Government intends to keep the return to importing below or equal to that of exporting, or else, he will simply not grow cocoa trees.

Preceding and/or Complementary Macroeconomic Policies.

A second conclusion of the BK studies is that successful liberalization has depended on the outcome of anti-inflationary measures. While there is a clear distinction between **liberalizing** the trade regime and **stabilizing** the economy, inflation must be accompanied by a stabilization programme aimed at controlling aggregate demand and reducing inflation.

The Choice of an Exchange-Rate System

Given the desirability of rendering exporting at least as profitable as importing, and the need to continue to maintain such a relationship, the BK finding that a **crawling peg** exchange-rate system is an important instrument in liberalisation programmes is not surprising. A crawling peg exchange rate is one that shifts the exchange rate in frequent small movements, to adjust for differences between a country's inflation rate and that of other countries it trades with. The importance of this is easy to see: if prices doubled in one country but were stable in all other countries, the first country's exports would be twice as expensive as those of other countries: under such circumstances, the first country would either have to halve the value of its currency, or lose its export markets.

Reforms of the Financial Sector

In many instances, liberalization-cum-stabilization programmes had to be accompanied by financial reforms. These were necessary to attack the excess liquidity that had built up in the economies in question, during years of high inflation fueled by domestic monetary expansion. The usual instrument here has been an aggressive interest rate policy.

Level of Foreign Borrowing Accompanying the Liberalization Attempt

Liberalization attempts are, by their very nature, medium-term measures. They do however require that a clean break be made with past policies. In order that the initial policy changes symbolise a fundamental shift in thinking, such changes must generally be significant. The usual method of bridging the gap between a significant change in policies whose beneficial results are not immediate, has been to borrow from abroad. The higher exports expected from the new policies have been enough guarantee to lenders to provide funds for such purposes.

The above five factors, **taken, together**, form the core of policy issues that have been instrumental in achieving successful liberalization programmes. **It is important, extremely important, not to judge the success or failure of a liberalisation attempt without examining whether each of these five policy areas was regulated as necessary.** Thus, to talk of the success or failures of previous devaluations or previous stabilization attempts without assessing the **total package** in which each of these is embedded, is with all due

respect, non-sensical. Before proceeding to examine the Ghanaian experience with its foreign trade regime, one more reference to BK is warranted. BK distinguish five phases through which trade-regimes tend to evolve, although not necessarily in any given order. These phases are distinguished by their **degree of liberalization**, i.e. by the particular combination of quantitative restrictions (quotas, licences etc.) and price-related measures (conscious use of duties, surcharges, bonuses etc.). Phase I is characterised by across-the-board QRs with little differentiation across commodities. It typically follows Phase V after a major foreign exchange crisis. At the other extreme, Phase II has free currency convertibility, no QRs (licences or quotas), and only price-related trade restrictions. Phase IV is the phase in which the transition from Phase I to Phase V is undertaken, typically with a **package** of measures including elements of all five policy areas noted above. Phases II and IV are transitional phases.

Like many developing countries, Ghana's foreign trade regime has undergone many changes in character, alternating between a heavy reliance on QRs, and movements towards a reliance on price-related restrictions. Five episodes may be distinguished: (i) 1957-61: when there were no QRs; (ii) 1961-66: when an increasing reliance on QRs was evident; (iii) 1967-70: when attempts were made to shift the means of controlling trade from QRs to price-related measures; (iv) 1971-80: a switch back to a policy of increased reliance on QRs; and (v) 1981-: the beginnings of a shift towards price-related measures.

Pre-1981 Phases in Ghana's Foreign Trade Regime

Leith describes the pre-1972 Ghanaian experience with its foreign exchange regime as one of both sudden and gradual changes. The 1957-61 period is most easily described as a Phase V period: payments to and from other countries were relatively free, and Ghana experienced a fairly liberal regime. The most interesting feature of this period was the high level of reserves that Ghana had in 1957, and that were drawn down between 1957-61. As such, the liberal regime was supported by factors exogenous to current export earnings. Naturally, this could not last too long. The 1961-63 period, when a variety of instruments were brought to bear on the growing deficit, is best seen as a Phase I period. Import-licensing was introduced in December 1961, and has played a major role ever since. Beginning in

1964 and through to 1966, Ghana entered Phase II: changes in regulations were frequent in a desperate attempt to patch up a system characterised by erratic issues of import licenses. By 1965, Ghana had a foreign debt amounting to one-half of GDP, and no new lines of credit remained open to her. Following the 1966 coup d'etat, Ghana entered a Phase III episode as part of a stabilization programme. Major expenditure cuts reduced the budget deficit substantially, and this was followed by a devaluation in 1967.

The 1967-70 period was an attempt to move into and consolidate a Phase IV regime. Beginning with the devaluation, and moving gradually after that to shift from specific import-licensing to open general licenses i.e. from quantitative restrictions to price instruments to keep the deficit under control, a gradual liberalization of the trade regime occurred. By end - 1970, 60 percent of all imports had no QRs. But some errors were made. Taxes on freed imports were relatively low; aggregate demand pressure was not contained; and a huge windfall of cocoa export earnings was not regarded as such. As a result, between 1971 and 1972, the liberalization attempt collapsed, and Ghana reverted to Phase I. With aggregate demand at a high level, and with cocoa prices declining, the trade gap threatened to widen. The government's response was a massive 82 percent devaluation — one that was aimed both at restoring external and internal balance. The required readjustment was apparently too severe for the population, and a coup d'etat took place in January 1972.

Between 1972 and 1980, Ghana essentially remained in Phase II, relying increasingly on QRs. The 1972 — 75 period was one in which aggregate demand was kept in control, and QRs kept the trade gap within manageable limits. However, between 1975 and 1978, import licensing once more become erratic, budget grew larger, money supply grew at an average rate of 80 percent per annum; and inflation pushed beyond the 100 percent level. The reliance on QRs increased, and became in some cases arbitrary; in one year, the value of all import licenses was halved. Unlike the 1967-70 period when cocoa windfall gains were used to begin a process of liberalization, no such attempt was made between 1975 and 1978, when cocoa prices peaked at \$6,500 per ton. (Current prices are around \$2,500 per ton). With a highly overvalued currency, exports fell both because production declined and smuggling to neighbouring countries increased.

Between 1978 and 1980, a new stabilization programme was begun, including a devaluation of 58 percent. However, the role of QRs remained dominant, and it would not be wrong to describe this period as one of flirtation with Phase III. From the point of view of liberalization programmes, three features stand out in the pre-1981 period. First, in the seventies, pervasive price controls were imposed on over 400 commodities, and this at a time when inflation was at triple-digit levels. These controls were at the ex-factory level as well as at the retail level. Secondly, between 1975 and 1977 a system of Special Unnumbered Licenses was introduced in which Ghanaians could import commodities with their own foreign exchange, no questions asked. These two features, and the issues identified earlier, set the stage for a critical analysis of the 1981 liberalization attempt now underway. And thirdly, and most importantly, the **package approach** to analysing liberalisation programmes demonstrates quite clearly that only the 1967 attempt was (i) a consistent package and (ii) one that was allowed to work itself through. The 1971 package, itself having become necessary because the liberalisation attempt had gradually ignored some of the five major policy areas identified above, was abandoned by the NRC regime. Its success or failure is therefore impossible to assess! In the 1978 package, the float-approach was abandoned shortly after its initiation, and once again, it is improper to judge it as unsuccessful. The success or failure of devaluations cannot, by definition, be assessed; only the success or failure of devaluation **package** can be assessed.

The 1981 Liberalization Attempt: A Critical Appraisal

The present liberalization attempt, begun in December 1980, constitutes a peculiar mixture of Phase II and Phase V. After the 1978 devaluation-stabilization package, the inflation rate continued to decline, although remaining over 30 percent. Price controls remained in place, as did import licenses. And until mid-1980, the stabilization objective was vigorously pursued. Beginning in November 1980, a number of developments and policy measures began to affect the foreign trade regime: (i) The international cocoa price began to decline steeply, thus reducing government revenue by about One-third; the minimum wage was tripled; new revenue measures were apparently insufficient to offset the fall due to decreased import trade. The net effect of all these factors was that aggregate de-

mand financed by money-creation began to increase at a fast pace, thus putting an end to the stabilization programme. (ii) The Government re-introduced Special Unnumbered Licenses under the name of Special Import Licenses (S.I.L.). The effect of this was to reinforce the workings of a parallel market for foreign exchange in which, in effect, there was free convertibility. It was envisaged that the supply of foreign exchange in this market would be fueled by foreign savings of Ghanaians. In practice, it is more likely that official exports will diminish either due to greater smuggling or underinvoicing or both, as will official worker's remittances.

As a result, over time, if this trend is allowed to continue, this Phase V component of the foreign exchange market will grow and take over all foreign trade transactions. This constitutes a liberalization of the foreign trade regime in three ways: the returns to exporters are increased; importers share their scarcity premia with suppliers of foreign exchange; and QRs are replaced by price instruments. Moreover, since the exchange rate is not pegged, it is in effect a floating exchange rate system, and one that is particularly apt for inflationary conditions. The reason why this is not a sustainable system however is that the government's fiscal arm is largely outside this parallel market: no trade and/or payments taxes are imposed, except on the inflows of imports.

Given the low probability of the government reducing its economic role, such a system could only operate if the Government were to continue to resort to money creation to finance its deficits. The ultimate result would be a return to the hyper-inflation of the mid-seventies. At the root of this problem is the low capacity of the government and its high dependence on trade taxes for a large proportion of its revenues. Given the excess aggregate demand trends described above, this breakdown is likely to occur sooner than later. (iii) In the meanwhile, the government has continued to also operate a Phase II system alongside the Phase V system. This system has the usual import licenses. In order to make S.I.L. imports worthwhile, however, retail prices have been decontrolled. As such, the scarcity premia enjoyed by import license recipients have **increased** under this liberalization system, as have the rents enjoyed by traders who are able to obtain supplies of import-competing products at controlled ex-factory prices. Thus, as long as this version of a Phase II system persists, the returns to rent-

seeking (kalabule) will remain high in the Ghanaian economy.

Since it is unlikely that the Phase V system will be allowed to completely take over all foreign trade transactions, it is worth analysing the hybrid Phase II/Phase V system further. In this hybrid system, it is clear that the bias of the regime is worse for all official exports: the real return to official exports declines with inflation while those to unofficial exports and **all** imports continue to keep pace or rise. There is likely to be little export response to the hybrid system since unofficial exporters will not see the hybrid system as constituting a commitment to export-promotion. The macroeconomic effects are likely, as argued above, to increase aggregate demand; there will be no supply response to the controlled ex-factory price system.

In short, the bias and the macroeconomic implications of the hybrid system spell disaster for its future; its only saving grace is the implicit floating exchange rate system — but in its present form, it is unlikely to be acceptable to any government, let alone the government of a developing country. The reason for this is that, of the three macroeconomic policy instruments — monetary, fiscal and exchange — developing countries usually have the benefit only of the last two; it is unlikely that one of these two will be given up on a permanent basis.

If a liberalization attempt must be made in Ghana in order to resume the growth process by unlocking the foreign exchange constraint, but the present hybrid system is deficient and is likely to break down, then what can be done?

A Suggested Policy Package

It has been argued above that the hybrid system is not a sustainable one. One may further ask whether, in its longer term form of a Phase V system, it is a desirable system. For some reason, none of the ten countries studied in the BK project, except Israel, have adopted a Phase V system. In particular, most developing countries continue to restrict foreign exchange inflows and outflows on the capital account. This is explained in large part by the desire of developing countries to use state power to foster economic development.

If the hybrid system is neither sustainable nor desirable, what policies should Ghana follow? **Basically, the only option is the traditional one of gradually adopting a Phase III system, and moving on to a Phase IV system, but ensuring**

that all complementary measures are taken to ensure the success of the transition. *However, unlike in the past, the present policy of allowing S.I.L. imports and decontrolling retail prices has, in effect, resulted in an **unofficial** devaluation of the cedi. The unpopular price effects of devaluation are already present. What remains is for government revenue to benefit from it, by declaring it an official devaluation. To ensure the success of the programme, the following objectives and conditions must be met, and the policies for their successful attainment are offered alongside:

(i) **Rectify the bias of the foreign trade regime:**

This requires that exporting be made as or more profitable than importing. The easiest way of doing this is by a major devaluation which will increase the domestic price of imports and exports, and a rationalization of existing tariffs and subsidies. The increased price of exports will increase the prices received by official exporters and potential smugglers; **but the increased cost of imports should not affect the domestic price of imports — it would absorb scarcity premia.**

(ii) **Macroeconomic Policy:** The abandoned stabilization programme will have to be readopted. This will require major new revenue measures, some permanent and others to be activated when the cocoa price declines. It will also require some expenditure cuts, although the emphasis here should be on recurrent not development expenditure.

From a longer term point of view, it would be prudent to operate a **foreign exchange reserve fund** to save into during boom years in the cocoa market, and draw from during slack years. The critical importance of managing aggregate demand for a successful liberalization effort cannot be over-emphasized.

(iii) **Exchange Rate Policy:** In spite of efforts to reduce aggregate demand, it is likely that the inflation rate will take a few years to bring under control. Given the importance of maintaining favourable bias of the regime, a crawling peg exchange rate system should be adopted. In addition, indirect taxes on imports and import-competing products could be used to modify the incentive structure as necessary. These measures should be clearly announced in order to ensure exporters of the government's commitment to export-promotion.

(iv) **Financial Reforms:** The successful stabilization of the economy is likely to require some

financial reforms, given the current excess liquidity in the economy. In particular, an aggressive interest rate policy will be necessary to ensure the success of the stabilization programme. This is also required to improve the savings effort for future growth.

(v) **Foreign Borrowing:** Given the lagged response of exports to changes in the profitability of exporting, a successful transition will require a substantial foreign borrowing effort if imports are to rise in the short run. This is an alternative to domestic recession, which at any rate, is often disqualified on political grounds. The need for such borrowing is greater on account of the current trough in cocoa prices. This contrasts with the 1967-70 liberalization attempt which coincided with rising cocoa prices. However, it will be necessary to ensure that imports are kept at a level that is sustainable in the long run, in order to prevent the reimposition of QRs when the next crisis comes along.

(vi) **Price Decontrol:** Decontrolling prices at the producers' level will ensure that the Ghanaian economy is converted from a rent-seeking one to a production-oriented one.

(vii) **Special Import Licenses:** Their role should be gradually diminished as Phase III and Phase IV characteristics dominate the foreign trade regime. As a transitional mechanism in conditions under which the government finds it politically difficult to devalue, they are justified. But in the long run, for reasons given above they must be phased out. In this regard, the government could consider a formal dual managed floating exchange rate system so that some subset of politically sensitive goods are, in effect, subsidized — at least temporarily. In the long run, the exchange rate system could be unified.

In summary, the thrust of this policy package, and indeed of this paper, rests on the empirical demonstration by BK that QRs are detrimental to growth, employment and the efficient allocation of resources, and do not have any significant dynamic efficiency advantages; and that export-promotion is more growth-inducing than import-substitution. This policy package embodies the vision that Ghana can indeed break out of her foreign exchange constrained growth trap. Two parting thoughts are called for. First, it has recently been argued that developing country comparative advantages change in stages — from primary exports, to labour-intensive manufactures to technology-intensive manufactures. Ghana's intensive and labour-intensive exports in the near

JOURNAL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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exports must grow to include both resource-future. And secondly, as has also been pointed out, the growth of the industrialized countries does indeed demonstrate that the future need not be bleak, and further that the prospects for trade among developing countries are good. This latter observation is particularly germane given the present debate on the new international economic order, and the possibility of an enduring recession in the developed countries. Never in the history of Ghana has the economic situation been as desperate as it is today. And yet, never have the economic possibilities been so worthy of pursuit. Will the policy-makers live up to the economic challenge of the eighties?

Opinion

DEMYSTIFYING EXCHANGE RATE AND CURRENCY POLICIES IN GHANA

By

A Correspondent

The exchange rate is the price for another currency expressed in domestic money e.g. the price for US Dollar expressed in Cedi. Like the price for any other commodity the price for foreign currency goes up if its demand rises without an equal increase of the available quantities of foreign exchange. This demand must be there in available money and not only in empty wishes which cannot transform themselves into an effective purchasing demand. With the constant increase in the quantity of domestic money (Cedi), this additional money has been created. The offered quantities of foreign exchange have failed to rise at the same time because local production has stagnated and export bases for an income in foreign exchange have failed to fetch higher returns. In other words, too much money chases too few goods or — which is the same thing — too many cedis are competing for too little available foreign currency.

The Rise of A Black Market

In the past eight years, Ghana has experienced a steady expansion of cedi quantities resulting in rapidly rising market prices by a system of controls. It has also frozen the price for foreign exchange by pegging the cedi to the dollar at a fixed rate (US \$1 = C2.75). But parallel to the increasing quantity of domestic money a very

active illegal market has developed. With the passage of time, the use of the black-market promises increasingly higher profits. The higher the level of the black-market prices have swung up, the wider the gap between controlled and market prices has become. It is a plainly observable fact that with the increasing opportunities for higher profits from trafficking in foreign currency, an increasingly large number of people engage in activities on the illegal money markets. For most commodities and services the controlled price system broke down long ago, resulting in the socially disastrous phenomenon that especially basic consumer-items were and are very commonly sold at black-market rates. The market price for the US Dollar has increased as of April 1981 up to around C25.00, which represents about ten times the Government-controlled rate. Now, in a system where the illegal market for currencies is so promising that profit rates of 1000 per cent are obtained, there are extremely strong incentives to make use of it.

Decline in Government Share of National Income.

In such a situation only a system of very rigid and effective controls with a threat of painful and severe sanctions could eliminate the use of the black-market, or even reduce the incidence of its existence. This does not seem to be possible in Ghana for the following reasons, among others. First, Ghana has a poorly developed machinery of public controls. Secondly, at present, and for some time now, salaried incomes, including remunerations for Civil Servants, are, in comparison to consumer prices, at levels which are lower than ever before experienced in this country. The deterioration of the standard of living goes along with an increasing readiness to commit illegal acts like bribery and corruption which are in turn undermining any controlled system. Thirdly, Ghana is a democratic and constitutional state in which judicial decisions should take account of the conditions of economic constraints under which a possible culprit has acted. Thus, a legal defence in a prosecution could be based on the argument that income did not suffice to feed the family. This is an argument which is already morally accepted among wide parts of the population. In these circumstances, the law imposing controls cannot be effective, as it cannot be rigidly or widely enforced.

A direct consequence of de facto ineffective controls is the decreasing portion of Government's share of the nation's income. Or, put differently: Government's part of the Gross National product

is steadily shrinking. The reasons for this can be directly linked to the rigid rate of exchange. Thus, to take only one case, duties on imported items which contribute one of the main sources of Government revenue, remain unchanged whilst the market price is constantly rising, leaving the revenue department with a steadily shrinking portion of the prices such items fetch on the market. For example, the c.i.f. value of an imported item is US \$1,000 equalling C2,750 at the official rate of exchange; the payable duty at an estimated rate of 50 per cent equals C1,375; the imported item sells however at a constantly increasing market price. The duty — Government's share — on the other hand remains the same because it is determined by the low price of the under-valued foreign currency. In 1978 the item might still have been sold at C10,000.00, but today the price will be well over three times that value. Yet, since 1978 the Government's share is an unchanged C1,375.00.

Out of this unchanged income Government is unable to pay higher salaries to its employees, demanded by them as compensation for rising consumer prices. Private enterprises which make use of the market mechanism are able to pay wage increases whilst Government financial constraints hardly allow for increases. Negative consequences on morale and discipline amongst Civil Servants are the inevitable result, for in addition to the decrease of the buying power of their salaries, they also experience drastic falls in their income in relation to other sectors of the population. Statistics tell us that over 60 per cent of the foreign exchange is earned by the export of cocoa. Exported quantities, however, are dropping every year. The reasons are manifold, but it is commonly understood that one of the main causes is the low Government-fixed producer price. It no longer constitutes for the farmer an incentive to grow cocoa, since maize and plantains, for example, fetch three times higher prices. The logical way out would be to raise the producer price of cocoa. But at the present artificially fixed rate of exchange, the cedi equivalent of the world market price is only a little higher than the local producer price. The difference in fact is hardly sufficient to pay for marketing expenses like transport and overheads of the Cocoa Marketing Board. It has been said that Government is already subsidizing cocoa. But Government does not have any room to increase these subsidies as its coffers are empty.

Increasing Importance of Retail Trade

The constant fall of the exported quantities of cocoa moreover has resulted in a drastic diminution of Ghana's foreign exchange earnings. The volume of imported commodities has had to drop, and with it Government revenues from customs duties. The deterioration of official cocoa exports has been aggravated by large-scale smuggling. Possible foreign exchange earnings of illegally-exported quantities are outside the control of the Government, and no import licences can be issued against those foreign monies. An increasing part of the nation's income is earned in the non-productive sector — the trade. On the other hand, the share of the productive sector, like, farming or processing, is constantly falling. This situation can generally be observed if the demand for goods is higher than the quantities offered. The seller dominates the market. The market becomes a seller's market.

In Ghana this trend is reinforced because, on the manufacturing level, price controls are more successfully enforceable than in trade. The selling prices of retail commodities, most of which are sold by small hawkers, have proved to be uncontrollable. Consumer prices which are far above the controlled prices are in fact tolerated. Profits are calculated in percentages of hundreds. Thus, the trading sector receives far higher profit margins, compared to manufacturers or farmers. Moreover, these high margins are not justified by their productive function as distributors of goods. The rigid foreign exchange rate guarantees some of these extra profits. Imported items paid for the importer in cedis at the present exchange rate are fetching on the market in Ghana prices which often exceed ten times the price of the item when entering the country. It is an illusion to think that benefit of a low import price is passed on to the ultimate consumer. In fact the benefit is invariably cashed in by a trader. For a development-orientated economic policy, only a limited gap between the domestic and external value of the national currency can be accommodated. In the case of Ghana this limit has by far been exceeded beyond tolerance. The rich trader is getting richer everyday. And, his trading profit is not made available for the development of the country. Yet, the Government lacks the necessary finance with which to maintain and initiate development. In fact, it is hardly able to pay for its current expenses. It is therefore imperative that the process undermining the Government's deteriorating revenue situation is halted.

Need For Revision of Exchange Rate

To achieve this, one pre-condition is the revision of the present rigid foreign exchange rate. A higher, more realistic cedi equivalent for imports enables Government to receive higher revenues. Higher cedi amounts as equivalent for exported cocoa will enable the Cocoa Marketing Board to pay higher producer prices to farmers. Government, in turn, with its increased revenues, will be in a position to pay its employees higher salaries. And, out of such higher salaries, Government will obtain more revenues from taxation. Thus, one of the major advantages of the positive currency measures being advocated is that, with raised revenues, Government will regain an active grip on its economic policy. It is not forgotten that the farmer will most likely have to pay more for his imported inputs like fertilizers and insecticides, or that the worker has to pay a higher price for imported foodstuffs. These increases can, however, be paid out of the raised producer prices and raised salaries.

The Paradox and Need for Education

The negative image attached to one particular economic policy-measure, namely currency adjustment, makes Government refrain from acting. It is interesting to note that during the past few years, inflation has raised consumer prices higher and faster than salaries and wages. A further fall of workers buying power resulting from a currency adjustment, is however, avoidable as Government receives the necessary revenue for an active wage policy. It seems therefore paradoxical that inflation is widely accepted, coming from the increase in monetary expansion, as a primarily Government induced measure. Whilst inflation following a change in the currency policy with comparatively positive consequences for the workers and the public sector should attract much stronger adverse feelings. Therefore, we can conclude that it is not predominantly the result or outcome of a policy-measure against which the negative stand is generated. Sentiments, we observe, are directed against the measure itself, irrespective of its true economic consequences.

It is critically important that the Government of Ghana regains its ability to use the full scope of economic policy-measures over which it has control. Among the options open to Government, a realistic adjustment of the exchange rate on the basis of available economic data is one of the most effective tools that can be used. The

task is therefore to demystify currency policies. To start with, this demystification should take place amongst leaders of the Government (executive), Parliamentarians, leading Party members and other important policy-makers. The underlying factors and interaction of different currency measures have to be understood. On this basis efforts should be made by personalities sharing political responsibilities to initiate an unemotional education and information campaign for the wider Ghanaian public with particular reference to the urban workers. The co-operation of the Trade Union organization should be won; the channels of the party organization should be used; journalists with an economic training should be encouraged; and institutions engaged in adult education should help. The workers have to be made to understand that an active currency policy is the pre-condition for the Government's ability to raise the income of the worker. It is to be emphasised that only through such political measures can the share of worker representing the productive sector of the nation's economy be stopped from deteriorating further, and the downward trend reversed. We must understand that currency measures are an inevitable pre-condition for the re-distribution of present incomes away from the unproductive to the productive sector. And, only such a reversal of the present state of affairs will conduce to a steady build-up of Ghana's national production.

Notebook

LEADERSHIP IN ACADEMIA

According to the Statutes of the University of Ghana, the main function of a Dean of a Faculty is "to provide leadership to the Faculty Board" in the discharge of functions relating to ensuring adequate facilities for teaching and research, co-ordination of such teaching and research et cetera. Who is capable of leadership has always been left to the determination of the Faculty through an election in which all members of the Faculty irrespective of status are eligible; and not infrequently a relatively junior person has been elected over a more senior person. It is now seriously urged in some quarters that to be able to discharge the functions of a Dean properly, the incumbent should have a high academic standing. Seeking office too early in one's career or before one's has arrived at seniority is not considered to be in anyone's interest, least of

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all the candidate's since duties of the office could disrupt the research and the publication programmes that are the requirements for professional advancement. It has, in fact, been decided to restrict eligibility for deanship to professors and the statutes are to be amended accordingly.

Thanks to an on-going review of the Statutes it is now clearer than ever before that in terms of status, heads of Schools are at least equal to Deans of Faculties. Heads of Schools are, however, appointed rather than elected, apparently, because being a professor is not considered enough; ability to manage a relatively independent establishment is also an important consideration; so is integrity; and the appointment is not to be left to the vagaries of an election. What obtains for Schools in terms of administrative and financial autonomy and mode of appointment of the head is true also of Research Institutes.

In the last couple of years appointments have been made to the headship of two Research Institutes and one School. All of those appointments conform to the academic requirements considered desirable for deanship of a Faculty. We understand that one more appointment is to be made which, however, does not reflect the concern that was evident in other appointments; nor are we able to guess what the precise considerations are on this occasion. We would urge the appointing authorities to look closely at the matter, lest a situation which is only beginning to be clarified gets muddy again.

SMOKING OUT SUBVERTS

The Vice-President of the Republic is reported to have said the other day that some managers of state enterprises owed allegiance to political parties other than the P.N.P., and that instead of giving of their best they were actively engaged in subverting Government's efforts in reviving the economy. Since that time the Government has found it necessary to issue new guidelines on the appointment and tenure of managers of state-enterprises: they are to be appointed for a probationary period of one year in the first instance; subsequent appointments will be given for two years at a time subject to review by the relevant Minister of State. We do recall that long before the Vice-President came upon "evidence of subversion", a leading member of the P.N.P. had advocated the appointment of party men to all sensitive positions, as a general rule. It takes little imagination to see the outcome of the ministerial reviews which is to be

the case now. And the matter should not normally engage us if we were not painfully aware that reliance on our "own men" to the exclusion of all others frequently in the past led to square pegs in round holes; and see what has become of us! An administration which expects cooperation from all members of the public in the difficult task of rebuilding the nation could do better than witch-hunting!

Letters

Investment and Devaluation

SIR - The feature article on 'Investment and Devaluation' (L.O. XIII. 6) cannot have come as a surprise to those who know the author. Devaluation seems to be his pet child. In the feature itself, barring the introductory remarks about prospective investors in Ghana, there is no discussion of it. That the Cedi is weaker every day is evident to all. But what is extremely doubtful is whether the cure is devaluation. I shall be glad to be informed of any instance where a weak currency has been rescued by devaluation. The writer's own case is largely punctured when he writes: "the local manufacturers will have to buck up and compete with foreign manufacturers in quality and price." As things are at the moment in Ghana the first is a very doubtful possibility. With the prices having rocketed as a result of the author's 'juju' remedy, the question of competition in prices will not arise. The race will be as good as lost even before the 'get set' signal is given.

It appears that the failure to find and work a suitable system of distribution is being held out as a justification for a free for all. No doubt for a salary-earner or pensioner to get things at controlled prices is immensely difficult, but there is a glimmer of a chance to do so. To any thinking person the so-called 'trade liberalization' is a long-term disaster. It was a ploy by the party-boys to make millions. When it comes to the effects of the proposed remedy on earnings, the argument verges on the ridiculous. "... major adjustments will have to be made in salaries, wages and pensions", we are told. In the last paragraph even the scale of these changes is indicated; a ten-fold rise. Every finance minister would wish he was holding the mythical 'Shiva's bag' so that he has only to put his hand into the bag to withdraw it full of money, or that he had the Midas touch. Money does not grow on trees. Inflating the currency is the surest way to make it weaker.

No doubt coming from a developed country with an export potential, devaluation appears very attractive to the writer. Talking of the I.M.F. it is once again controlled by developed countries. Here unfortunately sauce for the goose is not sauce for the gander. I.M.F. as at present constituted and worked will have to undergo a metamorphosis under a New International Economic Order. Like a Saleman eager to sell his ware, we are offered a series of new titles for the old remedy. The opposition to devaluation is not to its title, but innate to its consequences. Let us take the 'digitation'. To quote: "The digit has to move one position to the left in the case of the exchange rate, and one to the right in the case of the salaries". The latter simply means a ten fold increase in salaries. The former is not so easy to grasp. Taking the Cedi-dollar equivalent - \$1 to C2.75, move the digit one place to the left and you have \$1 to C2.75. It sounds funny!

The failure of the SMC governments to control inflation was the main cause of the nemesis it suffered on June 4, 1979. The failure of the present government to do so is its greatest lapse. Controlling inflation is the necessary first step in any attempt at economic revival. The experience of Britain in the last decade is a good example. Run-away inflation is the surest step to economic disaster.

It will bear repetition that Ghana has had three devaluations and one demonetization. Ghana's economy is, if anything, worse off for them. As the country's main exports are either already reckoned in foreign currency (e.g. cocoa) or almost inelastic, we have to forget the beneficial consequences of devaluation in the form of increased export earnings. The advisable alternative to devaluation is to economize, and economize drastically on its imports and other expenses involving foreign currencies. Almost a complete ban on foreign travel, withdrawal of all allocation for foreign travel, severe restrictions on imports of luxury articles like cars, Hi-fi equipment, frivolities, a severe cut in attendances at conferences (most of these serve as open shopping sprees), encouraging industries using locally available raw materials, no new industries which are import-orientated and even closing down some of the existing ones are some of the avenues open for economic recovery. I know I will be called kill-joy. But some privation and tribulations in a good cause cannot be bad.

A page can be taken from the steps which India took and is taking which have contributed to its economic recovery, and comfortable foreign reserves. The IBM (International Black Money) market is mainly sponsored by people who have ill-gotten money abroad or those who get their remuneration wholly or in part in foreign currencies. Of course if the remedy suggested in the article under reference are accepted, then, these people will be spared any pang of conscience they may have to have contributed a fair part to Ghana's present ills. The simile at the end of the article is very inaccurate. Investors can better be compared to beasts or birds of prey who are game for healthy meat rather than to vultures who are scavengers.

Ayido Flats
Legon.

C. N. Wadia

Parliament President and Allegations

SIR - In February this year, at a P.N.P. rally in the Okaikwei constituency, at Mataheko, President Hilla Limann alleged:- (i) That the government did not pay a pesewa towards the management course in England of Mr. Kofi Batsa, chairman of GIHOC Board of Directors; (ii) That some members of the minority parties have gone abroad to collect bribes from AFRC convicts to champion their cause in parliament; (iii) That some members of the minority parties have travelled abroad to dissuade would-be investors from investing in the extraction of our mineral resources.

Indeed as expected everybody was taken aback by these grave allegations, especially the last two: in the first statement he was however, reported to have been 'misquoted by the press'. How strange it was that all the pressmen around heard the same thing and reported the same thing! And yet. Parliament quickly referred the second, namely, that some members of the minority parties have received bribes from A.F.R.C. convicts to its Privileges Committee for investigations. The fate of the report is, however, yet to be determined since the majority party want it rejected while

the manority parties want its adoption. One would have expected parliament to refer the other allegation, namely, that some members of the minority parties have gone abroad to dissuade foreign investors from investing in our mineral resources, to another committee for investigation. In my opinion this is as serious as the other.

May I know why parliament has been solely interested in the second allegation and ignored completely the third allegation? Or was it a member of the majority party who was involved in this case?

Psychiatric Hospital,
Ministry of Health,
P. O. Box 1305,
Accra.

Ellis Otis Osei

Agricultural Self-Sufficiency

SIR - It is becoming more and more evident each day that we are gradually moving away from our goal of self-sufficiency in even agriculture. Sometime ago we had to wait for the rains before we started planting. Today, as a mark of progress, after the rains have come, we still have to wait - for fertilizers. And the fertilizers also have to wait for fuel and lubricants. I had been under the illusion all along that all our efforts had been geared towards removing all foreign exchange elements (as far as possible) from our industries.

If today we have to once more depend on those foreign powers before we can be sure of a good rice or plantain harvest, then, I beg to submit that we are not very far from the fool's paradise.

Ghana Institute of Journalism
P. O. Box 667
Accra

Tsri Apronti

Subsidising Food

SIR - Here is a piece of advice to the government.

First, let them stop subsidizing, and stop controlling, the price of anything that can be sold more than once, because people will buy cheap and sell dear.

Then, with the money thus saved, let them open a restaurant in every constituency with food that cannot be sold more than once, such as dishes of beans, fresh fruit salad, and drinks of hot chocolate, or let them subsidize school meals, or both.

P. O. Box 6828
Accra.

Daphne Hereward

Home Coming

After ten years' absence from the golden shores of Ghana, I decided to return home. I ignored all warnings from friends and newspaper reports about the chaotic economic situation at home. After all millions of Ghanaians have survived, including my 90 year-old parents. The flight from London to Accra was uneventful. The Ghanaian hostesses who used to scare me by their saucy behaviour have all been replaced by others more humane. Makola market was doing business as usual. The cries announcing local and imported goods filled

the air from kenkey to cake, sardines to sandals. Yes, the government's trade liberalization policy was working; at least, for those who had the money.

However, greed and its consequent crime wave have become a national malaise with life and property at stake. It is called 'kalabule,' 'buy and sell' I am yet to recover from the shock of the attack on me at Aflao while waiting for transport to Accra. This peaceful motherland I knew and felt proud of! I called the private driver wicked when he charged me ₵40 for the one hundred mile-journey to my village plus an extra ₵5 for my briefcase. I was informed that with the trade liberalization one cannot complain about lorry fares. But what about the State Transport Corporation Bus Passenger Service? The conditions of Carriage dated 1st February 1967 and displayed at the terminus are as follows:

- (a) No passenger shall be entitled to take with him, free of charge, on any journey more than 60 lbs. of baggage; and
- (b) Any passenger accompanied by baggage in excess of the said 60 lbs. weight shall be charged in respect of the excess according to the appropriate tariff for the time being in force.

After a bitter struggle to secure a seat I was told to pay ₵30 extra for a suitcase and a small parcel of dry fish and vegetables which together weighed about 50 lbs. Passengers carrying only brief-cases were no exception. Standing by the bus was a boy wearing a T-Shirt with the inscription, "Insist on Your Rights." I smiled, summoned courage and asked the bus driver for a receipt covering my baggage charge. "You must be mad," remarked the passenger next to me. "That is for their own pockets." For their own pockets indeed! Not less than ₵1,000 was extorted from the 80 passengers. By simple arithmetic, multiply that by 30 or 365. The answer equals a number of hospitals, schools, or roads that could be built or rehabilitated. These malpractices have become the norm of our society. Life must go on. The cock still crows to announce the start of the working day. In the village, mangoes, black berries, pawpaws and bananas are still free for the picking. Perhaps, it would be different down south among the fisher folk. The catch from the lagoon was fresh for the evening meal as I arrived. The next morning saw sea-gulls signal a catch from the sea. I rushed with others to hang on the net like old times. The reward has not changed. The cruel sea looked peaceful except for the ruins of the old church and the fort.

P. O. Box 9098,
Kotoka Airport,
Accra.

Kobina Abrantie

Increasing Price of Newspapers

SIR - Recently it was announced that owing to shortage of printing facilities the price of Chris Asher's **Palaver** and **Chronicle** would be increased from ₵1.00 to ₵2.00 as from 1st June, 1981. I am getting disturbed by such increases in the price of newspapers in recent times.

Newspapers play an important role in the economic, social and political development of a nation, and must therefore reach a number of literates. If we have such arbitrary price increases few people can afford to buy them. I would suggest that any future price increase must be done with the approval of the Press Commission.

Liberty Press,
Accra

S. D. Donkor.

Harking Back To The Early Sixties

SIR - The playback on Television the other day (Saturday, 30th May, 1981) of President Limann's triumphant entry to Ghana after his tour of Britain, Rumania, Yugoslavia and West Germany, was quite interesting to watch. The long, white - flowing robes of the women with Limann's picture in front and Nkrumah's at the back; the Ajax Bukana - like top hats; the Vice-President's casual outfit with that Safari Cap - all these denoted more triumph than Caesar's entry into Gaul.

What nearly marred my viewing pleasure were the background responses to the President's speech. These came mainly from women supporters (or hirelings?). "Show Boy!", they screamed. "Africa's No. 1 Man!"; "Leader of Africa"; "No challenger"; "Asaase Wura" (owner of the land); "Nana bere bere" (when he was walking round to greet the people) etc. In fairness to the women, they did not add the new title in dispute - "Sir" - but there was a generous dose of "yee - ye" and "eye Abe".

Mr. Editor, should these adulations get into the head of our innocent President; and should he begin to feel that after all he is among some dwarfs, he being the only giant, then a repetition of the tragic sixties is inevitable. Except, of course, that this time there may be no Preventive Detention. But the State Security Agencies may be required to mount an **eternal** surveillance over one for criticising this "giant" of a President!

Institute of African Studies, J. K. Agovi
Legon.

From P.N.P. Youth Congress

SIR - In L.O. Vol XIII No. 6 of 26th May 1981, an article by Mr. Kabral Blay-Amihere on the above subject, makes interesting but disturbing reading. One effect of the problems caused by shortage of foreign exchange in Ghana is that the public have virtually been starved of facilities for acquiring much-needed knowledge through reading as a safe-guard against dangers such as those Ghanaians experienced under the late President Kwame Nkrumah. It is apparent that the members of the Youth Congress, who still regard the late President as a source of inspiration, are not aware of the great harm he caused to this nation in pursuit of personal grandeur and prestige abroad. In making this statement, I am not unaware of the impressive contribution he made towards the projection of the 'African Personality' both in Ghana and beyond; the resourcefulness with which he made efforts that led to eventual construction of the Volta River Project; the establishment of schools, colleges and health services. But his attempt at usurping the powers of Ghana-

ians for himself, which led to detaining of his opponents, brought untold hardships to many Ghanaians, while those aggrieved fled the country or retired from the public service. He surrounded himself with opportunists and foreign advisers who wanted to benefit from his dubious intentions, which plunged the country into economic woes.

In H. Bretton's book on *The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah*, Nkrumahism is defined as follows:

'is the ideology of the New Africa, independent and absolutely free from imperialism, organized on a continental scale, founded on the conception of one and united Africa, drawing its strength from modern science and technology, and the traditional African belief that the free development of each is the condition for the development of all.

The above definition indicates that "Nkrumahism" was designed for a united Africa, which was the sole aim of the late President, and for which he committed a large percentage of Ghana's resources. If this is the case, then, I believe that Dr. Limann is right in maintaining his stand that Ghana is his "ideology", and that ideology is a "past time for unrealistic intellectuals". This is because once he rejects the ideology of "scientific socialism" it would be unfair to declare that he stands for "capitalism", since that would be contrary to the doctrine of the party of which he is the leader.

The members of the Youth Congress are all residents of Ghana. If they are concerned about the welfare of this nation, then they will no doubt agree with me that what Ghanaians need now is food and not slogans. It is also unrealistic to talk about African unity while we ourselves are virtually dying of hunger and our kinsmen are fleeing to neighbouring countries in pursuit of better standards of living. What the members of the Congress must do is to impress upon the mind of the President to do all in his power to provide Ghanaians with farm inputs to enable us produce food in abundance, feed and feel healthy to enable us face the challenges of the gigantic task of nation-building.

P. O. Box 285
Madina
Accra.

Shaw K. Zormelo

Questioning Official Conduct

SIR - It appears that these days no citizen should dare cast doubts on, or question, the conduct of the government in any way; for any such audacity is likely to provoke a responsible cabinet minister to call on such a person to substantiate all allegations made. The other day it was the leader of the ACP. He had accused the government of nepotism in the sale of tractors and other farm machinery. This immediately drew a sharp retort from a responsible cabinet minister who challenged him to COME OUT WITH THE FACTS, as if the minister or government did not have all the facts on the matter. The drama was then followed by a period of silence till the matter was again raised in Parliament where-upon a Committee was appointed to verify the truth of the allegation.

Now it is an allegation by the ACP Parliamentary leader about the importation of Tata Buses. And again the minister involved in the case is playing the same tune: COME OUT WITH THE FACTS!

This manner of responding to queries from the public raises a number of questions. What is the government doing with all the facts it has about such matters of importance? If it does not have them (which will be extremely strange),

why can't the government put its intelligence men to ferret the necessary information? Lastly, why can't the government just tell the public the facts of the case of clear the air and stop this arm twisting?

In such matters we need plain talk from our government. For one important reason: It saves us the agony of circular speculation and endless 'rumour-hearing'. And another: We want to be spared the Jibowus, Akainyas, and Ollenus; for we want to believe that the 1980's mark the birth of the 'political saints'.

Political Science Dept.,
Legon.

Kwame A. Ninsin

State of Lawlessness

SIR - A people will respect and obey their laws if their leaders, the lawmakers themselves, respect and obey the laws. It does not seem to me that the truth of this has dawned on our present leaders. A.P.N.P leader, the other day, told Makola women that prices should find their own level. I was surprised to read this for we have price control laws, and the leader was in effect telling the women to break the laws.

For me the implications of this advice are serious. I see no reason why:

- (1) taxi and private transport drivers should not arbitrarily fix taxi and lorry fares;
- (2) medical officers will not charge consultation fees ranging from C50 to C500;
- (3) cocoa farmers, on whom we depend almost wholly for our foreign exchange, should not smuggle their cocoa out-side the country so that they can earn foreign exchange to buy essential commodities they cannot obtain in their own country.

I am afraid the government by failing to control the activities of Makola women and other traders is helping to create a state of lawlessness in the country.

P. O. Box 19
Achimota, Accra.

Albert Joe Pimpong

Government Vehicles

SIR - Because Government Vehicles were mostly being used to run private and not public errands, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (A.F.R.C.), directed that all vehicles bought with public funds should use GV number plates. In addition, the name of the organization using any such vehicle was expected to be written on the vehicle. This was welcomed by the Ghanaian public. Right now there are GV cars which do not have the names of the organizations inscribed on them. I call on the Minister of Interior to see to this.

J. Y. Acheampong

Psychology Department,
University of Ghana,
Legon.

Silver Jubilee

SIR - Congratulations to the President of the Third Republic of Ghana for thinking of celebrations during our Silver Jubilee next year. C120.5 million for Ghana's Silver Jubilee Celebrations? When there are no drugs in our hospitals? And a critical food situation?

What a sense of misplaced priorities? How many Ghanaians will enjoy a ride in the one hundred Mercedes Benz 200D cars to be imported. Oh no!

287 Oguaa Hall
University of Cape Coast
Cape Coast

Eddie Aboagye

Voters' Register

SIR - I heard an interesting conversation on the City Express Bus the other day which I would like to report:

Kofi: The Electoral Commissioner should be impeached for opening the Voters' Register in the rainy season. Does he mean to tell us that he does not know that the period of heaviest rainfall in Ghana is from April to June?

Kofi: But why should he be impeached for that?

Kofi: Its a moral crime to open the Voters' Register during this time when the rains are with us, our roads impassable and some of the rural areas are unreachable. This will create a situation in which because people cannot walk to the registration centres they won't be registered and thus lose the right to vote.

Kofi: When do you think is the best time for opening the Voters Register?

Kofi: Everybody in Ghana knows the best time is from July to September.

Rofis: Jesus! You mean the time of harvesting? I thought you will say from October to December.

Rofis: My God! In the mini-planting season and when we are preparing for Christmas? That won't do; I think, if July to September won't do then January to March will be ideal.

Rofis: My friend, you must be crazy. Don't you know that is the time people start clearing the land and prepare for planting? Ask somebody if you don't know this.

After this they all turned towards me and with one voice asked: "WHAT IS THE BEST TIME FOR OPENING THE VOTER'S REGISTER?"

I had to tell them the plain truth, that there is no ideal time for opening the Voter's Register in Ghana.

Komkomlemle,
Accra.

K. A. Minta

Parliamentary Language

SIR - When there was public outcry against the emoluments of Members of Parliament (MPs) Parliament unanimously condemned an attack on the House. The House has again spoken with one voice. This time it was condemnation of the Minister of Transport and Communications for allegedly inciting the public against the House over the Tata Bus controversy.

If parliamentarians wish to make the House reputable, then, they should mind the language they use at all times.

A friend of mine has remarked that the House is united only when the members feel that their interests are being threatened. I wholeheartedly endorse this view.

A301 Akafo Hall,
Legon.

Gilbert Yoa Dutu

Research in Our Universities

SIR - It seems to me that since the taxpayer provides the money for research in our Universities, he should benefit from the results of any University-based research. For this main reason the greater emphasis on research in our Universities should be placed on applied research.

To achieve this objective, our university faculties should identify our main problems, compile them, and those interested in research - students and lecturers - should be actively encouraged to work on the problems so identified. The results of such research should be made available to all interested bodies and individuals. In my view, the advantages of this approach to research in our Universities are that: relevant problems are researched on; the results of such researches are made available to the beneficiaries, and the researchers will feel satisfied that they somehow contribute to the development of the society which supports them.

Training Office,
International Institute of
Tropical Agriculture,
Ibadan, Nigeria.

Charles F. Yamoah.

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Short Story

AFTER THE RAINS, 'FLOODS

By

Ebow Daniel

The invitation did not specify costume, but almost everybody was in evening dress. It had rained for the better part of the day, and the fact of rain did not particularly encourage fancy dressing. It still rained as a matter of fact. By not wearing an evening dress, as she had advised, I had disgraced both of us; I never listened; stubbornness would be the death of me; how did I expect to be noticed, if I was shabbily dressed, always? But But who cared for any of those when there was more urgent, also more pleasant, business in hand and our hosts, with smiles, were urging immediate involvement? Commencing with soup asparagus, the menu coursed its way through smoked salmon to ham-in-pineapple, pudding, coffee, biscuits, cheese, brandy... It was while the cigar was being passed round that the cabaret began. She was not impressed by the very excellent disrobing performance of the special guest-artiste, but that was her problem. It was not till the early hours of the morning that the last of us left. We had gone to a birthday party, as it turned out.

"His?"

"No, hers".

"But we attended her birth-day party only three months ago. How many does she have in a year?"

"Their daughter's, silly. She is sixteen".

"But we didn't see any young things at her party, did we?"

"Of course not. They were at another night-club; they prefer their own kind, do you blame them?"

It was all unnecessary, I ventured to say. The rain had not stopped; you could hear the patter even more sharply now: Was that why I never seemed to remember her birthday? Was that why even wedding anniversaries went unnoticed? How dared I take her for granted? I would not even take her to work. Did she have to depend on charity for the rest of her life? Why must she not own a car like every woman her acquaintance.....?

I never complained about driving her to work when we had the car, but the car was no more; and at the going prices we required five years of our joint-salaries to acquire a new one. We did not have that sort of money but, thanks to the neighbours, she had never had to walk to work.

The neighbours. The father of the sixteen-year old was one. We had been in school together; and he had been in the Public Service too before the world of private business, before the "call" to politics. Apparently, summons to politics was not unlike the "call" to the Lord's Vineyard, he would expatiate while delivering the now familiar sermon on how pleasantly different it would be if he did not have to be in Parliament; but the constituency must be served, even at a personal loss. As far as we could see, he looked comfortable enough. Some

said his money came from grateful clients, mostly merchants from the Orient; and he did not have to do any more than merely introduce them to influential connections at the import-licence-allocation-centre. Maybe it was not true.

Several others in the neighbourhood were still in the Public Service; many looked well-off, from longevity in the Service, perhaps. The latest arrival, also in the Service, was only a young man, but even he looked alright. He wore the smartest of clothes, for instance. He was responsible for the preparation of payment vouchers for whomever Government owed money, we learnt. The story was that he reserved "express" service for those willing to pay a commission, a fixed percentage of the face-value of the voucher. Seeing that the "normal" service involved months, sometimes, years, of waiting, clients' preference for "express" service was understandable. That he took a commission however was only a story, perhaps. The newcomer gave a party recently, a house-warmer, he called it.

At first, you could not tell one house from another. National Housing Department intended it: the houses were all of the same design, single-storey two-bedrooms without the benefit of garage or outhouse. But with additions here and there, you could not guess the modest origins of some of those houses any more. Almost each one was now encased in a concrete wall that could build another house. Ours, however, still retained its original hedge, hibiscus! It was not difficult to find, even if you did not know about the hibiscus. Owing to a remarkable quirk of climate, the house was often wet with rain while the rest of the neighbourhood would be dry.

Her exits invariably coincided with the flooding of the environs. Returning home after an exit was always a matter of delicate negotiation requiring promises respecting immediate improvement of the environs.

But for the rains and attendant floods we should have been happy. We were welcome everywhere, to our pleasant surprise; maybe we were good company, indeed. It was a pity we could not reciprocate, every kind gesture, I had said once. It has been overcast all day, long silences relieved by isolated monosyllables; torrential rain soon was the case: For how long was I going to continue disgracing her, attending everybody's party without giving one and receiving favours without returning any. Didn't I care what people said behind our back?

"But what can we do, my dear? The children..."
 "Don't you talk to me about the children. Haven't you withdrawn them from the preparatory school already? Or is paying school fees to a khaki school also too much?"

"But my dear, I am still having to pay for the holiday that other time."

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On account of the continuing patter, we could catch only bits of that memorable morning broadcast: "Even the little amenities... withdrawn..." Some of the neighbours knew the man who made the broadcast. We knew him a little ourselves, but he was not a friend. The broadcast was, without doubt, unconstitutional, but who would not sympathise with a man driven to desperation by the cancellation of amenities of any description? He was probably as henpecked as the rest of us all. For days we debated whether we should not go and welcome the "broadcaster" to his new job, that of liberating the economy in a new crusade. We were to take the "commanding heights" of the economy by assault, said the order. Several in the neighbourhood enlisted. The idea was that I might too; and certainly it made sense to make for the altitude if your normal habitat was subject to year-round flooding.

Suddenly truck-loads of flour, cement, iron-rods began to appear in the neighbourhood. But nobody in the vicinity was a baker or a building contractor or even a retailer. My naivety could be truly exasperating and she lost no opportunity in telling me. We simply had to enlist so we could have coupons for regular rations like everybody else, but that was more her idea:

"So when are we going to see him?"

"Who?"

"The man everybody goes to see, honestly!"

"But my dear don't you see how busy I am?"

"You mean you are boo busy to feed the family?"

"But are you sure my dear, that we will even be allowed to the presence of this man?"

Once again we missed parts of that other broadcast, but we heard the names of those who were to report on pain of "revolutionary consequences". They were mostly those of the enlisted who made it to the altitude. Some had jumped the queue, it was said; others had obtained chits for the hop by fraudulent means, allegedly. The neighbourhood was suddenly deserted; so was the hell-mart where you connected to the altitude, part of which was raised to the ground. The times were dangerous, indeed, but the rains had stopped, completely, and we never slept more soundly.

But if anything changed it was not for long. In no time at all the neighbourhood was back to life with parties; and sound sleep had become elusive again because of activities in the rump of the hell-mart, renewed jostle for reservations on those summit-bound flights. A bottle of coca-cola sold for a day's wage, she discovered on a particularly warm day; and corned -beef, weighing only some fourteen ounces, cost a week's wage. But wasn't it illegal to sell above the control-price? "Auntie, why don't you buy from the man who announced the control-price?" the coke-seller, a mere girl, had replied, looking directly into her face. Next table, fatty was not any more polite: "Exeter? Seventy-five sly. And don't scowl at me, my lady; I am not to blame if your husband does not give you enough money for market."

Why did she bother to bring food home at all? Where was the appetite if you had to be told how much in excess of "chop money" each morsel on its way to your mouth cost? Besides there was the stench from the septic tank which had overflowed its confines for days. The stipulated fee to the Town Council was manageable enough, but the conservancy labourers insisted on a separate fee, and a fat fee that one, before they emptied anybody's tank. But why should we be held to ransom by the illiterate and unskilled? Illiteracy was not the point at all, somebody, an official of the Labour Congress, was kind enough to explain. It was not a matter of skills, either; basic economics was the point: a certain type of service was being offered for sale; we needn't buy if the service was not required; but if we required the service then, especially as we could not deliver it ourselves, we had to treat those who performed the service decently, by listening to their price, to begin with.

It was all very logical, thus explained, but was it moral for people in receipt of salaries paid from public funds to extort money from individual members of the public before doing their duty? To say that a man is illiterate or unskilled is not, however, to say he is helpless when it comes to providing for himself. That one directing the crew emptying the septic tank certainly knows his onions which he eats rather noisily: "Massa, the trouble dat come for dis country, ibi me caus'am Like your pay for one day no fit buy gari for woman and pikin how you go fit? Me I no sabe book but I sabe sense. Make everybody chop for him work-side".

The rains had started again, meanwhile, and the floods were becoming very threatening indeed: The housekeeping money was not enough. The bread bill alone... and... she had not bought any clothes for many years... and... she was not exactly starving when she was on her own... and... and...

Only a little while ago, I began an experiment. Before they entered my presence they had to deposit something, no more than a coin really, in the box I had placed in the doorway. There was some reluctance, initially, but compliance has been the case generally. Why did I not think of self-reliance earlier? The floods have abated, the rains having stopped, and in the absence of the constant patter we should be having restful sleep, but for the murmuring in the neighbourhood. Some have actually come to inquire what I was going to do with the collection, implying that it was illegal, even unconstitutional. Since they ask the questions, the collection will supplement "chop money", for instance, as well as enable me to provide "incentive" to not only the conservancy people but also those whose duty it is to maintain telephones and keep the taps running and I should be able now to return the children to the preparatory school and save for a car, perhaps, and give an occasional party serving both coca-cola and corned beef and mend the roof and improve the drainage and insure against floods and... and... But they should know. I am only a school teacher.

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C. E. K. KUMADO

Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Ghana, Legon

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Miscellaneous Report

JUNE 4 RALLY

By

Kwame Karikari

"A lot of people who don't like June 4 are going to lose sleep tonight," said Mr. Tsatsu Tsikata, speaking on June 5 at a symposium-turned-rally at the Accra Community Centre marking the second anniversary of the June 4 soldiers' uprising from whose shocks some may not yet have recovered, the thought of which still makes some tremble and fret, and whose mass liberatory promise still draws thousands to Jerry J. Rawlings, its leader and its symbol. And many must have been those who had nightmares that night as, well over an hour and a half after the event, a crowd of over 300 from the thousands present at the rally could still be heard singing and chanting, and be seen marching from the High Street, then along the Kwame Nkrumah Avenue, to the Circle where they ended. Nothing violent, and no accident occurred. Tsatsu Tsikata — reportedly a last-minute stand-in for Rev. Father Damoah, a priest whose temporal concerns fittingly qualify him as Ghana's "liberation theologian", spoke after Mr. K. B. Asante of the Social Democratic Party, and Mr. B. D. D. Asamoah a former top civil servant "forced to retire for his stance against corruption."

Seeing Nothing and Hearing Nothing

They all spoke, a prelude to the man for whom some 6-9,000 had waited hours before schedule, and packed the hall, the roofs, the courtyard and the front lawns of the Community Centre: Jerry J. Rawlings. The crowd this year was thinner than at last year's anniversary. But that is no indication that Rawlings' popularity had waned, or the memory of June 4 lost. Far from it. The day before, virtually the whole of adult Koforidua had gathered to hear Rawlings. The event fizzled out. Authorities of the Eastern Regional capital would not make Rawlings speak: the organizers of the event allegedly had no permit. Yet, slamming the gates on Rawlings' face, believing that will stop people from identifying with what he stands for, amounts precisely to seeing nothing, hearing nothing, and saying nothing of the actual feelings and yearnings of the millions of the faceless, nameless masses. For, this man says nothing fundamentally new — all he does is articulate and express boldly, critically and acutely exactly what the millions believe, say and feel everyday.

So, when amid some ten minutes of excitement heralding the youthful hero, Rawlings mounted the make-shift platform atop a Bedford bus, he was there not so much to "incite", as to simply reflect for the masses, mirror for them, what they themselves encounter and know from their daily experiences, and what most mainstream politicians dismiss, ignore, or simply don't see. It is this unmistakably microscopic detailing of the "ordinary man's" real life conditions that endears him to the masses, and that partly threatens those who would rather believe that without a "leader", "an instigator", the masses would lose awareness of their daily plight. This is what distances Rawlings from anything resembling a demagogue. It is the complete absence of "revolutionary rhetoric" and "sloganeering" from his lucid, down-to-earth public speeches that makes him convincing. For, he minces no words, mumbles no facts and confuses no audience — even if he sometimes lacks the high-falutin theoretical abstractions so appealing to, say, a Legon university audience. If Rawlings was loved by all, he would be irrelevant. He has been, and still is, in the eye of the storm of the class struggles in Ghana since May 15, 1979. Thus, while revered by so many, it is natural that he is a veritable target for others. And as he revealed at the rally, it was "agents of the people's enemies" who tried to knock him off the Aburi scarp by attempting a faked car accident as he and his friends were returning from the Koforidua symposium that never was. Rawlings rarely speaks about himself, and he seemed least disturbed as he related this gory story. And he only brought it in to illustrate the point that social injustice of the bloody type is usually the thorny crown that those who fight for social justice are doomed to wear.

What were JJ's concerns that seem to haunt those who, at the peak of their hatred, would want him bumped off? They are simple truths — simple facts so hard to face and so weighty to bear by some? But Rawlings' observations were so indicting, sometimes, enough to chill the spines of the powerful in society. "In the past year," he said at his press conference a day earlier, "the government itself has put out wild allegations about some of us setting up training camps for subversion (a la Bullar) when we have been engaged in directing creative youthful energies into productive agriculture." He was concerned — and it seems, for the sake of stability and national unity, that every Ghanaian would be disturbed — that, "There has been a

resort to tribal campaigns within the army," But, of course, it is logical for business and the state to be irritated with labour agitation, and to see to it that, "Workers showing signs of protesting against their genuine plight have found themselves denied their very livelihood."

Restating Well-Known Facts

Rawlings, for those who have carefully followed and studied his public speeches, is no rabble rouser. That and the fact that he is not an ambitious man who intends to capitalize on his genuine popularity to cause havoc for his successor regime, must be a blessing for those who crave stability most. What worries him is that the fundamental basis of ensuring stability and the workability of a democratic constitution is not being strengthened.

"In the history of this country (and it is not challengeable) we have seen the capacity of civilian to flout the very constitution and deny the most elementary rights to the people," he said. "So ordinary people must constantly struggle to ensure that the ideals enshrined in the Constitution are applied to their situation." For that matter.

"I would urge that all those qualified under the Constitution should register. For that is a first step in gigantic struggle not only for political democracy but also for economic democracy and social justice" — a struggle which, he pointed out, "will not be won on the pages of a constitutional document merely." Tied in with this is the man's undying faith in the "initiative of the working people," initiatives throttled and stifled by the "deceptions of the rich patrons of ... parties" "in between the election", to the extent that "the people have become cynical of exercising their right to vote" as shown by the current registration exercise, and as articulated by the Kwashie Kumaman villagers' assertion that the masses have "been fooled for far too long by parliamentarians". But cynicism and apathy, observed Rawlings, "is the spirit of surrender". The people ought to wake up from this debilitating political slumber, he exhorted. But, he warned decision-makers, the solution of Ghana's "grave crisis" "cannot lie in a loss of confidence in our own people and an abject submission to the economic domination of foreigners. That way, we deny our very sovereignty and repudiate the hopes of our forebears who struggled to free us from the colonial yoke."

Rawlings, like every popular hero of the masses, stands to be vilified. Quite a number of people — from all classes — would wish that he headed a party for 1983. And feeding on this genuine wish, and in a manner resembling the findings of a 1978 US Congressional Committee hearing that the intelligence community fed false (mis)information into both Third World and Western media, some private papers had unleashed a campaign that Rawlings would form and lead a party. That, according to Rawlings, was a trick to get people to register to avert a near spontaneous boycott of the registration exercise. And he denied flatly that he would lead or form a party for 1983. "Don't get tricked," he said. For, "the media have been used to invent and spread lies upon lies — there are newspapers which fill their pages with nothing else." It is, he said, because of the distortion of his statements, by much of the media, why he repeated at the June 5 rally, President John F. Kennedy's statement he had read a day earlier at the press conference, significant words to the wise, that: "Those who make a peaceful revolution impossible, make a violent revolution inevitable." Rawlings wasn't threatening "bloodsheds", "firing squads" or "fires next time". His whole rally was a restatement of facts well known, and actually lived, by the countless masses of Ghana.

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Editorial

4 AUG 1981

A BUDGET OF HOPE?

As in the case of similar proposals in recent years, this year's budget must be read against a background of serious inflation and economic stagnation.

We have suggested in these columns that in order to stimulate growth we need, among other things, to play down moral incentives in favour of a system of material incentives; that we must implement a package of economic measures that will address the problem of the over-priced cedi and thus improve exports and the supply of foreign exchange, the latter being the single most critical bottleneck in the economy; that the inflation rate must come down if we are to see the back of the peculiar problems of the seventies; that given the paucity of our own resources, for the near future at least, a measure of substantial external borrowing is both necessary and wise; and that while a **shock treatment approach** to economic policies may be imprudent, given a choice between a **gradualist approach** and a **status quo approach**, the former is without doubt the better strategy.

The budget statement read to Parliament on 1st July does not respond to these suggestions that we have canvassed. The budget is dominated by short term concerns: There has been a revenue short-fall as against an upsurge in recurrent expenditure; consequently, an expected deficit of ₵1.62 billion had risen to ₵4.7 billion at the end of the 1980-81 financial year; to eliminate the deficit Government proposes to be more thrifty; the fall in the cocoa price having shown the dangers of excessive reliance on revenue from an internationally traded commodity, new sources of revenue are to be tapped to maintain the Government in liquidity. Government will continue nonetheless to accord cocoa and agriculture generally the highest priority in the allocation of both local and external resources.

If it is not forward-looking, the 1981-82 budget looks like a reasonable house-keeping list; "looks like" advisedly because we fear very much that the "chop money" might not be forthcoming. Taxes collected at the entry points to the country frequently fall short of estimates because of a discretionary power which allows the collectors to reduce or even waive away what is due. It is not suggested that the discretionary power be taken away, but recognition that the decision to vary what is due is some times influenced by considerations that are not legitimate is a good reason for restricting discretion. It should be possible to require vehicles entering the country to pay a nominal fee at the point of entry for duty and purchase tax relative to cubic capacity to be paid at the Police Licensing Office

which at present does not exercise any discretion in collecting registration fees. It is appreciated that some reasonably well-to-do people make hardly any contribution to state revenue. It is therefore proposed that those who can afford liquor and cigarettes should begin to pay more for those luxuries. It is only appropriate to require more payment from property owners too. But asking valuers to go round to value houses before the tax is determined will mean that not much can be collected this year. Besides the measure introduces the same kind of discretion to which some of our losses are due. We know the relative rents charged in the urban centers. A fixed minimum tax could be determined on the basis of known rentals. Individuals could be assessed further on the basis of annual returns to the Commissioner of Income Tax. Use of the motorway, bridges and ferries would now attract tolls ranging from C2 to C100 as against the previous range of C0.05 — C4.00. The upper levels of tolls would no doubt tempt the person paying to appeal to the "discretion" of the toll-collector and much would be the loss to the state unless we are willing to invest in mechanical installations such as are to be seen in Europe and America which would permit access to the vehicle only on evidence of the appropriate payment. Annual taxes on radio and television do not promise much. It is better to charge a one-time levy at purchase when the buyer is most anxious for the commodity.

The argument for ending free health-care is not the most convincing: provision of the service is said to be inequitable seeing that it is confined to the urban centres, if the rural population has no access to the service, the urban population should not either, unless it is prepared to pay directly for it. We thought we knew what we were doing when we declared to cheers the world over that obtaining health care should be the state's rather than the individual's head-ache. It is two decades now since we made that declaration, and if it is now recognised that not every body has access to public health care we should simply extend the facilities. And if we care sufficiently money could be siphoned from many state-financed activities of doubtful consequence. But there are people who have an antipathy to the whole society paying for an individual's needs. Be that as it may one would have thought that the relevant Ministry would have announced by now the procedure for payment. We have been to the hospitals since 1st July. There is no fee collection yet

and there does not seem to be any preparation for it. And just what is the effect of this proposal on the guarantee of free medical care in the conditions of service of many public servants? Unless this proposal seeks to vary conditions of service in the Public Service it will not be adding very much to revenue.

Even for a mere housekeeping budget the 1981-82 budget is disappointingly conservative. It concedes that some measure of irresponsibility obtains in government spending, in maintenance of public buildings, for instance, maintenances costs being especially high when works are contracted to professionals outside the Public Service. In future such works would be undertaken solely by the P.W.D. In the distant past, indeed, maintenance of government buildings was the sole responsibility of the P.W.D. Outside participation came to be the case because it was said that the P.W.D. could not cope with the volume of work. Are we sure the P.W.D. can now cope? It is also recognised that some who leave the Public Service continue to draw salary some times for months. In the new budget heads of Government agencies are merely required to ensure that such illegal payments are recovered on pain of being surcharged. Is it possible that current numbers in the Public Service simply do not allow close supervision? We have had computers in this country for some time now. Is pressing computers into service envisaged? There is acknowledgement of misuse of official vehicles. Running and maintenance of such vehicles cost C83.29 million in 1980-81. Estimated expenditure for 1981-82 is even higher! And Government proposes that the relevant regulations on the use of official vehicles should be strictly enforced, that merely! Moneys have been allocated to the traditional sectors, namely, education, health, social welfare et cetera. There is no hint that any innovations are to be expected in these sectors, however. Performance in these sectors cannot possibly be any different from what it has been in the recent past, therefore; and recent performance has generally been dismal. Nor are we persuaded that as a result of this budget agricultural production will be any better. What is there in the budget to encourage the cocoa farmer to sell his produce to the C.M.B. instead of the buyer just across the border? What is the encouragement to crop growers who see their crops rotting on the farms to continue growing those crops?

We are not enthused about the budget because it is a *status quo* approach to a problem which

is now compounded by a four-billion deficit! As against hope of recovery, dealing with the huge deficit conjures for some of us a spectre of a huge over-supply of fresh cedis and of a three-digit inflation which will further accentuate existing inequality of income and wealth. If indeed there is hope, it harbours in the breast of the Minister of Finance, nowhere else!

Corrigendum

Corrigendum, L.O. Vol XIII No. 7 26th June — 9th July 1981.

The attention of readers is drawn to printing errors that occurred in the article on "Trade Liberalization and Development in Ghana" in the last issue of the **Legon Observer** for which we are very sorry. The definitions of the various liberalization phases described on p. 148, col. 2, para. 1, should read as follows.

"Phase I is characterised by across-the-board QRs with little differentiation across commodities. It typically follows Phase V after a major foreign exchange crisis. At the other extreme, Phase V has free currency convertibility, no QRs (licences or quotas) and only price-related restrictions. Phase III is the phase in which the transition from Phase I to Phase V is undertaken, typically with a package of measures including elements of all five policy areas noted above. Phases II and IV are transitional phases between I and III, and III and V, respectively."

Also, the following selected references should have appeared at the end of the article:

- (1) J. Bhagwati; *The Anatomy and Consequences of Exchange Control Regimes* (Cambridge, Mass., Ballinger, 1978)
- (2) A. Krenger; *Liberalisation Attempts and Consequences* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1974)
- (3) C. Leith; *Foreign Trade Regimes and Development GHANA*. (N. York, Columbia Univ. Press 1974)

Economy

THE ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE 1981/82 BUDGET

By
A Correspondent

"The main policy objective of economic management for the ensuing year is to achieve efficiency in the use and

management of our resources to achieve reasonable thrift in fiscal management and bring inflation under control"

p.2 1981/82 Budget Statement

The 1980/81 Budget Statement summarised the economic inheritance of the PNP Government as consisting of inflation, low production and export levels, a tight domestic supply situation, imbalances in Government accounts, a weak external payments position and an onerous debt burden. Two years and three budget statements after assuming office the basic problems facing the economy have not changed. This year the Minister of Finance & Economic Planning has characterised his proposals for the 1981/82 fiscal year as a budget of hope presumably hope for halting inflation, relaxing the foreign exchange constraint and generating real growth. This article examines the question of whether or not the honourable Minister's proposals offer any hope that the budget as a policy instrument will contribute to the resolution of the basic problems plaguing the economy. The analysis will be carried out under three headings, namely:

- (i) thrift in fiscal management;
- (ii) containing inflation; and
- (iii) incentives to increase production (for export and the domestic economy)

(i) Thrift in Fiscal Management

An evaluation of the performance of estimates against actuals over the last 5 years reveals appalling magnitudes of error in the projection of deficit levels (see Table I below).

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Table 1: Annual Deficits 1976/77-1980/81

	Current a/c Deficit ₵m		Overall Deficit ₵m		% Error in Overall Deficit
	Original Estimate	Out-turn	Original Estimate	Out-turn	
1976/77	19.9	233.4	379.9	870.6	129
1977/78	-58.0	1,118.7	422.0	1,792.3	325
1978/799	287.0	345.8	613.0	1,141.6	86
1979/80	127.7	Not available	1,027.7	1,760.4	71
1980/81	432.3	3316.8	1,602.3	4,706.8	194

The asterisk in Table I refers to provisional figures. Sources for the Table include the Preliminary Economic Survey for the years concerned and the Budget Statements for 1979-80 and 80-81. Negative figure indicates surplus. The explanations for the forecast errors can be found in the tendency to underestimate expenditure and/or overestimate revenue.

(a) **Expenditures** As far as expenditure estimates are concerned, there have often been some extra-

neous circumstances such as unplanned wage and salary adjustments. However, enough importance does not seem to be given to the fact that expenditures are inflation-sensitive. Given the regularity it is difficult not to blame it on poor forecasts or bad management or both. Table 2 below obtained from the preliminary Economic Survey and Budget Statements lends support to the intuitively plausible view that nominal expenditures tend to rise with rising inflation and fall as the inflation rate declines.

Table 2: Expenditure Comparisons

Year	Out-turn For Current Year	Out-turn For Current Year	% Change (Current) year Over previous Year	Inflation % Rate
1976/77	1,438.6	1945.2	35	81.8)
1977/78	1,945.2	3175.2	63	104) 1979/80
1978/79	3,175.2	4460.0	40	) state- 79.8) ment
1979/80	4,460.0	4786.5	7*	
1980/81	4,786.5	7985.9	67	70

The asterick in Table 2 draws attention to a low figure which might be explained by:

- Aftermath of June 4; slow pick-up of expenditures, or rigid expenditure controls, in first half of year;
- Estimates presented in December, therefore more accurate projections.

What then are "realistic" expenditure levels for 1981/82? The big items under expenditure are recurrent expenditure and development expenditure. It would seem that recurrent expenditure would be quite sensitive to the Consumer Price Index (CPI) while development expenditure would be sensitive to the Prime Building Cost Index (PBCI). Over the last three years the increase in

the CPI has averaged almost 60% per annum while the rise in the PBCI has averaged 55% per annum. If we allow an optimistic 50% inflation factor on these expenditures, then to maintain the 1980/81 real expenditure levels would require 1.5 (6329.3 + 1,390.0 = ₵11.6 b. Adding the estimate of ₵339.2m for net lending gives a total expenditure estimate of nearly ₵12b (c.f. ₵10.4b in the Budget Statement). To dispel any feeling that the 50% inflation factor is on the high side it should be noted that "the nominal rolls submitted in connection with the 1981-82 budget did not reflect the adjustment based on the ₵12.00 minimum wage" (p.38 of the Budget Statement). This means that even without any further wage increases, the wage component of the recurrent

expenditure has been underestimated. It is worth pointing out too that unlike in the recent past when development expenditure has been deliberately sacrificed, this year it is intended that a number of abandoned projects (particularly in the rural areas) should be reactivated. If the Government sticks to these commitments, then it can be expected that the out-turn for development expenditure will be much higher than projected in the

statement.

(b) **Revenue** On the receipts side, indirect taxes contribute between 60% and 80% of total revenue. Direct taxes add between 15% and 30% with non-tax revenue and grants making up the balance. Table 3 below shows trends in projection and out-turns for the various revenue group the figures in brackets being percentage shares of total receipt.

Table 3: Revenue Trends 1978/79-1981/82

€ million

	1978/79		1979/80		1980/81		1981/82
	Estimates	Out-turn	Estimates	Out-turn	Estimates	Out-turn	Estimates
Indirect Taxes	2,622.5	2,044.6 (79%)	3,080.2	2,348.2 (78%)	3,114.9	1,931.4 (59%)	3,951.7
Direct Taxes	423.3	366.0 (14%)	558.5	602.2 (20%)	1,014.4	1,038.0 (32%)	1,641.0
Non-Tax Revenue	160.7	189.4 (7%)	200.0	N.A.	257.5	264.7 (8%)	490.7
Grants	0	0	5.0	N.A.	10.0	45.0	48.0
Total Receipts	3,206.5	2,600	3,843.7	3,026.1	4,396.8	3,279.1	6,131.4

Clearly, indirect taxes tend to dominate. According to the budget statements in 1978/79, import duties and excises were responsible for the short-fall in revenue but in 1980/81, cocoa export duty was the most important and explanatory factor for the poor out-turn. The world market price for cocoa is currently showing a rising trend, but the Minister for Finance and Economic Planning has hinted that such a rise might be followed by an increase in the producer price during the fiscal year. Thus it will be unrealistic to expect any improvement over last year's out-turn as far as cocoa export duties are concerned. The anticipated 2.8b increase over last year's revenue must therefore come from import taxes and excises (roughly €2b), direct taxes (about €600m) and non-tax revenue (€200m).

It is not clear what the basis for the projected increase in non-tax revenue is. Although estimates of this element have been quite accurate in the past it is unlikely that the projected 85% increase will be realised. As far as direct taxes go, it is expected that the special property tax will yield €100m and the conversion of company taxes to current year basis will yield an additional €300m. Incidentally, the budget makers must be applauded for these two overdue new measures (i.e. the property tax and the conversion to current year basis) although one cannot be sure about their yield this year. This uncertainty is particularly true of the property tax since it is rather weak; even if it was "necessary" to give exemptions, a ceiling could have been placed on the value of houses to be

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exempted. Furthermore the administrative machinery for implementation will take some time to put in place. As far as company taxes are concerned, a lot, depends on the one hand, on the availability of foreign exchange to ensure high enough levels of imported inputs, and on the other hand, what happens to domestic costs (e.g. wages, and salaries, prices of local materials etc.) Be that as it may, the really big fish in the revenue picture is the indirect tax category — which in this instance, will mainly comprise import duties and excises, both of which are very sensitive to import value and volume.

Import duties depend on the rates of duty and the value of declared imports which in turn are closely related to export performance. Excises are levied mainly at the factory gate and so revenue from them are not necessarily related to what happens at the retail level. Thus if, as is argued below, the official import capacity declines because declared exports decline, it is conceivable that the tax base for these taxes will be eroded. This means the higher rates might not yield as much as would be expected if other things were held constant. It would have been useful to compare import levels for last year with the projections for this year but unfortunately this information is not contained in the budget statement. However, it is interesting that when the 10% import licence tax was introduced in 1980/81, it was expected to yield C150m. This year with the rate at 20% (a 10% change in the rate) the additional revenue yield anticipated is still C150m! This means the estimated value of import licences has not changed. In effect the amount of foreign exchange projected to be available to back import licences has been held constant at C1,500m (150m x 10). Elsewhere in the budget statement the non-oil import bill is estimated at C1.3b (p. 9 of the Statement under "Tariff Charges). This figure must include imports under special licence since they are subject to import duties. The finished goods component of these special licence imports is projected at C500m, (p. 15 of the Statement) Since the incentive structure (no controls at the retail level but controls at factory gate) favours imports of finished goods, chances are that virtually all imports under the special licence will be finished goods. From the foregoing it would seem that the total import picture is expected to look like this:

	Cm	US\$m
Total Imports	2,000	727
Oil Imports	700	254
Other official imports	800	291
Special Licence imports	500	182

Is it realistic to expect US\$182m imports under special import licences? If it is true that these are financed by transactions on the black market then the cedi equivalent is about C6.4b, using S1 = C35, although for tax purposes these imports will be valued at the official exchange rate.

Without data on import levels for last year, it is impossible to form any sound judgement on

how realistic these estimates are. However considering the excess liquidity problem in the economy it is not unimaginable that such huge volumes of cedis circulate on the black market. The real question is where the foreign exchange comes from. If it comes from smuggling activities as some believe, then it is likely the official imports base (i.e. declared exports) will be eroded. Thus it will be unrealistic to hold official imports constant which means excise taxes are likely to suffer. Given the historical record it is difficult to expect indirect taxes to yield more than about C1.5b and direct taxes more than C40m. This suggests a revenue shortfall of at least C700m.

A lot of the foreign analysis has been based on conjectures rather than on hard facts but the lesson offered is that if the objective of thrift in fiscal management is to be attained, inflation and black market activities must be given serious attention. So long as expenditures are underestimated and/or revenues are overestimated on the scale of the recent past, there is no reason to take government budget statements seriously.

(ii) Containing Inflation

Under the heading "Inflation, Money Supply and the Budget," the 1978/79 budget statement had a section that made the point that in our circumstances "control of inflation must mean control of the money supply." It went on:

"In more specific terms this means, control over Government borrowing from the banking system especially the Bank of Ghana. In making this statement, note is taken of other sources of growth in money supply but it is not idle to concentrate on Government borrowing, since credit to Government over the last four years has on average accounted for more than 70 per cent of the overall monetary expansion..... Analysis of the changes in money supply..... shows that as the size of the Budget deficit continued to expand so did Government borrowing from the Bank of Ghana. Furthermore, over the last five years more than 70% of every Budget deficit has been financed by the Bank of Ghana resulting in the injection of substantial amounts of new money into the economy" compiled from the relevant Budget statements.

Table 4 below compiled from the relevant Budget Statements below compares estimates of the share of deficits to be financed by the banking system against actuals.

Table 4: Banking System's Share of Financing of Budget Deficits

€m

	1978/79		1979/80		1980/81		1981/82
	Estimate	Out-turn	Estimate	Out-turn	Estimate	Out-turn	Estimate
Total Financing	738.0	1,860.0	1,027.7	1,760.4	1,602.2	4,706.8	4,243.7
Banking System	500.8	1,317.2	513.1	1,240.4	650.0	.....	3,273.7
(% of Total)	(68)	(71)	(50)	(70)	(40)		(77)

What the table reveals is a surprising persistence of optimism in the estimates of non-bank financing of deficit. The actual bank financing for the 1980/81 deficit is not available but it is refreshing to see the estimates for 1981/82 expect 77% (c.f. 40% for the previous year) of the deficit to be financed by the banking system. The projected deficit of €4.20 looks very large yet given the likelihood of underestimation of expenditures and over-estimation of revenue, the actual deficit is almost certain to be much higher. Whatever happens, one thing is clear; a lot of new cedis will be pumped into the system, which implies that the excess liquidity problem will be worsened! Considering the timely rains this year, it is plausible to expect a good harvest so the potential for improving the domestic food supply situation exists. However, will we be able to evacuate the food from the growing areas to the market centres? In a word, the outlook for containing inflation this fiscal year is not bright. The inflation rate of 70% contained in the budget statement is likely to go up, probably reaching three digits, if the budget deficit continues to follow recent trends and if there are no substantial increases in import levels.

(iii) Incentives to Increase Production and Exports

It is now generally accepted that the incentive structure in the economy encourages buying and selling rather than productive activity. This incentive structure remains untouched by the budget proposals. Much is also made of the fact that the foreign-exchange bottleneck constrains production with the result that most industries operate at very low levels of capacity. The key to generating increased production seems to be substantially increasing our import capacity. This can be done by increasing the value of exports and/or inflows of foreign capital.

As far as exports are concerned, the budget proposes an increase in export bonuses from 10% to 20%. This means exporters will get €3.30 for every dollar they earn. Furthermore, exporters in mining, timber and non-traditional sectors will be allowed to retain 20% of their export earnings for financing their imports of some inputs. It is worthy of note that cocoa which still accounts for the bulk of export earnings does not benefit from any of these incentives. Cocoa exports will probably decline, so increases in the world market price will have to be depended on for increased foreign exchange earnings from cocoa. Moving on to the other exports, mining and timber will

most likely benefit from the 20% foreign exchange retention. However the export bonus as an incentive sounds like a bad joke! In the face of rising domestic inflation which is reflected in the cost of domestic inputs, exporters need to earn substantial amounts of cedis to cover their local costs. It is not clear that giving them C3.30 rather than €3.03 for every dollar earned will make a difference to them. Even if we assume that 50% of the black market rate of exchange reflects a risk element and higher transaction costs, smugglers still stand to gain about €17.50 for every dollar earned! Clearly, to be effective in rechanneling smuggled goods into declared exports, the bonuses have to be increased significantly. That raises questions of financing. The easy way out is to increase taxes on imports since export earnings are indeed the major resource for imports.

The second means of increasing import capacity suggested above is foreign capital inflows. The promulgation of an investment code will not automatically ensure massive inflows of capital. Investors, however benevolent, want to earn positive returns on investments. So long as projects to be invested in have sizable local cost components, domestic inflation will also affect the decision to invest. It is doubtful that with the present high rate of inflation and the resulting increase in the over-valuation of the currency, investors will find the climate attractive. In such a situation the only hope lies in production-sharing arrangements in the export sector, but even this will require domestic expenditures and at least a stable (i.e. not a deteriorating) investment climate.

Thus both from the viewpoint of encouraging exports and attracting inflows of foreign capital, the budget seems to be oblivious of the degree to which it not only misperceives the basic problems of the economy, but actually worsens them!

Concluding Remarks

To summarise, it is our view that the estimate in the 1981/82 budget statement, like previous ones, have under estimated expenditures and overestimated revenues. The back of envelope type calculations done above suggest that expenditures have been underestimated by at least €1.6b and that revenues have been overestimated by about €0.7b.

This means the deficit for the year will probably look more like €6.50b rather than the projected €4.2b. Considering that the average error in forecasting deficit levels over the last three years has

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been 117% it should not be too surprising if the deficit reached ₵8 billion.

Clearly a budget that holds out the distinct likelihood of such huge deficits (to be financed largely by the Bank of Ghana) and hence of triple-digit inflation, and offers few incentives to production for export and none for production for the domestic economy cannot be a budget of hope.

Politics

THE MERGER OF THE MINORITY PARTIES: ISSUES BEFORE THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE

Colin B. Essamuah

On Tuesday, 23rd June, leaders of the five Minority parties in the country came to an agreement to sink the individual identities and interests of their respective parties and to merge. This agreement was the result of five months of hard, tortuous negotiations by these parties. It is a pity that the parties should have taken so long to agree on such an obviously desirable course of action, and the delay has not been without some disadvantage. Already the all important voters' registration exercise is almost over and the Minority Parties were unable to forge a unified approach to this although even individually a foolproof register was one of their vital planks of success at the polls. In this article, I propose to examine three issues which the Electoral College of the merged parties may consider. This is because the Electoral College may turn out to be the first national executive of the new party and the issues I propose to raise are so vital that they need urgent attention and so should be directed to such a body for consideration. These issues are organisation, Ideology and leadership.

No politician, should entertain any doubts about the primacy of organisation if his political party is to win any election. No matter the size of the party its organisation will decide its fate at any election.

There is truth in the oft-quoted PNP dictum that "Even if we put up a goat it shall win." This is an unpleasant but nonetheless correct assertion if we appreciate its real basis excellent organisation. And Kwame Nkrumah could not have been more right when he wrote that "Organisation decides everything." But organisation is not a mere abstraction. It is the sum result of three things, dedication to party principles, loyalty to duly-chosen party officials and the canvassing ability of these specifically char-

ged with ensuring victory at the polls. It is around these three things that the general strategy and tactics of achieving victory are worked out. In all these three PNP offer a resolute position to the electorate, historically and even at the moment. Dr Nkrumah brought to the UGCC a dynamism, dedication and urgency to its affairs which were previously not there. He was able to spread the message of Self-Government on the UGCC platform to all corners of the country before he realised that the benign self-satisfied posture of his colleagues in the UGCC was not good enough and left to found the CPP.

A crucial point to note is that Nkrumah was totally unknown in Ghana politics when he took over duties as General Secretary of the UGCC. Whatever charisma he later on was invested with was the result of hard, strenuous campaigning in all corners of this country. The PNP inherited this invaluable asset through two types of party cadres nurtured in the CPP days: Old Boys of the Ideological Institute and the remaining fanatics of the Young Pioneers. In addition to the CPP organisational machinery was the ubiquitous "Accra Evening News", the militant party newspaper which brooked no opposition and got the party legal section busy with libel and sedition suits. The impression thus created by the CPP was one of a dynamic, disciplined and organised force which knew its own mind and was thus prepared to take over from the Colonial Government at any time.

Organisation

The Electoral College therefore should concern itself first and foremost with how the new party is going to be organised. And not just that. It should be so done with the determination to have Ghana reconstructed that whoever leads the formidable machine would automatically be the 1983 President.

It is suggested strongly that as a first step active co-operation at the ward level upwards should be sought and encouraged. The voter should be reached everywhere.

A party newspaper is also urgently needed on all issues at any time. It is cautioned that the paper should avoid the useless homilies on human rights and Athenian democracy because the electorate does not care much for these seeing its preference for the PNP in the last elections.

Another thing worth considering is a party public relations outfit not only to build up the party generally but to give prominence to the

good traits in the parliamentary and presidential candidates.

In all this, dedication to party principles and loyalty to party officials should prevail. There are thousands of students in the institutions prepared to do the grassroots work provided that the students, like any other voter, is certain that the power that the new party seeks would be used to better his lot. The new party in itself is never a guarantee for victory no matter how much arithmetic is worked out from the last elections about the invincibility of combined forces. Without the organisation, dedication and loyalty to give the new party victory no matter the 'goat' of 'Messiah' at its head, it shall be a very disappointed group. The victory of the new party in 1983 is not a mere incursion into the corridors of power by another political party. It would mark the end for all time of incompetent rule which commenced on 13th January 1972 and would not end till the new party captures power. For it is my firm belief that the new party is the rightful successor to a long line of heroic men and women of all shades and professions who first converged in the Aborigines Rights Protection Society.

The second issue I would like to raise is the question of ideology for the new party.

If anything, what the big powers, US, USSR, China, Britain and France, have amply demonstrated is the futility of any rigid ideological stance. And in the case of the new party the; broad middle position which is the most advisable is immediately suggested by the individual philosophies of the parties constituting the merger. Another easy pointer to this position is the ideological posture of the PNP which is demonstrating all the traits of its parent. The CPP started on a nationalistic tone, went in for Socialism, then Nkrumaism, and finally plunged into confusion with state capitalism and a big party corporation with majority shareholders. The new party should adopt a broad position copiously tempered with democratic principles and the absence of the politics of fear. The political and economic philosophy should be aimed primarily at the farmer and fisherman whose efforts, by and large, pay for the few things from outside still available in the country. This will give the new party not only enough room to grow a distinctive ideology over the years but also tell the PNP and its Nkrumaist allies in the Commoners Party that the new party believes in a society where men are justly and peaceably governed. In this respect, the examples of India, and to some

extent France, Japan seem to stare the new party in the face. Institutions should be built around beliefs which minimise drastic changes in society when one party leaves the scene for another. Ideologically therefore this solution seems to be the best path to tread.

The final issue turned out to be the most explosive issue during the negotiations with some parties demanding the disqualification of certain people even before the merger could be considered. This is the leadership issue. Since it was not resolved before the merger, it can be assumed that either the parties may have buried their differences on the matter or decided to raise them again at the Electoral College. The issue is still explosive because that has been our problem since 1972. The suffering that Ghanaians have undergone all these years is the direct result of the crass, incompetent and grossly obtuse leadership that it has been our misfortune to experience. The concern of the Minority Parties over the leadership question is therefore proper.

Requirements for Leadership

It seems to me that whoever leads the new party would be encumbered with five specific tasks. First, he will be the President of Ghana in 1983 if the new party wins the presidential elections. He will be the chief executive who shall initiate activities for the lifting of this country from its sorry state and organise the people to find solutions to our problems both in person who is old enough to inspire confidence and young enough to be able to execute successfully. Secondly, he will have to lead and control all the diverse elements in the new party. Here he is not only controlling people from ideologically different origins but also resolute and strong characters who may occasionally fall out of line and dilute the party front.

Thirdly, he will be in charge of the parliamentary group. With the type of constitution we have, the President not only executes, he is the main initiator of bills in the House and to be able to galvanize support for his policies, he must have the necessary prowess to keep his party MPs in line and to persuade non-party MPs that it is worthwhile supporting his policies.

Fourthly, the leader will have the most unenviable task of conducting a foreign policy suited to our vantage position in African politics. He must have the nerve to face up squarely to other OAU leaders as diverse as Gaddafi and Banda. He should be able to restore the Ghanaian's be-

lief in himself abroad commensurate with our past glories. On the corridors of international relations, the leader of the new party carries in himself all the moves to restore and maintain a position which our economic and political malaise has deprived us. Fifthly, and last, the leader must be energetic and robust enough to carry the battle to the PNP with all the support and confidence he can commandeer from the new party's rank and file. This is not to say that he should be waging a virtual war on the PNP and their allies. He must have an abundance of the democratic spirit to contain both the antagonisms of the be of equable disposition to bear insults and PNP and from within his party and should also abuses with equanimity.

Others would undoubtedly add several other tasks to those I have specified above but one thing is clear from all this. If the new part ari-

sing out of this merger aims to give this country the government it deserves and bring back to the common man happiness, then whoever the leader is, is going to need qualities which many do not possess, even among the present leadership of the individual parties. It should be obvious from what I have listed that the job is not one for fainthearted men nor would the vacillating type find it comfortable. Indeed and the problem of finding a leader to take the new party to victory and more importantly organise men and resources for a solution of our problem is one to which the Electoral College must address itself with a sense of mission. It appears to me that in looking for qualities, several people have unnecessarily stretched the requirements too far forgetting conveniently that organisation, dedication and loyalty can put a goat at Castle easily. I can perceive only one quality as

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worthy of any profitable discussion but I would demand another one just to examine it to see how valid it is in our society. These two are national appeal and experience.

Other Criteria

It has been fashionable for some time people to demand as a quality the national appeal of the prospective leader. There seems to me nothing wrong in this demand until one discovers that this is a ruse to cover up several vague ideas on nationalism. Ghana is the only African country where voters would gladly vote for Sir Hilla, knowing fully well that he is a Sissala, one of the smallest ethnic groups in the north. In other words this country is the most nationalistic of all African countries and this is not due to Nkrumah as many suppose but to the twin effects of a long history of political activity on the national scale and our excellent educational background. It follows from this that if national appeal means a person who appeals to all ethnic groups in the country, then the demand is superfluous and obstructionist. Even assuming that this is necessary, one would only need to be told that this is a heterogeneous society and it is impossible to get people from all ethnic groups to vote for one person on that basis alone. Some would by all means transfer their vote to other people who they can identify with at least linguistically. Unlike homogenous societies where this criterion may be valid, it is nonsense in any African society. Moreover, even in homogenous societies where the leaders appeal to interests other than ethnic, you will still find the state of Georgia voting for Carter as against Reagan. Call it primitive loyalty but that is politics. Even Nkrumah who is generally acclaimed as the most Ghanaian of our past leaders was never able to make a good showing in the North and Ashanti and it became a fashion to test the genuineness of any electoral results in this country by examining the Ashanti vote. If the new party insists on national appeal I suggest it should shift it from its ethnic base parameters to other interests, like, does the candidate appeal to professionals, industrial workers, farmers, fishermen, students, churches etcetera. This is a more positive contribution to the breaking down of the ethnic barriers than accentuating and exacerbating them through the negative approach. So much for national appeal.

The other and last item is experience. I do pray and hope that the Electoral College will consider this a *sine qua non* for the leadership. There should be no question of new

faces here at all. Not even the PNP believers in new faces. Alhaji Egala put up Sir Hilla only temporarily while he waged a legal battle to have his name cleared and by the time Egala became assured of his inability, it was too late to replace him. It is only on the exigencies of the moment that the PNP started rationalising the 'New Guard' approach to the leadership. However this time, they are stuck because either Old or New Guard in 1983, the invalidity of the New Guard' approach will be obvious, what with the destruction of the economy by the New Guard! All the world over, experience is not lightly spurned. Reagan had been twice Governor of California and started for the Presidency in 1968. Thatcher became an MP in 1955 and Prime Minister in 1979. Mitterand started in 1946 and won in 1981.

In Russia, the present leaders were apprentices of the 1917 revolutionaries with the oldest being Mikael Suslov, who has been the chief ideologue since the days of Stalin! In China Den Hua and Yuo Bang took part in the 1949 Long March. In India and Japan the pattern of political apprenticeship is the same. Even in Nigeria Shagari is a tested politician. Or turn to Ivory Coast, Tanzania or Egypt. It is obvious that the world's respected leaders are not the unknown impetuous young ones but the old and tested, who have had long periods of apprenticeship. This is so, because it is only in experience that you get the three qualities vital for political leadership: firm political beliefs; the ability to organise and manage people and lastly a sense of history.

In view of all this some would be inclined to rate the chances of Victor Owusu very high. It should not be forgotten, however, that he has in his time aroused resentments of a very deep-seated kind in some quarters. Colonel Frank Bernasko has a dedicated and growing following, but his association with the military might create some problems for him in some directions. SDF's Ibrahim Mahama might also encounter some resentment because of his association with Acheampong's Union Government. There is also John Bilson, an affable and likable person who has been in politics since 1969 but has not yet had opportunity to serve in any challenging position. It is not going to be an easy choice. Happily the decision is with the Electoral College, and the Electoral College must decide bearing in mind the requirements of the presidential elections of 1983.

Letters

Price Control

When things are sold quite openly above controlled prices, and nobody thinks of reporting the seller to the police, and few people know what the controlled prices are, it can fairly be said that price control is not working. Here is a rhyme for the government to learn:-

If the thing can be sold twice
Do not, then, control the price;
If it cannot be re-sold
Then the price can be controlled.

Things that can be sold twice are tinned goods, and if the subsidy and price-control on these were ended, the revenue would gain and the customer would not lose. The money thus saved could then be used for controlling the price of Transport (the City Express in an excellent idea) and the setting up a low-cost restaurant in every constituency, also on free meals to school-children, day or boarding, independent or dependent.

Daphne Hereward

P. O. Box 6828
Accra.

The Budget and Transportation Fares

Sir,

Every time the budget is read, the price of petrol goes up almost immediately which gives drivers the excuse to increase fares arbitrarily. For example, since the 1981/82 budget was read, drivers plying Kumasi-Wenchi road have been charging arbitrarily. I was coming from Techiman to Kumasi on Sunday, 6th July. Instead of the old fare of ₵25, we were charged ₵40 for the distance of 74 miles (98 kilometres). There was no alternative. I suggest that whenever the budget is read and petrol is increased, the Government should come out immediately with new fares. Alternatively the Government could direct that fares should not be increased until new fares are announced and this should be strictly enforced.

Department of Psychology
University of Ghana

J. Y. Acheampong

Sir,

Of Babies and Bread

It is obvious that there is a race in progress — between babies and bread. It is also obvious

that the babies are winning that race. The advice therefore is that we should marshall our energies in putting obstacles in the way of the winners while hoping that the losers — bread — will catch up and maybe overtake the winners.

This in sum is what I see in the family planning programme in a country where almost no effort is being made to improve the economy: we must have only as many children as we can look after; in effect the ordinary worker who cannot make ends meet should have no children. Can't we therefore conclusively advise those who are unable — under this present condition — to cater for their single selves to resort to family planning? We do not hesitate in recommending one unpublicized method—SUICIDE.

Tsri Apronti

Ghana Institute of Languages,
P. Box 667
Accra.

Sir,

History of Ghana: A question, Please.

Professor Adu Boahen's piece on Dr. Addae Mensah's remark on the origin of Gas and Akans which appeared in the *Daily Graphic* of 18th June 1981 was interesting. This is borne out by the fact that his narrations in "Topics on West African History" are quite difficult from his publications in 1975 and 1977 from which the article in the *Graphic* was reproduced.

He is the authority on the issue so no one can challenge him, but will the Professor do me a favour to explain the linguistic relationship between the Ewes and the Ga-Adangmes? He said the Adangmes including the Gas first settled at a place called Tagulogo (Togologo) near "Lolovor Hills" (Lolovor and Togologo are both Ewe words). How did the Adangmes come by the Ewe words if they had never travelled from anywhere as claimed by the Professor? Again, among a section of the Krobos, there is a traditional dance called "Gbeko" which is sung in the Ewe language even though the present generation of the Krobos do not understand it. The Ewes call GOD "Mawu" so also do Krobos and Adas not forgetting the paternal inheritance among both the Ewes and the Adangmes. Will the Professor then explain why there should be this cultural similarity between the Ewes and the Adangmes since the latter, according to him, crystallised here in Ghana?

Will the Professor also explain why the Akans

and the Adangmes refer to Ewe speaking people as "Ehoeni" (Twi) "Ehoeno" (Adangme). The word EHOE (EHOEWO) was the historical name for the Ewes that once settled at Ketu, Tando and finally Notse before moving to their present places in Ghana and Togo. The Ewe speaking people in Benin (Dahomey) are called the Fon. How did the Akans and the Adangmes who, according to the Professor evolved here in Ghana, come by this ancient name which had long been lost even to the Ewes themselves? Could it not be that these people travelled along with Ewes from somewhere?

P.O. Box 3850
Kumasi.

Samuel Dзокpe

Notebook

THE BUDGET AND HEALTH SERVICES

We cannot help returning to the matter of health services to which reference has been made in our editorial. We wish to reiterate the view that free health care was an objective towards which we consciously set out two decades ago. We were to pay for it from direct taxes and through various other sacrifices, a kind of national insurance scheme with premiums exacted from all of us.

The public knew the importance of health and it was prepared to make the necessary sacrifice to assure itself free services when laid down. Unfortunately this very laudable object has persistently been undermined over the years not least by Government agents. Consciously or unconsciously Government spokesman tend to refer to free health care as an unearned bonus, a gift that emanates from the bounty of a benevolent Government. It is only in this sense that the Government can permit itself to say that the provision of the service is a burden and that the sick should now pay for it. Meanwhile we find it necessary to provide meals at subsidised rates to a whole host of employees in the Public Service. We pay for running and maintenance charges for free-use of vehicles by various public officials including several who are really only minor functionaries!

Questionable as the argument for direct payment of hospital bills is rates of payment could at least, be reasonable. The budget proposed that on admission to a hospital ward the minimum payment for food should be C15.00 when the

daily wage is C12.00! The Minister of Finance went on television to say that procuring 'three-square meal could not possibly cost less, and in any case the patient could exercise the option not to eat the hospital meal since relatives could bring food from home. Let us imagine a casualty from the Nanumba-Konkonba war. Facilities for treatment are available only at Korle Bu so he is flown down. Come meals to be served the patient finds he cannot pay for it. It would be cheaper to have food brought from home of course, but Amina is at Tamale! Nor is feeding the only problem. The patient also has to pay at rates representing increases of 1000% — 5000% for consultation, investigation, ambulance service and surgery. He has to pay also for drugs item by item; "if not available patients will buy from outside". And we all know what it means to buy from outside. The message is quite clear. We are enjoined not to fall sick because if we do there will be no help and nobody particularly cares; we have had it too good for too long, anyway.

We thought that a Government which claims to represent the interests of workers and the poor especially would demonstrate a lot more concern in the matter. We least expect the Government's spokesman on Finance to "shrug his shoulder" on television when it is brought to his attention that the Government pays the worker much less than it charges for just one item of service.

Opinion

JUNE 5 RALLY

By

K. Ababio-Nubuor

It seems to this author that the least that should be said of Mr. Kwame Karikari's miscellaneous report in the *Legon Observer*, Vol. XIII No. 7, 26th June — 9th July, 1981 is that it represents a crafty, distortion dishonest and dangerous new trend in the general campaign against Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings. Mr. Karikari adopts the outward posture of an admirer of Flt.-Lt. Rawlings whom he apparently strives to present as a people's hero whilst he nevertheless surreptitiously paints him to the world as a demagogue with no leadership qualities which are underscored by a fundamental lack of original ideas. Thus, in the report one sees Rawlings as an individual without organizational attachment, invol-

vement or base, hanging in the horizon on bus top mirroring to the masses what they **already** know and hence adding nothing to nor systematizing that which is known. This illusively **sarcastic** style is indeed very dangerous.

According to Mr Kwame Karikari, when Flt.-Lt. Rawlings mounts the platform he "simply reflects for the masses, mirrors for them, what they themselves encounter and **know** from their daily experiences...this man says nothing fundamentally new—all he does is articulate and express boldly, critically and acutely exactly what the millions believe, say and feel everyday". By these indications, Rawlings is presented as someone not actually worth listening to by the masses—anybody from the masses misses **nothing** if he/she fails to turn up at a Rawlings talk. How differentt this is from the reality!

This mutilation of reality is, however, preceded by flattering statements about Rawlings' popularity and concluded with a palliative that what he has said "distances Rawlings from anything resembling demagogue". But a demagogue has been defined as a "political leader who tries by speeches appealing to the feelings instead of to reason to stir up the people". And when Mr. Kwame Karikari says the when Rawlings mounts the platform "**he is there not so much to**

'**incite**', as to simply reflect for the masses, mirror for them what they themselves encounter and know from their daily experiences", does he not suggest by the italicized phrase that Rawlings, to some degree, stirs up the people?

This explicit statement that Rawlings is not a demagogue and the silent attribution of demagogic characteristics to him **smacks not just of contradiction but dishonesty**. So far as Mr. Karikari is concerned Rawlings just incites people—in his speeches, where he is merely involved in "unmistakably microscopic detailing of the 'ordinary man's real life conditions", there is "the complete absense of 'revolutionary rhetoric' and sloganeering". That is, Rawlings is not a revolutionary of any sort; he has no orientation for the radical transformation of society. And this belief is strengthened by Kwame's position that "he sometimes lacks the high-falutin theoretical abstractions" that appeal to a person like Kwame Karikari, a lecturer at Legon University.

Revolutional Committees

For anybody who listened critically to Flt.Lt. Rawlings during the June 5 symposium-turned-rally what is striking is his passionate call on the working people to constitute themselves into revolutionary structures which he called **revolu-**

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tionary committees. These latter, he explained, were called for as a means of the electorate achieving real control over their representative in parliament and government. When he demanded that "ordinary people must constantly struggle to ensure that the ideals enshrined in the Constitution are applied to their situation", as Kwame, quotes, it was clear that such a struggle was to be waged through these revolutionary democratic structures — the revolutionary committees.

Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings' concern and pre-occupation with the need to set up the said structures portrayed him to have advanced from former positions whereby he felt people could stand up for their rights in their individualities in the absence of such structures to one where he does not see the possibility of people fighting for their rights in the absence of the revolutionary committees or assemblies. In fact, during June 4 press conference which preceded the June 5 rally, he admitted that the AFRC committed such a mistake as not to have encouraged such committees which spontaneously sprang up among the working people.

Permit us to quote the relevant portion of his press conference statement thus: "The possibility of grassroots democracy was demonstrated during the June 4 era by the **Committees** that emerged from within various working groups. I may mention particularly the short-lived **Junior Ranks Revolutionary Committee** of the Police Service as well as the way in which soldiers also began to organize **Committees** in their units. Unfortunately, in the three and a half months that the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council gave itself, we could not expect to achieve the wholly new society that we cherished. I have no doubt we made mistakes and that there were many unfinished tasks".

Both at the press conference and the rally, Rawlings could not help in approvingly quoting President Kennedy's words that "Those who make a peaceful revolution impossible, make a violent one inevitable" — which amounted to a call for a peaceful revolution in Ghana. In this interview with the **People's Evening News**, he called for a National Democratic Revolution, which the **Citadel Daily**, Vol. II No. 2 has argued, is the **sanction** of the current constitution, embodies and reflects its ideals. It is this revolution he urges should be allowed to take place peacefully since otherwise it will be as violent as it is inevitable.

Emerging Parties

It is at this stage that one should mightily

refute Mr. Kwame Karikari's assertion that Flt.-Lt. Rawlings "denied flatly that he would lead or form a party for 1983". The issue of political party formation was certainly one that the audience awaited Rawlings to comment on; and when he came to it he condemned the **current** political party formations which were undertaken on the initiative of some 'rich patrons' who controlled them as if they were business concerns into which they had invested their money, which investment must bring them profits at the expense of the working people and the democratic process.

At the rally, therefore, Rawlings merely condemned the **current** party structures and called for the working people's initiative, with the guidance of progressive intellectuals, to set up the revolutionary committees. It was not clear whether he would lead or form any party, when after the rally, however, this author asked him for a definite position on the party issue he explained that he conceived of a **revolutionary democratic party** that was built from the ranks of the working people whose revolutionary committees and assemblies would constitute its foundation base. It is only such a party, the formation of which is initiated and controlled by the working people, that he would encourage. This position is clear.

Mr Kwame Karikari says that at Koforidua on June 4 an event fizzled out because the 'authorities of the Eastern Regional capital would not make Rawlings speak: the organizers of the event allegedly had no permit". This is gross misinformation. The so-called authorities **attempted** to disrupt the symposium-turns-rally; they failed; the people hooted and jeered at them in their thousands; Mr Kwasi Adu explained the necessity to postpone the event (it was getting dark); Rawlings spoke for seventeen (17) seconds — uttering two sentences, the first in Twi, and other in English thus: "They have shown today that they fear the truth and you, on your part, have also shown that you know the truth. We will meet again", the huge ovation was accompanied by singing of traditional war songs in praise of Jerry and against the ruling party. Kwame says the authorities **slammed** gates on Rawlings' face. It could never have happened without a bloody clash! It did not happen. Was he there?

Finally, why did Mr Kwame Karikari refuse to mention that all these events we have discussed here were organized by the **June 4 Movement** of which Flt.-Lt. Rawlings is a member and on whose behalf he made his speeches? His (Rawlings') position are the organizational positions

of the **June 4 Movement** which latter must not, just as the **New Democratic Movement** of which Kwame is a leading member, be ignored in any competitive drive. Lst's all recognise the JFM's effort in keeping the same of June alive and creating the platform on June 5 for the NDM to get the June 4 message passed on to the tens of thousands present. We pat the June Movement on the back.

Short Story

SLEEP IS LIKE DEATH

By

Kojo Yankah

He sat on the back seat of the bus. His age was not easy to tell but he could pass for 43. His hair was cropped clean, he wore dark goggles to hide red eyes. He chewed something which could easily be cola. This fellow traveller, whom I shall call Mr. K, kept mumbling words to himself. "Nkwaseasem kwa," he would say, attracting attention from immediate neighbours. Then he would go on chewing his cola.

The journey was from Kumasi to Accra, but we hadn't done four miles when our friend started snoring. It was so deep and loud we heard him clearly from our seat two rows away. Then, suddenly, we heard somebody shout in Twi: "Sore firi me so", which could variously mean, "Get up from me" or "leave me alone" (apologies to all translators). It was our friend reacting to a reminder by his immediate neighbour on his right that he was sleeping on him.

"Nkwaseasem kwa! Do you know where I come from? Do you know what I have eaten today? Don't tell me nonsense ..." Our friend, Mr. K, combined the English and his local tongue so freely and so loudly everybody in the six-seater bus had to turn to take a glimpse of him.

"If you play the fool, I will slap you", Mr. K threatened his neighbour who looked timid and kept a close eye on the fists of his would-be assailant.

The concern of most spectators was that it was rather the due of the "assailed" to complain. But Mr. K decided to be on offensive instead of the other way round.

"You people have made Ghana difficult to live in. Do you think I am a fool? Let me tell you, sleep is like death." It is this last statement which set people laughing, but Mr. K warned:

"Don't laugh, I am serious, sleep is like death. Nda tese owuo"

"You people must be very very careful", Mr. K went on. "Look at the roads we are travelling on" (just then, the tyres passed through a deep pot-hole and Mr. K exclaimed in Twi, "Agyei!") "I told you. It is all because of people like you. You are all sleeping! And when I haven't eaten anything today and I am sleeping small, this **monkey fiat** (can anybody help in identifying the meaning) is disturbing me."

As I said at the beginning, Mr. K was rattling both Twi and English. He looked quite vicious in the face and all those who initially had the guts to ask him to stop disturbing their peace recoiled into their seats.

It was the turn of the bus inspector. He called the bus to a halt and sounded a warning from the front seat: "If you don't stop quarreling at the back, I'll drop you at the next police station."

"Drop the two of us", that was Mr. K. "I don't care. If you drop us, we shall fight and I will beat him." Then he turned on his opponent "If you like, let's get down. I will **merciless** your nose." That verb was not very familiar so it generated some laughter.

"Don't laugh. You people are fools ..." Such was Mr. K's temper that the rest of the passengers appealed to the inspector to request the driver to drive on. The hope of most people was that we should reach the nearest police station quickly. So the driver stepped on the accelerator. By the time we got to Nkawkaw, our friend was fast asleep. He was not snoring and he was not leaning on anybody so we passed the police station without any ceremonies.

It was when I made furtive glances at Mr. K, and thought about his sayings that a good number of pictures came into my mind.

Even the original flight (thanks to the taxpayer) from Accra to Kumasi came back to memory. After waiting for two hours, our Fokker 28 plane left Accra amid announcement that flight time would be approximately 25 minutes. After half an hour when a couple of Kumasi buildings were in sight, the pilot came on the line: "I am sorry to inform passengers that because of bad weather we have to return to Accra. We regret for the inconvenience. Thank you." And, indeed, within another half-hour, we were back in Accra. I remembered the hustle to find alternative means of transport to Kumasi. Then in Kumasi, I clearly could not forget the services at that "posh" hotel (thanks once again to the taxpayer):


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ilet roll will come soon" (it came the next morning).

No pillow cases for three nights. The air conditioner is out of order, Sir, The fans are not enough. The shower get broke sometime ago ... and all our buckets have been ... stolen. At the dining room: No African dish today. You have European dish (liver plus rice plus gravy plus ... what? For 92 cedis! (God save the taxpayer!) At breakfast the next morning, NO EGGS! Toast bread, two slices, plus coffee, 20 cedis. Thank you.

In Kumasi town, a whole lot of things were "sleeping". Television had not worked for over 6 months. Telephones? You must be joking. How do you communicate with Accra? You must fly or go by bus which will take 6 hours.

The following day, I was anxious to see the TV. A friend bought one for me. It cost Two hundred Fifty Pesewas. After a few seconds I protested. "It is not today's. It's yesterday's"

"Yes, I know. But that is the case in Kumasi", said my friend. My wrist watch said 1 p.m.

I met an M.P. friend at the hotel. He had come to beg his constituency members to go and register as voters. So far only about 35 per cent of those who registered for the Unigov polls had appeared before the registration officials.

The law appeared "sleepy" in Kumasi but it had become part of "it". At the bus station where I finally succeeded in coming by a ticket, certain numbers had two or three people elbowing their positions because they all possessed genuine tickets.

So I kept turning Mr. K's words in my mind. When he said "sleep is like death" (which statement he repeated in Twi) was he referring to his own act in the bus or he meant something else? At one of the stops, Mr K was awakened by the noise made by bread and monkey sellers who were mobbing the bus. He tried to buy bread. The girl said "20 cedis. How many should I give you?" Mr. K. replied: "Wasea! How do you expect me to look after my kids when I get home? Get away. Firi me!" By the time he translated his last words, the bread seller had disappeared saying: "But if you don't have money, do you have to insult me?"

About 6 miles to Accra, I overheard Mr K. chatting with the same friend whose nose he had threatened to chew earlier on: "You see, when anger comes, that's the way it is. Don't worry about most of the things I said.

Afer all, if we had fought, we would not have achieved anything. And in any case it wouldn't have solved my problems... But there is one thing I know, and that is that if there is something that worries you, you must say it."

Mr. K for the first time in the bus permitted himself a brief smile and reminded his friend. But don't forget. Nda te se owuo. Sleep is like death. God willing we shall meet again."

Mr. K descended the bus still wearing his dark glasses, at 7 p.m.!

Book Review

LANGUAGE IN TANZANIA

Edited By

EDGAR C. POLOME AND C. P. HILL

(Published for the International African Institute by Oxford University Press, 1980)

pp xiv + 428. £10.00 in UK

Reviewed By

M. E. Kropp Dakubu

Language in Tanzania is the fifth and presumably final volume to report on the Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in East Africa. The Survey was a project funded by the Ford Foundation, in co-operation with institutions of the countries involved. The field investigations were carried out in 1969-71. *Language in Tanzania* is uniform with *Language in Zambia*, which was published in 1978.* *Language in Ethiopia*, *Language in Uganda* and *Language in Kenya* were published earlier by the Oxford University Press, independently of the International African Institute.** The project was a massive one, and all concerned are to be congratulated on its successful completion.

In the words of the first editor, the purpose of *Language in Tanzania* is to provide "a delicate balance between linguistic and sociolinguistic information, and a broad study of the role of language in the whole educational system of Tanzania, in a form that is accessible to non-specialists, but with fairly reliable data, and a solid theoretical background (pg. xiii). In accordance with this aim, and in conformity with the plan of its four companion volumes, the book is divided into three sections. The first, called Languages of Tanzania, has a general chapter on the languages of Tanzania, listing them (page 4) and giving the numbers of people who spoke them according to the 1957 census, historical-linguistic chapters on the East African Bantu languages and Tanzania's Nilotic languages, and one on Swahili, which is of course one of the

Bantu languages.

Some idea of the diversity underlying present policies is gleaned from the lists: according to these, in the late '50s, Tanzanians numbered fewer than 9 million, and spoke 102 Bantu languages plus 13 others. Many of the Bantu languages are no doubt very closely related, but considerable linguistic diversity remains, and socially and psychologically the distinctions are real. Tanzania shows very striking diversity in another sense, not dwelt upon in this book: it is the only country in which **all** the four great unrelated language families of Africa are represented: Congo-Kordofanian by the Bantu group, Nilo-Saharan by Nilotic languages such as Maasai, Luo and Ongamo, Khoisan by Sandawe and Hata, and Afro-Asiatic by two Southern Cushitic languages, Iraqw and Mbugu. In 1957 the largest indigenous language was Sukuma, as the mother tongue of 1,095,767. The largest as the mother tongue of 1,095,767. The largest non-Bantu language was Iraqw, spoken by 135,142. In the function of "mother tongue", in the sense of language of initial socialization, Swahili was a humble 81st among the Bantu languages, or 91st amongst the total, with 11,590 speakers.

Socio-Linguistics of Tanzania

The second section, Languages Use in Tanzania, contains a general chapter on the socio-linguistics of Tanzania (this and the parallel general chapter of the first section are both by the first editor), one on "The Ecology of Tanzanian National Language Policy", and three chapters on specific surveys of usage: language use among residents of Ilala, a suburb of Dar-es-Salaam, reading preferences among library users, particularly what language they preferred to read in, and language use in law courts. All the chapters of this section are specifically interested in the position of Swahili, with respect to English on the one hand and the indigenous languages on the other. In this book Tanzanian languages other than Swahili are invariably referred to as "vernaculars" — a term this reviewer objects to because it implies that the languages so termed are confined to only a few of the less elegant spheres of usage. Such restricted use generally appears only in trade languages and other pidgins, or in languages that are dying out. No evidence is presented that the latter is true of Tanzanian languages. Swahili, Tanzanian languages and English all have "vernacular" or popular uses and also others, even in Tanzania.

The third section is entitled Language in Education, and includes detailed chapters on the historical background, on language teaching in primary schools, secondary schools and in institutions of higher education, and on developments during the ten years since the other chapters were mainly written. The focus is entirely on Swahili and English, with some attention to French, a

recent arrival on the Tanzanian educational scene.

The book can be read from several points of view, and used for correspondingly different purposes. It can be read as a general reference handbook on the languages of Tanzania, as a detailed investigation of the origins and practice of the distinctive language policy of Tanzania, and as a study of the equally distinctive educational system of that country particularly where language is concerned. These three aspects partly but by no means completely correspond to the three sections of the book.

As a reference handbook, it is indispensable, and therefore its shortcomings are all the more irritating. It is a pity that the figures for numbers of speakers of languages are no more up to date, but since language data was not obtained in the 1967 census this is excusable, and we in Ghana are in no position to throw stones over this particular issue. But it is surely not unreasonable to ask to be able to find out from such a volume where any given Tanzanian language is spoken. There are several maps, of which two show language distribution. These are helpful, but they show only the major languages — actually 44, less than half of those listed (Map 2), or the distribution of language groups, not actual languages (Map 3). The maps that accompany Ehret's interesting historical chapter on Nilotic languages do not show the present day distribution of the languages concerned. All the maps are much too small, and for no apparent reason since except for Ehret's they occupy a whole page, nearly half of which is left empty. There is no way the user can readily determine the traditional language of even the larger towns, or conversely, the name of the major centre of a language, because such information cannot be deduced with any assurance from the maps, and is otherwise not given at all or appears only accidentally. The only intimation we have of the fact that the traditional population of the area of Dar-es-Salaam speaks Zalamo occurs more or less as an aside on page 176, and that particular occurrence of the name Zalamo, or Zaramo, as it is spelled two lines later, is missing from the index. Conceivably towns in most of Tanzania are very recent and heterogeneous developments where Swahili and not the local language has been the main medium of communication from the beginning, but we are not told this. On the contrary, several authors in different parts of the book point out that Swahili for most people is not the first language, and that most children in the primary schools must be taught it as a second or even foreign language. What is spoken by the local population, and where, is information basic to any serious discussion of how a country communicates with itself (or fails to do so), and if the available data was indeed inadequate and confused (page 5), a survey of language use should have aimed at rectifying the situation.

Swahili in Tanzania

That it apparently did not aim at this is no doubt attributable to the role of Swahili in the country and in the thinking behind this book. Tanzania is the only Sub-Saharan country to have officially promoted one of its indigenous languages as its national and on many levels its official language, and what is more to have had considerable success in the endeavour. The social and historical background makes a fascinating story, and many prospective readers will be principally interested in learning how present policy was arrived at, how formulated and how well it has succeeded, and what the problems are. There is a great deal here for them to absorb. Unfortunately it is now ten years since the research discussed was carried out. The section on language in education contains a final chapter that outlines in considerable detail developments during the seventies, but a comparable up-dating chapter for the second section, which is much more diffuse, was evidently not feasible. It is to be hoped that there will be follow-up studies. For example, Barton's interesting (though over-long) chapter on language use in Ilala, which treats it as a microcosm of the country, shows Swahili to be strongest among those who are from the coast rather than inland, and also urban rather than rural. This has been the pattern with Swahili from the very beginning. Have the last ten years produced any change?

The understandable and even laudable concentration on Swahili has produced what this reviewer regards as at least two major weaknesses in the book. First, the rise of Swahili as a major language is rehearsed in at least four different chapters. It is true that each adds something of its own, but there is also a lot of repetition. If this could have been avoided either the book would have been shorter and so cheaper, or more useful information on other languages could have been included in the first section. This shortcoming is related to a general lack of cross-referencing between chapters in the first two sections.

A rather more fundamental weakness has to do with the attitude adopted towards the official Swahili policy, which narrowly avoids being sycophantic. This reviewer sometimes had the impression that the authors were performing rather fancy logical gymnastics to avoid contradicting themselves. For one minor example, Hill's survey of library users' preferences seems to show a clear preference for English by nearly everybody, but the conclusion refers only to the dominance of Swahili. It would be quite remarkable if government practice including financial practice followed government policy statement as closely as most of the authors seem to imply, and reading between the lines and chapters one guesses that as in most countries, the gap between the two is considerable. One misses an objective evaluation of changing attitudes to Swahili and English, and of the reper-

cussions of the policy for both language teaching standards and standards in other school subjects. Even in 1969, one feels, there must have been more to be said about it. Generally one receives the impression that standards in Swahili have definitely risen but very unevenly, while the standard of English, still the language of nearly all secondary education, has evidently fallen, as a direct result of policy.

The section on Language in Education might have been better as a separate book. It is extremely comprehensive, with details of syllabuses and examinations at all levels, far beyond anything the non-specialist in education normally wants to know. It comes as something of a shock, though, to realize that Swahili was not examined at A-level until 1970. The difference in organization of language work at university level is instructive: the University of Ghana (like several Nigerian universities) has departments of English, of Linguistics and Ghanaian Languages, and of Modern Languages, which includes everything not covered by the other two. The University of Dar-es-Salaam has departments of Swahili, of Linguistics and Foreign Languages, which in practice means English and French, not including their literatures, and of Literature, apparently in continuation of the secondary school pattern in which the literature course includes both Swahili and English literature. Tanzanian languages other than Swahili do not appear at all, except as a course in comparative Bantu linguistics in the Swahili department. The Tanzanian system seems to reflect a deliberately utilitarian, purpose-oriented approach to language generally and foreign languages in particular. It remains to be seen whether it actually produces more effective users of any language.

The success of a language and education policy depends on the determined effort of those who implement it, on their relations with the recipients of the policy, and on the amount of money that is devoted to it. Contributors to **Language in Tanzania** are unanimous on the presence of the first factor, although one wonders occasionally whether the beneficiaries of the policy, the pupils and their families, share the enthusiasm. In the final chapter Hill notes that tension persists between the official view of education for socialist self-reliance and the desire to escape from the heavy labour of farming, which despite all rhetorical efforts seems still to have little prestige. The Swahili language seems to be now well established as necessary for both these educational aims. The contributors also agree however that a serious lack of reading material at all levels existed and persists, including lack of copies of books already published. This sounds like an indication of inadequate funding.

Since the book was finished, the economic situation of Tanzania has been badly affected by her military involvement in Uganda. What are the repercussions on language and education? A survey of Swahili in Tanzania in the 1980s is eagerly anticipated.



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Editorial

OF THE CONDUCT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

No society revels in bickering and conflict in the conduct of public business. To the extent, therefore, that there are individuals of peaceable disposition who bring their influence to bear where conflict threatens we are grateful. We hasten to add, however, that conflict is inevitable often, even necessary for the public good.

Such, however, has been our fear of conflict in this country that we have been prompted often to rather special measures for containment. A little while back we wanted a political arrangement which was conflict-free altogether: hence the single-party system; hence also the proposal for Union Government. Ironically, it was precisely when the single party system prevailed that conflict reached its apogee; no less ironic the propaganda for Union Government eventually ended in violence and tragedy, both personal and national.

But conflict continues to be a dread subject so we continue seeking new ways of containment. The other day the Minister of State for Transport and Communications criticised Parliament for delaying action that, apparently, was to put more buses on our roads. Parliament took offence and various members of that august House suggested that the Minister's anxiety in the matter stemmed from a desire to rake off ten percent of the total value of the buses from the negotiation. The Minister reacted in a manner to be expected of a public officer whose integrity is impugned. He dared Members of Parliament at a press conference to repeat outside Parliament what they had been bold enough to say in the House under the immunity of Parliamentary privilege. He made accusations of his own, namely, that one of his accusers in Parliament was seeking to protect the interest of a rival motor company in which he happened to have personal interest. He also charged the Speaker of Parliament with dereliction of duty in not directing accusations made in Parliament against a public officer who was not present to defend himself to be referred to the Privileges Committee as required, apparently, by the Standing Orders of the House. He also applied to the courts to seek some declaration respecting the Speaker's conduct. While we waited for the outcome of these very interesting developments, news suddenly came that the "dispute" had been settled by the Vice-President with the assistance of the Council of State and representatives of the Christian Council! The disputants were said to have withdrawn the accusations made against each other.



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Those who have antipathy to conflict in all its forms must no doubt be feeling very gratified and thankful to the Vice-President and the Council of State and the Christian Council for the timely intervention. We cannot help feeling, however, that the public is the poorer for this intervention: We do not know whether indeed the Minister of Transport and Communications personally stands to gain from the contract to bring in Tata Buses; we do not know either whether in their criticism of the Minister some members of Parliament were indeed seeking to protect, as alleged, other interests which coincided with their own personal interests; and we are far from knowing whether in fact the Speaker misconducted himself by not referring to the Privileges Committee the allegation made against the Minister.

We deeply regret the tendency to treat debate on public issues as matters personal to the protagonists. We are the more unhappy that the Vice-President and Members of the Council of State could take the view that allegation and counter-allegation of graft can be taken care of simply by the individuals at the centre of the controversy agreeing to shake hands. If it is true that the Minister stood to gain personally from the Tata transaction, what is supposed to have been withdrawn? If, on the other hand, the charge is false, were the MPs being vicious and irresponsible? We are especially disappointed that the Minister of Transport and Communications, who has endeared himself to many in the performance of his duties, and we have said so in these columns, has such little regard for his integrity after all. All too often in this country impropriety on the part of public officers is imputed. Many such imputations are probably without foundation, but casual denials in the media are not enough. To the extent that imputations and their rebuttal are not adequately aired they linger in the public mind. We thought the Minister would know this! In any case, one of the MP's has claimed even since the "settlement" that he has information that would cause embarrassment; is the Minister aware? That same MP is prepared to engage the Minister in a public debate on the matter, so he says; what is the Minister's response to the invitation? And that is not all.

The Minister is reported to have withdrawn his strictures against Parliament as part of the "settlement". Is it or is it not the case that Parliament delayed action to bring in more buses? Is it or is it not true that a Member of Parlia-

ment has a personal interest in a local company that sought to outbid Tata? And if the Minister said these things believing them to be true what is there to withdraw, even at the promptings of the Vice-President?

Disappointed as we are with these developments, we cannot say we are altogether surprised. It should be obvious by now that as a nation we are not particularly enamoured of public debate or of any device that could show up public officers for what they are behind the smokescreen of platitudes; hence our penchant for political arrangements in which lapses are concealed within the "family", hence our hostility often-times to probing newsmen. It is to be noted incidentally that the Attorney-General has had to concede that appointment by the President of editors of the state-owned newspapers is precluded by the Constitution of the Third Republic. And we recall too well the efforts of some well-meaning individuals to keep the matter out of court for the avoidance of conflict!

Whatever satisfaction the more recent 'settlement' may have brought the disputants we feel we are right in our belief that the public wants to know whether or not the Minister of Transport is especially interested in Tata buses because of a personal consideration. We also need to know whether Parliament indeed delayed action to bring in Tata buses because some of its members preferred some other type of bus for personal reasons. And we do not particularly care whose ox is gored in the process!

Economy

FOREIGN AID AND GHANA'S DEVELOPMENT

By

Kwame Ninsin

There is no consensus on what constitutes 'development'. What one puts in the definition of the term depends on one's ideological position. Even so, the broad outlines may be said to include fundamental changes in the structure and organisation of social production such as to increase the system's capacity to effect improvements in the living conditions of the people, and enhance the conditions that are congenial for the pursuit and defence of their political and economic rights.

The experience of most developed nations, and those which are on the path to true development,

appears to stress the largely endogamous nature of the impetus for development. It is in recognition of this that the Brandt Commission repeatedly states in its Report (**North-South: A Programme for Survival**) that the primary responsibility for solving the problem of backwardness lies with the governments and peoples of the nations of the Third World. And President Nyerere is reported to have stressed the same point again when he recently assured his people that his government does not intend to devalue their currency to please certain international lending agencies.

But for some time now the belief in both official and semi-official circles in this country has been that we can develop only with the help of foreign capital. This belief was very firmly entrenched even during the period of extreme economic nationalism of the CPP government. And it was further given an added credence during the 1966-71 period. A current affirmation of the continued attachment to what appears to have become a national creed has been unambiguously expressed in the Investment Code Bill.

Among influential Ghanaians who are passionate advocates of this view is Mr. J. Frimpong-Ansah (JFA), a former Governor of the Bank of Ghana, and economic statistician by training. In what follows, I shall use two of his articles and speeches on this subject as the basis for a brief comment on the relevance of foreign aid to our country's development. The two are: i. "Ghana's International Economic Relations and the World's Capital Market", in **Economic and Social Affairs (ESA)**, Vol. 3, Nos. 2 & 3, July 1977 (published by the Economic Society of Ghana); and ii. "The Problems of Development and External Aid in Ghana" in **The Legon Observer (LO)**, Vol. XIII, Nos. 5, May 8-21 1981.

In the ESA article, JFA identifies three principal economic events in the economic management history of the country since independence, and attempts to assess their impact on Ghana's access to the world capital market. The three events are as follows: i. the change to an inconvertible currency in 1961; ii. the accumulation of substantial external debts; and iii. the country's inability to resolve the problem of rescheduling her external debt obligations satisfactorily with her creditor nations.

The background to the first, according to JFA, was the worsening terms of trade, rising budget deficit, and the precipitous decline in the country's external reserve position by the year 1961. Regarding the second, he appears to share

the view that the radical or nationalistic economic policies of the government scared away potential investors. And finally, he blames the intransigence of Ghana's creditor-nations, led by Great Britain, on the question of debt rescheduling, and also the harsh restabilisation measures which they were determined to impose on us.

Misconception

However tangible these explanations may be he fails to expose the **underlying** cause of Ghana's failure to achieve a big push in her development effort since 1951. He fails to tell us that the very nature of the factor on which we have been depending since 1951 for our development — **FOREIGN CAPITAL** — is our greatest enemy, and the biggest obstacle to development. He fails also to inform us that because the driving motive of capital is profit, i. foreign capital mercilessly exploits the resources of the people wherever it is invested — hardly for the people's own benefit and mostly for the enrichment of those who invest it; and ii. seeks the greatest possible margin of profit, and Ghana does not seem to be a good investment risk. The crux of our problem, it seems to me, may therefore be found in our mistaken belief that we can depend on foreign aid for our national development.

It is important to recall that our country had her glorious moments during the colonial period when as a result of her colonial status she was open to unmitigated pillage by foreign capital. However, this attraction began to diminish immediately we took the first step, in 1951, toward independence. The privileged access to the British capital market she enjoyed was rapidly constricted.

But this view of privileged access is an optimistic view of our country's status in the world economy. For according to Krassowski (**Development and the Debt Trap**) even in the 1940's when the Ghanaian economy was a happy beneficiary of the Post-Korean War boom in cocoa prices, overseas investment in our country was infinitesimal. The prospects were so coloured that under the **Ten Year Development Plan** which was launched in 1951, only £2.7 million could be secured out of total projected external aid contribution of £26 million in grants and loans. But even this £2.7 million was an outstanding balance of capital aid that had been made to Ghana — Britain's model colony — out of the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds. The West's reluctance to invest in Ghana continued; so that by 1960, our country had not secured even a single official aid from the West.

It must therefore be emphasised that these rather disappointing responses from the West were largely responsible for the government's decision to turn to the private capital market for investment. But because our country is a poor investment area, private investors also showed extreme reluctance to accept the invitation to 'help' us to develop. This further disappointment compelled the government to draw heavily on our accumulated foreign reserves, and when that was run down to depend on supplier's credit as a means of financing its development programmes. By 1961 our external reserves had been so drawn that, coupled with the government's commitment to rapid development, reliance on supplier's credit had become unavoidable. Thus by 1965 our external debts alone had risen sky high. But as I have indicated above this had been necessitated largely by the fact that the foreign capital in which we had put all our hopes — with infantile helplessness — had not found us a profitable investment market. At the same time as the level of capital inflow was discouraging, it was becoming increasingly clear that the retention of the colonial style of financial management was not beneficial to the people's interest: foreign investors who were already doing business in the country were exploiting it to repatriate their profits without any regard for our interest. For example, Leonard Goncharov, writing in *African Social Studies* has observed at page 178 that income on direct foreign investments in our country during the 1955-59 period was repatriated at an average annual rate of £3,200,000. During the same period, there was a negative balance of private capital movement of as much as £1,700,000 while the net outflow in direct investments was, on the average, £3,000,000 yearly. This obviously was bound to raise questions for a government that was determined to improve the quality of life of the people substantially. The change to an inconvertible currency in 1961, together with the other package of measures, had thus become unavoidable. They were designed to terminate the massive drain of our capital resources by foreign investors who had invested in certain largely service sectors of our economy. This solid and alarming background to the change away from convertibility was glossed over by JFA. But that the government did so in good faith and in our best interest cannot be questioned.

As Krassowski derogatorily points out (p.22), for the CPP government restructuring the economy was a goal rather than strategy. The totality

of the measures which were taken after 1960 therefore constituted part of the arsenal of means. In this connection, I have to agree with JFA that any such long term development strategy as conceived and executed by the CPP, whose success is hinged on supplier's credit is ultimately disastrous.

Private Capital

The alternative, for JFA, is to rely on the private capital market, rather than opt for a policy of self-reliance for some other alternative. He appears to have such unflinching faith in private capital that he suggests in his article in the *Legon Observer* that "... to enable Ghana to grow, a revived international economic policy is necessary, which should aim at those strategies that will better integrate Ghana into the world economy ...". And he explains rather enthusiastically that such an integration will enable Ghana to "pursue her development with dignity as an integral part of the world economy, contributing to the world what she has and deriving from it, at fair prices, what she needs for her growth". (p.106)

It would appear from this policy recommendation that JFA lacks a thorough appreciation of the structure and spread of the world economy and its history of which Ghana has been an intimate part since about the fifteenth century. The history of the cocoa industry, its price instability as well as the continuously rising prices of industrial goods, allude to two facts: i. Ghana's firm integration within the present international division of labour albeit in a subordinate position; and ii. the kind of benefits our country derives from already being part of it. Our country's mountain of debts, and the fact that we negotiate both old and new debts from an "unequal bargaining power" position (ESA, p.6) are two more of the benefits.

As pointed out above, capital is exploitative. This is what prompted one of its victims to describe it as a marauder rather than a scavenger. This explains the reluctance of investors to reach out to areas like Ghana where the prospects for super profit are extremely uncertain. And it also explains, as JFA himself recognises, why any unilateral action or default on the payment, or poor management, of external debts usually provokes massive and unremitting reprisals from the creditor sources. That is because such actions negatively affect accumulation. What our creditors and their defenders fail to acknowledge however is that their success in accumulating super profits is our failure in



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development; and that failures such as we are experiencing now cost us something more than money. They cost us invaluable lives, valuable human values, our social rights as human beings, our dignity and our sovereignty.

† The implications of our dependence on western capital for development can therefore be described as anything but dignifying, and beneficial to our development. Accordingly, a thorough reappraisal of our position in the world economy, and also of our development strategy is urgently required. On this, JFA has some thoughts. After a careful analysis of trends in Ghana's growth pattern, he observes that with the rate of domestic savings as low as 6% p.a. the country cannot hope to develop on her own resources. In the event, he concludes: "the need for foreign currency enrichment of the gross capital formation is going to be important in any effort to resume economic growth". He estimates this foreign element to be not less than 12% of the GNP or \$600 m. per annum. And this does not include the initial cost of rehabilitating the economy to give it the necessary absorptive capacity for the expected infusion of external capital of that massive size. In addition, monetary reforms aimed, among other things, at adjusting the value of the cedi to a realistic exchange rate is also an absolute precondition. (Legon Observer 102-3). This surely is a package of policy prescriptions which will be "seen by international institutions to be conducive to improve credit-worthiness". (LO, p.102). An extract from the IMF's potion of death indeed! For who other than the creditors will benefit from such aid. From our experience with a tower of debts and continued impoverishment the answer is: 'Certainly not us'.

The argument behind JFA's views seems to be cogent until it is understood in the context of the historic role of capital round the globe. But the important question is whether JFA's prescription can save us from the impending national collapse. In this regard, what I have said briefly about our experience with dependence on external capital is sufficient for an answer. There are also many countries in the Third World which are suffering from the pain of prolonged backwardness, just like us, because they too have naively accepted foreign capital as the engine of development. And next, will any source in the capitalist world be so altruistic and blind as to grant us as much as \$600 m. per annum in aid? The obvious answer is contained in JFA's own articles. In the Legon Observer article, for

example, he explains, and I think correctly, that a country's ideological position and the size of its external debt are not crucial factors determining its creditworthiness. Among the critical criteria are a country's level of political and economic stability and efficiency as well as the history, and management, of her external debts (p.105). To this, Krassowski adds the factor of strategic or geo-political location. As JFA again points out, our country seems to be disqualified from the capital market on all these counts.

But, supposing our country could attract such a massive level of external aid. There is no doubt in my mind that, if this miracle should occur, there will be nothing left of our sovereignty and dignity, and nothing to develop with. Given the intensity of exploitation which comes with such private investments, and which are expressed in various forms of repatriation, we, our children and grand children will be condemned to slave for the creditors. We already have enough of these debts accumulated from past mistakes — in addition to the present level of agonising poverty and suffering. Of course, investors are not scavengers; neither are they charitable organisations. In short, such prescriptions merely increase our enslavement to our capitalist creditors, deepen our poverty, and intensify our suffering.

There is one revealing thing from JFA's writings which is that his thinking seems to be oriented more toward reinforcing the hold of foreign capital on our society than helping to make it truly independent. For he acknowledges the pivotal role that agriculture plays in the economy: 54% of the GDP (LO, p.100). He is also aware that this is possible mainly through the industry of peasant farmers who labour frequently against formidable odds. Yet he does not address himself to the problems of agricultural production, and how to eliminate these in order to ensure increased productivity. This certainly cannot be an oversight; for one cannot talk about development in a predominantly agrarian economy like Ghana's without any mention of agriculture. What then are the options open to us? As I have summarised above, development is understood as an internally-generated process of change aimed at increasing a social system's capacity to meet the material and spiritual needs of its people, as well as its capacity for a self-propelled change and growth. To this extent, there CANNOT be development for the people. Development has to come about by the effort of those who are its historic beneficiaries. The new

development strategy that we opt for must therefore be based on the unity and strength, as well as the determination of the people to labour for their own progress and well-being — and not for others. That is, it should be self-reliant rather than reliance on other people's savings.

Self-Reliance

This means that we shall be required as a people to generate considerable capital from within, which task I am convinced is not impossible to accomplish considering the amount of waste and loss which is characteristic of our present social system. As part of the struggle for national development, obsolete institutions like chieftaincy and its corresponding land tenure system should be scrapped and replaced with one that will facilitate maximum and efficient utilization of the people's organised powers and energies as well as our land resources. This will ensure that all those who suffer under the existing institutions could be organised, taught to use, and be equipped with modern techniques of agricultural production.

While the majority of agricultural workers will thereby be freed to labour for themselves, it will also help us to overcome the present chronic food shortages and improve the diet of the majority who are now undernourished. In addi-

tion, increased wealth will be created in the country-side to ensure an equitable income distribution for all of us. It will also enhance the internal market for manufactured goods of all sort. Above all, it will create an enlarged tax base for government and for continued social development.

Apart from resolving the so-called 'market question' a successful agricultural production will also provide the much needed food and industrial raw materials to support a nationally directed industrialisation drive. It is only at this stage of development that we shall have possessed the basis for forging mutually beneficial international economic and political links for the purpose of sustaining and enhancing our national progress.

What I am proposing here is the thorough restructuring of society, as a national development strategy, such that the majority of our people who have been consigned to the periphery of our economic and political life will become the hub, the agents, of their own development. But not just this: the changes envisaged should be such as to transfer economic and political initiative to this majority. It is only this kind of development — **of the people, by the people, for the people** which alone can make us truly free from the dictatorship of external capital. And it is only then that we can truly assert our sovereignty and claim to be developing with, and in, dignity. I must pause here to state my agreement with JFA that "Self-reliance is not school-boy nationalism". (LO. p.106). It should not! In fact, it would be utterly useless if it were! But more especially, if self-reliance is pursued with conviction and dedication as part of a total programme of social transformation, it will surely succeed as a liberating development strategy. As for the policy of better integration into the world economy, my own view is that it is the road to perpetual servitude — NOT development.

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Politics

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE REJECTION OF THE BUDGET

By

Kweku Folson

By a vote of 54 to 51 Parliament on Thursday, 23 July accepted an amendment moved by the Minority Parties in opposition to a motion by

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the Leader of the Majority Party, Mr C. C. Fritih, asking the House to approve the 1981/82 budget presented by the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning, Mr Fritih's motion read as follows:-

This House approves the financial policy of government for the year ending June, 1982 indent The amendment of the Minority Parties tabled by Dr Jones Ofori-Atta and seconded by Dr G. K. Agama, was in the following terms.

That the House takes note of the financial Policy of the government for the year ending June 30, 1982, and regrets that the Financial Policy fails to deal with the fundamental and urgent economic problems of the country such as:

the imbalance in government finances;
the intolerable hardships faced by the ordinary Ghanaian;

the low level of the cocoa producer price;
the unacceptably high rate of inflation; and
the loss of confidence in the Cedi; and calls

upon the Government to take immediate and realistic steps to tackle these pressing problems.

The consequences and implications of the vote need to be analyzed from two perspectives: the political and the constitutional-legal. These perspectives are distinct, though they necessarily impinge on each other.

The Political Perspective

As the terms of the Majority Party Leader's motion make clear, the House was asked to approve the budget. The House, in other words, was being asked to declare to the country that it supports the general drift of government policy. The precise language of the amendment has led some to argue that the House did not reject the budget but that it 'noted' it. But this is to misunderstand parliamentary procedure. The amendment was couched in one form of parliamentary language for saying that the House does not support government's general policy, that it has no confidence in the way the government is ruling the country.

This point needs to be stressed. The budget is the most important statement of government policy in the course of the financial year, even more important than the President's sessional address.

For Parliament therefore to refuse to approve the budget is to tell the government that it is mismanaging the affairs of the country. In the present constitutional context this means, first, that the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning is being accused of mishandling his

schedule. Secondly, the President is also being censured albeit indirectly. The Constitution confers the "executive authority of Ghana" on the President and on no one else; he it is the Constitution makes Head of Government. Certainly, no Minister is vested with executive authority by the Constitution, and any such power exercised by any Minister is delegated to him by the President. The cabinet itself is there merely to 'assist the President in the determination of the general policy of the Government' Ultimately therefore it is the President who is responsible for the financial policy of the Government and to reject this policy is to censure the President himself.

It is thus understandable that calls should be made for the resignation of the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning. If Parliament, the representatives of the people, holds that a Minister of State, and the one responsible at that for the economy of this country at this time, is not managing the economy properly then one can see the point in asking for his resignation. It would be logical to ask for the resignation of the President himself. But this would be clearly out of tune with the tenor of the Presidential system.

It is also understandable that the Minority Parties should decide not to participate in any debate on bills intended to implement the provisions of the rejected budget. A number of such bills have to be presented every year to Parliament for approval to enable the government to collect taxes. The Appropriation Bill also has to be presented to get authority from Parliament to spend money for specific purposes. What the Minority Parties are saying is that if the general policy itself has been rejected, then it is illogical, even foolish, to go to tackle the bills that are derived from it. Logically speaking, they should be rejected; it would be foolish to accept them. On both counts it is a waste of time to discuss them.

The significance of Dr. Agama's call should be understood. Under the Constitution the Appropriation Act which empowers government to spend money for the current financial year should be passed within three months from the beginning of the year. If Parliament refuses to pass the Appropriation Bill in the stipulated time, there will be a major constitutional crisis, for there will then be no legal basis for normal government expenditure. Indeed, the only expenditures that would be legal are those charged directly on the Consolidated Fund by the Constitution such as the expenses of the Judiciary, the

Electoral Commissioner, the Press Commission etc and the salaries of such august and intimidating officials as the Auditor-General, the Ombudsman, the Chairman of the Council of State, Ministers the Vice-President and the President. No other Public Servant could be paid. University Professors would be particularly hard hit. If the government insist on presenting Bills to implement a budget that has already been rejected by Parliament then the Minority Parties would be bound, in honour and in reason, to resist the passing of the Appropriation Bill when it comes before Parliament. It is to prevent this that Dr Agama is asking the government to submit fresh proposals within the three-month period.

The Constitutional-Legal Perspective

The act of inviting Parliament to approve the financial policy for the year is a purely political one. Parliament's acceptance or rejection of the invitation has neither constitutional implications nor legal consequences. The constitution, does not require the President, the Minister, the Majority Leader or "the Government"—an entity to which the Constitution repeatedly refers without specifying it — to obtain the approval of the budget from Parliament before the government acts. Hence government can act even if Parliament rejects its financial policy. For what the government needs is not a general authorization by Parliament—that is already granted the President by the Constitution but specific legal authority without which it would be illegal to tax and to spend money. Legally and constitutionally, therefore, the government would be within its rights in submitting the bills based on the rejected budget to Parliament for approval and if it had the approval it could the continue to function legally and constitutionally.

Similarly, the Minister has no constitutional obligation to resign, even if all the bills are also rejected. Under the present Constitution Ministers are responsible only to the President; they are in no way responsible to Parliament. Even where the Constitution permits a vote of censure—by a two-thirds majority of all MPs — against a Minister he is not required to resign as a result of such a vote.

Legally and constitutionally, then, the rejection by Parliament of the budget is a wasted effort just as approval would have been. In other words the act of tabling a motion asking Parliament to approve the financial policy of the government is strictly speaking, nonsensical; it is an exercise in utter futility, for no governmental act depends on its acceptance or rejection.

Whether the vote will lead to confusion or not will depend on how the government reacts and the subsequent positions to be taken by the Majority Parties in Parliament. One possibility is that the government will go ahead and submit the bills that seek to put into effect provisions of the rejected budget, in particular the Customs and Excise (Amendment) Number 2) Bill; the Sales Tax (Amendment) Bill, 1981; the Vehicle Purchase Tax (Amendment) Bill and the Removal Articles (Exemption) (Amendment) Bill, 1981. This could be done only on the assumption that these bills would be passed. The Minority would carry through their decision to boycott the discussion on the bills while the Majority Party would be whipped into voting for them. This is an outcome that would, of course, confuse the public, for Parliament would in the same breath have rejected and accepted the financial policy of the government. But it is necessary to stress that **there would be nothing illegal or unconstitutional about such an outcome.**

The assumption that the bills, when submitted, would be passed is not, however, too safe. There is evidence to suggest that the defeat of the Majority Leader's motion was not a freak vote but the result of dissatisfaction with the budget proposals by a good number of PNP MPs. Even before the debate on the budget had ended the Finance Committee of Parliament had already rejected three of the Bills seeking to implement the budget proposals. And a number of PNP MPs, it is authentically reported, deliberately abstained from the vote. If the Bills are submitted the Minority Parties might turn out to vote against them, if their assessment of the situation is that the circumstances that brought about the defeat of the budget would be repeated. Paradoxically, this is the outcome that would clear the air completely: the political and constitutional consequences would be brought into line. Government would then have to bring in fresh proposals acceptable to Parliament.

A third possibility is that the government would seek to curtail a long drawn-out fight over the budget by re-submitting the budget with amendments that substantially take into account the criticisms of the Minority Parties and of dissatisfied PNP MPs. This is the path of compromise and the most statesmanlike way out of the present situation. It is also substantially the same as the call by Dr. Agama for government to submit a fresh budget within three months.

are. One after the other, they affirm that it is important for them to lower their handicap. Why? It has something to do with being a respectable golfer. They explain: 'It is more respectable to have a lower handicap...evidencne that you play well.' Or put in fewer words: "That shows your class."

Interestingly, the players with the lowest handicaps are those who have been caddies before. Today's caddies, aware of the good training caddyng affords them, — the chance to watch hundreds of good players as they play and to pick up the little tricks of the trade in the process — all aspire to inheriting their masters' set of golf clubs and becoming professional players eventually. For the meantime, for a fee of C60 to C70 a month they will spend several afternoons a week after work, or school, trailing and carrying their master's golf equipment after them handing them their clubs and finding them their lost balls.

Costs

If golf is fast catching on as a popular sport, the extent of its popularity has been limited to those social circles within which club-membership fees and the cost of golf equipment can be borne. Annual membership fees reach as high as C800 for a family and C500 for the single member. Equipment costs even more. A brand new set of golf clubs may fetch C10,000, and a golf ball, C15. One needs 15 or 20 golf balls for a practice session. Added to these major expenses are the caddy's fees and the price of drinks regularly bought at the club-house. Then, of course, easy accessibility to the golf course is a must for any aspiring golfer. So is a pair of boots or canvas shoes and the amount of leisure time, even on week days, that attention to the game demands.

Ghana's fast-growing golfing population, then, is confined to a rather closed circle of public servants, businessmen and professionals other than university dons. There are very few exceptions to the norm, as is confirmed by a glance around the terrace of a club-house one Sunday afternoon. On this particular day, part of a weekend set aside at the Club for one of several annual competitions, multi-coloured banners flap in the wind as competitors and club members sit around watching what they can see of the competition. The low hum of conversation is broken only briefly as one impatient golfer yells at his inattentive caddy, "Come on!"

then strides out into the sunshine, boot spikes clicking on the ferrace steps.

Letters

The Royal Wedding

SIR — An interesting detail of the recent wedding of the heir to the British throne was its proximity in time to the silver jubilee of Ghana's independence. Indeed it was on the same morning, July, 29th, that our national dailies informed us that we were going to try to raise C69.2 million to celebrate the jubilee.

Ironically, the royal wedding did nothing but inflame our 'colonial mentality'. First we were told that the technicians at the satellite site at Kuntunse were working 'round clock' to make it possible for us to see the event, while nobody works half-way round a wrist-watch to ensure that we get meat, fish, corn or even garri. And when the pictures came, I am told they were sharp and clear, sharper and clearer than the pictures we get of shows staged in our own studios in Accra. Such is the extent of our self-contempt.

Legon was unusually quiet that morning, even for vacation time, and I observed many people glued to the television set in the Long Room of Legon Hall. This was at about ten in the morning when people were supposed to be "increasing productivity" in this miserable country. And I wondered how many other people all over the country were watching television instead of working.

At least one Ghanaian parent appeared to be running a commentary for the benefit of her children born, unfortunately, after independence: "... No, that's the Queen's mother, also called Elizabeth ... Yes, the best man looks like Prince Andrew, brother to Prince Charles ... of course, there's another brother, Edward ... No, Princess Anne's wedding was not as grand as this ... No, that's not the Queen, that's her sister, Margaret ... etc., etc. ..."

Admittedly, everybody loves a wedding: for people already married it is vicarious renewal of the vows, a reminder of how things should be, but often are not; and for those yet unmarried it is another reminder of a cherished aspiration. Thus a royal wedding is a highly spectacular version of a favourite dream. Yet Ghana's sudden fever over the royal nuptials was no ordinary wedding-mania. It was more like the symptom of a profound hopelessness, a yearning for the good old days when Britannia ruled the Surf at Osu.

And therein lies the message for us in Ghana of the royal wedding: that even a pesewa spent to celebrate the silver jubilee of our independence is money thrown away.

Nevertheless, Mr. Editor, I hope it is not out of place to wish the royal couple every happiness.

Dept. of English
Legon.

A. N. Mensah

The High Cost of Unsolicited Gifts

SIR—The June 18th issue of the 'GHANAIAN TIMES' and the 'DAILY GRAPHIC' of 19th June published a picture of a Ghanaian firm presenting a gift of 20 footballs to the National Sports Council. The cost of the 20 footballs was put at £800 sterling. Waaw!

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A leather football is expensive, but it is not true that it costs as much as £40 in a U.K. retail shop. And I do not expect the company to pay for bulk purchase. Or was £800 the cost at Bank of Cow Lane conversion rates?

It is probable that some individuals and firms overstate

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the value of donation merely to impress. But we the ordinary people for whose benefit such donations are ostensibly made are often compelled to think of more sinister motives for overpriced donations.

P. O. Box 5099
Accra.

K. K. Nyame

Accra-Kumasi Road

SIR—I wonder what is being done for the unfortunate few who can't fly from Accra to Kumasi and beyond.

For about five years or more now, the road to Kumasi has never been good throughout. There is always a section of it which is always so bad that travellers have to waste hours waiting to find out whether their vehicles will be able to pull through. I really can't understand why those responsible for the maintenance of the road should always wait till it reaches it's worst state before attempting to do anything about it. Even supposing they have also been affected by the foreign exchange-Ghana's long awaited saviour, is there nothing that can be done temporarily to save the situation?

Already it is believed that Kumasi transport owners have withdrawn their services owing to similar problems within the city. I wish the Accra-Kumasi transport owners will do something similar in order to press the authorities responsible to do something about it.

Language Centre
Legon.

Nana Akua Owusu

Garden City ?

SIR—Whoever gave Kumasi the accolade, "The Garden City of West Africa," I should think, would hurriedly give it "The Dilapidated City of West Africa," if granted the opportunity to describe the city again, given its sordid features at present.

A birdview survey of Kumasi does not present a happy picture. What strikingly impinges on the eyes of the visitor is a dusty and clumpy atmosphere, broken-down public lavatories, nasty, unpleasant sights and smells, beads of potholes along all its streets and unsightly market places with unhygienic slaughter houses and epidemic-prone incinerators. Sanitary inspection is a nostalgic pastime!

There is a lot more one can tell about the present conditions of Kumasi, all of which points to the fact that the city is not in the care of competent hands.

A 311 Akuafo Hall
University of Ghana
Legon.

Eric Kwasi Bottah

Distribution of Petroleum Products

SIR—From a careful study of the present fuel shortages, and the astronomic and arbitrary prices of fuel products in the Northern and Upper Regions, I would like to make a constructive suggestion to our fuel and power Ministry. That is, the Ministry should liaise with the Volta River

Authority to negotiate for a loan with a low interest rate from any friendly country to purchase a bunker-ship to ferry petroleum products from Akosombo port to Yapei in the North. In this wise, the GHAIP can come in to set up oil storage tanks, both at Akosombo and Yapei; which means that an oil pipe line should be constructed from GHAIP to Akosombo, with refined fuel to feed the storage tanks there for onward transmission to Yapei.

At Yapei, haulage tanker-trucks should be ready to transport the products to various areas in the two regions. Such a venture will reap good results in the final analysis.

A.E.S.C. (FINANCE)
P. O. Box 3969,
Accra

Frederick Aboagye

G.B.C. External Service

Established in June 1961 by the late President Nkrumah the External Service which used to broadcast in six languages, —English, French, Portuguese, Arabic, Swahili and Hausa has been compelled to close down because of the inactivity of the transmitters at Tema. Consequently the views of Ghana on current world issues can no longer be heard outside her borders. Ghana Television is also suffering. For the past one year, it has not been possible to use local films because the film laboratory has broken down. Thus, television news is not different from the radio news bulletin. Not even programmes like Agricultural Front can be shown anymore, at a time when the Government needs to publicise agricultural efforts more than ever before!

Liberty Press Ltd.
Accra.

Emmanuel Krampah,

Silver Jubilee Celebrations

SIR—Your editorial of the XIII No. 5 issue of the Legon Legon Observer is very striking in a few aspects.

First, the subject matter brings to mind the type of argument put forward by the Opposition in 1954 regarding the plans to build the Ambassador Hotel and the purchase of some Pontiac Cars for the Independence celebration activities. It would be recalled that the plans drawn up by the CPP Administration with the same 71 seats majority, had invited the Queen of England and the President of the United States. The Duchess of Kent represented the Queen and Vice-President Nixon represented President Eisenhower. All these belong to history now; but one wonders whether if the CPP government had acceded to the demands of the the Opposition, the Ambassador Hotel would have been built at all. Of course NO and there would have been no need for the PNP Government to renovate it at whatever the cost and for whatever purpose!

Secondly, the items selected from the 90 page report do not seem to justify the criticism levelled against the Government via the Committee. For instance, one wonders what is really wrong with the completion of our repair work done on long delayed projects, which have already eaten up the tax-payers money.

Mention is also made of the 200 D Mercedes Benz Cars. Quite strikingly this is also one of the points of attack of the 1954 Opposition (see the Pontiac affair). However,

had the writers of the editorial taken time to look around during the Pope's visit, they would have noticed that almost all the cars used by his entourage were hired ones. Is it too much then to buy 100 quality economical cars which would definitely be used during the celebration and after? The All African Trade Fair is just round the corner.

Thirdly, your editorial sought more or less to instruct Dr. Limann on how to write his speech. I would, however, disagree with you with regard to the subject matter, for the occasion lends itself more appropriately to a recall of history than an anniversary celebration, when it is always important to make assessments or remind the people of their responsibilities. It may appear rather unfortunate that the period after the 1966 coup offered Ghanaians no progress except bitter lessons never to be forgotten.

In sum, I think you should rather be sympathised with, for in your own words you "cannot appreciate the importance or urgency of the celebration." Poor you. We used to celebrate Empire Day, Coronation Day (I suppose you can easily recall memorable events during those days). Old Boy jubilees (Your sticker is at the back of your car I suppose), but we should not indeed celebrate the Silver Jubilee of the Independence of the Republic of Ghana in style, especially when such an occasion comes up but once and only once in the life of a nation.

P. O. Box 55
Trade Fair Post Office,
Accra.

R. Y. Twum Gyamrah

Notebook

THE POLETICS OF PRESS CONFERENCES

From press conferences since the AFRC left the scene in 1979, we get the impression that Major Boakye Djan, one-time spokesman of the AFRC, is especially anxious for a formal appraisal of the AFRC regime. We now know from the latest of these press conferences given in July that some members of that regime have in fact constituted themselves into a Review Unit to assist such an appraisal. Surely anyone who is sufficiently interested in any subject is free to undertake the necessary research to satisfy his curiosity; and hopefully we may have the opportunity to read some day the outcome of the Major's research effort where the AFRC is concerned. We suspect, however, that many in the audiences at these press conferences have an interest beyond the academic in the AFRC. There are many who were discomfited by the AFRC and deserved to be. Many such people are naturally anxious to see the AFRC discredited. Individual members of that regime may in all probability be found wanting if they are judged by

JOURNAL OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

A CALL FOR PAPERS

The Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, University of Ghana, is launching a bi-annual journal on social and economic studies. Both theoretical and applied papers would be considered.

Procedure: Papers must be submitted for preliminary consideration not later than June 30, 1981. Articles should not be more than 25 typewritten, double-spaced pages. They should conform to the "Information for Contributors", which could be obtained from the Editor. Three copies of each submission should be mailed to Dr. A. A. Aboagye,

Editor, Journal of Socio-Economic
Development, ISSER, University of
Ghana, Box 74, Legon.

Papers will be reviewed by editors and those that are considered publishable will be sent for advisory review to one or two referees. Papers may be accepted subject to substantive or stylistic revisions.

the high standards they professed, but if any points are scored on that point they would not amount to much. The more important lesson to be learnt from the AFRC episode is not that individual members of the AFRC are susceptible to corruption after all, but that both individually and as a nation if we persist in conducting our affairs in the manner we had done prior to the arrival of the AFRC on the scene we are likely to be overtaken by a greater calamity.

The one disturbing aspect of the Boakye Djan factor is the seeming contradictory nature of his concerns: While he wants a probe of the AFRC regime, he does not, apparently, want the judicial decisions of the AFRC leading to conviction of some members of the public and confiscation of their property to be reviewed. He threatens the worst should the Transitional Provisions be disturbed. And now he says the Chief Justice should vacate office because having been a "legal consultant" to the AFRC he is estopped from sitting in judgement over applications challenging the judicial decisions of the AFRC. The call for the removal of the Chief Justice should engage us as much as if there was to be any suggestion now that Dr Hilla Limann should vacate office for having collaborated with the AFRC prior to assuming the presidency, even agreeing to continue with the AFRC's house-cleaning programme; the matter should engage us if only to avert the tedious and predictably pointless constitutional processes pursuit of the Major's suggestion would entail.

Assuming indeed that the Chief Justice's advice was ever sought by the AFRC, which he denies anyway, what of it? What is the good of a Chief Justice who cannot be consulted on a point of law? And who says a 'legal consultant' has to share his client's ideology? A little while ago Mr Justice Apaloo's position as Chief Justice was the subject of a controversy which we naively thought to be merely reflective of a general misunderstanding of the Constitution. The purported vetting of his candidature for the office, however, revealed that the man is disliked by many who are anxious to settle personal scores. In the event the Supreme Court ruled firmly that we already had a Chief Justice and attempts to appoint a new one were unconstitutional. Are we begging to see a regrouping of the anti-Apaloo forces?

**READ THE
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ALWAYS**

The Arts

VICTIMS — A DAWN THEATRE PRODUCTION

Reviewed by

Ebow Daniel

What to do about childlessness is a question which continues to excite African playwrights. We must assemble our medicines to wash the woman's stomach in public, suggests a character in Ama Ata Aidoo's **Dilemma**. Let a brother take over the woman, says the medicine man in Wole's **Song of a Goat**. Ama Ata returns to the question in **Anowa** and the discussion ends violently, the principal character for whom making money appears to take precedence over raising a family eventually takes his life in frustration.

Victims, written by Bernice Ahlijah and played by the Dawn Theatre at the Arts Council, June 26-27 adds to the discussion to date: Ato and Kane have been married for four years; there is no child yet, however; the man consults a medicine man who says it's hopeless; the woman separately consults the same medicine man: in her case, there is hope, but there is to be further consultation and the medicine man invites Kane to his house for the purpose. The story could have developed along the lines of Kane responding to the invitation and becoming impregnated by the medicine man; Ato deciding to accept another's child as his own, as often happens, and "living happily afterwards". Again, with Ato's acquiescence, Kane might also have become the paramour of one of several men who come to buy her akpeteshie making passes at her. There are indeed promising dramatic possibilities in some such telling of the story. How do you maintain authority in the household when you have none in the bedroom? It is said you need a lot of money, for instance. Alternatively, instead of acquiescence in infidelity the aggrieved party could plausibly resort to violence to protect a family secret or merely to punish those who want to take the cover off the secret.

Victims opts for the alternative treatment, but it entrusts the action to the least likely candidate and the motive for the action is not the most plausible: Kane kills her husband, not because he maltreats her or that he neglects her or that he has interests elsewhere, but that he is uncooperative in the quest for a child. There is no prior discussion of the real nature of the problem. There is no contemplation of separation

or dissolution of the marriage. Kane merely sits, broods, gets mad and then kills!

Improbable Story

Victims is an unlikely story. As it turns out, it is not a case of sterility but that Ato would not even perform his conjugal duties. If he would not, why does he consult a medicine man? If he can't, is there a marriage? And if there is no marriage what is Kane's problem? One of her bottle-happy customers, an old woman, seemed to have some insight into the nature of the problem and she proposes that Kane leaves Ato to marry a son of hers who badly needs a wife. She is rebuffed by a loyal and faithful wife! Loyalty to what?

For length **Victims** has its share of padding. One of Kane's friends confides that she is tired of her marriage because men are mean, or words to that effect; and she proposes to take to the streets. Kane warns of the dangers of such a life and the life of a former street practitioner murdered while on duty is rather elaborately re-enacted for our benefit, youngmen waiting to "call", meanwhile discussing what they proposed to do when the opportunity comes. One of them was going to attempt two for the price of one, and tumescent in the groin he has almost taken off his clothes before the opportunity comes behind a screen. **terribile visu!** It was one of those "callers" who refusing to pay the tariff after the event murdered the street practitioner.

The "callers" are curiously listed in the play's programme as "First, Second, Third Man, Prostitute." How come when there is no commerce in it for them? Compulsive running after women is an addiction, not unlike smoking, often an expensive habit, but hardly a source of livelihood. To return to padding, in order to gain inspiration for the solution to made problem, Kane invokes a spirit which turns out to be the spirit of the murdered street practitioner (!) and the spirit actually materializes on stage (!) to supervise the operation. The play features two long poems, the first as prologue. Both poems were very ably recited by Grace Omabge who however, seemed not to know the cast. She had to ask names which she passed on to us in presenting the cast to us at the end of the play. Had they not rehearsed together? Or could it be that the poems are independent creative efforts which are only coincidentally somewhat related to the theme of play? Is it possible they were added merely to lengthen the evening? A more recent presentation of **Aluta Continua** by

students of the University of Science and Technology, at the British Council Hall also featured as prologue to a long declamatory piece which went down very well although it seemed not to belong. Poetry recitals have lately become very popular among student audiences especially. Are we then to expect poetry from wherever in play efforts generally? Occasionally characters in **Victims** broke into song. You could not tell the precise dramatic moment to expect song, however. We have heard it said of the authentic African theatre that it is an amalgam of acting, song and dance. And there is indeed a growing tendency to press song and dance besides poetry into service. Song and dance, are of course, fun in themselves but their dramatic significance is all too often unclear.

Good Show

Victims is feminist trade against the 'male chauvinist pig'. Women are martyrs, but they need not continue making "doormats" of themselves. If only they would learn to throttle their husbands, "most of whom are responsible"! Playing Adoley, the woman who wants to take to the streets, the playwright must have derived tremendous satisfaction from throwing those "irresponsible" lines at the audience which included many who had responsibly escorted their wives. John Darkey (Ato) is gaining confidence as an actor with every performance. One of his regular quarrels with his wife, ends in his beating up the latter. The woman naturally weeps but Ato does not want the neighbours to know what goes on in his house. He calls for order: 'Silence! I say silence!' The school-masterly rendering of the lines achieves the desired effect even on the audience, a shade too noisy by now. Julie Okerchiri (Kane) shows dedication but isn't she too frequently cast for parts which require display of passion? Her account of her difficulties in the bedroom is given in an impressive mime and vaguely suggestive dance. Intimacy on stage needs not be explicit after all. Ekua Pandoh (old woman) is also too often an old woman which she happens to play very well. Theophilus Stumpp, the nine year old, who played parts meant for three boys, does credit to whoever discovered him.

Notwithstanding reservations about story-line and accretion, **Victims** is a good piece of entertainment slightly marred on the opening night by what appeared to be lack of coordination between stage manager and the lighting team. Frequently the lightsman's torch-

light beamed on the stage trying to find out what was happening, but first day lapses are pardonable. What is not pardonable is the deterioration that is in evidence at the Arts Centre. There used to be a curtain, a red velvety material which suggested some measure of seriousness. It is not there any more. Indeed there is nothing for curtain, and the floor of the stage could do with polish, lots of it. And as for the washroom, what does it not need in large doses? It is remarkable that there are people who find the inspiration to write plays at all; and to put them on as well! We are indeed grateful to Bernice Ahlijah and the Dawn Theatre for these small mercies.

Opinion

THE DEVALUATION DEBATE

By

A Special Correspondent

Mr Wadia's comments (L.O. 25th June 1981, XIII,7) on Mr Van Dantzig's article on 'Investment and Devaluation' (L.O. 29th May 1981, XIII 6) are provocative but unfortunately, not convincing. In all that follows, the word devaluation is intended to cover all forms of actions on the exchange rate, including in particular **explicit multiple exchange rates**.

Mr Van Dantzig's main point is that under current economic policies, it is naive to expect new foreign investments unless the cedi is devalued. In support of such a measure, he points out that devaluation would, in fact, only recognise existing realities since most retail prices already reflect the black market exchange rate. He argues that wage and salary earners, and even pensioners, will have to be compensated through increases in their remuneration, but that higher government revenues (resulting from devaluation) will make this possible. At the same time, the incentives to trade will fall and those to produce will rise. He advocates therefore that devaluation be undertaken, if necessary by re-christening it.

Mr Wadia's central message is that devaluation will not solve the problem of the weakening value of the cedi, it will rather exacerbate it. He recognises that the economic nemesis of the military regimes preceding June 4, and of the present administration as well, has been high inflation. Agreeing with both Lenin and Keynes, he writes that runaway inflation is the surest step to economic disaster. Mr Wadia's suggested solution is that Ghana must econo-

mise, spend less on luxuries, reduce waste, promote domestic resource-based industries, and implicitly move in the direction of greater autarchy (more consumption of domestic production and less international trade.) As an example of a country that has achieved economic success along similar lines, he points to India.

In his comments, Mr Wadia commits logical errors and draws unwarranted inferences. These are treated below sequentially:

(i) **The link between Inflation and Devaluation** — It makes little sense to concede that the cedi is getting weaker by the day, and simultaneously to argue against devaluation? The two are inextricably linked except in countries that (a) do no trade with any other countries, or (b) do not have a currency of their own, or (c) earn all their export earnings on the basis of a monopoly over the sale of a commodity that other countries cannot reduce their demand for.

For all other countries, a refusal to recognise this link will result in exports gradually dwindling to nothing. Exports would approach zero because exporters would be unable to cover their **domestic** inflated costs when they convert their foreign exchange earnings at an exchange rate that was appropriate when domestic prices were at a lower level. For example, since 1978 when the cedi was devalued to $\text{C}2.75 = \$1$, domestic prices have risen by over 200%. Thus, for every $\text{C}1$ that was being spent by an exporter in 1978, about $\text{C}3$ is being spent today. And yet, the exporter continues to get $\text{C}2.75$ per $\$1$ today (plus the small bonus) just as he did in 1978. This is surely the best way to strangle the export sector. Of course, increasing the export bonus by inflationary means will only make matters worse. The export bonus has to be financed by new revenue, and devaluation would generate this revenue by taxing **official** imports (which are presently highly underpriced as smuggling of these items to neighbouring countries demonstrates.) Where other countries also have inflation, this argument holds only to the extent that domestic inflation exceeds international inflation. But perhaps Mr Wadia is not blind to this link after all, since he implicitly recommends autarchy; see (iv) below.

(ii) **Devaluation: heresies and empirics**. In a trivial sense, Mr Wadia's view that devaluation does not rescue a weak currency cannot be faulted **by itself**, devaluation can only make up for the inflationary sins of the past, it cannot put an end to the sinning itself. Thus it is that it is frequently argued that one can only debate the success or failure of devaluation **pack-**

age, not of devaluation *per se*. The cause underlying domestic inflation must themselves be addressed if the desired effect on exports is to be forthcoming. If they are not, the devaluation would only have corrected the price distortions of the past (partially or fully) and new inflationary pressures would continue to hinder the performance of the export sector. A second point is that it is wrong of Mr Wadia to suggest that because some of Ghana's exports are priced in terms of foreign currency, a devaluation would not increase exports. As argued above they will. This is because they increase the cedi returns of exporters. Thus, the timber exporter would get more than C2.75 per \$1 of his foreign exchange earning, and could more easily cover his higher domestic cost. *? How?*

Further, it is just not correct to say that Ghana's exports are 'almost inelastic': in the short-run, reduced smuggling would increase official exports, while in the longer run, higher returns would promote greater investment and hence production for exports (subject to Government undertaking necessary structural reforms such as road maintenance etc.)

In a more empirical vein, economic scholars in the Third World have, after many detailed empirical studies of their countries, concluded that most of the negative effects of devaluation are **short-term** in nature. For any country desiring to trade internationally the link between inflation and devaluation has to be recognised. In the long-run, there is no escaping this link. There are two negative short-run effects of devaluation: first, it tends to temporarily slow down economic activity; and second, it tends to be itself inflationary, although again only temporarily. On account of these effects, devaluation is considered political anathema. This is understandable since the long-run is a series of short-runs. However, these same economists agree that there is an escape from the horns of this dilemma, and this is provided by external borrowing. If such external borrowing is of a high enough magnitude and is wisely used, it can offset the short-run slowing down and inflationary effects of devaluation. As such, instead of fighting what is in the final analysis, unavoidable medicine under inflationary conditions, the Third World should fight for larger access to the international capital market.

A third negative effect of devaluation is that it shifts incomes from wage-earners to producers and exporters. Mr Wadia's biggest error is in not recognising that in Ghana today, the recessionary and inflationary consequences of devaluation, as

well as the income distribution effects are already existent as a result of the (incomplete) liberalisation measures, except that the beneficiaries have been traders and importers not producers and exporters. As such, a devaluation, if accompanied by a large volume of external borrowing and by a package of complementary measures, would cause the economy to jump to a start rather than to exacerbate present economic problems, and also permit wage increase!

(iii) **Economising, Saving and Reducing Waste.** Mr. Wadia is on firm ground when he advocates that the weakening of the cedi cannot be stopped without (some) effort at economising, saving and eliminating wasteful expenditure.

While he neglects the revenue side of (the Governments and the citizens') budgets, he is probably not unaware of it. What is disturbing is his implicit faith that exhortation and controls will by themselves achieve these desirable results. It is not necessary to repeat the evidence in favour of the view that moral incentives and physical or legal controls have definite limits in their ability to yield socially desirable economic outcomes. Unfortunately, the role of material incentives, of markets, and of prices cannot be done away with completely, for persuasion and authority are relatively blunt weapons in the economic arena. Governments are best advised to make the maximum use of private incentives that are compatible with the public interest. It is not a matter of the failure of controls as much as the failure of Mr Wadia (and like-minded persons) to recognise the limits of the effectiveness of controls. Control systems, embodying carefully selected taxes and subsidies to achieve social goals can be worked through markets rather than by attempting (and failing) to side-step markets.

(iv) **Mr Wadia's Success Case: India.** Mr Wadia's reference to India is both inspiring and puzzling. It is inspiring because Ghana's economic problems, despite their enormous severity, seem relatively insignificant compared to India's and yet India has made tremendous achievements in food production, large and small-scale industrial development and population control in the last 25 years. It is puzzling because Mr Wadia points at India without attempting to glean the relevant lessons for Ghana. The differences between the two countries are so large that the latter omission is difficult to forgive. The major differences are, of course, those that make it possible for India to pursue an economic strategy that is far more autarchic than Ghana's could ever be. India's size and the di-

versity of her natural resource base distinguish it from Ghana. In both these respects, Ghana's endowments render her dependence on trade far heavier than India's will ever be.

In short, Ghana cannot afford to be autarchic, and therefore cannot ignore its export sector. Given past and continuing inflation, this requires, among other policy measures, devaluation. Devaluation has negative short-run effects which have already been incurred in the so far incomplete liberalisation effort. A devaluation package, accompanied by non-inflationary wage-increases and external borrowing, therefore, promises to dramatically release the economy from its present foreign exchange constrained trap and improve income distribution. Contrary to Mr Wad'a's views, at this time in Ghana, a devaluation package is not anathema, it is a *sine qua non* to getting the economy moving.

For The Record

July 31

V.P. Condemns Merger of Minority Parties

Speaking at a P.N.P rally at Sandema, Upper Region, the Vice-President said the proposed merger of the five minority parties was inspired by "opportunism". He said a merger of parties whose ideologies were irreconcilable could not possibly work.

AUGUST 3

The national football team, the Black Stars, returned to Accra after beating the Zairean national team 2-1 in Kinshasa. The Black Stars had earlier drawn 2-2 in Accra. The Black Stars have now qualified for the finals to be played in Libya next year.

AUGUST 4

Sales of BSL Ship

"Lake Bosomtwe", one of few ships of the Black Star Line apparently sold, was reported taken away by the purchaser. The Union of the employees of the Black Star Line Corporation has criticised the sale as not being in the national interest.

AUGUST 4

Military Intelligence Versus Kojo Tsikata

The High Court presided over by Justice Roger Korsah has stated that while he is unable to grant an order for a perpetual injunction to restrain the Military Intelligence (MI) from mounting surveillance over the activities of Capt. Kojo Tsikata, he is satisfied that present operations constituted an unwarranted infringement

of the constitutional rights of Capt. Tsikata. The Court awarded costs against the Director and some personnel of the M.I.

AUGUST 5

Parliament Approves resubmitted Budget statement.

Parliament gave unanimous approval to a revised Budget Statement submitted by the Government following rejection of an earlier Budget Statement. The Minority Parties described the changes made in Revised Statement as "Cosmetic".

AUGUST 7

Rehabilitation of Locomotives

Personnel from the Rail India Technical and Economic Services Limited (RITERS) have succeeded in rehabilitating out of fifty locomotive engines that have been lying idle for some time now. Spare parts worth 42 million dollars were required to effect various other repairs, the management of the Railways Authority has said.

AUGUST 7

Fighting in Parliament

The Deputy Minister of Local Government and Co-operatives, Mr Yaw Frimpong, fought a member of the Cooperatives Union during a parliamentary investigation into complaints respecting allocation and distribution of flour by the Ministry.

AUGUST 10

Committee on Education

The Minister of Education Mr F. K. Buah, announced the appointment of a cabinet committee to study proposals to place all pre-university education under one authority, namely, the Ministry of Education. If the proposals are approved, the many agricultural institutes, nursing schools and the Ghana Institute of Journalism would begin to function under the Ministry of Education. The Minister said the proposals are aimed at reducing costs.

AUGUST 11

Investment Act Comes into Being

The President signed the Investment Code Bill into law at a ceremony attended by Ministers, MPs, Diplomats and Governor of the Bank of Ghana. The Act establishes an Investment Centre which will be responsible for the administration of its provisions. The Act confers a wide range of benefits in the nature of tax exemptions and other concessions like tax holiday in such priority areas as mining and agriculture.



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Editorial

1 OCT 1981

DISCRIMINATING AGAINST THE COCOA FARMER

A statement issued in the last week of August by the Press Secretary in the Office of the President asserted that the President was not against an increase in the producer price of cocoa. The statement had become necessary, apparently, because of an editorial "misrepresentation" by the **Daily Graphic** of the President's contribution at a political rally in Koforidua. Far from being against an increase in the producer price, the statement said the President only sought to explain that any increase in the producer-price would result in a corresponding increase in the price of fuel; and that those who sought to separate the two issues were "doing cheap politics".

If the President himself is not against an increase in the producer price, somebody in his Government must be; and that somebody must carry a lot of influence with the President. The fact is that the 1981 budget did not provide for an increase in the producer price of cocoa, although many thought that an increase was overdue. In the budget debate in Parliament, the Minority side pressed for an increase in vain. The Majority side, on the other hand, did its best to demonstrate that an increase was not in the overall national interest at this time. Subsequently, of course, the Minority side took the issue to town explaining on political platforms how the budget did not represent farmers' interests.

It is, of course, true that the 1981 budget offers nothing to cheer about, as far as incentives to cocoa farmers are concerned. The budget belongs to a long tradition of exploitation of the countryside for the benefit of the urban areas. It has almost come to be accepted that the rural community can do without water and electricity. On the other hand, water and electricity are only natural where the urban centres are concerned. Typically, therefore, there has to be advance warning and apologies for any curtailment of service, however temporary. And now we are told an increase in the producer price of cocoa, something to benefit the rural population, can be effected only if we are prepared for an increase in fuel price. But the link between cocoa and fuel is not a necessary one. In our view the link is suggested only for the purpose of frightening people away from pressing the matter. There are a whole lot of other things that could be given up in order to give the cocoa farmer a better price. For instance, we could cut down salaries and allowances of the President, as well as those of his Ministers and of his Deputy Ministers; there are too many Deputy Ministers, anyway. We could ask all MP's to make some sacrifice; and all public servants who own a means of transport could do without the vehicle maintenance allowance. We could require all who occupy Government bungalows to pay a little more. We could cut down on trips abroad and the size of official delegations on those overseas visits. At the going prices, restaurants in the country continue in business in a large measure because of official entertainment. We could cut down cocktails, official lunches and dinners. We could also do away with all subsidized meals in state corporations. There is indeed a lot of waste which should end,

cant increases. Also in the period there was only a 7% increase in manufacturing. However, there was great improvement in social services. The Ghana Government was at least reaching out to its people.

The Ivory Coast too had a development strategy. This was the Ten-Year Development Plan 1960-69 (10YP). The major objectives of the 10YP was, in the words of Miracle: "to achieve vertical and horizontal diversification of production through: (1) initiating or expanding industrial enterprises using locally available resources (backward linkages) and (2) diversifying agricultural exports by addition of new exports and expansion of existing mineral exports." In the case of the Ivory Coast what do the traditional indicators show? From 1958 to 1965 GDP increased 15% per annum, government revenue grew faster than GDP and saving as a proportion of total revenue grew from 28% to 34% between 1960 and 1965. Growth of the export sector was also very rapid. Between 1958 and 1968 value — added in manufacturing expanded at 20% per annum. A significant share of total investment was export oriented. Emphasis on the export sector sprang from the Ivorian realization that import substitution led to an even more acute form of reliance on the outside. To the Ivorians a completely self-reliant growth was not feasible for small nations at the beginning of modernization. In the words of Berg, again, the Ivory Coast exploited her dependence on other nations by insisting on: "preferences in Europe, aid flows, technical assistance on relatively good terms, private investment and the export market that often accompanies it."

Who Won?

Did the Ivory Coast grow without developing? If one were to use Reginald Green's criterion of dependence, which is percentage GDP involved in external trade or concentration of markets for exports and sources of imports, the Ivory Coast fell far behind Ghana. If education is regarded as a key factor, it could be said that the Houphouet government did not encourage development. The government made an attempt at keeping Ivorian students in the country by cutting down on scholarships abroad and establishing a University in Abidjan. However, not enough students were educated to replace foreign personnel in specialized jobs, and those who had adequate training were not hired. To quote Rake "The policy in the past has been to quite unashamedly employ foreigners as advisors and

in all jobs which need technical skill or expertise. Even now there is no intention of replacing a whiteman until an African can do the job equally well." Indeed the number of foreigners in the Ivory Coast since independence has increased several times over.

Who won the wager? Houphouet led his country to one of the highest growth rates in the world. Nkrumah's Ghana, on the other hand, witnessed a massive waste of resources, a continual balance of payments crisis, and by 1965 economic paralysis due to scarcities of imported inputs and a declining per capita income. Nkrumah's problems emanated from his efforts at meeting the needs of his people at once—he was unrealistic. By the end of the wager, Houphouet was in a position to meet the needs of his people. Indeed Houphouet is not the vociferous champion of the down-trodden humanity that Nkrumah was. But, in 1981, the Ivory Coast is in a strong position to meet the needs of the people. In the same year Ghana can hardly meet those needs. Ghana is faced with deteriorating education facilities without teachers, deteriorating hospitals without doctors, drugs and equipment, vehicles without spares, factories without raw materials, and roads with yawning potholes. Who then won the wager?

Politics

TOWARDS GHANA'S RESTORATION

By

Mawuse Dake

Jesus Christ of Nazareth in a characteristic philosophical mood, narrated a parable about an orchard farmer. According to the Bible, an orchard had become unproductive and bare. The orchard farmer, realizing that he was losing his means of livelihood, set to work immediately. He uprooted the unproductive plants, removed the weeds, tilled and overturned the soil. He replanted healthy plants and tended them carefully. In modern agricultural terminology, he might have applied a fertilizer or manure and watered the plants efficiently. The results of the farmer's measures and perseverance were phenomenal. There was a bumper harvest and he and his family celebrated.

In a less dramatic way, a Ghanaian musician composed a song in the 1960's during the rule of the NLC. Realizing that nothing much had

really changed in relation to the ship of state, to make the ordinary Ghanaian comfortable, the poor musician sang that only the crew had changed, and not the ship and its direction of sail. The song was promptly prohibited by the rulers, who recognized the dangers (to them) of Ghanaians realizing the significance of such a message.

The analogies of Christ's story on the neglected and desolate farm and the Ghanaian's song about the neglected and suspect vehicle, manned by unreliable crews, to the state of affairs of our Nation can be telling, when properly recognized by Ghanaians. Each calls for radical measures, in order to realize expected goals. The farmer could not have realized good results by merely uprooting unproductive and dying trees and replanting new ones, in an unturned soil. Similarly a suspect vehicle can only perform creditably after an overhaul and renovations, by people capable of those operations.

Analogous lessons can also be derived from operations relating to a dilapidated building. An owner of a dilapidated building receives constant complaints from tenants about water dripping from ceilings, soggy floors, rats and reptiles frequently emerging from holes in walls and floors. Each time he evicts the complaining tenants, accusing them of not looking after his house properly. He plasters and whitewashes the ceiling and walls and puts in new tenants. But each time, soon after, the complaints come. If he is wise, the landlord will thoroughly examine his building after three, four or five evictions and replacements, which have not changed relationship with his tenants. If he is serious, he will accept that his house needs a full restoration. The roof will have to come down, walls will have to be broken down and indeed, the decayed foundation has to be dug up. It is only then he can rebuild a new, healthy structure on a new foundation using new pillars and beams, in place of the old and crooked ones.

The state of Ghana is like an unproductive and desolate orchard, or a dilapidated vehicle or building. Its systems and constituent crooked structures have been discredited. They corrupt even the best intentioned farmer, driver or tenant. They render him incompetent, ineffective and irrelevant. We have, over the past fifteen years, been interested in uprooting and replanting trees without seeking to restore the unproductive soil to health. We have been changing drivers and crews, without seeking to overhaul the engine and renovate the vehicle. We dismiss and change tenants, but refuse to examine cri-

tically distorted state structures, with their crooked and bent beams.

In short, we have been wasting precious little time, to the detriment of our posterity. One has to examine the viability of alternatives in this light, using historical experiences as a guide.

Merger of Minority Parties

The current big talk is about the so-called merger of the five minority parties. The proponents of the merger have insisted that it would provide a formidable force against, and a viable alternative to, the incompetent and self-seeking PNP Administration. We have been told that the merger will rescue the Nation. However, we still have not been told **why** the proponents dominated by the same middle class interests as in the PNP, believe that they will perform more creditably within the same system. We are yet to hear **how** this will be done by a conglomeration of people with such diverse political thoughts. Has a political party ceased to be a grouping of people with similar political thoughts and practice? To date, the leaders of the parties concerned have concentrated on modalities for choosing the leader of the merged group. In other words, which new plant will go into the infertile, untilled soil or which driver will lead the crew in the dilapidated vehicle or which new tenant shall occupy the derelict building? Attempts are being made to disqualify a potential candidate, purely on emotional, if not, ethnic grounds. This even before programmes are agreed on, to enable determination of a most likely person to successfully oversee their implementation! Names of persons who have not demonstrated any public political inclinations or commitments are being brandished around, as if any plant or driver or tenant will do, provided he is not from this or that region.

Nevertheless, we cannot fail to recognize that the whole political scene is going through a positive and healthy evolution. There is a natural drifting and shifting, which should produce clearer equilibrium positions, more reflective of political thoughts and dispositions. In this regard one would tend to agree with A. Adu Boahen's urgings (*Legon Observer* Vol. XII No. 4), although one finds his CPP — UGCC argument an oversimplification. Except for the die-hards and the unprincipled the new sedimentation will cut across those lines.

The New Type Alternative

There are those, notwithstanding their previous CPP or UGCC-UP inclination, who wish to

address themselves to structural innovations. They wish to request Ghanaians to till and upturn the soil before planting new trees; to overhaul and renovate the vehicle, for the better and more creditable operation by a new crew; and to reconstruct a solid foundation and rebuild, using new pillars and beams, before installing new tenants. They are those who accept the painful truth that the whole or substantial parts of the derelict state structure need to be pulled down, in order to facilitate meaningful and effective reconstruction. They are not looking for an easy, convenient way to power. They believe that political power, which cannot be used to improve the lot of the deprived working classes and the rural folk, is as useless as the hypocrisy of those who wield such powers. Above all, they realize that the feasibility of their belief hinges on their credibility before the working classes and the poor. Like Rev. Father Visser, they know that it is absurd for the poor to look up to their oppressor for salvation.

Only one individual enjoys such a credibility today, generally and nationally — Jerry J. Rawlings! However, Rawlings, in spite of propaganda to the contrary, firmly believes that no one man, or group of men, has the right to pronounce formation of a political party into which he entices members or for which he buys support. Rawlings believes that people's political movements must spring up from the people through their voluntary people's committees. It is the only way political barons and their front men can be eliminated. Those who care will help promote such a development. Rawlings and those of us who share his populist views believe such will be the beginning of structural innovations in our Nation. It is the only approach which can lead us into a new democratic society, which recognizes the collective interest and demands but is anchored by the rule of law and respect for individual rights and freedoms.

We should look for a viable alternative to the present discredited system and not for alternatives within the system. We need revolutionary thoughts, ideals and deeds. Those who fear a peaceful revolution, create the conditions for violent upheavals. We can spare Ghana that agonizing day, by being realistic and determinedly principled now!

**READ THE
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Africa

GHANA-NIGERIA RELATIONS: A PERSONAL VIEW

By

Kwei Orraca-Tetteh

To start with imagine this situation: You are a proud, impressionable Nigerian youth studying in Europe in the days when, under the leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, Ghana eclipsed all other African countries. A typical, parochial European walks up to you and says: "I hear you are from Nigeria. That is the capital of Ghana, isn't it?" Now do not think this episode is fiction pure and simple. It is a featurized story yes but it is based on facts I came across while reading an article published in the *Daily Times*, the most respected newspaper in Nigeria. My purpose in starting with that episode is to dramatize the fact that there are many Nigerians who can recount exasperating indignities caused directly or indirectly by Ghana that they have had to put up with. This is not difficult to prove. Nigerians generally resentfully remember that the Black Stars used to toy with the Green Eagles, as did the Ghana Academicals with their Nigerian counterparts. Such is the force of that resentment that it is an enormous and colourful feather in a Nigerian footballer's cap to be, for example, described as a member of the Nigerian side that for the first time conquered the Ghana Academicals. I have read with considerable surprise and amusement such a description in some Nigerian newspapers. On the whole, such insults from "tiny" Ghana are not taken too much to heart.

The Ties and Similar Fortunes

Not so the expulsion of Nigerians from Ghana. To Nigerians, the matter was and still is inconceivable. Geographically, two countries, both francophone, lie between Ghana and Nigeria. But in a real historical and cultural sense Ghana is Nigeria's immediate neighbour to the West. Both are anglophone West African countries once ruled by the British. Significantly, one hundred years ago, a newspaper was published in Lagos called the *Lagos Times and Gold Coast Advertiser*. Sometime ago, thousands of Nigerians emigrated to Ghana and there was a great deal of cultural cross-fertilization between the two countries. For instance, Nigeria's pioneer novelist, Cyprian Ekwensi (an old boy of Achimota) known for his realism, evinces an understandable but remarkable obses-

sion with Ghana in his most important works. Here are some revealing quotes from his novels *Jagua Nana*, to use only that novel:

"Jagua knew the West Coast of Africa from Gambia to Lagos, with Ghana as kind of Parisian centre of fashion".

"The band was playing a hit tune from Ghana . . ."

Unabashedly, Ekwensi gives what Ghanaians called "Dumas Cloth" its Nigerian name and spells it so: Accra. (In popular parlance, Accra has been corrupted to Ankara). Then there is the interesting fact that all that a Yoruba middle-aged man or woman needs to do to extenuate an exhibition of youthful exuberance in terms of fashion, is to say: "Kosi arugbo Ghana." — "there are no old people in Ghana". (This is, of course, strikingly reminiscent of the town cry of hair dye sellers in Ghana. "Yoomo be Ga" — "There is no old woman in Accra.") Finally, I should like to mention here that I know a Nigerian head of department in the University of Ibadan who proudly says of himself, "I was born and bred in Ghana." He speaks fluent and unaccented Fanti to back up his claim.

To move on to a mystical level on which one can best explain what Nigerians, and Ghanaians too, believe: That the fortunes of Ghana and Nigeria are in an extraordinary and almost immutable way linked. Whatever happens in Nigeria, so the belief goes, will almost ineluctably be echoed in Ghana. And vice versa: I do not know when this fatalistic conception of similar events came into being but I know that it is founded on unimpeachable facts. For example, not long after the first coup d'état in Nigeria, Nkrumah (whom Nigerians revere) was overthrown in Ghana. Thereafter a palace coup ousted General Ankrah of Ghana (who tried to end the Nigerian Civil War) and later General (now Mister) Gowon of Nigeria. On different occasions military insurgents cut down Generals Kotoka and Murtala Mohammed of Ghana and Nigeria respectively. In both cases, the rebels did not succeed in capturing power. The military in Nigeria and Ghana introduced national service for graduating students of institutions of higher learning in 1973. The only difference is that the Nigerian military leaders announced their plans first and then their Ghanaian counterparts precipitously followed suit. But in the introduction of a mass revolutionary agricultural policy, the late General Acheampong stole a march on General Oba-

sanjo. Long after Acheampong had launched 'Operation Feed Yourself', Obasanjo (who interfered with Rawlings' policies) came out with 'Operation Feed the Nation.' Furthermore, and more recently Rawlings' coup came at a time Ghana and Nigeria were preparing to return to civilian rule in the same year. Instigated no doubt by the consciousness of the jinx that plagues and compels Ghana and Nigeria to ape each other in high political matters, the Nigerian press came down heavily on Rawlings horribly discrediting him in an undisguised attempt to forestall a disruptive replication of his coup in Nigeria. One influential Nigerian Columnist, Grapevine, daring fate, wrote 'We will have our October 1' (October 1 was the day Nigeria was scheduled to celebrate 19 years of independence and to revert to Civilian rule). It was therefore a tremendous relief for Nigerians that this time round fate passed them over. There was no coup d'état à la Rawlings in Nigeria that year. Instead, elections were held in Nigeria as in Ghana. But in both countries the elections threw up political parties which entered into alliances with minority parties in order to rule effectively. The alliances, it is interesting to observe, have both collapsed.

Vivid Memories of Busia.

Considering these eminently impressive facts, it is not surprising that the Aliens Compliance Order introduced by Busia (whom Nigerians abominate) shocked Nigerians. Ever so often, goaded by yet another offence perpetrated against them by any African country (the recent one being Cameroun) Nigerians in a ritualistic fashion, chronicle the injustices that have continually been heaped on them. They never, on such occasions, fail to mention Ghana. They never will, it seems, forget the painful uprooting of their people by Busia's Compliance Order. I have personally met a good number of Nigerians who vividly remember their days in Ghana. Some of them are my students and they still speak the Ghanaian languages they learnt in Ghana. Ojo (not his real name) was in form three in Government Secondary School, Tamale, when Busia ordered Nigerians and other aliens to leave Ghana. The first few years in the then pre-oil boom Nigeria were distressing, he told me. He discontinued his education and took up a job to earn enough money to enable him go back to school. He made an attempt to resume at his former Ghanaian school but by then things were not what they used to be. And he was sorry; sorry because in Nigeria he found the

standard of the school he eventually went to unimpressive. After many years he is now in his first year of a three-year tertiary education programme.

Another student of mine studying Mass Communication was born in Tanoso to a petty trader. When the order came, he told me, his father attended a meeting of Nigerians in the area. At this meeting, it was decided to hire vehicles to convey Nigerians there to the Ghana-Togo border. At the border, they joined thousands of fellow Nigerians on the beach which was their home for as long as it took them to get evacuated. Some of them—the old ones especially—died. When the family of my student arrived in Nigeria (which until then, he knew only by name) he and his brother were given out to relatives. His father after eking out a living in various ways, settled down as a cocoa farmer. Ironically, my student's brother, now a civil servant in Oyo State, housed and fed a distant relation of Busia for three months until he, Busia's relation, got a job in Abeokuta, Ogun State, my student said.

Touching Spirit of Charity

It may sound strange, but it is the Nigerians who were sent out of Ghana who demonstrate the most touching spirit of charity and fraternity towards Ghanaians. By way of partial illustration, I wish to recall the following incident. My wife, has but a smattering of Yoruba, a major language. One day while haggling in the market Naa came to the end of her Yoruba tether. The seller, loath to let go a likely 'sucker', tactically asked Naa to resort to her (Naa's Bendel language. Bendel is a state in Nigeria, and clearly the seller had mistaken Naa for a Bendelite, because of her light complexion. (It is astonishing, the impression Nigerians have of Ghanaians. They think all Ghanaians are coal black. No wonder. A high proportion of Ghanaians in Nigeria are well, black—and proud). Naa was obliged to correct the erroneous assumption of her provenance. "What are you then?" demanded the seller. "A Ghanaian", Naa answered. Suddenly from the next stall rushed a man fairly advanced in years. He infolded Naa and held her to his heart. "My daughter O, My daughter O" he burst out in Twi. Having released that exuberant outburst of sentiment, the man proceeded to explain to all and sundry in the vicinity that for thirty-two years he lived in Ghana and found the experience delightful and unforgettable. He faithfully described conditions in the Ghana he knew. To cap it all, he swore he would be among the first Nigerians to return to Ghana if the situation

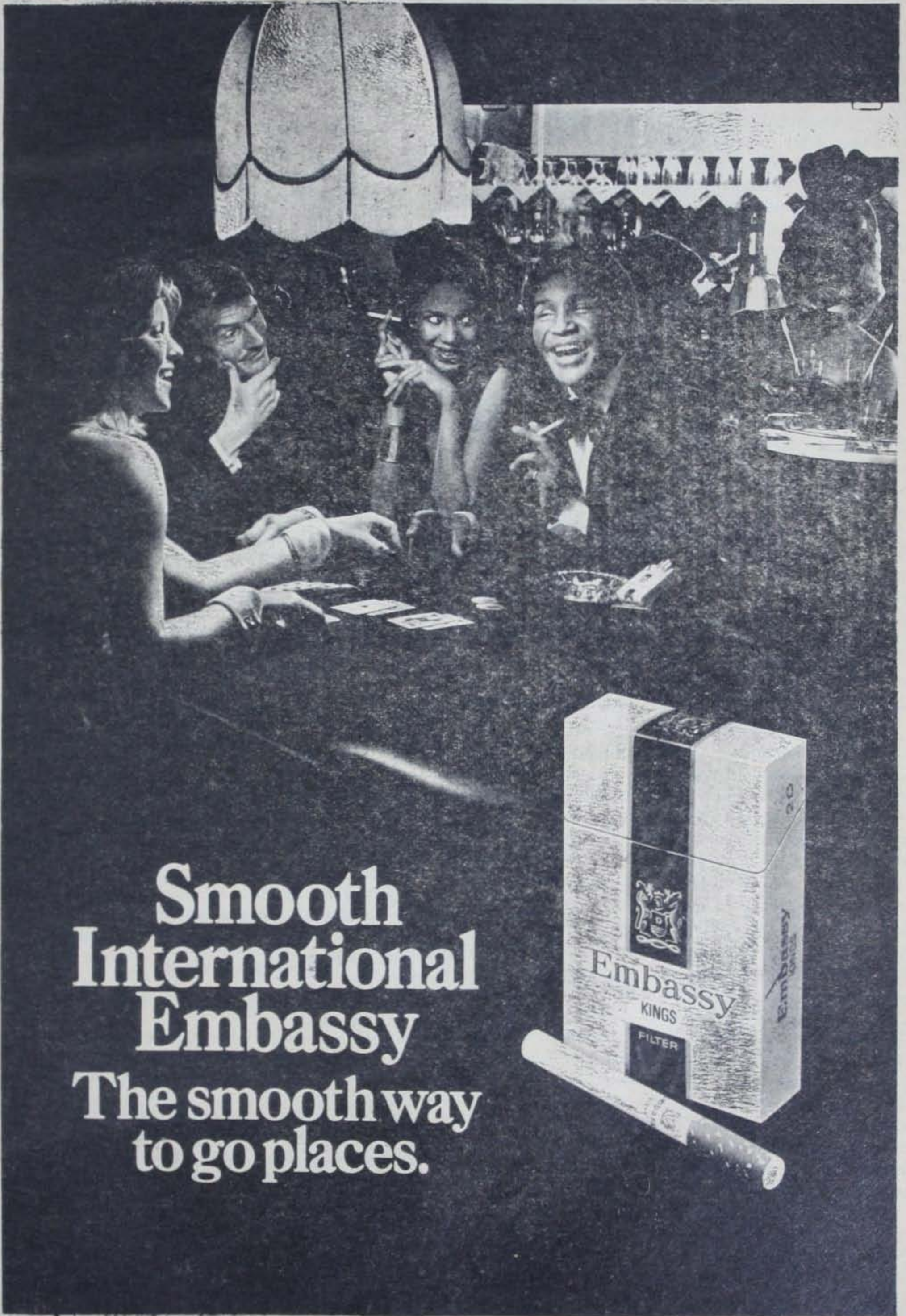
improved.

This episode contrasts somewhat sharply with another to which I was a witness. I happened to be in the staff common room of a secondary school when a young female student walked in. She moved toward a female Nigerian teacher. This teacher introduced the student to the Ghanaian Staff (four of them, all university graduates) as 'formerly living in Ghana'. Genuinely pleased, the Ghanaian teachers engaged the delighted but coy girl in a lively conversation. Another female teacher, a Nigeria, could not, it seemed, but see the Ghanaians as hypocritical. Her bile rapidly bubbled to the surface and burst. She shrieked:

'She is one of those Nigerians you people sacked from Ghana. I say she is one of those Nigerians who property and children by Ghanaian women you lot seized. And now you have shamelessly come to Nigeria'.

Such hostility while understandable was intolerable. Like one man the Ghanaians leapt to the defence of Busia although their hearts were not totally in the task. (There is something indefensible in Busia's action). Not to be overborne, the Nigerian staff countered. They accused Ghanaians of maltreating Nigerians. They mentioned an alleged stoning of their national football team (widely reported by the Nigerian press) during the Africa Cup of Nations matches in Ghana. No side really prevailed. But it is gratifying to note that the father of the girl arrived in the school shortly after the clash and from his demeanour and utterances he was patently pleased to meet the Ghanaian teachers, on being introduced to them. For him, it was, at least, a chance to exercise his heavily accented Twi. He is a fine example of those I call Ghanaian Nigerians.

But in a few years' time there will be Nigerian Ghanaians. Already, there are thousands of Ghanaians in Nigeria. Many will stay for a long time, marry, have children and educate them in Nigeria. The children will most certainly pick up Nigerian languages and mannerisms. (My children speak Yoruba and in some ways affect the mannerisms of the Yorubas). At present, I know some Ghanaians who have married Nigerians. Also, I know some Ghanaians who have bought cars in Nigeria and now drive in the competent but harum-scarum manner common in Nigeria. Most of the Ghanaians here hope to return to Ghana someday soon. Who knows, they might be hurried home by a retaliatory Aliens Compliance Order. No matter when or how they return to Ghana, the Ghanaians in Nigeria will return a different group of people—Nigeria Ghanaians. It is just a matter of time.



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Letters

The Teacher's Reward

SIR— It is in the Great Hall of the Accra Academy. The day was a Monday, the 20th day of July, 1981. The occasion is the Golden Jubilee Durbar. The greatest personality of the august assembly is the surviving co-founder and former headmaster of the school, Dr. Kofi George Konuah.

And what a day of joy and satisfaction for the 'tutor' of the alumni. On the dais are these groups of people. First, the former tutors of the school— the Sackeys, Quaos, Martinsons, Armahs and the Koranteng-Addows, whose labours in the past are now being rewarded with gifts today. Behind them are current tutors. In the forefront sit the Members of the Board of Governors, headed by their chairman, E. J. C. Quaye (himself an old boy). The two strangers are Paa Willie, Member of the Council of State, bred at Achimota, and the Honourable F. K. Buah, the Minister of Education who stood in for the Head of State.

K. G. Konuah sits conspicuously in the front row, still handsome, dressed in gorgeous kente with a graceful chiefly headgear, and surrounded by his boys who are now the key men of the Ghanaian society. Boys, who half a century ago were kids with no greatness printed on their faces; boys who never expected to be greater than their tutors. I mean boys who have grown prominent like F. K. Apaloo, current C. J. of Ghana and chairman for the occasion; S. Azu Crabbe, former C.J. who with Paul Tagoe, former deputy minister, installed K.G. as 'Nii Accra Academy.' Boys such as Mills-Odoi, Judge Advocate-General of the Ghana Army, who gave the Jubilee Oration. Boys like Harry Sawyerr and boys like J. K. Okine, the current headmaster, and Dr. Orraca-Tetteh of the University of Ghana and chairman of the Golden Jubilee Speech Day Committee.

In a short speech 'Nii Accra Academy, expressed his appreciation and gratitude to his students for the honour done him. K. G. struck a solemn note when he said that he held 'brief' for the quick and the dead who helped found the school. The Roll of Honour covers S. N. Awuletey (1905-1980), J. A. Halm-Addo (1902-1979), G. N. Alema (1902-1973); and the foundation student and second headmaster, A. K. Konuah; the late M. F. Dei-Annang and the affable fathers to form the formidable 'Big Six Educators' of Accra Academy.

Let those teachers who hold the view that teaching is only a sacrificial and thankless job and teachers who to Agege would fly unmindful of the present Ghanaian youth to train, learn, from the pioneers of Accra Academy that their students future greatness and contribution to the welfare of society are far more rewarding than large quantities of cedis being collected by the 'kalabules' now. For what is a greater recompense than that Plato tutored Aristotle and that K. G. tutored Apaloo!

May I end by borrowing the immortal words of Bannerman-Williams, an old boy, composed for the Jubilee and sung to the tune of "O God our help in ages past. . ."

"From humble growth this school of ours,
A pride of place has won,
Of children great in every clime.
Of Ghana's great domain.
O Lord, to thee we dedicate
Accra Academy;
Esse Quam Videri, we may say,
And Bleoo, Accra Acaa."

P. O. Box 3997
Accra.

E. A. Osew

Students and National Service

SIR—I have just read the **Graphic** editorial of August 3, about the National Service Scheme for Students, and how it began when NUGS, who are supposed to represent the interests of students, did the opposite by encouraging Acheamong to exploit, not only them, but other students after them, which was most unfair.

Notwithstanding that the students, instead of building bridges in the rural areas, are hanging around the Ministries, window-shopping in Accra, or moonlighting, the editorial rightly deplores this, and then says that they should really be building bridges in the rural areas. This I suggest, would be an even worse waste of time except for anybody who had graduated in bridge-building than window-shopping in Accra, for window-shoppers in Accra could at least find their way to the Library.

Now that Acheamong has been executed, there is no need to continue the scheme unless we can find some other reason for doing it. Young graduates ought to be doing serious research on their subjects (which may involve going abroad), or teaching or running libraries, or writing books, or painting pictures, or going into the Church or the radio. Whether these activities are called National Service and paid for by the Government, or called something else and paid for by some employer, does not matter as long as the graduates have a chance of doing them, and also of starting a home and family.

P. O. Box 6828
Accra.

Daphne Hereward

The Kpong Power

SIR—At the beginning of the current year, there was much talk about the Kpong Project. Even a very authoritative source once hinted that Kpong Power would be ready by July 1981 if only my memory serves me right.

May those of us who are still alive in September 1981 know what has become of that promise? Or should that pronouncement be taken as one of those political promises which cannot be fulfilled? For goodness sake, September should not pass us by without Kpong Power or a possible reappraisal of the situation.

Faculty of Engineering
U.S.T., Kumasi

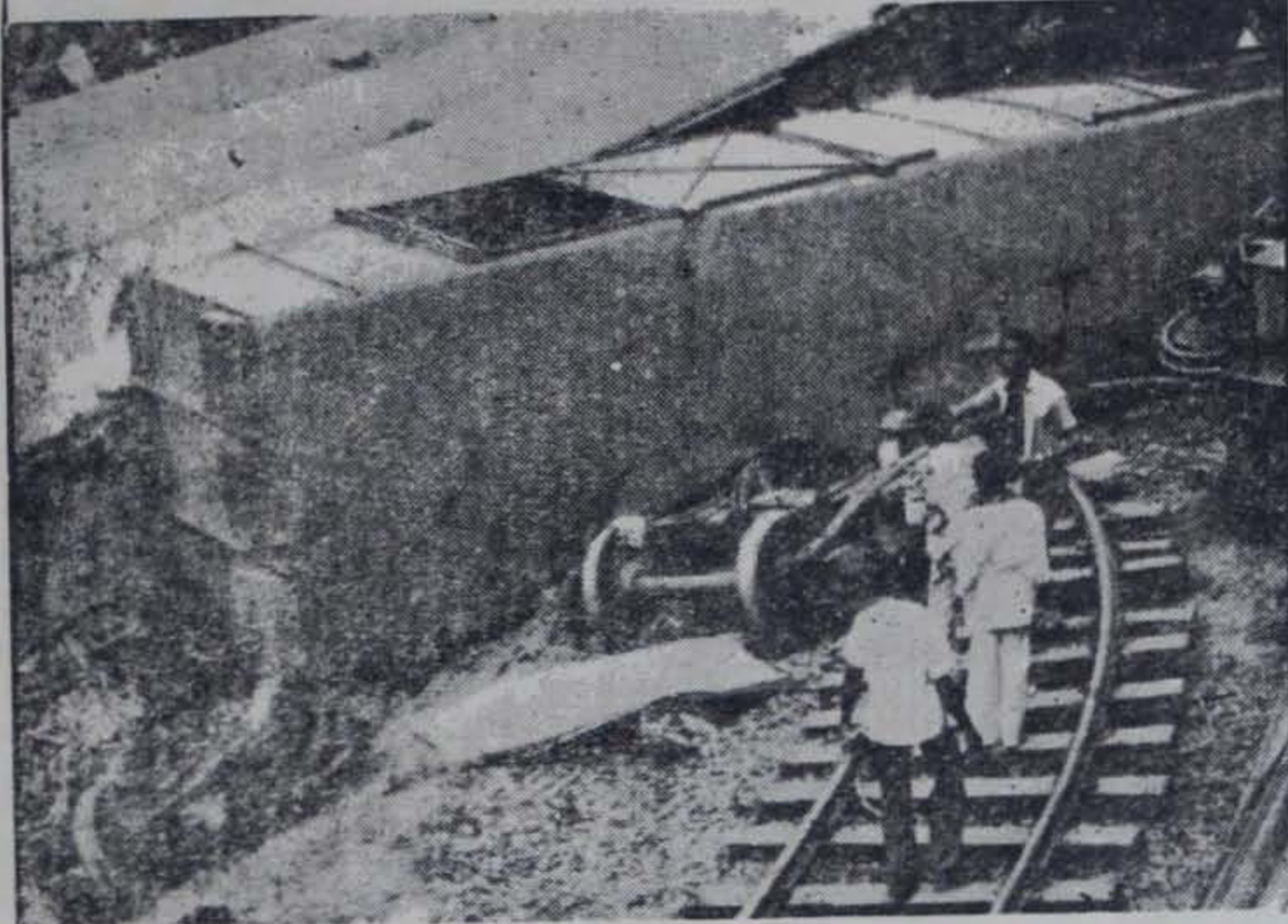
John Amoah Jacoboba

The President and the Electoral Commissioner

SIR— Of late some editors have devoted their editorials to criticising the Electoral Commissioner and advocating his resignation. Their reason? The Electoral Commissioner has abused his office by alleging that a political party is subverting the registration exercise and in spite of countless calls on him to name the party concerned, he has not been able to do so. And this, in the opinion of the critics, is serious enough to warrant his resignation.

For goodness sake I hope these critics have not forgotten an allegation by the President at a rally in the Okaikwei constituency that some members of the minority parties have gone abroad to dissuade would-be investors from coming

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to invest in our mineral resources. This the President failed to substantiate. And why have these critics failed to advocate his resignation 'for abuse of office? Do they want us to believe that the President's allegation was not as serious as the Electoral Commissioner's? Both allegations are equally serious, and if the Electoral Commissioner must resign, then the President must go! For as without law there is no sin, so without eyes there is no indecorum.

Psychiatric Hospital
Accra.

Ellis Otis Osei

Rejection of the Budget

SIR—Permit me to comment on just one matter dealt with by Prof. Folson, in his article 'The Implications of the Rejection of the Budget' published in the 14th-28th August issue of the *Legon Observer* (L.O. Vol. XIII, No. 9).

The point is that Prof. Folson seemed to have been blaming the absence of the Minister of Finance and Economic Planning from Parliament (and indeed the country) during the debate on this year's Budget Proposals on the presidential system. This view is, in my humble opinion, too charitable to the Minister and unsupported by the constitutional document. It should therefore not pass without comment.

Perhaps, we should start with Article 92 of the Constitution. It reads:

"Subject to the provisions of article 87 of this Constitution, a Minister of State may, with the permission of the Speaker and at the request of the President, or the Speaker, or twenty or more members of Parliament, take part without a vote in the deliberations of Parliament or a committee thereof in order—

- (a) to give an account of any matter falling within his portfolio; or
- (d) to explain any aspect of Government policy; or
- (c) to introduce a bill.

It is my humble submission that under article 92(a) or (b) the Minister (any Minister) had ample opportunity to participate in the debate on the Budget. That he did not is a reflection not on the presidential system but rather an indication of lack of seriousness, bordering on irresponsibility, on the part of the Minister and Prof. Folson should have said so.

By all accounts the preparation, presentation and defence of this year's Budget Proposals were badly done. It will do our poor country no good to write apologies for the key man involved in this exercise.

Faculty of Law
Legon.

Kofi Kumado.

Independence Celebration For What?

SIR—Whenever one picks up papers like the *Legon Observer*, *West Africa* or *Africa* these days, there is hardly an edition that has nothing to say about the crumbling institutions of this sinking nation. It is extremely distressing to read the persistent reports about the chaotic economic situation, the ineffectual parliament, a government without vision or direction, educational institutions without books, equipment and teachers, the whole health system on the brink of collapse, industries gradually grinding to a halt,

the scandalous state of the roads, the general decline in prosperity, the virtual disappearance of decent values, and numerous other unpleasant facts and realities in the present situation in Ghana.

Now, if one takes a sober and mature look at this situation, one finds it difficult to see what cause we have, and what sense it makes, to plan a silver jubilee celebrations with the cost running into hundreds of millions of cedis. The whole idea is, to me, grotesque in the extreme.

As far as I am concerned we have been a failure as a people since independence; independence has brought us nothing but misery, increased corruption; daylight robbery and plunder with impunity of our resources by the rich, "powerful", and well-connected; deterioration of once awesome institutions; a general decline in the quality of our lives, and at present, a prevailing atmosphere of cynicism and distrust. This is, of course, not to suggest that we should renounce our independence and reassume colonial status; far from that!

I, however, wish to propose that March 6 1982 be observed as a national day of reflection and sober stock-taking, a day to reflect on the woes and tribulations of the last 25 years, nay, a day to face the unpalatable truth that the period spanning Independence and silver jubilee has been a RESOUNDING failure, that we have ABSOLUTELY nothing to celebrate for, and finally that we would only be making a laughing-stock of ourselves, trying to pretend the contrary.

Willem de Zwijgerstraat 493
5923 EV Venlo, Holland

Akwasi Amoo-Atta

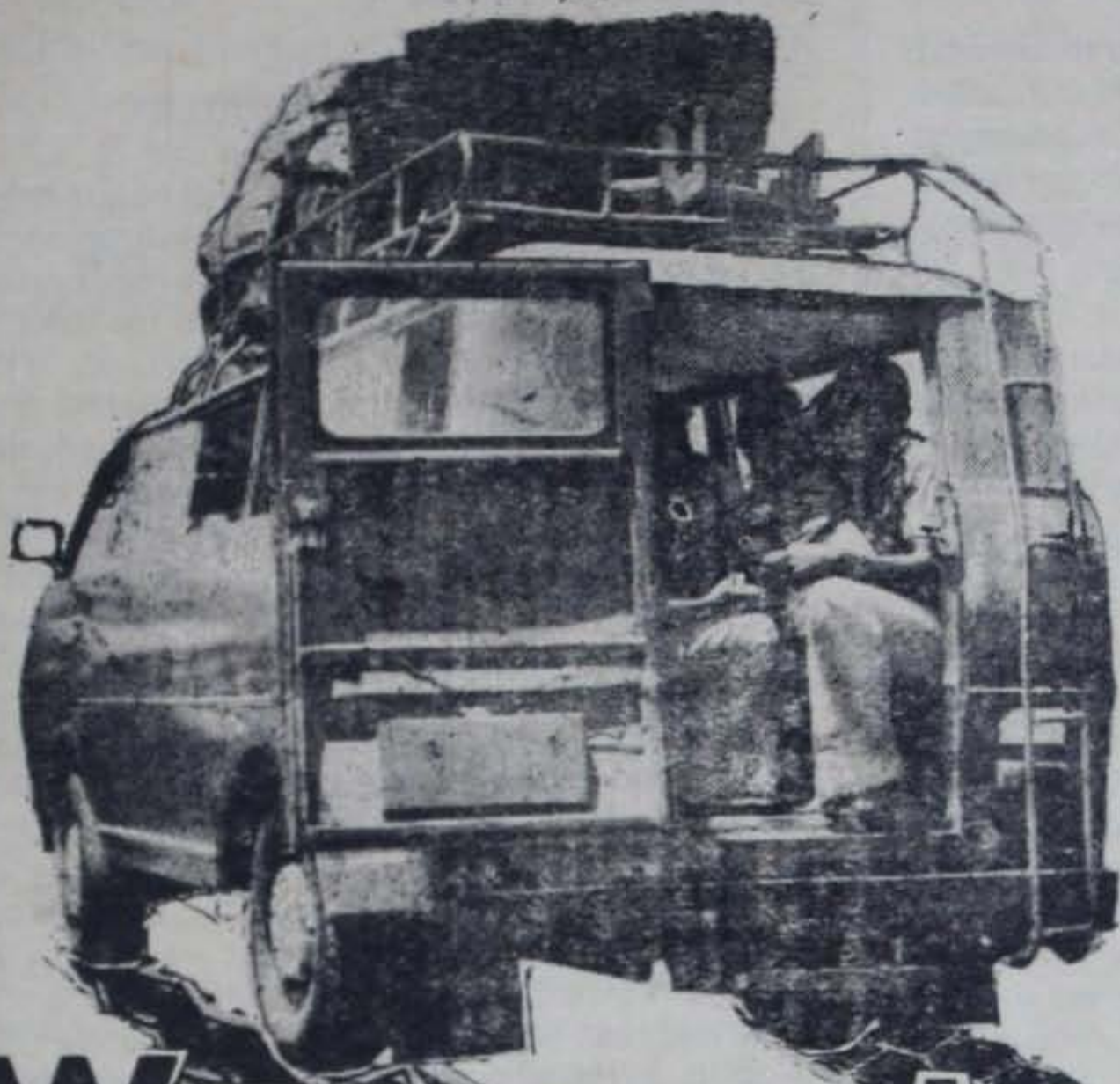
The Gambia-Senegal Military Treaty Africa's Embryonic Warsaw Pact

SIR—Sir David Jawara, the President of The Gambia, back in power with the assistance of Senegalese troops who brutally crushed insurgents of his country's para-military force who, following the usual pattern on the African Continent, tried to oust him whilst he was away in London sumptuously dining at a Royal Wedding. He must by now be a happy man. Unfortunately, it is hardly a feat of which any self-respecting ruler can be proud and expect genuine congratulations.

Without going into the merits and demerits of military coups d'etat in general, can the military intervention by Senegal be really justified? Senegal claims that in sending her troops to put down the uprising she acted in accordance with a military treaty between her and The Gambia and furthermore for her own security.

None of these grounds is valid or convincing. Geographically, Senegal shares common boundaries with The Gambia but what the insurgents were doing was within the territory of The Gambia and not in Senegal. It is possible the refugees from The Gambia might try to cross over into Senegal. But in such circumstances the normal rule is for a State, in such a position as Senegal, to close its borders or to police them. It is not legitimate for her to intervene militarily in the other state where the restlessness is going on. To accept this new doctrine would lead to catastrophic results on the African continent where the violent overthrow of life-presidents by their compatriots is the order of the day.

The aim of military treaties of co-operation between or among nations is to come to the aid of any of the parties signatory to the treaty in cases of external aggression by other nations. It is never meant as a tool to intervene in the domestic affairs of a member state so as to help keep



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in power rulers whether popular, who stand the threat of being removed from power.

It may happen that the method being used for the removal is unconstitutional but that is not the business of any outside power. The citizens and the municipal laws of the troubled State should be left to take care of that. It is in this regard that the claim by Senegal that she has acted in accordance with a treaty of co-operation between Senegal and the Gambia is untenable.

However, if the treaty between the two countries did in fact provide for intervention in the event of internal revolt in either state as claimed by Senegal then may God Help us. The treaty between the Gambia and Senegal is then, essentially, a Warsaw Pact and The Gambia being the weaker of the two parties admirably poses its candidature to becoming a satellite state of Senegal. It was in the name of the Warsaw Pact of solidarity that Alexander Dubcek's attempt at giving socialism a human face in Czechoslovakia was crushed by big brother Moscow and her "allies" in 1968 just as they are now uneasy about what is going on now in Poland. The rest of Africa should take a cue from The Gambia-Senegal Treaty Affair for, as Edmund Burke reflected on the French Revolution, "whenever our neighbour's house is on fire, it cannot be amiss for the engines to play a little on our own. Better to be despised for too anxious apprehensions, than ruined by too confident a security".

P. O.Bpx 1778
Accra.

K. A. Awadzie

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Notebook

THE SILVER JUBILEE

Our editorial in Vol. XIII No. 5 commented on recommendations submitted to Government by a Technical Committee which was appointed to advise on the form of celebration for the Silver Jubilee anniversary of our independence. We ventured to suggest that the sum proposed for the celebration, €120 million, could be more profitably spent. Others have volunteered many comments on the subject since that editorial appeared. And Government itself has recently declared that only €10 million, not €120 million, is to be spent on the celebrations.

We would like to think that the Government's decision was in recognition of the views that we and others expressed on the subject, but we are not particularly overjoyed. The reason is that we know from the Government statement that €5.10 million of the amount envisaged for the celebration is to be in foreign exchange. But we do not know on what that amount is to be spent. We are told, however, that we should expect some foreign heads, of state. Is the idea of importing new cars for their benefit still entertained? If not, is it because we already have in the country vehicles that befit the status of such august personages? And need we to go to all that trouble?

There are indeed people in the country who believe that it is important to ensure that the elite of our society should have the opportunity to hobnob with foreign dignitaries on the occasion of a Silver Jubilee. We would counsel the President not to give in too often to the frivolities that emanate from such minds. It is time for us to wake up and realize that the Ghana of today is not about to emerge into nationhood with two hundred million pounds waiting to be spent. That money and more have long been squandered. It is therefore imperative that our leaders learn to guide and redirect our people to earn their keep. Gimmicks and clever tricks to come by the goods things in life on the cheap, even if these are shrouded in pompous titles like Silver Jubilees, cannot do anybody any good!

Opinion

GENERALLY SPEAKING

By

Ebow Daniel

The piece I set out to do about generals did not get beyond the title, above, because the tribe was virtually extinct (June 4!) before I could proceed any further, and I needed to interview representatives. I have since learnt that there should not have been any representatives of the tribe in the first place, seeing how small our fighting force is. The Roman historian, Herodotus must have had Ghanaians in mind when

he wrote that something new was always turning up in Africa.

Clearing the national stables after the generals have left the scene is an enormous task, but newsmen tend to exaggerate the matter. "Enormity" has nothing to do with it; for whatever is involved in rebuilding a fallen state, the business is certainly not as grisly as the killing of the Indian couple reported from Asylum Down in Accra the other day. The enormity or the heinousness of that killing amply merited the stiffest punishment and we are happy the courts so concurred. Suffocating to death any number of Ghanaian residents in Abidjan is an enormity which the Ivorians do not seem to appreciate. Only sixteen died, which compared to our count of forty is not an enormously frightening figure, they seem to say. What a shame, enormous!

The temptation to pounce on "enormity", because it looks so plausible, when looking for a noun for 'enormous', is very real, indeed, but we must learn to restrain ourselves. After all that which is visible or within reach is not necessarily available. Were it not so, which of us would not be working in the banks? Yet "enormous", and 'enormity' do have something in common, similarity in sound, for instance; and if one is undoubtedly big, the other has a bigness of its own too, but since the latter is, after all, a rare currency, prudence counsels keeping it in the vaults until there is a real need, such as when confronted with the ghastly or the shockingly criminal.

All this is not to say, however, that we do not appreciate the contribution of our newsmen to the development of a colonial heritage. In the First Republic contributions were priceless and the press was at its imaginative and original best when angry. A prominent public servant discovered to his consternation that he was a t s e - t s e - fly-foreheaded individual; another learnt that he was a "Tsombe-faced-nin-compoop" and a "Catholic slave" as well. In both cases effective use of language ended the public career of the public servants concerned.

In 1961 we thought the budget of that year was unbearable. Duty on various consumables shot up. For beer we were to pay the equivalent of thirty-six pesewas a pint. And who did not howl? The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Trade came on the radio to share with us his thoughts on how we could live within the constraints of the budget, which was very nice of him. We were to dispense with various items of

sugar being one. As far as he was concerned, porridge could be taken without sugar, and inexpensive honey was a good enough sweetener, if porridge must be sweetened. He was halted in his tracks by a devastating editorial before he could lead us to the honey; the concluding words of that editorial were especially poignant: "Come on sugar the kooko!"

Editorials

There have been editorials which comprised no more than a picture, hung upside down. Those pictorials often spoke more eloquently than the wordy. It was frequently the case that after many such treatment by the press, the victim was taken away in a "Go-Inside", to that place where, in the inventive editorial language of the day "political rats" were specially housed after they had been "smoked out".

Originality is not much the case these days. The press was lately full of the "New Deal" and "the First 100 Days" of the Limann Administration; yet we are not told the exact parallels in our current history with those significant efforts of Franklin D. Roosevelt's in the early part of the present century to roll back, as it were, the Depression and to inject a new spirit of confidence in the American economy. In any case, don't we know how to tell a story, and a local story at that, in our own words any more?

The front-page of one of the dailies informed us sometime last year that there was going to be a meeting of "Leaders of Political Thought". Many who rushed to the venue of the meeting expecting to see Hobbes, Rousseau, Locke Montesquieu and others of the tribe or at least their direct descendants waited in vain. They were not necessarily gullible, those individuals. In a year which saw convergence in the country of the Pope, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Supreme Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement, what reason was there to disbelieve a front-page promise of another historic meeting? There was a meeting of the leaders of the registered political parties, though, which was some consolation. Five of those political parties have since merged. It is extremely doubtful, however, that they became 'merger-parties' thereby. Couples may marry, but they do not become "marriage couples". Like married couples we expect the merged parties to co-operate in all endeavours. It will serve them well to contest the next elections with their combined efforts. We should hesitate recommending their contesting any elec-

It would seem that until the cinema introduced us to Red Indian folklore, we did not know how to report efforts at reconciliation of parties that are quarrelling. That should explain why all the newspapers reported in the month of June that Parliament including its Speaker on one hand, and the Minister of Transport and Communication on the other, had been persuaded by "Veep" to "smoke the peace-pipe". Some of us have since wondered, what happened to the issues at the centre of the quarrel, allegation and counter allegation of graft. Cremated, that's what!

Editorial vocabulary seems to be especially limited when it comes to conferences. First of all "conference" is not considered trendy enough; that leaves "confabulation"; the abbreviation is better still, 'confab'! If it is heads of states attending the "confab", then, as far as newsmen are concerned, such exalted personages cannot possibly congregate, merely to talk; to "hold talks" is more like it. And such talks are best held on "summits"; which probably explains why this year's 'confab' of heads of state of the O.A.U. had to be held at Nairobi — to be near Kilimanjaro!

Nothing seems to have gone well since bureaucrats got hold of "inputs". The two-year agricultural programme launched by the Limann Administration in 1979 failed to take off because we were too preoccupied with "inputs". In the event, when they should have been planting, some farmers sat waiting for 'inputs', which they imagine to be some magic facilitator. The "inputs" turned out to be ordinary cutlasses, of the wrong sort even, and they arrived when the planting season was over.

Fancy jargon is capable of raising false hopes. It also enables bureaucrats to conceal hopeless failures. Why is an estate house which is fully paid for unfinished? Lack of inputs. When you come to examine the matter closely, material is not lacking; conspicuously absent, however, is the human will to run after the carpenter or plumber to do his duty without demanding 'incentives'. We wouldn't have thought the press would take sides with the bureaucracy in the favourite game of "throwing 'inputs' into the eyes of the public".

Somebody suggested we throw pepper into the eyes of them that made a red-letter day of June 4! Little does he know that pepper is an expensive 'input' these days. Molestation of fellow-citizens is not sound advice, anyway, but we were talking about 'inputs'. The press should help us to bury the word. And before it gets into

editorials there is another fancy expression going the rounds which, like "inputs", deserves burial, "no two-ways about it!"

National Character

When we are unable to fight generals it is normal in this country to blame our inability on editors. It is to be expected therefore that an abortive general exposition should so far have focused almost exclusively on editors and editorials. Admittedly editors have a nasty habit of sticking through thick and thin with not only generals but whoever happens to be in power, but the behaviour of editors is after all, only a reflection of the national character. If editorials are often linguistically striking, it is because we ourselves are capable of refreshingly striking speech. Concerning accidents, for instance. The other day we went to a party organised by a gentleman who was celebrating his escape from a "fatal" accident. Englishmen do not survive "fatal" accidents, but being a Ghanaian often helps:

Guest: Congratulations. I did not know you had an accident.

Host: You didn't? It was a very fatal accident. You should have seen the state of the car afterwards . . .

Guest: Did anybody die?

Host: Thank God, nobody died. Only the driver had a cut on the forehead.

Several at the party would not drink anything except "minerals". Now 'minerals' would take some "figuring out", as they say in America, but we know what. Some devotees of 'minerals' at the party indicated that they preferred Coca-Cola than Fanta. "Prefer than" is, of course, home-grown and the national preference for the home-grown should be understood. After all the Queen of England prefers potatoes to yams only because potato, like "prefer to", is home-grown. As it turns out we are not the only people who have national preferences. When he is visiting, the Englishman does not care much for prepositions; the contrary is the case where Americans are concerned: they "visit with you". And anybody who has had the opportunity to "visit with America" would readily confirm how hospitable they are in that country, doors opened with sincere smiles: "Come on in", one preposition too many, right? Ride-on!

The family car was not available to take us to our hotel after "visiting with" one American family, because the car had been sent to the garage to be specially fitted to withstand the cold and snow of the coming Winter. The car was being 'winterised', so we learnt. You would ex-

pect that for Summer, the car would be summarised, wrong! A car that has undergone winterisation can only be "dewinterised".!

Beverage more potent than "minerals" was the case when the Professor "outdoored" his latest female acquisition that other time. The marriage had taken place abroad, but madam had been in-doors since coming home, feeling not too well. It was time she was introduced to the public and the invitation did refer to the coming event as an "out-dooring". When a few months later it was discovered that madam had returned to her parents, as many before her had done, friends concluded that "ex-dooring" was the case. You might say the couple, namely, the professor and madam had "decoupled", an ugly word which lately has become popular in some quarters, regrettably!

A Ghanaian delegate to a recent West African Conference (sorry 'confab') of University people said he was "British-speaking" in answer to the question whether he spoke French. It had to be a slip of tongue, obviously; and being Ghanaian-speaking first, we should sympathise with second-language lapses. Even the Nigerian-speaking and Liberian-speaking delegates were sympathetic seeing that, for them also, "British" is a second language. The Togolese-speaking delegates who arrived late were interpreted to say their progress to the meeting had been impeded by our "pot-holes which are full of roads". We tried to laugh it off as another slip, but laughter, like that regicide's "Amen, stuck in my throat". No laughing matter: "pot-holes full of roads" is our lot, alas!

Before too long friends began to miss the 'Tsombe-faced-nincompoop'. Several who went to his house returned to report that they succeeded only in "meeting his absence", and the latter not being a butler, of course, could not give any information. That was before some party functionary was heard to remark that the man had been taken away. Where? Nsawam. Why? He had to be taught a lesson because he was too **huhuudious**. **Huhuudious**? Yes, **huhuudious**, reiterated the party stalwart, adding that the man was 'too something', which was enlightening, somewhat.

The other day the Electoral Commissioner's Assistant would not allow some students to put their names on the Voters' Register, because he considered them to be aliens. But surely Gas, and these were Gas, are not aliens just because a university professor says so; and as it turns out the professor was merely attempting a "wise-

dents' response to question established them as aliens, unmistakably:

Question: What do you do?

Answer: We study.

Question: Are you students, then?

Answer: Yes, we are English students.

It is a pity we have had to apologise for the Nima wisecrack. We had a point, after all, about all of us being alien migrants. And it does not admit of dispute, least of all by the Electoral Commissioner or that other academic, the premier professor of African history. The Garden of Eden was the original home, if we still remember our Sunday-school lessons. And as President of the Association of Methodist Church Choirs, the Electoral Commissioner should be familiar with the stanza in the Methodist hymnal which is rather insistent on the point: "We are strangers here; heaven is our home".

To return to the students, one of them protesting vigorously that he had anything to do with English said he was only an agricultural (sic) student, which set us wondering, those of us who study myths, otherwise known as history: Are we mythical students? Or are we, perhaps, only historical students? Those who study Science could only be Scientific students, of course. And everything considered, it is better to be a legal student than an illegal student. University students know this too well seeing how anxious they are to get into the Faculty of Law!

Each his own Flavour

When speech gets to be arresting, going to school often helps but the school atmosphere is capable, as we have seen, of lending more colour than might have been bargained for. Come to think of it, where do generals train? Not in universities surely, and we must be grateful for that, for speech is colourful enough already, generally speaking. But wherever we learn to do

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EDITOR —

whatever, we must anticipate the possibility of having to explain our personal conduct in a general broadcast: **Like I said.....even our little amenities... and the national economy...have been collapsed** by the politicians....." **No-o-nor**, they would say in Fanteland along with a not-too-vigorous shake of the head to register protest.

While we are about general broadcasts we cannot help recall that the inspiration for the ordeal that other time in the sixties came from Churchill: **We shall fight on the beaches . . . et cetera, et cetera.** When barely a year later an insurrection presented opportunity for living up to earlier heroics the "broadcaster" jumped into the sea, first hauling himself up his embattled fortress.

Gong hop, hop, hop;
So we cried "valiant general
Will you stop, stop, stop?"
We were going to the beach
To say "how do you feel?" (after the jump!)
But he shook his massive torso
And away he swam.

It was left to the women and children of Osu to deal with the insurrection. As it turned out they did not need to do more than hoot, that merely, and it evaporated.

Acquatic activities of as general a character as was reported that other time tend to erode confidence where it is needed most. Why should we spend money, generally, we are tempted to ask, when we are assured of a cost-free alternative by the hymnist, a defence treaty, not with Senegal or Libya but with the Deity:

Beneath the shadow of thy throne
Thy saints have dwelt secure
Sufficient is thine arm alone
And our defence is sure.

But generals are not to be ignored altogether. Appropriately therefore, a trade school which shall be nameless begins the day with general 'doings', Left, Right, Left, Right Halt! It's all very well of course, *mens sana in corpore sano* and all that. The curriculum also features languages music, literature and the like, which is not a bad idea considering that some of the products might find themselves in executive positions and "breadth" is often useful in those circumstances. But grace in Latin even at sessions of the parent-teacher association, is overdoing it, surely. Being himself an alumnus the principal knew his Latin, for sure but he was no Herodotus. At one session of the parent-teacher association, he announced that owing

to rising costs of feeding the management was compelled to raise boarding fees; in future students were to pay so-many-cedis per annus (sic); whereupon an irate mother demanded to be informed what was wrong with the existing mode of payment, that of paying through the nose (sic). When he recovered speech all the Principal could say was:

Da feminae inch, yard capit.

The meeting prayfully responded:

Fiat

End of proceedings!

Short Story

NOSTALGIA

By

Sammy T. Sackey

Take the story of this one village. Except during the two main annual festivals, the village seldom had a population of more than three thousand. The inhabitants proudly referred to the village as 'town' and often added the adjective "great". It consisted of an almost centrally placed "main street" ending in the east at the lagoon which separated it from the next village. Successive governments had promised to build a bridge over the lagoon to reunite the two villages, but then they had also promised to "tarr" the "main street". The buildings on both sides of the "main street" used to be of clay with thatch roof, though a few concrete structures with iron sheets can now be counted. To the north, beyond the houses lay a sufficiently vast shrub-land that permitted whatever farming that was done. To the south lay the Atlantic Ocean the venue of the main economic activity, for indeed it was a fishing village.

In the old days, each family had a fishing canoe manned by its members. The young men did the more strenuous work, while the very old and the very young helped in the maintenance of the gear. The canoes, dug-outs from timber, were obtained from the forest areas. The equipment, nets, lines, hooks lead-weights and buoys came from the urban areas. For line-fishing, there were five to eight men on each boat, de-

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pending on its size. The fishermen set out at dawn, or sometimes the night before. In the use of the seine net most of the activity was close to the shore, but the work was more demanding, as they had to overtake and surround moving schools of fish, using oars to move the boat. As a result, for this type of fishing, there were more men for each canoe. Then there was off-shore fishing, normally taken up by old men, who laid their net traps in the evenings, and came to draw them in the following mornings. It was all hard work, and would seem quite primitive, but those were the days of fish glut, and since virtually every family had somebody going to sea, the whole village joined in the handling of the fish prior to transportation to the big market centres for sale.

Sometimes the fish sellers from the city would come in their hired lorries to buy directly and cheaply from the fishermen. And thus the industry went on, six days a week, it being a taboo to go to sea on Tuesdays. Often canoes would come in filled to the brim with fish, and after the first few attempts to land these overloaded vessels ended in disaster (capsizing but no loss of life) the rest would remain anchored couple of hundred metres from the beach till smaller boats manned by old men and young stay-at-homes relieved them of some their load. In those days, those who had lost most of their catch through an accident would have their more fortunate counterparts contributing to make up for their losses. Helpers on the beach got fish by the bucketful.

Then came 'progress'. For these fishermen it was in the form of stronger nylon nets and lines, as well as the 'ahead' of the outboard motor. These were expensive and often required loans. The new gear was meant to make the industry more responsive to increasing demands for fish. But from a dozen men to a boat there was now no need to have more than half that number **the outboard** motor having made most of them redundant. The large numbers could have been retained all the same but for the fact that catches began to diminish, while the cost of fuel, and maintenance of equipment soared. So economics came in: it was no longer economical to retain the large numbers in the teams. Thus some families ceased to have representatives in the boats meaning they had no assured source of fish. Economics did not leave off there. Since the fishermen could hardly make ends meet by selling their fish on the local scene they resorted to landing their catch in the big coastal towns.

This meant 'fish famine' in the village. Then they started staying away from home overnight and soon sojourned to these coastal towns for weeks at a time, and finally like Ghanaians from all walks of life, fishermen also started migrating to foreign lands, Nigeria, Benin, Togo, the Ivory Coast and Liberia in large numbers than ever before. The fishing industry was thus in the space of some dozen or so years, reduced to a virtual standstill.

Agriculture had never been important, mostly because the soil was poor, and rainfall scanty. Despite the set-backs though, there was sufficient farming to satisfy the needs of the people. There were three main soil types; the black soil to the north west which was rather prone to water logging, the red gravelly soil to the north, and the sandy soils to the east and north-east. The sandy soil was used extensively for the cropping of legumes, mainly groundnuts, and cow-peas (aboboi), as well as vegetables, water melons and shallots. The rest was used to make *kokonte*, *gari* and starch, for *fufu* and for 'ampesi'. The founding fathers of the village in their wisdom had ensured that each clan had plots from each soil-type and thus could derive all their basic needs from their own efforts. Parts of the farming area could not be visited on Mondays or Thursdays. Thus Tuesdays which were tabooed days for fishing were the main farming days, and the village was virtually on Tuesdays empty as men, women and children left to work the lands. Women were barred from the use of the hoe, the main farming implement, because, it was claimed (the effort) would render them barren. They were thus engaged in the lighter job of sowing, planting, collecting wood, making charcoal and

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the not too light job of carrying the harvested food stuff and firewood home.

With the exodus of the fishermen who doubled as farmers the farms naturally began to fail. And the weather did not help matters. In spite of persistent national weeks and months of prayers led by khaki-clad chief priests and their local and imported prophets and prophetesses, there was less and less rain, and with fewer hands to work the land, the stay-at-homes could hardly support themselves. The soils grew hard and the little ones left to farm them were more successful in digging their shjns than the soil. Economics was here, too. Those who had, sold to those who didn't. And meanwhile the fellow-feeling and neighbourliness, the 'one big family' notion that had characterised the village was gone. But then friendliness and generosity are so uneconomical.

As in every 'normal society, the young outnumbered the old. PPAG and FPAG, if heard of, were ignored, while the number of wives and children a man had were symbolic of his stature in the society. The role of the child in this hitherto closed society was well defined. Every child had to make himself amenable to tuition in the ways of his people, the industry, culture and traditions. Thus it was not strange to find a six year old as part of the team even on an overnight fishing trip, or being engaged seriously as a helper in the fetish rites to which he was going to be an inheritor.

As for duties, they were simple and routine. Every day started at dawn when the boys would have to go down to the beach with the fishing gear. There they would receive instructions for what other chores awaited them—plots to be weeded or cassava to be harvested—and what time to return to the beach to await the arrival of the fishermen. Between the two main functions, there was school. The attitude to school was pathetic. It was considered a bother, and some parents, especially those well steeped in the fishing industry, thought so lowly of it that they considered it their right to send for their wards from out of the classroom when and if their help was needed at the beach! Often children were sent to school merely to oblige Teacher. But if going to school was not important why was there so much respect for Teacher? Why did he have first claim to the front seat in the village "Express?" Why were gifts of fish and farm produce showered on him? A paradox indeed!

Village night life was fun for the child. If you

didn't have to go to sea, then you could do one of several things. On moonlight nights, the young men and women played hide and seek; if you were a school boy or girl you had to keep an eye open for Teacher especially if you preferred the unauthorised version of the game. Then there was drumming and dancing by fiercely competing troupes, all the more exciting because the accompanying songs were usually insinuations of the latest scandal in the village. If there was no moon, then you just went into "town", town being the street lined with girls selling "tea bread" and butter, fruits and various after-meal-sweets by lamps fashioned out of milk tins with rag wicks. The hide and seek, drumming and dancing provided opportunities galore for early marriages which were often consummated ahead of the event.

But all that is no more. The young ones who were taught to divine the secrets of the seas by merely looking at the moon; those who could tell by merely sniffing around when to put the cowpeas in the soil — they are no more because "economics" has caught up with them, and so they, like Ghanaians from all walks of life have gone to seek their fortune in lands where they are sometimes used as firewood for bonfire. They had to go somewhere, because they believed wrongly or rightly, that if they stayed in the village, they would perish.

Change there had to be with the passage of time, but that rural life should have been so devastated in the process smacks of some carelessness somewhere. The nation is the poorer for the devastation, for our villages are indeed the back-bone of the nation. But then osteopathy has come a long way; and so if we cared to stop the ravages of "poverty in his batakari", to quote Obaa Appiah Kubi then we just might succeed in proving wrong the mad man who sings daily at the Tema station:

We are going!

Heaven knows where we are going!

We know not where!

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They should have had considerable experience in financial and auditing organisations of a higher educational institution, commerce or industry and in the preparation of Final Accounts must be able to control and supervise staff.

Application forms are obtainable from the Secretary, Ghana Atomic Energy Commission, P. O. Box 80, Legon.

Closing date for the return of the completed application forms is 30th September, 1981.

Unsuccessful candidates will not be informed.

For The Record

SEPTEMBER 14

KPONG PROJECT

The Kpong Hydro-Electric project will be formally commissioned in March next year to coincide with country's independence silver jubilee celebrations.

At a ceremony at Kpong recently the President switched on the first generating unit at the Akuse Station.

The second unit is expected to be completed by the end of this month, the remaining two units will be completed by the end of December.

SEPTEMBER 15

STATE GOLD MINES TO BE REVAMPED

The Government is to appoint new management for the State Gold Mines and provide enough financial support to enable it to yield more dividends. This was announced by the Vice-President at a People's National Party (PNP) rally at Kejetia in Kumasi recently.

SEPTEMBER 19

TAX SURVEY BEGINS NEXT MONTH

The Central Revenue Department is to undertake a national tax survey aimed at identifying

and registering all people who are self-employed. The survey will enable the Department to make assessments on all such persons for effective tax collection, according to Mr. A. D. Kra, Acting Commissioner of Income Tax.

SEPTEMBER 19

W.H.O. WILLING TO ASSIST AFRICAN STATES

The Director General of the World Health Organization (WHO), Dr. Halfdan Mahler, has assured African Health Ministers of WHO's willingness to co-operate in their efforts to improve health care programmes on the continent. Addressing the 31st session of the African Regional Conference of WHO in Accra recently, Dr. Mahler said the organization would help them convert their health policies into realities and mobilize the resources they required.

SEPTEMBER 22

A.C.P. QUILTS MERGER

The Action Congress Party has announced its withdrawal from the merger of the minority parties. A statement by the national executive of the party said the decision was taken after a review of developments on the political scene. The party called on its supporters to "remain calm and rededicate themselves for the struggle to establish democracy, social justice and national intergration".



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Editorial

EDUCATION REVISITED

At the beginning of yet another academic year, the mind naturally returns to the problems of education. Parents sending children to boarding schools for the first time must have awakened to the rude shock that a capital outlay of not less than C4,000 is required for sending one child to school: "airtight trunk" (C800), bedding including a foam mattress (C1,000), clothing including uniforms (C1,000), two pairs of shoes (C1,000), "provisions" comprising no more than a small jar of "sheto" (pepper gravy) plus two American tins of gari and some sugar and a few tins of milk (C200). And that is not all: termly fees hardly ever fall below C1,000 inclusive of charges for electricity, water and use of cutlery; mid-term holidays bring extra costs by way of transportation and replenishment of "provisions". And what is all this in aid of? No school has the full complement of staff these days, and if the crusading zeal with which agents of school systems from the neighbouring countries went about recruitment in the long vacation is any indication, the staff situation in our schools is going to be even more critical this academic year.

But if we cannot retain staff, we could at least begin to pay fees that are consistent with incomes in the public service. Elsewhere in this volume we have featured one individual's thinking on how to make secondary education less expensive and available to many more than is the case at present. The suggestion is to de-emphasize the boarding element. The suggestion is not new, but the author goes to the trouble of providing a lot more details of "the how" than has been our privilege to read. Through these columns we ourselves have canvassed the view that some of the money that goes to support university students could justifiably be diverted to the secondary sector. Meanwhile there is a strongly held view that fee-free education in all sectors as currently obtaining in the Northern and Upper Regions is unjustifiably discriminatory. We have suggested that all these views and many more need to be examined closely with a view to formulating an educational policy that is relevant for a developing country in the second half of the 20th century, a policy that guarantees equal opportunity, one that can gladly be supported by the beneficiaries. We have suggested that the first step towards such a policy might well be the appointment of a national commission on education.

There has been some response to our concern, as expressed in these volumes, in the matter of education, to be sure, but the response is of a kind that makes us even more anxious

bring all educational institutions, universities excepted, under one authority, namely, the Ministry of Education! Is that all the committee could do? Beginning from this academic year, students enrolling at the Law School near Makola are to pay ₵3,000 per annum for tuition, so we have learnt from recent reports in the newspapers. Why them? Why not students of the medical school? Why not students of architecture? There may well be good reasons for discriminating between the professions, but does anybody bother to tell us those reasons? And does the decision to charge fees of students of the Law School have any bearing on Government policy?

The former Eastern Regional Minister was also reported to say that as from next year no child would be allowed to attend secondary school outside the district of residence, certainly not outside the region. Are the districts in any region that well endowed with schools and educational material then? Are the schools sited within reasonable walking distance; and if not, do we have enough of those Tata buses plying every district? How well do the regions compare with each other in terms of educational endowments? Put differently, are there enough schools in every region to accommodate the school-going population? The public was naturally relieved to learn that the Minister was not articulating Government policy; as it turned out, he was merely offering advice to pupils about to take the Common Entrance Examination in the matter of school selection.

Yet to be denied, however, is another report, no less disturbing, attributed to no less a state functionary than the President at a rally in Tamale in the middle of September. The President is reported to have said that the Government intended to go ahead with plans to establish a university in the North, "public criticism notwithstanding." If we did not know the President better, we might be tempted to say he was pandering to the whims of regionalism against his usual good judgment. How does the President know we need an agricultural university more than any other? An association of the sons and daughters of the Western Region was reported to say the other day that the school of Mines at Tarkwa should be turned into a fully-fledged independent university. Why not, given the Government's current interest in the extraction of gold? Assuming, however, that there was a demonstrable need for a fourth university and assuming further that the claims of agriculture were the more urgent, how does the President come to the conclusion that the national interest would be best served by siting this university in the North? It was the intention of the Government of the First Republic to establish an agricultural university at Somanya in the Eastern Region. The faculties of Agriculture in existence at the time were supposed to transfer to Somanya. Why isn't Somanya on the cards any more? And would the proposed agricultural university of the North absorb existing faculties? Or would it be additional to what there is. And what is the special merit in the overspread? In the absence of a well-researched educational policy and public debate thereon, a lot could indeed be said about motives which might not be true, or charitable either.

Economy

THE TRAGEDY OF THE ECONOMY

By

Agyare Kollarbi

Limann's Presidency is unique in Ghana's history. It is unique because his Presidency has coincided with a historical epoch in which there is an almost unanimous feeling amongst the various political shades that democracy must be made to work in Ghana. It is the final evidence that the forces of pluralism have eventually triumphed over the forces of totalitarianism—the last of its kind epitomised in the notorious regime of Acheampong.

Limann took over the Presidency at a time when Ghana's economic position was almost chaotic; the chaos largely created by Acheampong and the erratic interregnum of the 4th June Revolutionary. Though Limann is not personally connected in anyway with the evil and criminal activities of the past and cannot be held responsible in anyway for what took place in Ghana before he assumed the Presidency, he presides over a party made up of people who not only enjoyed the fruits of Acheampong's criminal activities but were active participants and abettors in Acheampong's crimes. Limann's tragedy lies in the fact that though innocent he appears to be a prisoner of this group and hence his lack of political courage to effect the structural reforms necessary for Ghana's economic growth.

It is obvious to all that present economic activity in Ghana is not just low but essentially abnormal. It is abnormal in the sense that normal economic activity has become almost impossible. And it is this abnormality which makes trading and speculation more profitable. For instance, if company "A" gets an import license of ₵1 million to bring specified goods, it may choose to sell the license on its face value for ₵20 million. Without any productive effort whatsoever, company "A" would have increased its net cash by ₵19 million. On the other hand, if Company "A" actually imports the specified items it may make almost the same amount of ₵20 million by pricing the goods exorbitantly. In this kind of atmosphere who wants to waste time and get into the trouble of production? Speculation is so profitable that it makes more economic sense to engage in trading rather than actual production. Most of the manufacturing concerns no longer limit themselves to mere production. They all have a hand in the marketing, so that they can get their share of the huge disparity between official prices and real market prices. And this trend promises to continue so far as the present Administration refuses to face the reality of harsh economic reforms. Moralistic appeals to conscience and patriotic sentiment will yield nothing. Even Communist countries have long realised the futility of trying to stimulate economic production through appeals to class solidarity and the promise of a future paradise. For the greatest motivating factor in any economic system is profit. So if an economy

becomes so distorted that profits are easily made through trading nothing will change that trend except through structural reforms which will make production more profitable than trading.

Any meaningful economic reforms will necessarily involve giving the Cedi its real value and making it convertible. But this is where Limann appears to be in a fix. He has fallen into the same trap in which Acheampong fell. And that is the use of the black market to enrich party members and supporters. For instance, a party member called "A" is given a chit to collect 100 bags of rice at the controlled price of say ₵100.00 per bag. "A" then discounts the chit and sells his 100 bags of rice at say ₵600.00 per bag - thus making ₵500.00 on each bag. This kind of economic system is possible because of the existence of a black market which is also directly caused by the dual currency rates. Thus those who are lucky to get goods priced on the official exchange rate become millionaires overnight since they can easily sell them at prices calculated on the black market rate. Though it is extremely doubtful if Limann is personally involved in this vicious racket as Acheampong personally was, he cannot be said to be unaware of what is happening around him. The truth of the matter is that there is not much he can do about it except through effective radical economic reforms which will necessarily destroy the process of easy money making for everybody including party members.

Unigovists At Work

Apart from making use of black market to enrich party members Limann also finds himself surrounded by the characters who worked effectively for Acheampong. Their crime is not that they worked for Acheampong, but that they actively participated in the economic crimes of that regime which are vividly enumerated in SMC Decree (Armed Forces Miscellaneous Provisions Decree) enacted by his own military colleagues after his dismissal from office. Among other things Acheampong was accused of (1) Personally interfering in the economic and financial management of the country (2) Interfering in the normal operations of the Bank of Ghana thus causing the over-printing and over-issue of Cedi notes (3) Indiscriminate personal and arbitrary issue of import licenses to favourites and close associates and awarding contracts to incompetent contractors (4) Taking dubious foreign loans to the detriment of the state (5) Personally granting undeserved concessions to favourites and business houses in contravention of existing government policies and regulations (6) He displayed immorality not befitting a gentleman and a Head of State. All these crimes could not have been committed by Acheampong without the connivance and active participation of Acheampong's aides most of whom are now in the top hierarchy of the PNP. The question then is can they offer Limann anything different from what they did to Acheampong? Doubtful indeed! With little respect for economic laws and the tough demands of sound management, they are most unlikely to exert any positive influence on Limann's Presidency.

old ways of chits, monopolies, politicised distribution system. Present economic policies are just a continuation of the discredited policies of Acheampong's regime.

The basic question then is what must be done to take Ghana out of the present abnormal economic situations to a more normal level? We are not yet talking about economic growth because the precondition for economic growth and prosperity is economic normalcy. And the only way Ghana can return to a normal economic situation such as was in the old Gold Coast is to begin with a radical currency reform accompanied by a package of measures which would abolish import licensing and most of the controls in the economy.

Eliminating Black Market

The first step is a devaluation, floating of the cedi and such measures as would make the currency convertible. This appears to be the only way to eliminate the black market and change the present tragic course of Ghana's economic direction. Devaluation of the cedi by say 50% and its subsequent convertibility is a *sine qua non* for the elimination of the black market. The experience of other countries with non-convertible currencies indicate that a black market is inevitable in any economy which maintains a non-convertible currency. No amount of policing can stop that trend. Limann and his team might do well to learn a lesson from what is happening in Eastern Europe where the effect of useless currencies are creating serious economic and political consequences. The whole Socialist system is being engulfed by black marketing, smuggling and even more dangerous the hypocrisy which the system necessarily breeds. Most Eastern countries have special shops with prices in foreign currencies in which top party members regularly shop with special coupons. The working class is banned from such shops not by any law but by unavailability of foreign exchange. Meanwhile the party bosses always get foreign currency to shop with their wives and this necessarily creates a problem of credibility with the working classes.

The dilemma of almost all communist societies is to how to reward top party members adequately to motivate them to uphold and defend the socialist system without creating barriers with the working class. No communist society has yet found the answer and the result is the present hypocritical system in which only top party members have access to special shops and foreign currency. All over Eastern Europe the propaganda of equality has long ceased to impress the masses.

The privileges of the communist party members have long put them at variance with the interests of the working class whom they claim to represent to the exclusion of any other organisation. Events in Poland have shattered the myth and illusion that the Communist parties necessarily represent the working class and it is of interest to note that one of the initial demands of the workers was for the abolition of the special shops which gave party members access to foreign currency and good quality goods from the West. The workers'

leges for party members. All these are the necessary ingredients of close economic system. A non-convertible currency invariably creates a dual economy which is bound to lead to trouble because a dual economy necessarily leads to unjust enrichment. Hungary, for instance, has been toying with the idea of how to make its currency convertible within the socialist framework. Most of the socialist economies are in serious crisis and reform being suggested point to the inevitability of radical restructuring of their economies.

Geography also reinforces the need and necessity for Ghana to have a strong convertible currency. Ghana is surrounded by French-speaking neighbours with strong convertible currencies and it will be economically suicidal for us to maintain a non-convertible currency since the convertible currencies will always be a pull and magnet for the non-convertibles.

The Eastern Europe countries which geographically find themselves with contiguous borders with their Western countries like West Germany suffer a severe black marketing and smuggling a great deal more than those whose neighbours maintain similar non-convertible currencies. The usual cause of the smuggling across our borders is not just the question of shortages but a weak currency taking a beating from a stronger one. A weak currency commands no faith and so people will always do something to obtain a stronger currency.

Though the present administration appreciates this problem it appears unwilling to take effective measures to straighten the currency. The President is reported to have remarked during his London tour that devaluation may cause a political upheaval. Some of his aides went so far to say that devaluation tends to cause coups — an apparent reference to the 1972 coup. There seems to be a false belief that the 13th January 1972 coup was caused by the devaluation of the Cedi by the Busia administration. If the President and his men care to check with the Intelligence Agencies they will find that Busia's devaluation of the Cedi had nothing to do with the coup of 1972. Acheampong's coup was planned long before the 1972 devaluation. The actual date for the execution of the coup was in August, 1971 but it was postponed because of the visit of Mrs. Nixon to Ghana. Acheampong himself confessed soon after the coup that he planned his coup six months after the new civilian administration of Busia had been sworn into office.

The 1972 coup was largely motivated by perverse ambition and the result is the almost total destruction of the economic and social values of Ghana. What many people do not know is that the January devaluation was part of a stabilisation programme in which the Cedi was going to be floated and made convertible by April 1972. It wasn't just panic reaction to the dwindling foreign exchange reserves but part of a comprehensive programme to pull Ghana out of the non-convertible currency and putting an end to the long problem of black marketing and smuggling. Acheampong's coup put an end to all these stabilisation measures and put Ghana back on the imprudent course of economic abnormality and the continuing result is the present troubles.

Dismantling Import Licensing

Effective currency reforms would necessarily have to be accompanied by a package of economic measures which would hardly be popular with any party steeped in excessive political patronage. The government would have to dismantle the massive apparatus of import licenses and controls which are necessary only in a controlled economy. The import licensing system which has bred so much corruption and industrial inefficiency would have to be abolished as a necessary precondition for a full economic recovery. It is often forgotten that political corruption on the scale that we know today really began with the introduction of the import controls in the 1960s. It has been the bane of many a government and its elimination should help preserve some purity in our politicians. The competitive nature of a real open economy would make huge profits in trading very difficult. It has often been said that most importers hardly utilise the full value of licenses on the goods they were supposed to bring. They often inflate the prices of the goods they import with the connivance of the overseas manufacturers and exporters. The balance of the inflated price is then kept in foreign accounts.

The more blatant and courageous importers simply bring a fraction of the goods they are supposed to bring and just keep the rest of their money outside. Meanwhile false shipping documents show that all the goods had been brought into the country. Merchants in Hong Kong are said to be so used to trade malpractices in Ghana that when officials and businessmen go there to arrange the import of goods to Ghana they quote real price and ask the importer for the 'paper' price to be stated on the pro forma invoice plus the account in which the difference between the real price and 'paper' price be paid. The system has almost been accepted as the normal trade practice between Ghana and Hong Kong that Chinese businessmen are often surprised if a trader appears unaware of the game. Presumably the same pattern is being repeated in our trade relations with other countries. No wonder each year million of cedis import licenses worth of goods are reported to have been issued and yet nobody sees the goods. As usual we can expect the excuse to be that the goods had arrived and had been smuggled out of the country. The truth is that most of the goods for which import licenses are issued never arrive in the country at all!

Another serious consequence of the import licensing system which is hardly noticed is the monopolistic situation which it gives to manufacturers who can hardly justify their existence by the quality of their products. Factories are made to exist simply because they manage to obtain import licenses and not because of the competitive nature of their products. Since there will always be an excuse to limit the amount of import licenses issued to a particular industry, of say the textile industry, the old and well established firms will have an advantage over the new and or prospective entrants into the market. It is often forgotten in Ghana that most of the industrial giants which pioneered the industrial revolution in Europe were later overtaken by wholly

new companies which entered the market with innovative technologies and better marketing strategies. Under the present system of licensing which is the necessary product of maintaining a non convertible currency this nation can hardly hope to build competitive industries. Ghana will soon be saddled with senile and uncompetitive industries which thrive only because of their ability to manipulate the restricted and monopolistic system.

The irony is that even though manufacturers complain about the absence of import licenses most of them are dead against any system which will expose their industries to hot competition. Like traders our industries have over the years been used to making such abnormal profits (that is if they have import licenses) that only a few welcome an open trade policy in which very few are likely to survive. One important feature of an open economic financial policy is that it limits a government's power of patronage and punishment. There are severe practical limits to the extent to which you can punish your opponents when the currency is convertible. It is often said of Busia's administration that its Open General License threatened profits and the party's patronage to the point that some of his more powerful financial supporters lobbied against it. Only a controlled and distorted economy makes speculation and black marketing possible.

State Enterprises

Effective and through-going economic reforms will not only involve improving the standing of the Cedi but also reduce government expenditure. It is impossible to take any firm stand on reducing government expenditure without first deciding on the future of state enterprises and public corporations most of which have long become a drain on Ghana's finances. A discussion on Ghana public corporations cannot be done in isolation from the general world-wide trend of the failure of public corporations. All over the world particularly in socialist countries of Eastern Europe serious questions and doubts are being raised about the usefulness and efficiency of the state enterprises in the economy. Nothing has done more to undermine the cause of socialism especially in Eastern Europe than the almost complete and total failure of state enterprises compared to the private companies of the West. The productive capacity of the Western economy is evidenced by the almost yearly agricultural surpluses from their farms as compared to the poor performance of the State Farms of the Soviet Union and other parts of Eastern Europe.

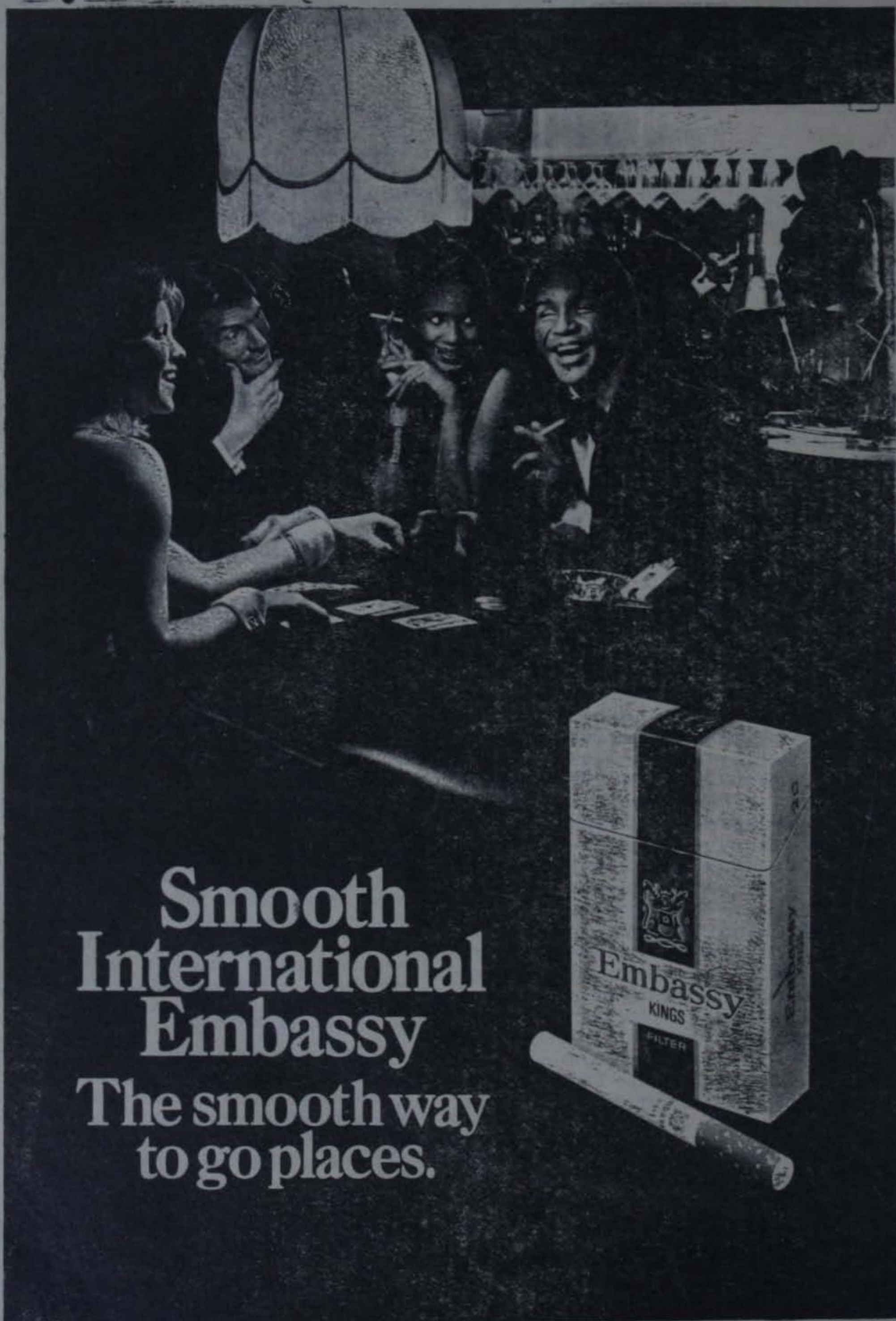
In agriculture in particular most countries of Eastern Europe have long abandoned state farms in favour of peasant ownership of farms. Though the results have proved much better than the state and collective farms, the full benefits of private agriculture have not been realised because of the governmental interference in the marketing and pricing of agricultural produce from private farms. In the Soviet Union, the successful and productive capacity of the private farm stares Soviet Socialist planners in the face. Though only 4% of farm plots

have been allocated to private hands outside the collective farming system, that small private percentage of plot contributes almost one third to the total agricultural produce of the Soviet Union.

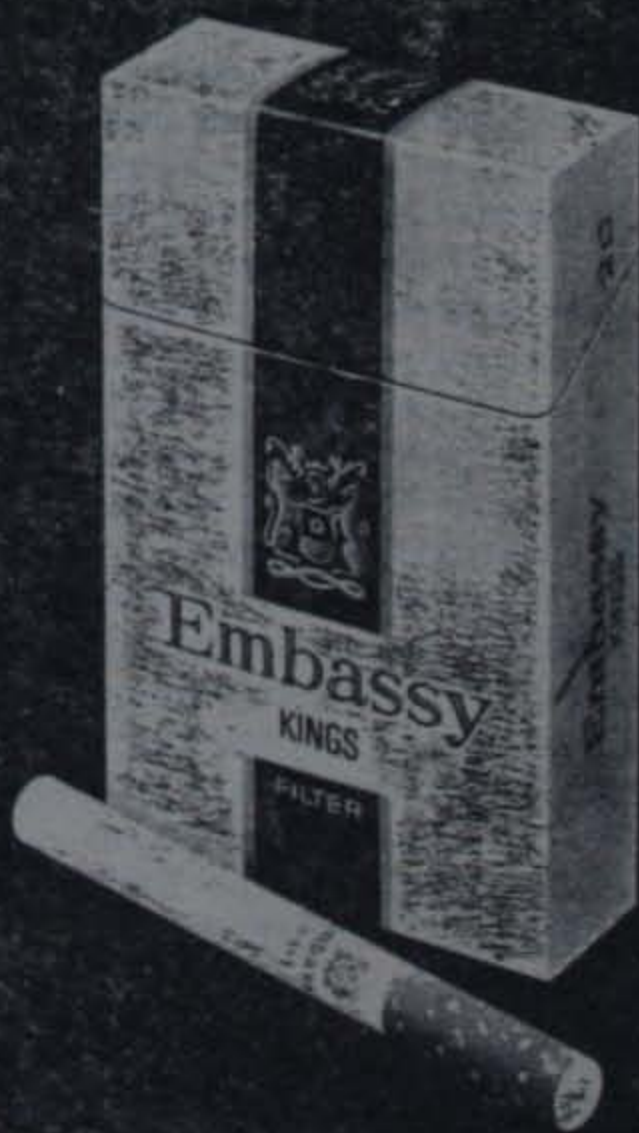
All over the world in both East and West the story is the same. Privately managed companies and enterprises are outstripping public and state companies. About 80% of innovations in industry come from private companies of the West. It is almost now accepted that in the economic race between Socialist and Capitalist countries the capitalist economics appear to have won, inflation and current economic problems notwithstanding. Thus the idea that tax payers in Ghana should indefinitely bear the cost of subsidising unproductive and wasteful public corporations is not only against current economic trends all over the world but also subversive of the economic and fiscal well-being of Ghana. There can be no economic recovery without a definite decision on the unproductive state enterprises.

Soon after the 1966 coup when the N.L.C. was faced with a dilemma of what to do with unproductive state enterprises, it opted to sell some of them to private hands. It now appears that the N.L.C.'s decision was not far-reaching enough because a fairly large number of unproductive enterprises were still kept intact. Though radical leftists have often criticised previous attempts to dismantle unproductive enterprises, economic reality dictates that Ghana would necessarily have to do something like that as part of an economic recovery programme. Even a marxist like Samora Machel of Mozambique has now recognised the futility of the state getting involved in small businesses like bakery. Limann's difficulty in taking a definite stand on state enterprises is that there is a strong body of opinion within the P.N.P. which regards the state enterprises with a certain sentimental and nostalgic remembrance of the old C.P.P. days. They look upon them as symbolic achievements of the past. In fact any suggestion of selling state enterprises is regarded by influential P.N.P. members as a betrayal of Nkrumah. And since Limann keeps on promising his party members that he will follow Nkrumah's policies, he places himself in an untenable position if he should take decisions contrary to what Nkrumah did before he was overthrown. The truth is that most of Nkrumah's economic policies were failures even before he was overthrown. The State Farms and most of the State Corporation were all losing long before the 1966 coup.

We are only now beginning to take agriculture seriously - a thing the Ivory Coast did soon after independence. The Ivorians did not wait for food shortages before emphasising the importance of agriculture. They did not wait for a slump in the world price of cocoa to realise the necessity to diversify their exports; they realised the practical importance and contribution of foreign capital and technology to supplement local effort long ago whilst Ghana was dabbling in wasteful and unnecessary ideological attacks on foreign capital and investment. We have gone round the circle and have come to realise in the world of 1981 almost at the close of the century that foreign capital investment is necessary for Ghana to realise its full potential.



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* Trapped In The Past

By allowing himself to be trapped in a fabled past of doubtful relevance to the problems of present day Ghana, the present administration is not likely to do much to ameliorate the severe economic conditions prevailing in the country. The government's agricultural policy is a typical example of an unnecessary obsession with the things of the past in a way which is plunging Ghana into unnecessary suffering. At a time when the nation is being brought to its heels by acute food shortages and high prices the Government has chosen to channel agricultural inputs through an organisation like Ghana Farmers Council which behaves more like a political wing of the P.N.P. than a farmers organisation. Apart from serious doubts of its representative capacity, its activities hardly make it a body genuinely interested in the well-being of the farmers of Ghana. Soon after the budget was read the Ghanaian Times featured a story of the Chief Executive of the Farmers Council explaining the government's 1981/82 budget to a group of farmers in Begoro. What has a genuine farmers' body got to do with explaining the government's budget to the people?

But worse of it all is the fact that most of the governing officers of the Council are persons who gained notoriety for incompetence and shady deals from the days of the erstwhile Farmers Council of the C.P.P. to the Special Marketing Unit under Acheampong. Limann and his team cannot pretend to be unaware of these facts. At least the Intelligence Service must have informed them about the kind of people they are dealing with. Is it any wonder that farm inputs meant for farmers are either being traded at kalabule prices or being sold across our borders? 'Too much politics, as Arthur Lewis has always said, is the curse of Ghana! It is only a C.P.P.-inspired Administration presiding over a country threatened with starvation and serious budget deficit that will find it normal to channel badly needed farm inputs through politically motivated organisations staffed with persons of doubtful character and competence.

The agrarian revolution which we seek will continue to elude us so far as the whole business of food production is politicised. Then there is also the case of Ghana National Reconstruction Corps. The extent of the Administration's commitment to providing millions of cedis to this useless unproductive organisation raises not only doubts about the prudence of the government's fiscal policies but also suspicions as to collusion to dissipate public funds. The Ghana National Reconstruction Corps was established in 1978 by the late Acheampong ostensibly to undertake farming. Acheampong initially indicated that the corps was to be modelled on the erstwhile Workers Brigade. It will be recalled that Acheampong like Limann was obsessed with following Nkrumah's footsteps and consistently hinted that the Workers Brigade and other bodies established by the C.P.P. government could have alleviated Ghana's food problems had they not been dissolved after the 1966 coup. The establishment of the National Reconstruction Corps coincided with the notorious Union Govern-

that it was to be used to finance and organise the rural folk to support the elusive concept of Union Government. True to the tradition of the past, politics, and not agriculture, was the real purpose of the National Reconstruction Corps.

The Auditor General's report which was laid before the 1979/80 Parliament showed wild and serious malpractices in the administration of the Corps. The report indicated that out of the 72 million cedis invested in the Corps in the previous years it could only account for C200,000.00! The initial reaction of Parliament was rightly to refuse to vote any more monies for the useless Corps. Government Ministers hurriedly rushed to Parliament and pleaded for the restoration of the funds and promised to reform the Corps and make it more productive. The P.N.P. Members of Parliaments later changed their minds on the issue and voted a further C33 million for the Corps! A Committee of Enquiry appointed to examine the activities of the Corps after this vote has just reported that out of the C33 million voted for the Corps last year it could only properly account for C800,000.00! All these at a time when the public is being asked to support a budget with a deficit of well over C4 billion! An administration which has little respect for thrift and careful spending cannot expect any sympathy and understanding.

It is unfortunate and tragic that for a man who was never really part of the political past Dr. Limann should feel so committed to re-enacting a past which was essentially characterised by lack of economic discipline.

Education

TOWARDS FREE UNIVERSAL SECONDARY EDUCATION IN GHANA

By

F.A. Kufour

Ghana is beset with many difficult problems. This is no news to Ghanaians. Undoubtedly attempts are being made to find solutions to some, at least, of the more pressing of these problems. Unfortunately there seems to be too much talking about these problems, and little really effective action towards solving them. Of our many but interrelated problems some of the most difficult are to be found in the educational system. One of the most difficult problems arises from the "residential principle" which is adopted in most of our secondary schools and in all of our teacher-training colleges as well as in the universities. This paper examines this problem and suggests possible solutions to it.

Some sixty years ago Governor Guggisberg insisted that as far as possible technical, as well as secondary, education must be run on boarding school lines. Guggisberg's assumption that character or moral training was only possible by education "through



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uncritically by subsequent generations of educationists. Another and rather dubious principle was later added, the idea that boarding schools fostered a sense of nationhood. The persistent practice of ethnic nepotism on the part of some of the beneficiaries of the residential system undermines this principle. And the frequent acts of lawlessness in boarding schools (and in the universities) in this country also cast doubt on our belief that residence fosters character or moral training.

Of course there are serious difficulties to be tackled if we are to adopt a system of public education that does not involve the residential principle. The nation has not so far been helped by the institutions to which she has a right to look for ideas on, and solutions to this problem. CHASS has so far not presented the nation with any constructive proposals for day schools. One sympathises with CHASS, bogged down as it is with the immediate and pressing need to find adequate food to feed the schools. It can only think of more funds from Government and parents for feeding the schools. The alternative, which CHASS threatens and acts on, is premature closure of the schools. The universities are silent on the issue, being pre-occupied with their own academic and municipal problems. Editorial opinion skips around the central issue, and continues to offer irrelevant solutions. Is there not a limit to the money that Government and parents can be expected to provide to maintain students in boarding schools? Are school farms really a solution to the problem of feeding the schools, or will they just provide a temporary palliative? How many schools can have how many farms of what acreage, if we are aiming, as we should do, at education for all? This is the central issue to be faced - the provision of educational facilities for all citizens who are entitled to education and who should be attending school, but cannot do so because there are not enough schools with adequate resources for all of them.

Is there an ideal time in the future when this problem can be tackled? Obviously we are faced with the problem now and we cannot leave it to assume tremendous proportions, while we wait for something to happen in the future which will enable us to solve the problem. We must start now to think of, and evolve measures for, a transition from the present position, in which there are expensive boarding schools for a minority of children of school-going age, to one in which there are relatively cheaper day schools for all. This exercise calls for an earnest public discussion on all the implications of such a transition. The present paper is a contribution to this discussion, and sets out tentative proposals for the transition.

Assumptions

Some assumptions underlie the proposals put forward in this paper. The first assumption is that all Ghanaian children are not only entitled to education, but should be compelled, so to speak, to exercise this right to attend school. This is the position in every civilised and developed country. The nation's Constitution demands it. Article 9, subsection (1)(a) states that "the Government shall

equality of rights, obligations and opportunities before the law". It is true that the "Directive Principles of State Policy" qualify this in respect of education, where the Government is enjoined (article 103)(a), "subject to the availability of resources", to provide "free and equal access to secondary and other appropriate pre-university education". The constitutional proviso is an acknowledgement of the realities of the Ghanaian situation. But the duty to provide "free and equal access" is imposed nevertheless, and one has the right to assume that persistent and genuine effort will be made to fulfil this duty. Certainly Government should ensure that, if resources are limited, they are spent not on a few children, but on as many as possible. The second assumption is that it is the **duty of Government to provide them with only the facilities for education in the form of classrooms laboratories and workshops, equipment and teachers.**

The foregoing statements have been termed assumptions, but they can equally well be said to objectives of a national education policy. In the Ghanaian situation these objectives cannot be achieved in one go, so to speak. Indeed the aim of the present paper is to examine some of the steps that should be taken NOW in order to arrive EVENTUALLY and in the shortest possible time at the main objective of universal, free and compulsory education for all Ghanaian children. **It is assumed that it is not the duty of Government to provide free or subsidised boarding accommodation and food for school children.** It is the duty of parents and guardians to provide board and lodging for their children.

As far as second-cycle institutions are concerned we need to be reminded that there are only 300 of such institutions. If one considers that there is an estimated population of four million children of school-going age (6-16 years), then this number of secondary cycle institutions is grossly inadequate. "In 1972/73, 107,437 middle school pupils were eligible to sit for the Common Entrance into second cycle institutions. Only 93,309 actually took the examination and of these only 14,249 were admitted into second cycle institutions". **This latter figure represented only 13% of all the eligible pupils.** Similar trends were noticeable in the succeeding years. The main theme of this paper is that the problem of inadequate numbers of schools and colleges is compounded by the fact that almost all of these institutions are residential. If the residential principle were abolished, many more places would become available in the existing schools, and much more would also be available for actual instruction.

What, then, is to be done to achieve the objective of making more places available? A programme of action must be worked out now for immediate implementation. We cannot, if one may adopt slightly another's words, parcel out our tasks and national problems and assign to each a convenient time and place. We have to tackle all our national problems altogether. Therefore the educational problem cannot wait upon the solution of the agricultural, industrial or any other national problem.

tion to one may prevent or frustrate the successful solution of the other problems.

Parmanent Commission

The problem posed by the boarding principle in educational institutions is so fundamental to the successful evolution of free universal education for all Ghanaian children from the primary through the secondary cycles, that a **permanent commission should be set up to examine it in detail, work out a practical and equitable solution which excludes residence in school and oversee the development of a nation-wide system of day schools.**

Such a commission will have to work in phases and adopt initially some transitional measures. Transitional measures or provisions have become controversial in contemporary Ghana. This should not be so, if the measures are equitable and practical, and achieve their objectives. It is certain that the change-over from boarding to day schools cannot be made all at once

But first the Commission should know the extent of prejudices held against de-emphasizing boarding schools. It is held in some quarters that "the country is not ready for neighbourhood schools". This writer has heard this objection from only the highly and better placed in society. There seems to be an almost in-built resistance by the planners and decision-makers to this idea; they are so attached to their old boarding schools that they would like their children and children's children to continue attending these schools.

Inevitably one would also hear the objection that most ordinary homes in the country are not suitable places for study, lacking as they do room for peace and quiet, lighting and a whole lot of other "essential" facilities. The question of costs of the new day schools will be raised. Almost in the same breadth the problem of transportation will be voiced, the difficulty of transporting children from home to school and back again at the end of the day.

If the problem were not difficult, it would have been solved long ago. Should we continue to raise this smoke-screen of objections to obscure the objective of a national system that the country can afford to support, and in which ordinary wage-earning as well as non-working parents will have a fair chance of seeing their children attend secondary schools? We must look critically at these objections and try to surmount the difficulties.

The Commission should carry to its work the conviction that on grounds of costs alone, de-emphasizing residence is a matter of priority. The words of a former Commissioner for Education and Culture emphasise this point: "By June, 1974 Government educational expenditure accounted for about 30% of total Government expenditure. If this rate of growth is allowed to continue over the next five years, education would be costing about 40% to 50% of the total Government expenditure". In December, 1980 the President informed us that the cost of feeding alone in boarding schools had risen to C60 million (as compared with C16 million for equipment for the schools). There does not seem to be an end to rising feeding costs in schools.

Much more money is spent on housing and feeding pupils and students throughout the various levels of our educational system than in actually educating them. A detailed analysis of the cost of the present system will show clearly whether by abandoning the boarding system, enough funds will not be generated to support a system of day schools.

It is certain that the rich and the well-placed are the main beneficiaries of the present system. It is scandalous that the children of such people should be housed and fed in schools at considerable expense to the State, while the majority of the children of the poor are unable to attend secondary schools and have to be housed and fed by their parents and guardians.

This country has seen a number of education committees come into, and go out of existence. This writer is not aware of any committee that was set up specifically to review the boarding school system with a view to making proposals for a nation-wide system of day schools for all Ghanaian children.

A permanent commission has been proposed in this paper to undertake this task. The Commission will have to collect and compile a whole set of solid data to enable it to answer a host of questions. What proportion of Ghanaian children actually go to school now, and at what level do they leave school and why? What are the reasons why some (perhaps the majority) never go to school? What is the distribution of educational facilities over the whole country? And what are the reasons for any imbalance in the distribution? How much does the present system cost the nation in terms of tuition, provision of books and equipment, erection and maintenance of boarding houses and staff accommodation? What are the causes of inequality in standards between schools and how can such inequalities be reduced or removed? How much will it cost the nation to establish a system of day schools? If the nation were to start a programme of phasing out public boarding schools, how long will it take to complete the exercise? How should the change-over be phased? How many new day schools would have to be built? What will be the transportation problems?

First Step

As a first step, with the necessary statistics in hand, the country should be divided into educational "catchment" areas on the basis of school-age population. Each area should cater for about 20,000 school-age children. (The figure is not sacrosanct). These areas need not co-incide with any district council area. If we assume that there are about 2 million children between the ages of 11 and 16, then the whole country can be divided into 100 catchment areas, each with about 20,000 children in the relevant age group. This means that, if we restrict one day secondary school's population to 500 pupils, then each catchment area will require 40 day secondary schools; for the whole country the total number will be 4,000. This is a reasonable number of secondary schools for a country of Ghana's size, although the figure is about ten times

the number of existing second cycle institutions in the country at present. The proposed Commission could then look at these catchment areas from two points of view - the urban and the rural.

Urban areas—In the large urban areas with populations of more than 20,000 of children of the appropriate age, a system of day secondary schools could be started immediately. The children of residents in these areas would all be expected to be **day students in existing schools in the urban areas in which they reside**. New day schools in these areas could be established to absorb those children who would not find places in existing schools in these areas. If the parents of children in these areas decide not to use the facilities of the day schools, then they should be deemed to have opted out of the public system and become wholly responsible for their children's education, without any assistance from the State.

Rural areas—The rural catchment areas might have to be grouped into two categories. One group would contain those areas which have populations of about 20,000 children of the relevant ages within a given radius, say 20 miles, that is, within a fairly easy bus ride. For these areas certain centres should be identified in which day secondary schools would be located. The children in such areas would also be expected to stay at home and travel by bus to and from school. The other group of rural areas would contain all the areas in which the population is scattered, that is, not within any easy bus ride of any identifiable centres. It would be for children in these areas only that Government would as a temporary measure, provide boarding school facilities. Places in existing boarding schools over the whole country could be specifically reserved for children from these areas until such time that they too are brought into the day school system.

A simpler alternative may be the following. Existing boarding schools should have a certain percentage of places reserved for day students. This percentage would be increased each year until the schools ultimately have only day students. New secondary schools should then either be wholly day schools (in urban areas), or partly boarding schools (in rural areas). The latter would then, like existing boarding schools, be progressively phased out as boarding schools.

Study facilities—In any transitional programme that is adopted, it would be necessary to make special provision for day students with regard to study facilities and transportation. Existing boarding schools (and halls in universities) are not really the havens of peace and quiet one would suppose them to be. Students still use classrooms and libraries for serious private study. Day schools can make study facilities available to their students outside of the regular teaching periods. Libraries and study rooms can be provided in all day schools so that students can do their private study before they are transported back home for the day. This may call for a rather long school day of about ten hours. This should be acceptable, since at present students are at school day and night, during which they are expected or supposed to be under supervision all the time. In these circumstances it may be

lunches only.

Transportation—Bussing children to school is a widely accepted practice in school systems all over the world. It is true that in these other countries there are better networks of roads; buses are available together with spare parts! At present almost all boarding schools have buses and other vehicles. These are mainly used for carting foodstuff and goods, as well as for occasional trips by students.

It should not be too difficult to devise a system of transportation based on school buses running on well-defined routes for day students. It is remarkable that so little use is made of the bicycle by students in Ghana. In other countries with very much better transportation facilities, school children (and university students) use the bicycle a great deal in moving between home and school.

A Levelling-Up Of Standards

One understandable reason why parents insist on sending their children to particular schools is that some schools are much better than others. They have better facilities and better teachers. Since the schools teach the same subjects for the same examinations the question of standards is one of distribution of equipment, of provision of facilities such as laboratories, and of the calibre of teachers. Government can ensure that equipment and facilities are as evenly distributed as possible among all schools.

It may be a little difficult with the teachers, since their distribution involves moving persons from places that are acceptable to them, to locations which they may not readily accept. It may be no use appealing to their professional ethics and their patriotism. Real incentives may have to be provided to induce teachers to make any necessary move from one school to another, so that rural as well as urban schools may be as equally well staffed as possible.

Conclusion

The problems posed above require urgent attention. A single-minded permanent commission of manageable size should be set up to re-shape our pre-university educational system to ensure that this nation will enter into the 21st century with a properly educated citizenry.

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GHANA COMMERCIAL BANK

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 30TH JUNE, 1981

CURRENT ASSETS	(Notes)	1981	1980
Cash in Hand and Balance with Bank of Ghana		C1,502,108,692	C1,154,302,288
Cash in Transit and Balances with other Banks		211,401,169	477,783,616
Short Term Investments at cost		371,705,297	494,323,442
Securities of Bank of Ghana and other Governments at cost		493,776,464	434,822,551
Other Investments at cost including Investments in Subsidiary Companies		9,457,768	9,457,768
Advances, Loans and other Accounts	(4)	2,026,000,586	1,307,553,442
Liability of Customers for confirmed Credits, Bonds and Other Engagements		128,417,348	192,043,936
TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS		4,742,867,324	4,070,287,043
FIXED ASSETS		54,289,859	33,827,510
		4,797,157,183	4,104,114,53
CURRENT LIABILITIES			
Deposits, Savings and Other Accounts including Provision for Income Tax		4,597,940,364	3,850,552,666
Proposed First and Final Dividend		5,000,000	4,000,000
Liability for confirmed Credits, Bonds and Other Engagements		128,417,348	192,043,936
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES		4,731,357,712	4,046,596,602
NET ASSETS		65,799,471	57,517,951
SHAREHOLDERS' FUNDS			
Stated Capital	(5)	40,000,000	35,000,000
Reserve Fund	(6)	23,964,945	17,500,000
General Reserve	(6)	235,055	3,700,000
Income Surplus		1,599,471	1,317,951
		C 65,799,471	C 57,517,951

P.A.V. ANSAH — *Chairman*
G.T. ODONKOR — *Director*

WILLIAM OSEI — *Managing Director*
D.A. AMOAKO — *Treasurer*

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1981

	(Notes)	1981	1980
		C	C
Net Profit for the year	(2)	25,781,520	20,338,003
LESS TRANSFER TO RESERVE			
Reserve Fund — Section 9(3) of the Ghana Commercial Bank Decree 1972 (NRCD.115)		6,464,945	5,084,501
General Reserve — Section 13 of the Ghana Commercial Bank Decree 1972 (NRCD.115) — Regulation 43		1,535,055	1,615,499
		8,000,000	6,700,000
Profit after Transfer to Statutory Reserves		17,781,520	13,638,003
Less Provision for Taxation	(3)	12,500,000	9,500,000
NET PROFIT TRANSFERRED TO INCOME SURPLUS ACCOUNT		C 5,281,520	4,138,003

INCOME SURPLUS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1981

Balance brought forward at 1st July, 1980.		1,317,951	1,179,948
Add Net Profit transferred from Profit and Loss Account		5,281,520	4,138,003
Transfer from General Reserve		5,000,000	2,000,000
		11,599,471	7,317,951
DEDUCT DISTRIBUTION TO SHAREHOLDERS			
Proposed First and Final Dividend		5,000,000	4,000,000

Capitalisation of Reserve	5,000,000	2,000,000
	<u>€ 10,000,000</u>	<u>€ 6,000,000</u>
Balance Carried forward per Balance Sheet	€ 1,599,471	1,317,951

NOTES TO THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED 30TH JUNE, 1981

- These accounts have been prepared on the historical cost convention.
- The Net Profit for the year is arrived at after charging the following:-

	1981	1980
	€	€
(a) Directors Remuneration	119,757	105,140
(b) Auditors Remuneration and Expenses	157,949	80,000
(c) Voluntary Donations	79,120	56,704
(d) Depreciation of Fixed Assets	4,569,854	4,680,687

3. TAXATION

Provision based on these accounts	13,100,000	10,250,000
Less Over-provision no longer required	600,000	750,000
	<u>€ 12,500,000</u>	<u>€ 9,500,000</u>

- ADVANCES, LOANS AND OTHER ACCOUNTS have been shown at face value less a general provision for bad debts based on past experience.

- STATED CAPITAL of the Bank has been increased as at 30th June, 1981 as follows:-

Bonus Issue	—	3,000,000
Capitalisation of Reserves	5,000,000	2,000,000
	<u>€ 5,000,000</u>	<u>€ 5,000,000</u>

6. MOVEMENTS IN RESERVE

	Reserve Fund	General Reserve
Balance at 1st July, 1980	17,500,000	3,700,000
Add Transfer from Profit and Loss Account	6,464,945	1,535,055
	<u>23,964,945</u>	<u>5,235,055</u>
Less Capitalisation of Reserve	—	5,000,000
	<u>€ 23,964,945</u>	<u>€ 235,45</u>

- The Bank is committed to Capital Expenditure in the sum of € 22,000,000 € 9,876,000
- The Assets and Liabilities of the bank expressed in Foreign Currencies have been converted into cedis at the rates applicable on 30th June, 1981.
- The Bank has notified the Bank of Ghana that the prescribed Capital Deposit ratio under Section 3(2) (a) of the Banking Act, 1970 has not been maintained.
- These accounts include the consolidated figures of the Subsidiary Company in the Republic of Togo for the year under review. In accordance with the regulations of the Banque Centrale, the accounts of this subsidiary are prepared and audited up to 30th September.

BY ORDER OF THE BOARD

AUDITORS' REPORT

ELEANOR M. ARTHUR (MRS.)
Secretary

We have examined the attached Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account with the books and records of the Bank. We have received all the information and explanations which we considered necessary and this information was satisfactory. The Bank has kept proper books of account with which the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account are in agreement and have received proper and adequate returns from branches not visited by us. Subject to Note 8, all transactions were within the powers of the Bank and these accounts are in accordance with Ghana Commercial Bank Decree 1972 (NRC.D. 115) and the Banking Act, 1970. In our opinion the Balance Sheet contains the prescribed particulars and gives a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Bank as at 30th June 1981 and the Profit and Loss Account gives a fair view of the Profit of the Bank for the year ended on that date.

27TH AUGUST, 1981.

PANNELL KERR FORSTER
CHARTERED ACCOUNTANTS
P.O. BOX 1219, ACCRA.

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THE FEEDING PROBLEM IN SCHOOLS

By

Ama Gyapon

An evaluation of this academic year's work in second cycle institutions reveals a continued decline in student's academic progress and in the volume of work done. And it is distressing to realise that the cause of the problem today is not only the exodus of teachers to neighbouring countries but also that of food.

Students in these institutions spend approximately thirty-three weeks of the year in school, with an average of 11 weeks per term. The current year has been abnormal since students have had to stay out of school for approximately eight weeks for lack of food. This makes a loss of almost a whole term. It is sad to notice that only students whose parents could afford to pay an extra amount of ₵200, and those in institutions whose old students' associations were in a position to help could stay in school to complete the second term. In most institutions some final year students lost the chance to take the mock examinations.

Heads of institutions are having to run away from angry food contractors demanding payment for food supplied all the time. This situation has arisen because the government has failed to honour its promise last year, of supplying enough food items to schools at the Government's controlled prices. The problem has been aggravated by the fact that prices of the few food items supplied by the government have increased quite drastically between the months of October 1980 and March this year. Figures from the Government's Regional Schools' food distribution depot in Cape Coast (for instance) reflect this. A 100 kgs bag of maize has increased from ₵280.00 to ₵400.00, flour from ₵122 to ₵150, 50 kgs of sugar from ₵150.00 to ₵340.00, rice from ₵150.00 to ₵170.00 and beans from ₵900.00 to ₵2,500.00. A drum of oil that was ₵1,650.00 is now ₵3,800.00. There are percentage increases of 30, 18.6, 55.8, 11.8, 64 and 56 respectively. Market and Food Contractor prices are ₵1,000 for a bag of maize, ₵1,000 for a bag of rice, ₵2,750.00 for beans and ₵6,200.00 for cooking oil. Yams sell at ₵30.00 a tuber and plantain ₵2.00 a finger.

A school of about 1,050 requires for a day's feeding approximately 2 bags of flour, 2 maxi-

of beans. In addition to other food items an approximate amount of ₵9,975.00 is spent on food alone, with an average expenditure of ₵9.50 on each student and a total daily deficit of ₵1,575.00. In a term the food requirement amounts to 90 maxi-bags of maize, 151 bags of flour, 70 max-bags of rice, 5,000 medium-size tubers of yam, 44 maxi-bags of gari, 22 maxi-bags of beans and 46,200 fingers of plantain. This results in a total expenditure of ₵768,075.00 per term whilst the total boarding allocation stays at ₵646,800.00. The total deficit per term is approximately ₵127,500.00 (schools which depend on hired trucks to convey food items to the school lose more). It is ridiculous that the total boarding allocation which should cater for food, repair of boarding facilities and other supporting services like transportation is all spent on food. Where the extra amount of money should come from is the headmasters' worry.

The above problem that brought about the postponement of the reopening of the academic year and the premature closure of schools in March has made necessary the increase in board-in fees. From the beginning of the third term this year the boarding fee per student per day has increased from ₵6.00 to ₵8.00 (₵5.45 paid by parents and ₵2.55 by the government). This brings the total termly boarding fee to a figure of ₵616 per student, out of which the government pays a subsidy of ₵196.50. The amount thus payable by parents is roughly ₵700.00 if you add payments levied for use of text-books, sports, entertainment, medical care and P.T.A. dues. How does the Government expect parents to be able to cope in the present inflationary situation?

The government's apparent silence over the issue gives the impression of its intention to give preference to the day rather than the boarding system. This has its related problems, however, bearing in mind the fact that our secondary schools are concentrated in specific areas in the country. Under present inflationary conditions one would not expect the government to be able to take up the full responsibility of educating the youth, but in its dynamism realistic policies could at least be made to tackle such problems as they emerge.

The daily losses incurred by schools, which finally lead to a premature closure of the schools, cannot be offset by termly increases in school fees, since prices of food items rises daily. It is necessary, therefore, that the government takes up the full responsibility of supplying food to schools at the controlled prices. Encouraging...

Vegetable and poultry farming, which do not require large expenses of land can easily be carried on in most schools and the produce used to feed the students.

Schools with transportation problem are at a disadvantage since a trip to the local market on a hired private truck can cost as much as C200. When such trips become a daily affairs, it constitutes a drain on the school. Where there is this problem adequate measures could be taken by the Ministry of Education to make government vehicles available to the schools. The haulage facilities of the State Transport Corporation for example could be made available to such schools.

Frequent trips to the corn and flour mills also constitute a drain, but in schools where milling facilities are available, as much as C300 could be saved in a week. One would here suggest that headmasters of schools exploit the possibility of purchasing such mills. This could be done on co-operative basis and the mills even used as a means of generating income for the schools concerned.

The problem of inadequate tuition could also be offset by a reshuffle of the three terms of the academic year such that many more weeks are spent in the first two terms of the year and fewer in the third when lean season would have set in food prices are higher. Students could be allowed to go home for a few days during the Christmas and Easter holidays and the mid-term holidays scrapped. In this situation only final year students taking the G.C.E. Examinations could stay in school up to the end of June.

With all said the public expects both the government and the Ministry of Education to take a more serious look at the downward trend of Education in the country, today.

Letters

The Brain Drain

SIR—The past five years or so have seen Ghanaians both skilled and unskilled, young and old fleeing the country in their numbers into neighbouring and far way countries apparently because they cannot cope with the hard times which have resulted from the mismanagement of the economy since independence.

Nobody is happy about the exodus and some attempts have been made to discourage people from leaving Ghana in the lurch. Sermons have been preached and to obtain a passport, for example, applicants have to fulfil a number of stringent conditions. But the adventurous ones have left, some without passports.

Reports seem to indicate that Ghanaians are not treated humanely in some of the countries they have gone to seek economic asylum. The Black Maria episode cannot be forgotten so easily and the news of the 46 Ghanaians who were allegedly suffocated to death in the Ivory Coast is still fresh in many minds. We have not as yet got over the shock about the report that five innocent Ghanaians have been burnt to death once again in Nigeria.

One would have thought that all those who have planned to leave Ghana to work in other countries would abandon their plans on hearing this horrifying news. Surprisingly enough the exodus has gathered momentum. People are not the least deterred and now the rate at which energetic Ghanaians are drifting away into foreign lands, particularly, Nigeria is alarming and unprecedented.

At this point the writer would like to ask whether nothing could be done to halt or check this brain drain. Can't anything be done to keep Ghanaians in Ghana? Times are rough and that is why people are being literally chased out of their dear homes to seek fortunes elsewhere. Some of us have hoped against hope that the situation would change for the better and have decided to stay on to help fight the economic war but it appears the enemy is gaining the upperhand. We are losing hope and until the General comes in with specific instructions to boost our morale we shall capitulate to the enemy. Meanwhile, since we march on our stomach we appeal to the General to ensure regular and abundant supplies of provisions. We shall fight till victory is won if the supplies flow uninterrupted. We care very much for our stomachs.

P. O. Box 136
Wenchi, BIA.

E.K. Obeng Yeboah

Jubilee Fever: Symptom of What?

SIR—Yesterday, it was a centenary celebration. Today it is a jubilee anniversary for a school, church, institute or organisation. Tomorrow, we expect another jubilee celebration . . . erm, is it for the nation as a whole or for a minority group of State parasites?

It is good to celebrate a happy event but not when that fever indicates a chronic symptom of the continued comfort and happiness of a privileged few at the expense of the impoverished majority. Maybe an extra hour of hard work throughout March 1982 will do if not now!!!

Mensah Sarbah Hall,
Legon.

Kofi Agamah

When, Oh When ?

SIR—One of the main accusations against the Ghanaian press in the past was the practice whereby editors told Government what they wanted to hear and journalists hovered around officialdom like vultures trailing a dying animal, instead of going out to do investigative reporting. True, this practice has not completely died out; but it is only fair to point out that since the advent of the Third Republic (just as it happened in the Second Republic), some papers have tried to provide very commendable service. These days, staff of some papers take the trouble to trace lapses and wrong-doing which the management of such papers do not

nonsense!!

"kill".

An example and the latest of this kind of commendable journalism was the article which appeared on the front page of the *Daily Graphic* of Friday, September 18. We were told that 1,258 pieces of imported meat worth nearly C900,000.00 had gone bad and been buried. Meat, imported, buried while those of us who cannot afford beans, fish or meat on the open market go months without protein! If this were the first or the last of such criminal negligence, one could excuse those responsible; however, it isn't the first and we know from experience that it won't be the last either.

While all these incredible things are going on, the people who fought for, and won the mandate to govern confess their impotence in a manner which is simply bizarre: They do not possess a magic wand; their efforts are being sabotaged; they can only be effective in a country populated apparently by angels; and those who dare speak against official inertia are playing politics with this or that!

Mr. editor, my humble view of the matter is that people who need a magic wand with which to identify the person to sell meat in the Ghana of today, or to cart fertilizer to farms, or to import the right kind of cutlasses, or indeed to do any of the thousand and one simple things that need to be done, cannot possibly have answers to our problems. Dr. Limann and his Vice-President have had two years during which they should have been able to study the mood of the people in our hour of desperate suffering. Surely, they must know by now what actions will lessen our suffering. Can't they take time off their political campaigns and act?

Dept. of Biochemistry
Legon.

K. K. Oduro

Rusty Policemen

S_R - The Police are supposed, I believe, to be morally disciplined, patient, tolerant, honest and expected to obey the laws of the very country for which they are employed to help check and administer. Unfortunately for Ghanaians we find something utterly different. It may be true that one can find policemen involved in all kinds of unlawful practices all over the world, but then ours is becoming just too much.

Sometimes I am inclined to believe that the only thing our policemen managed to learn well is how to march on special occasions with their band playing the tune and perhaps how to ride motorbikes.

Once on my way to town from Kaneshie, a policeman on a motorbike chased us for quite a considerable length of time because the driver had taken an extra passenger more than he should have. When he asked the driver to "bring his papers", the driver fortunately remembered that he knew him somewhere and so the driver was saved a C50 bribe. The policeman told him, "wo ye lucky paa . . . nka we betua 50 shishiishi" i.e. you are very lucky or else you would have paid 50 cedis right now.

We are all aware that times are hard and that each man is trying to "chop from his job small", but some institutions unfortunately, cannot subscribe to what this implies. Policemen, like teachers, should find it difficult to practise the implication of this saying, for if gold rusts, what will iron do?

Anticipating Nuclear War

S_{IR}—Has the University any plans about what to do in a nuclear war? For it would be too late to make them when the missiles began to fly. For instance, the Halls would need deep shelters equipped for staying in for days, or weeks, or months, with food, water, and conveniences, which, if there is no nuclear war, would make useful storage space.

The Library ought to have an annexe somewhere a good long way from Legon, equipped with spare copies of irreplaceable and important books. If they do not want to build an annexe, they could make an arrangement with a school or training college, sending them a micro-film reader and some microfilms to read.

Since this is all part of defence, the government should bear at least part of the cost.

If the puzzled librarians want to know what to microfilm first, they could begin on Texts from the Latin and Greek shelves, and those from the Folio shelves:

Pauly-Wissowa's real-encyclopedia.
The Corpus of Greek Inscriptions
The Corpus of Latin Inscriptions
Miller's *Itineraria Romana*
Miller's *Handbuch*.

When they have worked through that lot, they can add any book that has reproductions of ancient art.

But let them start doing it, and quickly, instead of enunciating irrelevant gloom and trying to dig up the loan scheme.

P. O. Box 6828,
Accra North.

Daphne Hereward

Sir,

Generally Speaking

If Ebow Daniel is going to dabble in the Classics, he may as well learn who is who: Herodotus was Greek, not Roman; Herodotus may also have alluded to something new coming up from Africa all the time, but the better known source is Pliny and Pliny certainly was Roman; otherwise I have no complaints about *General Speaking*, LO. Vol. XIII No. 10, that is, if readers are not tired of the author's peculiar sense of humour.

15 Lower Hill
Legon

Kobina Egyir

S_{IR}—I would like to suggest to the Ghana University Authorities to transfer Ebow Daniel from the Registry to the School of Mass Communication as an Associate Professor, if possible. His pieces on the subject above enable those of us who cannot afford three "round" meals a day (I have never seen a "square" fufu or "kenkey" in my life) to skip lunch by reading and re-reading them.

I would, however, like him to have a peep (look is too elementary) at the way business language is developing: "Profits" no longer rise or fall; rather the "bottom line" figure gets "enhanced" or "deteriorated". We do not use "most" of our raw materials; we usually "obtain the optimum usage" of our raw materials. To say "about" is commercially unethical; it must always be "approximately". These days, we don't "expect"; we "anticipate". "Before" is dead, the successor is "prior to". There are no "causes" of economic trouble; only "negative factors".

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I guess the trend is becoming trendier and trendier. I wonder what words will now replace Churchill's "blood, sweat and tears" which kindled the British to fight for victory. Without these "polysyllable displays of verbiage" who will "entertain any thought" that we have once been "Business students" at Legon?

I believe the wrong thing was buried when Lincoln died: HIS FAMOUS GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

P. O. Box 5377,
ACCRA.

Kwadwo Adu

Notebook

THE RESHUFFLE . . .

For the second time in less than two years the President has thought it necessary to reshuffle some cabinet posts. Apart from three Ministers and four Regional Ministers who have been dropped altogether, four other Ministers have had their Ministries changed. Mr. Joe Reindorf has moved from the Attorney-General's Department and Ministry of Justice to Local Government and Co-operatives, Dr. Ekow-Daniels from Interior to Education, Mr. J. E. Jantuah from Local Government and Co-operatives to Interior and Col. Zanlerigu moves from Works and Housing to Industries, Science and Technology. Nine Deputy Ministers have also changed their Ministries.

It is to be conceded that the President, endowed with the executive power of the state and therefore responsible for the government as a whole, has the right to change his Ministers at any time in order to get the best team possible. It must indeed be remembered that the Ministers are there to assist the President in the conduct of the nation's affairs.

Under the cabinet system, Ministers are chosen necessarily from a charmed circle of senior party members in Parliament. There is thus a severe restriction on the choices that a Prime Minister can make. When therefore Ministers' performance in the Cabinet system falls below expectations the Prime Minister is forced to reshuffle cabinet posts, to play a kind of musical chairs in the hope that a Minister who fails in Trade may do well in Education.

One of the advantages of the Presidential system is that Ministers need not be chosen from a charmed circle. Certainly if they are, it is not because the available material is restricted by Parliamentary necessities. Ministers, in short, are in the Presidential system, to be selected from the country at large. It is therefore difficult to understand why President Limann persists with the practice of cabinet reshuffle. Why is it that Ministers who have failed are not simply relieved of their ministerial responsibilities and replaced with people of proven ability? Is it being seriously suggested that this country is that short of ability?

The unsatisfactoriness of reshuffling cabinet posts in a Presidential system is sharply thrown

up by the latest reshuffle. Mr. Joe Reindorf, everyone knew, was appointed Attorney-General and Minister of Justice because of his expertise in the law; certainly not for his administrative skills. Why send him to Local Government and Co-operatives if he has failed in his own expert field? Why move Dr. Ekow Daniels, who is another expert in the law—he was a Professor of Law and Dean of the Faculty of Law at Legon when he was appointed Minister—to Education from Interior? It does not seem that there is either rhyme or reason to the reshuffle, especially in the light of Deputy Ministers' shifts. The country is the loser by all this, for it means that an opportunity to replace unsatisfactory performance with new blood has been sadly passed up.

. . . THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF IT ALL . . .

It is pertinent to ask whether, in the Presidential system, cabinet reshuffles and promotions of Deputy Ministers to full ministerial rank **without reference to Parliament** are permitted by the Constitution.

The Constitution demands that Ministers of State be appointed by the President with the prior approval of Parliament. To move Ministers about without reference to Parliament is to suggest that a person is approved in general for ministerial positions, that he is not approved for a particular portfolio. That is to say, once a person is deemed ministerial timber he can hold down any ministry.

It is unfortunate that when the first ministerial shuffle took place this interpretation was not challenged. It is in any case time to challenge it. At the time Ministers were being cleared by Parliament the questions put them by the Committees of Appointments very much suggested that they were being examined for particular portfolios and not being given general clearance merely. If that is so, then when they are being moved, they should go back to Parliament for their fitness for their new portfolios also to be tested. Mr. Joe Reindorf and Dr. Ekow Daniels should be congratulated on resigning their positions. It is all too clear they were being moved from positions to which their expertise was most relevant to areas in which they had no particular competence.

It should be added that Parliament was wise in taking the view of the matter it took. As we have pointed out above, it doesn't seem to make much sense to adopt the Presidential system only to continue shuffling a few Ministers around instead of searching all the nooks and crannies of the country for the best ministerial material. The seriousness of our present state reinforces the wisdom of the latter approach.

We have but little doubt that the Constituent Assembly also took the view that Ministers are to be approved for specific ministries and not generally for ministerial positions so that the President can look for experts to beef up the administration.

But if there is some doubt about the constitutionality of cabinet reshuffles, there can be none about the promotion of Deputy Ministers. It is clear in the Constitution and common sense

massively re-inforces it, that there is a difference between a Minister and a Deputy Minister. Deputy Ministers indeed are expected to be appointed "in consultation with a Minister of State" in addition to prior approval of Parliament. It must also be clear that a person who qualifies to be a Deputy Minister, like the fledgling from Cape Coast University, does not necessarily qualify to be Minister. When therefore Parliament clears somebody for the post of Deputy Minister, it does not follow that it has cleared him for the position of Minister.

We think therefore that it is unconstitutional to promote a Deputy Minister to the position of Minister without clearance by Parliament. Parliament should insist on its clear constitutional rights here. And if Parliament doesn't, the matter should be tested in court. We should not permit an all too clear provision of the Constitution to be abrogated in this manner.

... AND THE BIZARRE

Dr. Ekow-Daniels did not resign after all. Within hours of announcing to a Press conference on Tuesday October 6 that he was still in the cabinet news came of his dismissal by the President for "fabrication" of news of the resignations. It was widely known that Dr. Daniels was unhappy about being assigned to Education. If he intended to resign and even hinted as much to the media would that be fabrication? And what is meant in the letter of dismissal by "a very serious breach of his cabinet oath of secrecy" - that he hinted at resignation to the press? And was it being suggested that beyond hinting resignation, Dr. Daniels also manufactured

the further story that the President had "accepted the resignation?" And why could not the dismissal wait for the outcome of the Press Commission's investigation? As it turns out the Press Commission is satisfied that Dr. Daniels did not fabricate any story. Why, in any case, is the mere contemplation of resignation considered such a "national embarrassment" as to occasion dismissal and so much fan-fare in the media? Was the initial transfer to Education intended to provoke resignation? Was dismissal to be expected in any case since Dr. Daniels would not take the bait? Did Mr. Reindorf barely miss being dismissed? Dr. Daniels has some questions to answer too, in particular, why did he not resign when many expected him to, and, in fact, thought he had, seeing how unrelated to Education his expertise is?

WE SHOULD BE ASHAMED INDEED !

The number of our compatriots who cross our borders in search of a living in neighbouring countries is growing by the day. A visit to the Passport Office any day gives some idea of how many more are contemplating to decamp. The effect of the "exodus", as the phenomenon has come to be known, is the more visible in those spheres of our national life with which we are in closest touch, especially in the educational and health sectors: the teachers are not there to teach for all it costs to send a child to school these days; medical personnel are not readily available anymore in spite of our medical schools and universities.

We all know the reasons for the "exodus". We also know that conditions in the country will not improve unless nationals are willing to stay and work hard at whatever has to be done. We need very much the pioneering spirit of those who first made it to the New World. How often have we not seen in motion-pictures the deprivations those pioneers endured in order to build homes, businesses, industry and nation? Alas, for many of us motion-pictures are mere entertainment. But it needs to be said in all fairness that those individuals who migrated to the New World and Australia in those early days knew what lay ahead and were therefore prepared for it. Ours is a different story, however. It is not as if Ghana has always been a desolate habitat. We have seen better days before. And before our own eyes the slide downwards began. Not that we did nothing about it. We have our heroes, those who fought to resist wanton dissipation and suffered for it. Do we blame them if there is no fight in them any more? In any case, people who have trained as teachers can be expected to make a meaningful contribution only through teaching. Doctors can practise their profession in the only way they have been taught. And if the tools for practice are not available, are we surprised our professionals are busy crossing the borders? And should anyone prefer to stay to make the best out of a bad situation, does he get rewarded for his trouble? As much as the chit-pedlar, for instance?

Those that are leaving to seek a living elsewhere are not doing anything new. We could not have forgotten so soon that our schools and hospitals, indeed the whole of our public services, used to have a large component of expatriate staff. Those

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

S. Agyeman-Mensah:

Journalist who was on a 12-week course in Britain at the time of the Royal Wedding.

Ama Gyapon:

Did National Service with Ghana National College, Cape Coast, 1980-81.

James Gibbs:

Formerly of the Department of English, Legon.

Agyare Koilarbi:

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expatriates were here not because they loved their country less or that they loved us more. They were here because they loved themselves more than everybody else, and that, indeed, is human nature. The essential element in the art of government is to bring it about that love of self and country coincide; that in pursuing self-interest one is at the same time serving one's nation. Unless we can appeal to self-interest no amount of preaching will stop our compatriots from leaving. It's a shame, says the President, and we could not agree with him more, but why do we despair?

If we cannot retain the services of our nationals we can at least seek to make some gains out of the impulse to leave home. There are countries which require employers of their professionals to pay a commission for each one employed. It is not unlike requiring a transfer fee on a footballer who is recruited by another team. It needs very careful negotiation. Have we thought about it? If we have not, that indeed is the real shame.

THE DEMOCRATIC EXPERIMENT

If we are not impressed by the Limann Administration's programme, or lack of it, for getting the nation out of the economic woods, we must admit that, at least, in terms of the practice of democracy we seem to be getting somewhere. Certainly, nobody has interfered with the publication of this journal, for instance. The supply of newsprint is not as regular as we would want it, but we are satisfied that nobody is deliberately starving us of newsprint. If any of what we have written in the last two years has occasioned displeasure in government circles, we have not seen government's displeasure in overt actions; and we are impressed, the more so that we do not know of any paper that has a complaint to make.

We have had occasion to make critical comments on the operations of the security forces with particular reference to the harassment of Captain Kojo Tsikata, but if the security situation is as critical as the President indicated in his broadcast on the eve of the second anniversary of the Third Republic, we are pleased that widespread harassment is not the case.

In a sense we owe what freedom there is to the Constitution of the Third Republic. But it is easy to underestimate a government's potential for reducing paper guarantees to nothing. In another sense, therefore, we are indebted to the government for having so far shown a disposition to building a nation in which people are free to express themselves and go about their lawful duties without molestation, even if for the moment, not everybody has it to eat. And this is particularly commendable because there is no lack of people who argue that democracy is a luxury for a society faced with the daunting economic problems that we have.

Having blazed the torch for independence in Black Africa, maybe this is where the next duty lies; to show the world, in particular, the developing world, that State business could be done without muzzling dissent, without consigning political opponents to prison; that state property belongs

accessible to all, irrespective of political persuasion, is what civilized government is about. Black Africa needs that lesson very badly if we are up to it!

Miscellaneous Report

WEDDING OF THE CENTURY

By

S. Agyeman-Mensah

Was it just a holiday, an interlude, a break away from it all? Was it no more than a gift, a distraction or a mere fluke, like a rare sunny day in a bad summer? What does it all add up to, then?

It was a good and happy day, we know that for sure. Anyone who was on the streets of London on that historic Wednesday knows that. It admits of no argument. The teeming millions who sat and watched it on the television know it too, even the few who stayed away or deliberately refused to watch, those who pretended to work and affected disinterest, they could not harm the day, it was beyond their envious reach.

There are not so many unquestionably good and happy days for this one to be branded off as just another VE and VJ Day, the Coronation and Everest climbed; George V's Silver Jubilee and Queen Elizabeth II's; the day England won the World Cup. That is about all. What other days stand out clearly in the last 50 years? So even if it was no more than a good and happy day, we should all be very thankful for it.

Here were milling crowds enjoying themselves and each other, great assemblies without rancour; here was vast enthusiasm without embarrassment or threat; here were enormous demonstrations, not even of anger and hate but of affection and pleasure. Everywhere along the over two-mile route were people dressed in red, white and blue, like football supporters up for the cup, but waving flags, not rattles, and in the best of all possible moods. Not a hooligan amongst them, they sang the football anthem, "You'll Never Walk Alone", just outside the Royal Buckingham Palace for Prince Charles and his princess.

They cheered the soldiers too. "Paras" with their Northern Ireland medals were cheered, and so were the police. They handed a policeman a glass of champagne in Fleet Street. A sergeant came up, I thought to remonstrate. But no—he had come for a swig himself and have his photograph taken alongside a laughing girl with a swinging bust. Was this just a respite before we resumed the uneven tenor of our daily, riotous routine? Or was it something else, a different kind of holiday, the wedding day becoming also Everyman's Day, with everybody coming into the streets to say "... do not quite forget, that we are the people of England.

That historic Wednesday was surely an extraordinary day—when the ordinary people came out to play but stayed also to show themselves and have their say. They were saying, amid singing, cheering, laughing and waving of flags, that they did not hate their police, that they admired their soldiers, that marching military bands could constrict their throats and wet their eyes, that they loved their country. They were saying that they were the majority and that they did not riot in the streets or vandalise housing estates or loot shops or mug old women or fight on football terraces or maraud the country in packs of motor-cycles. They were saying that huge crowds can be happy and peaceful multitudes.

They brought along their children from far and near; no one would be hurt; there would be no need to board-up shop-fronts; there would be no call for riot shields, CS gas cannisters, flaying truncheons. The horses were there to delight the crowds, not to control them or trample them down.

They were surely saying, too, that no one amongst them was going to take a pot-shot or throw a bomb. They would make no room in such a crowd for such a lunatic. Each member scrutinised his neighbour, liked what he saw, and laughed as the police took photographs.

They were making friends with each other up to the time they said goodbye and made their way home.

Now there is nothing in a royal wedding, as such, to elicit such a response. At another time I do not think the wedding of Charles and Diana would have produced the kind of day that Wednesday was. It would always have been a bun-feast, of

course. But that Wednesday was more than that.

It wasn't that that Wednesday expunged Brixton and Toxteth. The past cannot be deleted. A royal wedding does not improve decaying city centres. It does not wipe out racial hostilities. It does not make the deprived and the disaffected suddenly begin to love the forces of law and order.

But the wedding became an occasion when the people said that there is more to Britain than riots in Brixton and Toxteth, that in city centres there can be dancing as well as rioting, that the police are friends and not enemies, that the country can relax and enjoy itself, that patriotism, and tolerance are still alive—and both doing well.

And truly a point had been made and proved, by the people, for the people. They came out, waved their flags and had their say.

It is often said that the 1951 festival of Britain marked the time when the post-war austerity was cast aside and when the post-war boom began. It cannot possibly be known now whether the wedding will be seen to mark such a watershed, but whatever it may look like in the future, it was surely a moment when the people took time off from their tribulations to affirm themselves, to speak for themselves, as well as to enjoy themselves and their Royal Family.

Truly the Royal Wedding of the Century is over now, but it has shown us something we needed to be reminded about—have FAITH, this was the true face of Britain.

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The Arts

GHANAIAN PLAYWRIGHTS AND NIGERIANS

By

James Gibbs

THE trial of those accused in connection with the *Black Maria* tragedy is the longest running drama in Nigeria which is of direct interest to Ghanaians. It is a desperately distressing tale of suffering and callous inhumanity and it is being told with such disturbingly long intervals between the acts that only the optimistic can believe that a satisfying resolution will ever be reached. Some of those in the audience hope that a 'real playwright' will take hold of the transcript of the trial and use it to show why men behave so brutally to men and how such inhumanity can be eradicated.

Fortunately the life drama of the *Black Maria* does not tell the full story of the lot of Ghanaians in Nigeria. At the University of Ibadan during the last three years it has been possible to appreciate the high esteem in which Ghanaian playwrights are held in the 'capital' of Yorubaland. In the attitude to the playwrights and in the values which the writers, particularly Joe de Graft advocate there is hope for human understanding.

First it was *Anansewa*. Efua Sutherland's play was presented by students from the Department of Theatre Arts in a production that was researched and rehearsed so as to come as close as possible to the Festal performance. This was a pity in some ways, since directors should be interpreters not imitators, but it was nothing if not respectful. It meant that for the duration of the play, the stage in the University of Ibadan's Arts Theatre 'was' a Ghanaian village and we saw 'Ghanaians' telling stories at home rather than seeking jobs as 'aliens' in a foreign land! After its initial run the production was revived and then repeated a number of times 'by special request'. The play is a good natured piece, blandly 'authentic', easily enjoyed; the U.I. production afforded a warm sharing of suspense and laughter.

This year the major Ghanaian offering at the University of Ibadan was a production by Ayo Akinwale of Kobina Sekyi's *Blinkards*. This production was, fortunately, not influenced by George Wilson's Accra production. By using live music, by cutting the script judiciously to

limitations of the seamstresses and tailors of Cape Coast during the first decades of this century, Akinwale avoided the main shortcomings of the Accra production. At Ibadan the play was kept in motion, the structural weaknesses were glossed over and the satirical thrusts pushed home. *Blinkards* was vastly enjoyed and it allowed Nigerian audiences to share in Ghana's distinguished tradition of men of letters and national vision, a tradition in which Sekyi stands besides such men as Casley Hayford and J. B. Danquah. More than sixty years after the play was written and more than twenty years after 'political independence', its concern with cultural independence is as pertinent as ever—as was made clear recently in several of the speeches at the Inauguration of the African Institute for the Study of Human Values.

Joe de Graft would have been pleased to be remembered, as he was at Ibadan during the last three years, through productions of his plays rather than through memorial lectures or memorial publications—though they have their places! Ibadan theatre-goers have been able to see productions of his careers guidance piece, *Sons and Daughters*, and of his more personal and perplexing *Through a Film Darkly*. Both plays condemn those who seek to dominate and manipulate others. De Graft says that people, even young people and even foreign people, should be treated with consideration and their feelings respected.

De Graft made a notable contribution to the organization of Festac in the very city in which the *black maria* stood so long in the sun. Let us hope that further productions of his plays will propagate those values by which he lived and wrote so that they may spread from the University of Ibadan to challenge Agege and beyond. Like Sutherland and Sekyi, de Graft is a humanizing influence — 'is' in that he lives through plays and his influence on those who knew him. In a world that often seems dominated by brutality and in which men are often callously indifferent to the sufferings of others this influence must be celebrated and encouraged. During the last three years the University of Ibadan Arts Theatre has done this.

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- **HEMP**

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 The above issue which appeared as Vol. XII No. 11 should have carried the serial number Vol. XIII No. 11
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Editorial

WHERE IS THE FOOD?

Apparently the Government's food production programme has been a success. Certainly the Vice-President of the Republic believes this is the case, according to reports reaching us from his address at a political rally last month. The President also spoke of food production success to an audience in Switzerland during his October tour. The President repeated this claim in the Sessional Address read to Parliament on Friday November, 6.

We would not have thought there was any success story yet. Our recollection of developments on the agricultural front takes us to December 1979 on the occasion of the two-year agricultural programme. You could not miss any of the fan-fare at Oyarefa, the launching site, because it took the better part of television and radio time. There was justifiable jubilation that at long last a programme that was going to make us self-sufficient in food production was in hand and under the direction of a youthful and ebullient minister of agriculture, we could not fall; and we were even inclined to overlook the two million cedis that the launching ceremony apparently cost.

Then came the bewildering surprises: Fertilizers arrived at the ports but could not be taken immediately to the farms because there was no transport; and meanwhile the rains had set in. Imported cutlasses turned out to be of the wrong sort fishing nets that came were not suitable either. Tractors came and were alleged to have been sold to non-farmer businessmen who proceeded to sell at very high prices to those who tilled the land for their livelihood. Similar allegations had been made about the distribution of outboard motors. The young persons who were recruited to what was supposed to be a settlement farm at Oyarefa would not stay; in no time at all they had drifted back to the idle life of the city. Meanwhile the Ministry of Agriculture was feuding with the Food Distribution Corporation over who should distribute what little imported food there was.

The Ghana National Reconstruction Corporation continued to be the waste-pipe that its predecessor the Workers' Brigade was. The Auditor General's Report

investment of C72 million since inception in 1978 only C200,000 could be accounted for. And it was with much reluctance that Parliament approved any sums at all for the continuing operations of the Ghana Reconstruction Corps in the current financial year.

We were under the impression that the President, at least, recognized the failure that the agricultural programme has been. The removal of Dr Andah from Agriculture in the first shuffle of ministers was taken to be an admission of failure. His eventual removal from the Government altogether was similarly regarded as evidence of continuing failure at the agricultural front. As Minister of Youth and Rural Development was he not supposed to mobilize the youth for agricultural ventures? And did the Oyarefa farm-settlement, for instance receive any boost in farm population as a result of activities in the Ministry of Youth and Rural Development? Certainly, the Budget Statement for 1981-82 read to Parliament by the Minister of Finance "on the authority of the President of the Republic of Ghana," so the official document says, confirmed failure:

"Although agriculture is the mainstay of the economy, its performance over the past few years has been far from encouraging. In particular, the output of basic food crops has not kept pace with the growth of domestic demand. Consequently, the economy has suffered persistent food deficits culminating in rising food prices and high import bills for agricultural products. That the agricultural sector has by and large not responded to the demand placed on it despite substantial investments in the sector is a manifestation of the basic problem of the low level of agricultural productivity, a consequence of the limitation on the output of most farms to what can be produced with the traditional input-labour and land. It is also a clear evidence of relative ineffectiveness and inadequacy of extension services offered to farmers."

The Budget statement was read to Parliament on 30th June 1981. How come that barely three months later both the President and the Vice-President are talking about agricultural successes? Fortunately for themselves, but unfortunately for the nation, both the President and the Vice-President are insulated from the practicalities of buying food. The rest of us can tell any day whether or not there is food; not so the President and his Vice who are at the mercy of

speech writers and imaginary statistics. General Acheampong was similarly handicapped, who earnestly believed that *Operation Feed Yourself* had been a success. It must have come as a surprise to him when his initial supporters turned against him because of hunger in the land. Of course, Acheampong could not have known what acreage of what crop was under cultivation before he took office. He could not have known either the precise nature of the difference *Operation Feed Yourself* made. A freak fish glut and a good harvest in the first few months of taking office were taken to be indices of success of programmes initiated by the National Redemption Council.

In our present circumstances, it is not as if there is anything to give even a false impression of success. If food prices are the index, then not much progress would seem to have been made considering that each item of a tuber of yam, six fingers of plantain, one-half dozen of eggs, a pint of cooking oil or a pound of meat costs more than a day's wage. We appreciate that there may be food on the farms which do not reach the market because the roads are bad and there is no transport. But it is also true that local production of foodstuff is simply not enough.

As we approach the next presidential elections, we must begin to claim and advertise some successes, but hyperboles respecting food production won't do at all. We are too hungry to be fed mere propaganda.

Education

THE TRAINING OF MIDDLE-LEVEL ACCOUNTING PERSONNEL

By

D. B. Nkrumah Agyeefi

It would be proper to begin discussing this topic by looking briefly at the accounting function and its role in the economy. Business transactions comprise the exchange of value, either in terms of goods or services, which are measured and expressed in terms of money. It is the accounting function to record such transactions in a manner which will establish the proper financial relationships among the elements mentioned in the transaction. Basically, therefore, the accounting process consists of recording all an entity's transactions and similar relevant events, grouping those transactions and presenting

them in a set of financial statements intended to meet the needs of a variety of users.

The fact that every transaction is recorded in the accounting system is significant. This is done because the entity is accountable for every transaction. Accounting then is a means of achieving accountability. The accountant creates accounting information in a form which will be useful to the society. This he does by recording, classifying, summarising transactions which are in part, at least, financial in nature and interpreting the results thereof. The role of the accountant is mainly advisory. He furnishes interested parties with information they need and leaves them to make their own decision. In short accounting may be viewed as a device to improve the efficiency of the other sectors of the development process.

In this country, the government is the principal controller of the development process. Not only is the development process limited by the lack of resources, it is also constrained by lack of information. Accounting is a source of information, a device for increasing the efficiency of resource allocation and mechanism for controlling productive operation. It therefore, seems obvious that the accounting tools and techniques which have served private enterprise management so well should be equally useful to the management of the development process.

If foreign exchange resources are scarce, accounting techniques should improve the allocation system. If a capital market is needed to mobilize internal savings, accounting can assist in its operation through increasing the reliability of investment information.

The Government of Ghana requires revenue to finance its development projects. A better accounting could improve tax collection and administration procedure.

Accounting is one of the tools conditionally available to improve the functioning of the development process. Indeed, if development consists of a mere efficient allocation of resources, then accounting techniques can improve both the allocation process and the efficiency of some of the resources.

Role of the Accountant

The accountant can be of use to the government in three ways: (1) determination of government policy, (2) execution of policy and (3) evaluation of policy.

Determination of sound government policy

Unless the pattern of policy determination is sound, the sum of the various parts can be hardly expected to yield a positive result. The execution of policy is greatly hampered if the policy was not soundly determined or its pattern of co-ordination was not well formulated. Most government policies involve some financial decisions. Accounting can aid in policy determination by gathering and organising data in an orderly and well-balanced manner. It has been mentioned in an earlier paragraph that the government is the principal of the development process. Inefficiency or incompetence in government accounting, therefore, does not only involve the waste of vital assets, but also results in the demoralization of those associated with the development machinery. Corruption in a government is a major cause of social unrest which often stands in the way of development process. Though an effective accounting control cannot stamp out all corruptions, a thoughtfully conceived and administered accounting can be a strong deterrent against it.

The accountant, like the doctor, the engineer or the scientist, cannot perform his duties efficiently without the necessary **TRAINED** middle-level personnel. The question might be put: Who then is this middle-level accounting person?

The accounting function as said earlier is the recording of all monetary transactions in a manner which will establish the proper financial relationships. All transactions and similar relevant events of an entity are recorded grouped and presented in a set of financial statements intended to meet the needs of a variety of users. The keeping of such records forms the major activity of the middle-level accounting professional. He originates the recording of all transactions and gets them ready for the preparation of periodic financial statements. He is thus found at the lower echelons of the accounting profession. Nonetheless, like all middle-level personnel, he is the hub around which the whole professional function revolves.

The middle-level accounting personnel could thus be in both the government and private sectors of the economy — viz: in manufacturing firms, wholesale and retail business, bank and other financial enterprises, insurance companies, transportation companies, railroads, airlines, shipping companies, bus companies, schools, colleges and universities, hospitals, government units/departments at local and state levels, churches and welfare organizations. Hence the

ment for the determination and formulation of its financial policy has its source with the middle-level accounting personnel. Such functionaries thus make or mar government financial policy and for that matter the economy.

Education And Training

Although the middle-level accounting personnel plays such a vital role in the economy, the training of such personnel leaves much to be desired. The President, Dr Hilla Limann, had this to say on accountancy training at a public lecture organised by the Institute of Chartered Accountants (Ghana) on 10th September, 1979.

I am aware that the country at the moment is seriously short of such middle-level manpower. Yet I understand that institutions responsible for training such staff are few and ill-equipped and that the few existing ones also lack trained teachers, classrooms and library facilities. Many of them are said to be run by private organizations with no adequate central direction or professional guidance. In spite of these shortcomings, these institutions seem to have borne the greater burden of training such middle-level personnel.

The few institutions which undertake the training of the middle-level accounting staff amidst myriads of problems produce personnel who lack practical training in commercial and government accounting. Their programmes are geared towards examinations like the Royal Society of Arts (R.S.A.) Stages II and III; the London Chamber of Commerce (L.C.C) Intermediate and Advanced and the General Certificate of Education (GCE) Ordinary and Advanced Levels. Such personnel and even others without this theoretical training are absorbed into public and private establishments to man the august sections, Finance/Accounts.

Such training falls short of adequate central direction and professional guidance. Lack of trained teachers, requisite textbooks and practical training facilities have hampered the progress of the programme. For instance, all textbooks in use are foreign-authored with no regard for the basic accounting legislation in the country, not to mention their prohibitive prices. Congratulations to Mr J. N. E. Amarin who has produced the first book on Company Accounts based, of course, on the Ghana Companies Code, 163 (AAct 179). This is what we implore our few qualified professional accountants to do to solve the long-standing acute shortage of textbooks in accounting.

The nature of accountancy training in the country is reflected in the economy. The final

accounts of most establishments have been in arrears for many years and those that are prepared do not show a true and fair view of operations. The Auditor-General had this to say in his report of 1967 on the Accounts of the State Housing Corporation for 1963: **'Indeed the accounts, generally, were in a state of neglect, also the system of internal controls had broken down and the compilation of the accounts by the Auditors had been completed up to 30th June, 1963.'** Today, the revelations concerning the mismanagement of this same corporation are alarming and lamentable. In a recent report on another corporation, the Auditor-General noted: **"As regards accounting, the corporation did not employ an efficient accountant and the standard of accounting was consequently below what was expected from an organization of its size and such books as were kept were in a deplorable state. The effect of this was that management was unable to obtain the financial data it needed for effective and realistic planning."**

A recent government release stated that the government viewed with concern the lack of productivity in the Department of the Controller and Accountant-General which is evidenced by the inability of the Department to produce government accounts for the past four years. The release explained that it was becoming amply clear that with the accounts in arrears Government will continue to find it difficult to obtain realistic and dependable data on which to base its financial policies.

Conclusion

Without adequate accounting, therefore, much of what passes for development planning is nothing more than groping in the dark. Thus the lack of accounting skills facilitates economic decline or decreases the efficiency of the various development agents.

The success of any economic development depends significantly upon the competence of all professional accounts and their middle-level personnel - one of the important group of information contributors. The shortage of well trained accountants - at both the professional and middle-levels - is one of the main difficulties standing in the way of economic development. This is compounded by the limited concept of the role of accounting, it not being understood that accounting is much more than simple book-keeping.

It would, therefore, be much desirable if the Institute of Chartered Accountants in collabo-



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ration with the Accountant-Generals Department and the Ghana Education Service could equip and upgrade the existing accountancy institutions and exercise close supervision over their curricula and training schedules so that the country shall be provided with the right type of middle-level accounts clerks and book-keepers. Efforts at in-service training for such personnel already in employment need be intensified.

Politics

AN OLD PARTY IS BORN

By

K. K. ODURO

On 26th September 1981, an electoral college of the merged parties met in the Great Hall of the University of Ghana to elect their executive. Before that date some well-wishers had counselled the leaders of the new party to postpone the election of a party leader and concentrate first on the organisation and establishment of the party. Various reasons were given for the counsel but perhaps the most convincing was the fear expressed that the leadership issue was so volatile that it needed a viable party to resolve it.

This and other arguments, evidently failed to persuade the leaders against the action they had previously decided upon. In the end, when the delegates got down to the day's business it wasn't the leadership question which threatened to destroy their common objective, but the relatively less important post of the deputy leader. That was also resolved in a seemingly amicable manner although one has to confess that not everyone present seemed completely happy with the outcome. Thereafter, the Chairman and two deputies, the General Secretary and his assistant as well as the Treasurer of the party were all elected without much fuss. Thus was born the party whose members believe it to hold the answer to the present tribulations of poor mother Ghana, but whose enemies no doubt assert that it is deemed to go the way of all 'anti-CPP' parties - defeat at the next general elections followed by eventual disintegration.

But how did this party come to be born? What was the need for it? Perhaps the most objective answer to such questions is that no party has been born - certainly not a new party. If parties are formed in the hearts of men, on their upbringing, their beliefs, their way of life

and their philosophies, then clearly this party has always been with us and will probably continue to be with us for ever.

It was a sheer manifestation of the shortsightedness of our soldier-rulers which made them think that if you decree out labels, you succeed in ostracising beliefs and philosophies from men's hearts. As it turned out, in spite of the decree, the other side never pretended that the PNP was anything but the CPP. True, Dr. Limann and his friends seem to be prevaricating about their ideology, but basically they believe in the CPP, in public ownership and in state organization of the lives of individuals. They are merely waiting for an opportune time to return the country to the CPP way of doing things. Those who lost out were the traditional anti-CPP forces. They became divided and are only now trying to correct the mess by coming together. If this analysis is true, then where does one place Colonel Benasko's ACP and Dr Safo-Adu's New Ghana Party?

Signs of Disunity?

Some people may be tempted to take Dr Safo-Adu's departure too lightly. True, neither Dr Safo-Adu nor his new party by itself can pose too much of a threat to the APP. What can prove fatal for Mr Owusu's APP is the possibility that people who see their fortunes threatened by the galaxy of 'stars' in the APP may decide to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Should that happen, the natural destination for such people would appear to be with the New Ghana Party. Potential recruits include Kwesi Lamptey and Saki-Scheck, front-liners in the PFP both, who have announced their resignation from the PFP and the merger protesting undemocratic tendencies in the party. As for Colonel Bernasko, with all deference to him and in spite of the sense he seems to be talking these days, he has to remember that the memory of himself as a uniformed soldier-ruler is too fresh in some people's minds; he would do well to continue to talk sense but bide his time nevertheless for a more favourable climate.

There is one more issue that needs to be dealt with before the question of the recent political groupings is laid to rest. Are the groupings natural? The answer is, not quite. It would be more natural for the SDF to go with the PNP and the Third Force with the PFP and UNC, and Safo-Adu, Kwesi Lamptey and Saki Scheck need not have left the PFP. The ACP could have settled quite comfortably with either side.

A further shaking down is therefore to be expected.

What are the fortunes of the APP? The PNP is in power and people, especially Ghanaians, love winners. It is also true that rumours are rife to the effect that the PNP is determined to amass enormous funds to ensure their victory at the next general elections. But stacked heavily against them is their own dismal failure up to date to provide the rudiments of government. They have taken two years to identify some of our problems and their answer to the solution of these is simple — a perpetual plea of alibis. They don't possess magic wands and they are at a loss as to which cutlasses are most suited to peasant farming in Ghana. Trucks are not available to cart fertilizers from the ports to the hinterland. On the other hand, not one bag of flour or cement has been similarly left to the elements — no, these are too precious to ministers and the committees they inaugurate to distribute them. We have seen a year of action pass without a simple action worth remembering. And our year of accountability has just begun with our President exhorting Ghanaian managers of the country who know they are inefficient to advise themselves!

Organisation the Answer

That the new party has the backing of a lot of articulate people — young and old, is self-evident. What is not so evident is organisation. If the APP is to succeed, this fundamental flaw should be corrected quickly. One other fact which screams to high heaven should also be borne in mind. No matter the quality of the people the party presents to the public, their political ideas would amount to nothing if they don't first learn to win votes, and votes are not won through dissipation of energy in constant bickering. For good or ill, the die has now been cast — a leader has been elected for the party and it is absolutely essential that the party gets well-organized for the job ahead. Another term in the wilderness will certainly destroy the party and may result in the complete disintegration of our so-called Black Star of Africa. Good luck APP

Health

THE CASE AGAINST HEMP

By

K. Ayitebi Akraaku

A prominent Ghanaian medic was reported the other day as saying that Indian hemp smokers, peddlers and "pushers" were being harassed unnecessarily because there was, as yet, no conclusive evidence that the smoking of the stuff caused any harm to the smoker. The medic is, certainly, an able physician and not the only one who has come to this conclusion either here or elsewhere in the world. Many there are, in fact, who have been advocating the legalisation of the drug's use. To these defenders of the use of marijuana (Indian hemp) the stuff is not dangerous. Not surprisingly, the use of marijuana (pronounced 'marihuana') has caused more controversy in recent years than any drug.

Marijuana is a drug prepared by drying the leaves, flowering tops, stems and seeds of the hemp plant known as *cannabis sativa*. Hence its other name "cannabis". In the industrialised world, it is commonly called "pot"; in India 'bhang,' and in West Africa "wee". Hashish is another form of *cannabis* made from the resin of the plant and usually pressed into the form of blocks or chambers of varying potency. This and an oil made from it are of greater strength than marijuana.

The history of marijuana-use in China dates back some 4,000 years. It spread to India where it came to be used in religious ceremonies. In some places, its use was medicinal. But in Egypt, the effects that Napoleon saw from its use made him ban it there following his conquest. The stuff was imported into this part of the world by the soldiers who fought in India and Burma during the 2nd World War; hence the name "Indian hemp". Thus with such a long history, it should be possible to know if marijuana is really dangerous to anyone's health and well-being. Unfortunately, see how controversial it is today.

The obviously contradictory nature of reports on marijuana stems from the fact that the early experiments on the drug in the 1960's suggested that it was a mild intoxicant with few untoward effects. At that time, there was no available method of measuring the tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) the active ingredient of the drug.

GHANA ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

22ND ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS — PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC LECTURES AND SYMPOSIA — 16TH — 20TH NOV. 1981 THEME : NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT: PROBLEMS, SOLUTION AND STRATEGIES .

1. **Mondy, November, 16:** "Presidential Address"
Speaker: Prof. F. G. T. Torto, M.O.V., F.G.A.
 President of the Academy.
Chairman: Prof. C. O. Easmon
2. **Tuesday, November 17:** Symposium on: "Problems of Development"
Speaker: i. Prof. C. Okonjo
 Regional Institute for Population Studies, University of Ghana,
 Legon.
 ii. Prof. Kwame Arhin,
 Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.
 iii. Mr J. H. Frimpong-Ansah,
 Banker, Accra.
Chairman: Prof. R. F. Amonoo, F.G.A.
 Department of Modern Languages, University of Ghana, Legon.
3. **Wednesday, November 18:** Symposium of "The Search for Solutions"
Speaker: i. Prof. J. O. de Graft Hanson, F.G.A.
 Department of Classics, University of Ghana, Legon.
 ii. Dr. Nicholas T. Clerk,
 Director, Ghana Institute of Management and
 Public Administration, Greenhill.
 iii. Prof. F. T. Sai, F.G.A.
 United Nations University, Accra.
Chairman: Prof. K. A. Dickson, F.G.A.
 Director, Institute of African Studies,
 University of Ghana, Legon.
4. **Thursday, November 19:** Symposium on "Strategies for Development"
Speaker: i. Mr. K. B. Asante
 Asanteson Services, Accra.
 ii. Dr. W. K. Agble,
 Director of Crops Research Institute, CSIR, Kumasi.
 iii. Mr. D. K. Ayayee
 Ministry of Finance and Econ. Planning, Accra.
Chairman: Dr. E. Evans-Anfom, F.G.A.
 Member, Council of State.
5. **Friday, November 20:** Anniversary Address —
 "National Development and the Ghanaian Situation"
Speaker: Dr. C. A. Ackah, F.G.A.
 Member, Council of State.
Chairman: Prof. F. G. T. Torto, M.O.V., F.G.A.
 President of the Academy.

late as 1975, it appeared that the drug was harmless. Hence, the real value of research on it has been rather recent.

The drug marijuana (pot, cannabis, Indian hemp, wee) falls under a group known as HAL-LUCINOGENS, i.e., those causing hallucinations. Included in the list are hashish and others known generally by their abbreviations, viz., DET, DMT, LBJ, LSD, MDA and STP. Generally, the use of drugs in medicine is not the same as drug-use by individual where the purpose and motivation are very different. As we know, the results to the recipients are also, usually very different.

Hallucinogens

Intense studies show that these hallucinogens work on the central nervous system as stimulants and/or depressants. But, more important, they have no medical use. The short-term effects of these drugs are :- reduced appetite, increased energy and postponement of fatigue, increased heart-rate and blood pressure, and dilation of the pupils (hence the vogue, no doubt). Other effects are a high feeling, distortion in colours, shapes sizes and distances; impairment of memory, logical thinking and the ability to perform complex tasks. In the long run, however, there is a possible psychological dependence on the drug, just like cigarette. Also, there is loss of drive and interest in continuing activity, as well as prolonged anxiety and depression and illusion. In addition, there is the risk of lung cancer and chronic bronchitis, because of the tar content which marijuana smoke carries. All in all, major dangers that marijuana smokers face are bizarre mental effects and irreversible personality changes. What is more, they develop suicidal and homicidal inclinations. Even "flashbacks" may occur after one has discontinued using the drug.

With such an array of effects and dangers, need we encourage the youth by such statement as "Wee smoking is harmless" to enable them to take the stuff even in public, as is being done now? What will be the impact on the developing minds and bodies of adolescents who smoke Indian hemp when they hear of of such statements?

The purpose of this article is not to present an academic treatise on the subject, since the writer is not an expert thereon. Neither is it intended to discredit any group of professionals. Rather, it is meant to point out that some of

minds in recent times. Among them are the following: -

a) **Dr David H. Powelson**

"At the time, I had not any direct experience as a physician with marijuana users . . . Within five years, I knew I was wrong I knew that marijuana was harmful".

b) **Dr Harold Kalmat**

"I am rather more concerned about the use of cannabls today than I was when it first became a public issue back in '66 and '67. Then the available evidence seemed to suggest that it was innocuous. Now there is only one thing that I can say with any certainty and that's that there is no such thing as a safe drug."

c) **Dr. Robert Dupond**

"The real issue is the health danger posed by this epidemic (of spreading marijuana use by the younger generation.), danger of at least two kinds. One is the effects of the intoxication, ranging from the hazardous impact and driving to caring less about everything. The other area is purely physical. Here the concerns range from regular occurrence of chronic bronchitis among marijuana users to the very real possibilities of harmful hormonal effects, effects on the immune system and possibly even cancer."

The concern that these express is valid. Dr Dupond of the U.S.A. says: "While Americans were debating the question of criminal penalties for marijuana possession, the real tragedy has taken us almost unnoticed: the alarming levels of very high marijuana use among our young people." Surely, we, here, should not wait for the U.S. and other advanced countries to feel the full effects of the drug before we take action, should we? In the early 60's we were spared the effects of the drug thalidomide because the advanced nations which first used it warned against its use after experiencing its bad effects.

The trouble which appears to be a handicap to our professionals, not only doctors, but also, other scientists, engineers, accountants, etc.' is that they are so overworked and ill-equipped that they do not have time and the means to undertake any researches. Worse, not a few of them, it would seem, are

in the registers of their professions, or even read current journals that their Institutes produce. It is, therefore, not surprising that in the medical field, for example, there are those who, in opposing the harsh legal measures against smokers of marijuana, would liken its moderate use to alcohol. Such professionals forget that it takes decades for irreversible brain damage to appear in the heavy drinker, whereas in the marijuana smoker, brain damage or changes may appear within three years. On the one hand, the active ingredient of marijuana (THC) is fat soluble and stays in fatty areas of the body accumulating with continued use. Alcohol on the other hand, being both water-soluble and metabolised in a relatively short time, is handled differently by the body. On this matter, a Scientist at the Donner Laboratory of Medical Research explains: "Alcohol is water-soluble and is metabolised to provide cell energy. The end product, carbon dioxide, and water, are easily and quickly disposed of completely by the body. So it pays to take good note of the point of view of the psycho-pharmacologist who said: "Marijuana is a very potent drug, and the biggest mistake we make is comparing it to alcohol".

Dangerous Drug

The mounting evidence that marijuana is dangerous cannot be brushed aside. Those who see no undesirability in the stuff should remember that if the THC has adverse effects on the brain, then one cannot trust one's own estimation of its effects, or that of anybody else. A doctor gives this as a serious reason for believing that marijuana is the most dangerous drug being dealt with. He says: "Its use is beguiling. The user is given the illusion of feeling good; he cannot sense the deterioration of his mental and physiological processes."

But others notice, and come to all sorts of conclusions. Even in areas where legislation of marijuana has taken place, greater concern now, not lesser, is being expressed. Surely, that does not sound as if all is safe with it, does it? Again, when one considers the effects (see above) and the fact that unborn children may be affected by it, one comes to the conclusion that it is not just the innocent use of a harmless relaxant that will make life easier.

But to those who continue to argue that the risks are worth it for the pleasures received, let them remember that all feelings of pleasure really occur in the brain, and since the brain's many marvelous functions take place by a highly complex series of controls, therefore,

what is thought to be pleasurable when caused by a drug is really nothing more than a chemically induced disturbance of the normal functions of the brain.

We should make no mistake about the matter. Marijuana (or Indian hemp, wee is a drug and, as such, it, like other drugs, poses a real threat to one's health and life.

Letters

Bring Back Post-Graduate Accounting Programme

SIR-A serious weakness in high level manpower in Ghana and other less-developed countries is the dearth of qualified Chartered Accountants.

I am convinced that it was in response to this situation that a one-year abridged professional training programme in Accounting following the BSc Administration degree was introduced in the School of Administration, Legon. A successful candidate of the abridged professional training Programme was after two years' practical attachment with a Chartered Accountant, considered for full membership of the Institute of Chartered Accountants which with the University of Ghana jointly sponsored the programme.

If it is considered that Ghana like any other less-developed country lacks qualified Chartered Accounts, then the urgency of the re-introduction of the one-year post-graduate accounting programme cannot be overemphasized.

Commonwealth Hall,
Legon.

Maxwell Addo

A Case of Indiscipline

In the Daily Graphic of Wednesday, 9th September, 1981' our honourable Minister of Finance and Economic Planning was reported to have expressed concern about indiscipline in the society which, he said, hampers the country's rapid development.

I have no objection to the honourable Minister's observation. It is perfectly true, but he failed to unmask the section of the society where the indiscipline is rampant. Last year the Member of Parliament for Asamankese, belonging to the P.N.P. went to the Kotoka International Airport, to park his car at a "NO PARKING" area. When this MP was told by a security man at the airport not to park his car there, he defied his orders and even threatened to beat him up. Again from the 'Ghanaian Times' of September 12, we read that another MP belonging to the same P.N.P. has defied orders by a security man at the Kotoka International Airport not to park at the "NO DRKING" area, but this time slaps were administered to the security man's face, thus breaking the former MP's record of indiscipline and setting a new one.

Looking at all these happenings, one would not hesitate to say without malice that the indiscipline that has plagued our society has been caused mainly by members of the ruling P.N.P.

.O. Box 19
Achimota

Albert Joe Pimpong

Securing A Passport

SIR-Along the airport street stands a beautiful building that once was entangled in vegetation of all kinds. Today, this same building houses the Passport Division of Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The scene there provides an interesting spectacle with people parading all day, sitting around, some even staying there after the normal closing time.

The picture reminds me of a speech made by somebody recently. Speaking at a colloquium organised by the University of Ghana Alumni Association under the theme "The Cedi and the Economy" the individual criticised the cumbersome procedure for securing a passport these days. He was of the view that since those who travel to neighbouring countries in search of a living do so at their own risk, the government should fix a sum of money to be paid by would-be passport seekers which would raise more revenue for the country. It would reduce our manpower strength, of course. Even so, the government can enter into agreements with neighbouring governments so that these people can send part of their earnings home.

Psychiatric Hospital
P.O. Box 1305
Accra.

Abraham Mpete-Darko

The Same Old Tune

SIR-Any time there is a discussion on the Television or Radio, Reverend Ministers or priests on the panel contend that the churches have not failed the nation but the members of the churches have rather failed the nation. I sometimes think there is some element of confusion here. Imagine that if our universities tend to produce students whose understanding of subjects taught is in no way different from sixth formers, could we say that it is rather the students who have failed but not the universities?

We have to face facts. The church, the civil service, the judiciary, the army and all the educated elements have failed the nation. The only people who have not failed the nation are our so-called "illiterate" brothers and sisters who have been toiling day and night to feed us. When it comes to the crunch it is mostly the "educated" who are first to leave the country. The exodus could be blamed on the type of education we receive: no nationalism or love of country either. And do we blame only the individuals? Not the institutions that produced them?

P.O. Box Box 337,
Mamprobi-Accra.

A.K. Sakyi

We Are Fed Up

SIR-At a colourful durbar of Chiefs and people of the Central Region held in the honour of Dr. Hilla Limann at the Victoria Park, Cape Coast, on February 18 1980, the President was reported to have said that increase of salary and wages of workers will not solve the problems of the country. Instead, the workers should have patience, and work hard with sincerity and honesty. In addition there should be peace, calm, and understanding to promote speedy recovery of the present economic difficulties.

Before Dr. Limann was elected to the Highest Office in Ghana he knew the problems of the country. He assured Ghanaians that some of the problems, especially the problem of shortage of goods will be solved within six months of his election. But what do we see after these many months of his election? The Administration has officially accepted 'KALABULE' with the so called Trade Liberalisation Act of 1980, which has increased the problems of Ghanaian workers many-fold. May the heavens save Ghanaian workers from their rulers!

P.O. Box M.194,
Accra.

Seth Adofo Ayirebi Bosman

Frivolous Silver Jubilee

SIR-How can the Government vote such a huge amount of C69.2 million for the impending Silver Jubilee celebrations, when most of our roads are clamouring for sealing, re-surfacing and grading; when foodstuffs are locked up in the food producing areas, owing to unmotorable feeder roads; when uncompleted projects have been left idle at the mercy

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Legal Practitioner who is interested in church music.

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Senior Lecturer, Dept of Biochemistry, Legon.

of the weather, and local industries are running below production capacity?

WHY can't the government use this amount to set up Bituminous and Quarry plants for our road-building contractors to repair our roads?

After a careful study of the 1981/82 budget proposals and fund allocations to various departments, it is clear that the amount voted for the Ministry of Works and Housing is just too small, considering the present state of roads in the country. I am appealing to the government to give priorities to the most pressing and economically viable ventures, rather than 'Red carpet' and 'Air Conditioned' receptions.

A.E.S.C. (Finance)
P.O. Box 3969,
Accra.

Frederick Aboagye

SIR-We shall certainly go to the Independence Square every 6th March, but what some of us are saying is this: Bring more Tata buses instead of Mercedes cars and we shall have anniversary processions unrivalled in our history; provide more cesspit latrines in the cities and Accra in particular will cease to be the "city of squalor", the beach will be rid of stench and many more people will be able to have a picnic at Labadi; give us more hospitals and health-posts which are far more useful than glamorous state houses in which allegation and counter allegation or corruption can be settled "amicably".

We are already called magicians. Unless we want to be called jokers as well, there is no point in spending €120 million on an anniversary while Parliament sits whole sessions debating the need for a €2.9 million loan agreement for "food aid" to the rest of Ghana.

Casely Hayford Hall
U.C.C.

Seth E. Terkpe

Notebook

WHERE IS THE FOOD?

In the editorial of this volume we have remarked how domestic production of food falls short of demand. Readers would naturally question how we came to such conclusion especially when both the President and the Vice-President claim the contrary. The Economic Research and Planning Services of the Ministry of Agriculture does make forecasts from time to time. Thus for 1980 the forecasts read as follows:

Low Alternative (Assuming 2.7 growth rate)

	Maize	Rice	Cassava	Yam	Plantain
Domestic Availability (m/t)	271,700	53,800	2,300,300	364,000	1,728,000
Total Demand (m/t)	421,800	95,900	2,806,400	661,400	1,948,100
Gross Deficit/Surplus (1980)	-150,100	-42,100	-406,100	-297,400	-220,100
Gross Deficit/Surplus (1979)	-115,362	-69,763	-158,880	-288,320	-901,980

High Alternative (Assuming 3.00 growth rate)

	Maize	Rice	Cassava	Yam	Plantain
Domestic Availability (m/t)	271,700	53,800	2,300,300	364,000	1,728,000
Total Demand (m/t)	452,900	107,100	2,967,700	688,300	1,948,100
Gross Deficit/Surplus (1980)	-181,200	-53,300	-667,400	-324,300	-247,100
Gross Deficit/Surplus (1979)	-140,363	-18,763	-176,880	-310,320	-933,980

We have looked for statistics of actual yield and not found any yet but are we being told that the deficits have been overcome? That local food-supply does not keep pace with demand is so commonsensical view that those who assert the contrary must see it as their duty to furnish proof. And we are waiting for proof.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF COCOA

The Cocoa Council which, under the Constitution of the Third Republic, is to oversee the administration of cocoa affairs was inaugurated last month. The Council has for its chairman Mr Harry Dodoo, a professional accountant who has spent almost his entire working life in the cocoa business. Mr Dodoo's mature experience is just what the Cocoa Council needs at this time. But if we are enthused over the appointment of Mr Dodoo as chairman, we are far from being happy with the confirmation of Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia as Chief Executive of the Cocoa Marketing Board.

Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia is a trained teacher who made it to the Parliament of the First Republic rising to become a Minister. After the demise of the First Republic, Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia proceeded to Britain to read for the English bar and was in fact called to the bar. Those then are the recommendations which bring Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia to the position of chief executive of the cocoa marketing Board, nothing spectacular. Why did not the position go to Dr Kobina Erbynn who was named Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia's deputy or to Dr Genfi who together with Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia and Dr Erbynn served on the interim management committee of the Cocoa Marketing Board. Dr Erbynn trained as an agricultural economist and should therefore be presumed to know at least the theory of the economics of cocoa. Dr Genfi also trained as an agriculturist and had had something to do with agricultural financing in the financial institution where he worked prior to coming to the Cocoa Marketing Board. Dr Genfi was not even invited to stay on at the Cocoa House. On the other hand, while he is not technically related to cocoa, Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia is not known to be such a great administrator as to justify his appointment. Certainly he has not brought any remarkable improvement in the administration of the Cocoa Marketing Board in the last two years he has been at post as chairman of the interim management committee. So why was he appointed?

While we were reflecting over the puzzle of the appointment of Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia, the latter called a press conference to say that his life had been threatened. An anonymous caller had apparently told him on the telephone that the Cocoa Marketing Board was not for Northerners. We deplore the threat to Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia's life and the ethnic overtones of the threat, of course, but his appoint-

ment is still not the best that could have been made, even if the appointment must be confined to PNP-membership. And we do not particularly care if in criticizing Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia's appointment as chief executive of the Cocoa Marketing Board, anyone is called a tribalist!

BUYING AND SELLING COCOA

According to the Sessional Address read to Parliament on Friday November, 6 by the President, cocoa will now fetch C360 per load of 30 kilos. The new price represents an increase of two hundred per cent and the hope, said the President, is that farmers would be encouraged by this gesture to apply themselves even more seriously to the cocoa industry. We can only hope that cocoa farmers will draw some inspiration from the new price, although we are very doubtful. For the moment, however, the implications of the new price is the more disturbing matter:

Purchase price of 1 tonne
of cocoa at C360 per load
= C11,998.80

Selling price of 1 tonne
of cocoa (current) = £1,100 or C5566

All that the above seeks to point out is that government proposes to buy cocoa at C11,998.80 per tonne to sell at C5566. Professor Benneh's budget for 1981 did not make provision for the purchase price of cocoa as announced last week let alone the deficit that arises from sales. So how does the Government expect to pay its bills respecting cocoa?

Opinion

FUNNY BUT WHOLESOME

By
Ebow Daniel

Food is not unwholesome just because it smells funny, said the headmaster of a famous boarding school, trying to appease placard-bearing youngsters come, at their own invitation, to hold discourse on gastronomy. Response: boo-oo-ooo . . . To be expected! But he had a point, this headmaster: Is not *koobi* or *tflapla*, dry-processed as only Ghanaians know how, supposed to be the more wholesome at its stinking best? Some brands of cheese too; and if they would look away from the menu-sheet for one moment

to talk to us, our gourmet-friends could add to list of the funny but wholesome. Speech is not unwholesome, either, we dare say, for being funny-peculiar or funny-ha-ha, here goes:

A cleric who gave an interview to *West Africa*, September 7, 1981, was reported to say that he was **priested** only after months of training. Evidently some who receive the call to Holy Orders do not stay long enough in training to be **priested**; others survive training to be **priested** but are soon **depriested** for some breach or other of the Orders' many regulations. The cleric who gave the interview to *West Africa* had been in cassocks forty-five years at the time of the interview and in the process had been translated twice. Translation! Nothing to do with Latin to English or vice versa, only that the good man was first elevated to a bishopric and subsequently to an archbishopric; and according to the constitution of the Order, he was not to be brought down from those sublime heights until the retiring age of seventy.

We have come to know since the interview that in ecclesiastic circles **priesting**, like **frocking** or **unfrocking**, is as good a word as verbs come; not **depriesting**, however, but it looks so plausible that it is only a matter of time, we dare hope.

And while waiting for **depriesting**, **defanging** is here. **Defanging** the US Federal Tax System, to make the bite less painful, presumably, is a favourite game with President Reagan, reports *Newsweek*, September 28, 1981. If as a result of **Reaganomics**, as Reagan-type economics has come to be known there is a manual of **Tax Defanging** in circulation, we should get copies for our Central Revenue Department, at whatever cost! Taxes in this country have too much bite for the economic health of public servants, especially. We used not to mind the taxes while we retained free health-care, for instance. Presently, however, you could not hope for even a mere **detoothing** by a dentist 'for free', so to speak.

And as for that gentleman who had his upper lip bitten off at a police station the other day he should expect to pay a fortune for the required surgery. According to the newspaper report, the gentleman had gone to the police station to retrieve lost tyres which, he understood, had arrived at the station. And to think the police would **delip** an unarmed citizen come to retrieve lost property!

Depestation is here too. An advertisement carried by the national dailies in September 1981

invited practitioners of **depestation** to go to work on our state hotels. What formal recommendations **depestation** brings are not known yet, but, if we may say so, it makes so much sense to resort **despestation**, if one's environment is infested with pests. On the other hand, a tenant who continues to be a nuisance, not paying the rent promptly, for instance, deserves **pestation**. A kilo-weight of bed-bugs normally does it in some of our rest-houses, we are informed, but even ordinary mosquitoes have their uses, when it comes to that.

A Touch of Novelty

For want of quantities of suitably malevolent tiny creatures, however, practitioners of **pestation** often resort to rather peculiar measures. One practitioner's idea of **pestation** was to remove the staircase to the flat of a tenant who had fallen out of favour, thus leaving the poor fellow marooned on the first floor of a storey-house in James Town, Accra. It was left to the National Fire Service to return the unfortunate tenant to **terra firma**, while the family of the landlord stood in battle formation.

Whoever was not pleased at the sudden turn of events, in particular, the **redemptory** role of the National Fire Service, had to be inhuman, said a witness to the scene, a bespectacled elderly gentleman. The frail body of the tenant could not possibly have survived **defenstration**, the old man swears. We have since looked up the word with spectacles and we can, therefore, say that the young lady who remarked that some people are too know in obvious reference, to the source has to penance for being too hasty to judge. As for too know it only means **sabe sabe** which, as we have had occasion to remark in these very columns, are not praise — words, not exactly. And if we do not **savvy sabe**, we are no linguistic savants after all. **Redemptory**? Did not somebody say in 1972 that the National Redemption Council, born that year, had come to play a **redemptory** role?

The story of the marooned tenant earned a staff-writer of one of the dailies a trip to London, the prize for the best journalist of the year. Why London? It is the home of English if not the best of journalism, and the trip should **incentivate** the journalist said a director of the daily's management board, to higher professional endeavours.

Employees of the City Council's Sanitation Department were not responding to particularly high standards in the profession — or were they? — when to draw attention to allegedly

poor conditions of service, they decided to apply to the approaches to the Castle, a peculiar spray, funny in the nostrils, but of doubtful wholesomeness, tons of rectal migrants, moist from recent eviction, can you believe it?

Those City Council people had to be punished, lest others might also resort to their kind of professionalism in negotiating for whatever. In the event a couple of those identified for punishment swore that they were not even in the city on the day of the "spray"; and, in any case, they were not invited by the disciplinary committee to defend themselves. They had a sympathetic audience, as this was long before "absentia trial" became fashionable.

Absentia trial comes to us from a member of the AFRC via **West Africa**, September, '4, 1981. It is true, of course, that the special courts set up by the AFRC did resort to absentia trial in some cases; and as was to be expected, many who were arraigned and convicted "absentially" serve their prison sentences absentially, in the comfort of London, for the most part.

The spate of writing by members of the former AFRC carried lately by **West Africa** is remarkable for the brilliance of its Marxist analysis of the ills of the Ghanaian society. Knowing military aversion to any type of **book-long** analysis, the temptation to say **absentia-writing** is the case comes on very strong, or perhaps **presentially** we need not look beyond ghost-writing for a description of what we suspect to be the case.

...**Newsweek**, September 21 1981 served **mistreat** which, however unfamiliar, is wholesome apparently. Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe is said to have gone back on promises "not to mistreat whites". Mistreat? It could have been the more familiar maltreat, without loss of meaning says the dictionary, Longman's. Is it possible that the one prefix is interchangeable for the other? We should expect **misnutrition** in that case. Frankly, if you are going to succumb to **kwashiokor** anyway, it does not matter whether it is mis-or-mal-nutrition-derived. It does matter, however, if the doctor should attempt to cure the ailment by abdominal surgery for that would amount to what Americans call malpractice for which **mispractice** could substitute, evidently. Given interchangeability, it will be admitted that **kwashiokor** is easily **malspelt**, q-u-a-...

Generals on Parade

The football enthusiast who waxed ecstatic on television of the Ivory

Coast Black Star did not blush. And who has not heard of the madam whose resources were so outpaced by the demands of her palate that she had to solicit? Would the good neighbour lend a little sugar? And some milk? How about a cube of cheese or some butter? Above all, could she have a spoonful of ovaltine to make some tea? Funny speech, you might say, but such is the usurpation of the general by the particular.

It has to be tea in Fanteland if the concoction has for recipe, water, sugar, milk, plus whatever and is not porridge. And of porridge, if it is that kind that used to be the daily morning fare in boarding schools, then **Quaker Oats** is the general name rather than a mere brand name. Similarly, in Fanteland and elsewhere it has to be **Black Star** if you are talking about a national football team from wherever. Nigeria Miss Ghana is not fiction; nor is "Guinea Fathia", apparent reference to Mrs Sekou Toure. And if you did not hear the next high-life is a waltz, you were not in the country.

If initially "going Agege" meant arrival in Nigeria the expression has come to mean leaving home to work wherever so that you may be in New York, London or Tokyo — you have "gone Agege"! We remarked the other day how Legon nearly became generic, but of course, neither **Kumasi Legon** nor **Cape Coast Legon** would have any of that nonsense. And you might think we are putting you on, but it is true that for some people in this country **school-boy** is generic so that **girl-school-boy**, translation from the vernacular, becomes possible. Whether you believe it or not, there is no doubt that present-day **girl-school-boys** are smart. Newspaper reports have it that, in the middle of the recent Middle School Leaving Examinations, one of the species slipped away from the Examination Hall to have a baby and returned to continue the examination! She might have gone for a "whiff of fresh air" for all anybody cares.

A guest at our club asked other day for **Bu Bra** pointing to the machine which happens to have been installed by the other Brew House. The beverage served the gentleman from the machine was, of course, draught-beer with the distinctive flavour of this particular Brew House, which, however, did not deter our guest from commending the Club's "very excellent and refreshing Bu Bra". Congratulations, General **Bu Bra!**

It is not always easy to tell when you have had enough **Bu Bra**, unless, perhaps, you run out of funds, in which case you are not particularly

Incentivated to tarry at the Club, which reminds me of that other occasion when, being in funds, I went home late. The attempt to **fenestrate** directly into bed brought to the scene the police who proceeded directly to **mistreat** me, about the head particularly. They **malunderstood** my intentions; they seemed also to **maltrust** my answers to questions. If it was my house why was I entering through the window like a thief? Who would not **fenestrate** if waking up the family so late in the night would bring **pestation**, domestic?

Block-heads Galore

Those placard-bearing epicureans of earlier encounter turned out to be **block heads** and they so prevailed upon their non-block-head colleagues that together they **struck** (sic) over the matter of the foul-smelling food. *West Africa*, October 12, 1981 introduced us to the word in its report of the 'faculties at Lagos and Ilorin universities (having) **struck** . . . not oil and not a blow either, only that they were not in evidence in the classrooms rooms although term had began; they were on strike, apparently.

But block-heads! The youngsters who carried placards to the headmaster were **heads**, formally elected by their peers, of the several blocks of dormitories that comprised this famous boarding school. Monitors, they might have been called elsewhere, but if **koobi** is not unwholesome for being funny in the nostrils, what is the complaint about block-head? As it turned out, the headmaster, an alumnus of the school, had himself been a block-head in his time.

He must have been once a block-head too, the traditional chief who complained that "we are too full of politics in this country". His advice to the minority parties about to go into conclave to elect the leader of the United Grand Parties was that "they should not play politics with the choice of a leader;" which, but for being more than funny, would have been considered very wholesome advice indeed. He is not particularly well-spoken, for a chief who had been to college even if it is only an Electoral College. Somebody we met the other day keeps a dossier on the man, apparently. What is the interest? He is doing a study of apolitical chiefs, he says. And he hopes to write, he says, an autobiography (sic) of this singular traditional ruler.

To return to our famous boarding school as all conscientious alumni must do from time to time the foul-smelling food which inspired the placards happened to be tinned mackerel which

had arrived at the school by a chain-gang, as it were, each link in the chain passing the chit to the other for a commission, none ever seeing the product. When contacted, the immediate source was not in the least moved by the complaints. Who told anyone to eat the stuff? Everyone else merely buys to sell, was the retort by this very fat madam, which if funny, did not restore the mackerel to wholesomeness.

And the not-so-fat neighbourhood madam, who solicited chocolate for the morning's tea, she it was who lately gave rise to the panic-story that the world was coming to an end, an event to be heralded apparently by unnatural happenings; and already a full-scale war resulting in heavy casualties had erupted among chicks and "birdlets"! No offence is meant to any party, but evidently chicks and 'birdlets' were all that this Fante madam got out of the much publicised **Konkomba-Nanumba** war.

Besides tea madam solicited other favours too, behind close doors every night! The end came soon enough for one of the type who was discovered silent in her room in another place, after having been missed for days, funny smell, unwholesome meat, but not **unsung**. Observant neighbours contributed to the grave-marker a beautiful plaque:

At long last
She sleeps alone
Who was a spinster

Not far away was another grave that did not have a tenant yet but an epitaph was already in place:

Who did he think he was?
Professor of English?
Guardian of the Queen's English?
Funny Boy!

Book Review

A DEARTH OF SONG

A Review of the two Asempa Hymn books:

Ghana Praise 174 Pages, £25.00
Asempa Hymns 190 Pages, £25.00)

By
J. T. Kobena Acquah

I — INTRODUCTION: THE GHANAIAAN HERITAGE IN CHURCH MUSIC

The publication of the twin hymn books, Ghana

Praise and Asempa Hymns by the Asempa Publishers, Accra is an epoch in Ghanaian and African church music worthy of celebration. Between them, the **Ghana Praise (Music)** and **Asempa Hymns (words)** represent a major break-through in the effort to present to Ghana and Africa, and the world at large, the best in the wealthy Ghanaian heritage in church music.

Sources of Ghanaian Church Music — Ghanaian church music could be divided into two broad categories: those contained in the formal hymn book(s) of the individual denominations, and those that are not thus available. The first grouping is made up of imported hymns in English (and German and Latin) representing the best in ancient and modern hymns. Alongside these are the hymn books in Ghanaian languages - often translations of these imported hymns, but also with a supplement composed directly in the Ghanaian languages by the early Christians.

The second category comprises first, the traditional (for example, Akan) lyrics, a form so deep that we have not even scratched the surface of its potential. Secondly, there are the songs written like the hymns in English and the Ghanaian languages to Ghanaian tunes, and which in the mouths of the various singing bands and choral groups form a substantial part of Ghanaian church music and worship. Thirdly, with the advent of the pentecostal congregations, there came the local choruses, or spirituals, as the Asempa hymn books call them. These spontaneous, danceable songs in every conceivable language have overwhelmed the initial resistance of the formal establishments, and have swept over Christendom in Africa like a mighty river in flood.

Need for a suitable Hymn Book — This rich legacy of sacred songs and hymns constitute together a dynamic aid to worship which renders the existing hymn books, particularly those in English, absolutely inadequate. In the first place, many of the hymns in English contained in the Methodist Hymn Book (MHB), Church Hymnary (CH), Golden Bells (GB), Ancient & Modern (A & M) and Catholic (Westminster) Hymnal (C(W)H) have fallen into disuse, leaving only a few standing out as 'Ghanaian' hymns. (A personal survey showed that some two hundred of these hymns can be considered as sufficient for all church requirements). Secondly, the hymn books, both foreign and local, have become rarer on the market than collectors' items.

Many have, therefore, felt the need for a hymn book that caters for the reality of Ghanaian requirements by making available a selection of the English and local hymns, songs and spirituals which, together, form the basic church music of Ghana, and so thoroughly permeate our worship. It is this need that the twin Asempa hymnbooks are designed to meet, with a few other African and foreign items thrown in for good measure. Unfortunately, however, the publication of these hymn books evokes lamentation rather than celebration, taken together, the hymn books leave one with a sense of disappointment rather than exultation, of defeated rather than fulfilled expect-

II — GHANA PRAISE: PRAISING WITHOUT WORDS

Perhaps the strongest point of the **Ghana Praise (GP)** is that it succeeds in doing (even if only partially) what it set out to do. For, it makes available, for general edification, the music (but alas! not the words) of songs which used to be jealously guarded by choirmasters, and passed on to others only reluctantly or patronisingly with all the mistakes and omissions of hand-copying.

Also laudable are the careful harmonisations of the spirituals. These will not only stabilise the situation where every choirmaster made his own arrangements, but also, hopefully, uplift the quality of the 'abokyi' parts which are an immense contribution to the popularity of the spirituals. But the shortcomings of GP are also quite obvious, the first one being that it offers only the music, instead of words and music together. Thus, what could have been an invaluable hymn book for any choir (and some congregations) must remain an organist's magic box, from which he pulls out wordless, familiar tunes to which others can only hum.

Secondly, though one expects that many omissions (remediable with time, of course) would be the lot of the first edition of a collection like GP, one still cannot but miss a few more of Amu's items, Acquah's 'Osabarimba', Freebody Acquah's 'Ebenezer' and such others like 'Elagbelo' and 'Woetwam' ko'.

Thirdly, in respect mainly of GP.18 (and to some extent GP.78), the decision to translate into English the only song in the collection which came with words and music is lamentable. But this flaw in the GP was apparently only a foretaste of what the Asempa Hymns holds, and the point is fuller discussed below.

III — ASEMPA HYMNS: MISSED BLESSING

As has been noted already, the **Asempa Hymns (AH)** come to fill a great vacuum. One finds, however, that it is here, where the need is keenest and the materials and expertise for meeting it almost limitless, here where the potential was greatest and expectation highest - it is here that the disappointment is deepest. And the disappointment stems from two sources: first, a decision to translate all the local songs into English, and secondly, the rather poor work done on the translations.

The Decision to Translate — The problems raised by the decision to translate are two-fold. One: the very thing which gives our multi-textured heritage its power and beauty is destroyed by translation. The AH is not the first attempt to meet the need: there are many cyclostyled compilations in circulation, and a number of privately published collections. What these earlier efforts had, and what the AH could have had - but does not have - is a reflection of the rich and varied nature of the Ghanaian, and indeed African worship experience. One can only infer a degree of insensitivity to the fact that these songs are enjoyed because of what they are - truthful expressions of the faith in the admixture of languages which is the natural day-to-day drill of many Ghanaians. To be able to express God's greatness not only in Akan, but also in Ga, Ewe, Nzema, Hausa (and indeed Ibo,

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rience almost like praising in tongues!

Two: One must inquire what practical purpose is served by the translations. There are in existence many good songs in English (and more are written every day) which adequately express the conviction and feeling embodied in our local ones. To these, anyone who wants to sing in English can go - and find the satisfaction of sharing in good, original English thought-patterns and sentence constructions, fulfilling as any in his own language. Take, for example, these Fante words from GR Acquah's 'Amansuon, hom mbra' (Christian Asor Ndwom-(CAN 316):

Ewia wo ho yi,
Nyankom nngyaa to yi,
Buber nnkobo hen,
Ye benya kyepen,
Hen anomu nnkofuw,
Hen atam nkosuw
Madaa yaaka de,
Onnso Nyame ye.

Why should I attempt a translation of the complex idioms and rhymes of these words within the metrical limitations? If I needed to think in English instead of Fante, or, as indeed often happens, simultaneously in both, my mind would rather go to MHB. 527:

It can bring with it nothing
But He will bear us through,
Who gives the lilies clothing
Will clothe His people too:
Beneath the spreading heavens
No creature but is fed;
And He who feeds the ravens
Will give His children bread.

This is English, in its own inimitable and untranslatable right. And for me, the intellectual and emotional response, the sense of adoration and worship, of calm assurance and contentment, is the same for both hymns.

Indeed, the Ghanaian hymn-writers featured in AH have elsewhere written in English when they felt that the song moving inside them was best composed in that tongue. The same can be said of the spirituals. For example, AH.13, 131 and 302 were composed in English. Others, like AH.5 came with the first two lines in English and the rest in Ga; while some like AH.8, 69 and 354 sprang up in two or more parallel languages normally sang together in an unbroken stream.

Translation, it would seem, is only a first step in the process of hymn-sharing, the other steps being, progressively, adaptation and composition. This can be illustrated, for example, from the CAN where some of the English songs were translated and others adapted, while in some cases fresh ones were written in Fante to reflect the local experience (and this not for want of similar translatable/adaptable ones in the MHB).

I suspect, for example, that Boateng's 'Yesu Te Ase' (AH.119) was written specifically to evoke in the Akan medium (both in words and music) the very truth contained in 'Jesus lives' (AH.121). Why then re-translate 'Yesu Te Ase' into English when 'Jesus lives' is there in all its beauty? Who would sing a poor translation if a good original is available? I cannot imagine an Englishman

struggling with the temperamental 'Jesus is alive' when 'Jesus lives' is around, nor a Ghanaian choir-master wrestling with it if he can get his hands on the words of 'Yesu Te Ase'. Or who can miss the connection between 'We Three Kings of Orient Are' and 'Yeye Ahene Baasa' (AH.96)?

For these reasons, then, one considers the decision to translate the songs into English ill-advised and contrary to the spirit and purpose of the collection. This is not to say that translation is altogether precluded. Indeed, some translation may be advisable as aids to comprehension, but one cannot, in any way, justify their substitution for, rather than addition to, the beautiful soulful originals.

Quality of Translation

Granted, then, that some translation is inevitable, and even desirable, the question arises as to the quality of the translation. There is no gainsaying the formidable odds which face literary translators - particularly of verse. It is an enterprise which, like holy matrimony, is not to be entered upon "wantonly or unadvisedly". Especially of song translation, two things are demanded: fidelity and singleness.

First: fidelity. The translations of those venerable men - Parker, Anaman, Blankson, Grant, Awotwe-Pratt, Acquah, Riverson and others - from the Wesley Hymns; MHB, 'Old Wesleyan Sunday School Hymn Book' and Sankey's Sacred Songs and Solos' into the Fante Hymnary and the Christian Asor Ndwom are pure gems, and sometimes

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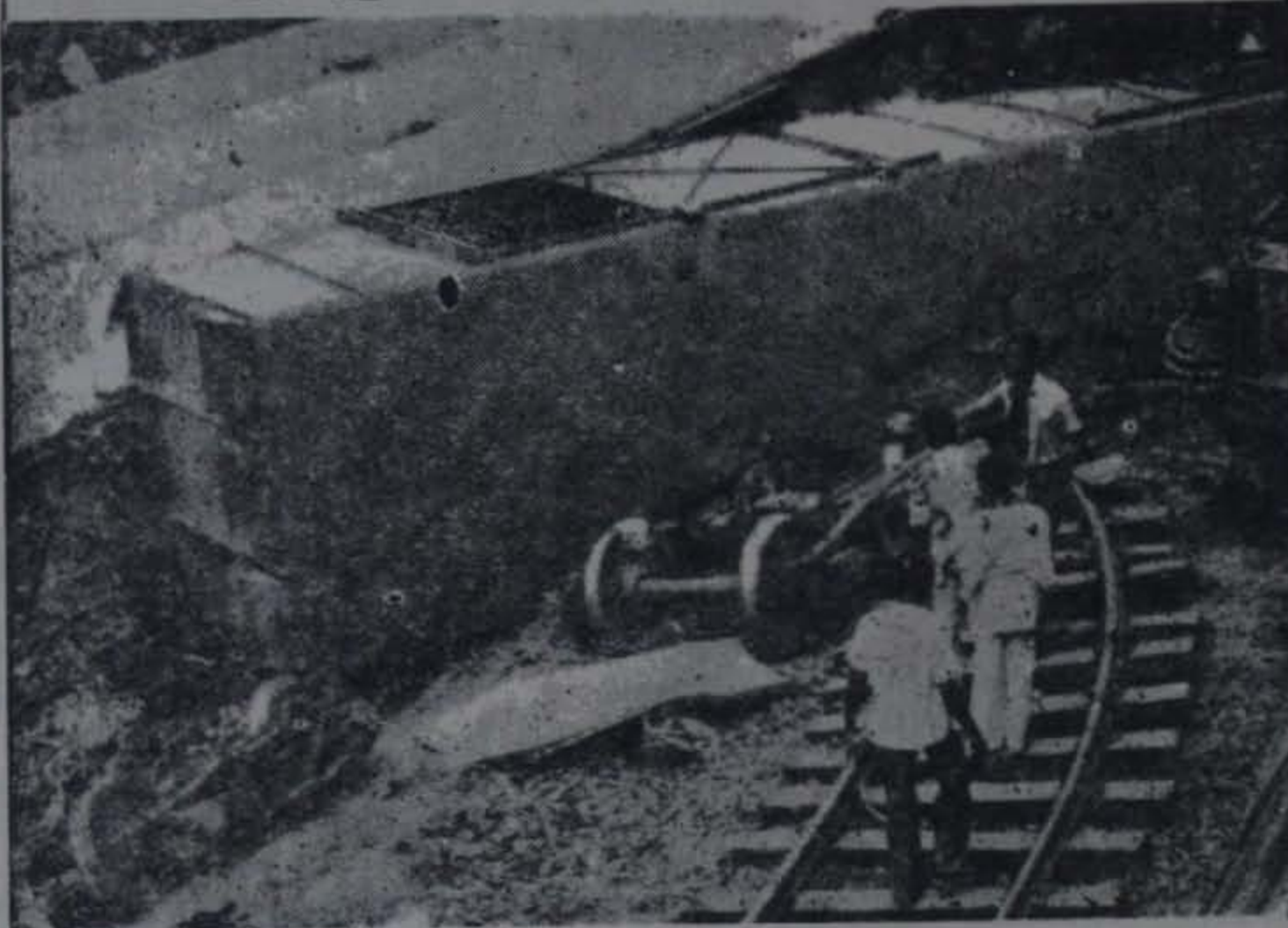
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richer in their Fante idioms and connotations than the original English versions. Alas, one cannot say the same for some of the latter translations added to the enlarged CAN. For example, in v.5 of 'God moves in a mysterious way' (MHB.503, CAN. 166), the delicate word-play on 'bitter' and 'sweet' is completely lost upon the translator, and the result is a muddled metaphor which is neither a delight to the senses nor a consolation to the heart.

And it is this kind of insensitivity which pervades the AH translations. The very first entry, AH.1, struck me as odd. Even offhand, one wonders why the last two lines were rendered

We extol your holy name;
Then one day we'll sing above

instead of

We'll extol your holy name -
Till we join the choir above, or,
Till we come to sing above.

This is truer to the original, I think, and sparks in my heart a response which the present form of AH.1 cannot evoke. And if this is the fate of such simple choruses, how do the complex songs fare? Let us return to Acquah's 'Amansuon, hom mbra' for a moment. How can anyone call 'When we sowed the corn' (AH.44) a translation of 'Amansuon, hom mbra'? Where is the invocation, the exultant rallying? Again, offhand, one would have expected:

Come you nations, come
or

All you nations come

That is Amansuon, hom mbra! Come, join us, let us sing the wondrous grace of the Lord of the Harvest. One could multiply examples.

Secondly, singableness. A delicate balance must be maintained between stressed and unstressed syllables, punctuations and repetitions of words or phrases on one hand, and a sensitivity to the dynamics of the music on the other hand, if the translated song is to be singable. This is especially so when words and music were composed for each other - as is the case of most of the local songs translated for the AH.

Once again, Boateng's 'Yesu Te Ase' furnishes an illustration. The Ga translation of that song, 'Yesu Hie Ka' contains the same number of syllables in the same order and with the same meaning - a more successful translation than the English attempt. The English translator had an immediate problem with the first line. Should the definitive opening phrase be translated in full 'Jesus is alive', thus forcing a split of the third note of the music into two quavers to accommodate the extra syllable, and slurring the fifth and sixth notes on an insignificant word like 'and'? Or should the important assertion be left hanging: 'Jesus is a-'! How much neater is 'Jesus lives!' which, conceived and executed in English, follows naturally the music. Verses 2 and 3 of AH.119 did not even attempt that repetition which gives both songs their power and beauty.

The problem is further complicated by the tonal character of our languages. Among other things, the tonal inflexions dictate the rhythms which in turn form the skeletal basis for the accomplished

sers to the words. Perhaps this is the most difficult aspect to capture in translation, as becomes manifest when one has to contend with a piece by a man with Ephraim Amu's finely tuned traditional ear. Little wonder that even the two paltry songs which represent this giant are only adaptations. And even then, just try singing the new 'Yen era asaase ni' offered in AH.394.

One is, of course, not condemning all the translations: Some stars startle you occasionally from the gloom. Rev. Esamuah's rendition of 'O, how I love Jesus' (AH.55) is satisfying both for its fidelity and singableness. (Note, for example, how the emphatic 'O' takes the first full note expressively). Most of the translations by the Turners also come off quite well - as indeed do virtually all the adaptations. For example, the adaptation (AH.361) of Acquah's answer to Ellerton's 'Now the labourer's task is o'er' (MHB.976) is a beautiful hymn in English - though one cannot but miss the 'Yebehyiam' afeboo', and the deliberate parting, 'Da yie, Da yie', how do you translate that? Fare well? Sleep well? Good bye? Good Night? May be it is best left untranslated.

Modernisation and Revision

Apart from the translation, the AH has another feature which is worthy of attention: modernisations and revisions of the traditional English hymns. The whole issue of the need for and the permissible extent of modernisation can be debated at length. One certainty, however, is that such modernisations may not necessarily be an aid to devotion or even comprehension; indeed it is conceivable that they should prove a hinderance in some cases. Overall, some of the hymns have not been at all affected by the revisions, and a few have benefited thereby. But it must be emphasised that it is not a mere defence of the traditional and familiar which makes 'Elect from every nation' (MHB.701) preferable to "Though drawn from every nation' (AH.181). In some cases, the loss both in depth of meaning and singableness occasioned by the modernisation is quite considerable. Thus in 'O Love that wilt not let me go' (MHB.448, AH.165), the human part, the conscious surrendering, which is the point of the second line of each stanza is completely sacrificed in the AH. Compare, for example these two versions of verse two:

O Light that followest all my way,
I yield my flickering torch to Thee:
My heart restores its borrowed ray,
That in Thy sunshine's blaze its day
May brighter, fairer be.

(MHB)

and

O Light - you follow all my way;
Renew your radiance in me.
My heart receives the quickening ray
That in your sunshine's blaze each day
May brighter, fairer be.

(AH)

Likewise, in 'Master, speak' (AH.281), the waiting in the original verse 1 becomes a going in revision, and the 'Master, speak and silence all' in verse 2 is revised to 'Drive away the voice of sin' - in complete oblivion of Hebrews 12:1b.

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like the delightful irony in the rationale which enables us to translate Sam's Tsie, Tsie, Tsie' into 'Hark, Hark, Hark' (AH.75) while at the same time modernising 'Hark the herald angels sing' into 'Listen! herald angels sing'! (AH.83)

IV — CONCLUSION: OUR FIRST ECUMENICAL HYMN BOOK

Having thus fought off the disappointment which gripped some of us who eagerly awaited the arrival of **Ghana Praise and Asempa Hymns**, we may now conclude by noting some of the finer points of this unique collection. In the first place, this is the first serious attempt at ecumenicalism in Ghanaian hymnody. This collection brings together from various sources the floating ideas and forms scattered throughout the country. Here are the best-loved hymns and songs of the Church of Christ in Ghana, in the fullest sense. It should be, in its revised form, one of the strongest unifying bands of Ghanaian Catholics, Protestants and Pentecostals.

The second source of satisfaction is the thoughtfulness which characterises the English selections. Think of almost any favourite Ghanaian hymn in English, and you will find it here (even if in its modernised form!). The scope of the selection is also truly Ghanaian, encompassing not only those of traditional British and European origin, but also negro spirituals and such American-derived favourites as 'Great is Thy faithfulness' (AH.41) and 'How great Thou art' (AH.37). Incidentally, though the index listing of the latter song used 'solemn' for 'awesome', this is one song in which 'Thee' and 'Thou' were retained: or is it a

And upon what basis was 'O Perfect Love (AH.345) spared the scapel?

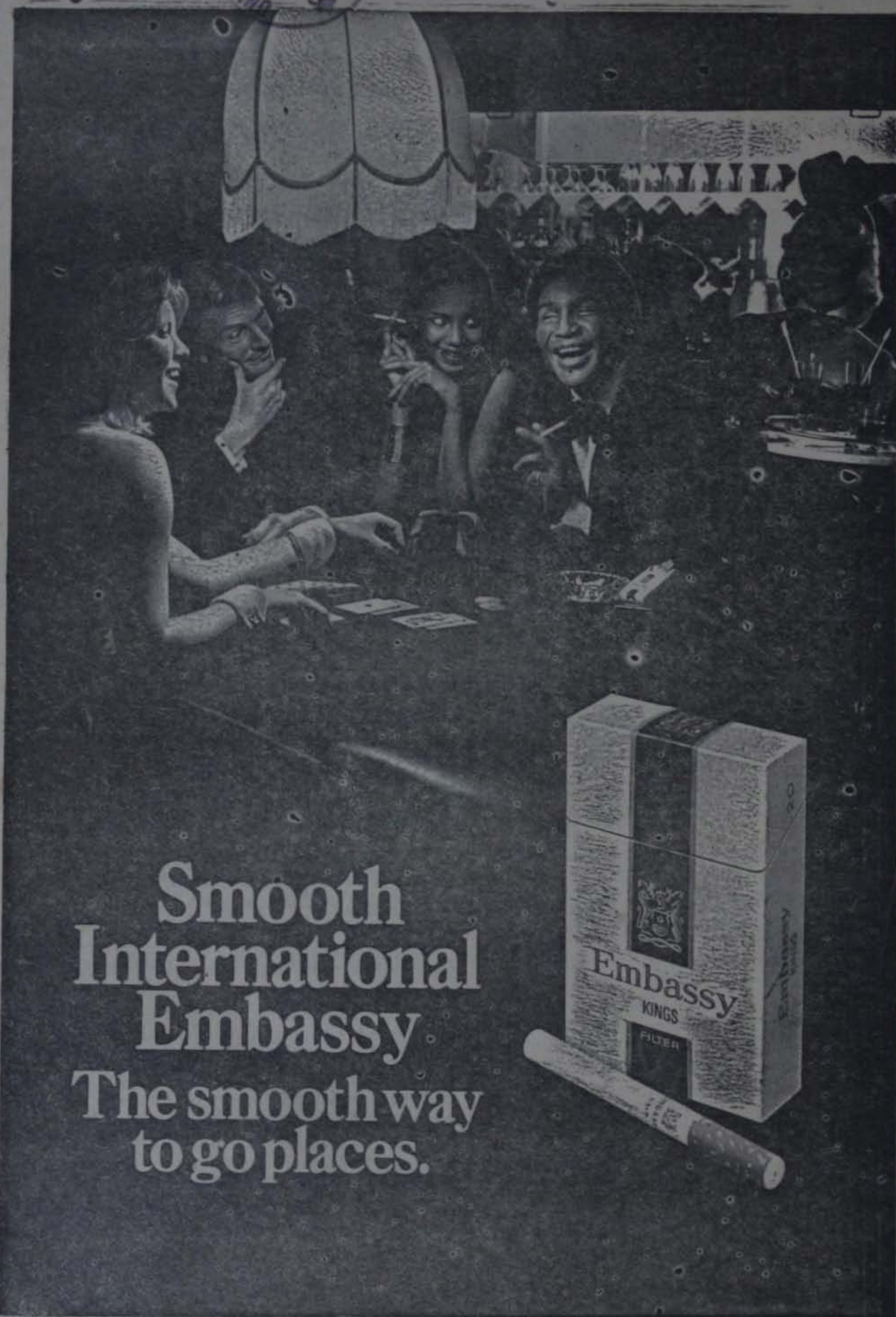
Another gratifying aspect is the inclusion of some national anthems from Africa alongside the hymns on nation and society. One conspicuous absence from this section, however, is that powerful national hymn (by Casely-Hayford) which used to close GBC-TV before the advent of the Third Republic:

Lord God of Ghana, praise to Thee
Who gave this land its liberty;
May we for ever more be free:
A nation's thanks we bring to Thee.

Also worthy of mention are the Orders for Holy Communion and Mass conveniently placed at the end of the AH, and the useful biographical notes which are intended to be revised and up-dated in subsequent editions. One also wishes that those enlightening backgrounds to the hymns were not so brief or so few. A longer Preface, giving a history of hymns and hymn books in Ghana, again would have greatly increased the value of the books. The format, layout and illustrations are generally pleasant, and should appeal not only to the students at whom the book is primarily aimed, but to all the fellowships and interdenominational and parachurch groups for whom it will hopefully become the hymn book.

There is a declared intention to revise and improve this edition presently and it is hoped that this hymn book will then firmly take its place in the reality of our African and Ghanaian worship experience.

Through this hymn book, may God's asempa continue to be proclaimed forth by the songs of



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Editorial

THE PROBLEMS OF ACADEMIA

IN the Sessional Address to Parliament on Friday, November 6, 1981 the President invited the country's universities to submit "bold and realistic" plans for resolution of the myriad problems of higher education. There could not be a more welcome invitation. We understand, however, that last year the Vice-President extended a similar invitation to which the universities promptly responded. The expectation was that the Government would provide a special import licence for the ordering of very urgent consumables before the 1980-81 academic year got under way. In the event, we are told, nothing came out of that particular exercise. The temptation is not to take the present request seriously, but it would be a mistake to ignore any opportunity, however unpromising. We therefore urge the universities to respond to the President's invitation with speed.

We imagine that book-supply would feature high in any catalogue of needs. Visitors to the bookshops of the various campuses cannot fail to notice how run-down those facilities have become. Time was when within days of the publication of any new volume in Europe, America or wherever, you could count on finding a copy in the book-shops at Legon, at least. It is not the case any more. The worst affected by the demise of the bookshops are those courses which require set texts which every student must own to facilitate close study. Many students are having to share books. Those who have the resources have had to resort to stencil-reproduction of whole volumes at considerable cost. Many departments are not able to maintain overseas subscription of journals and periodicals any more. In effect, therefore, some departments are not aware of the current advances and developments in their disciplines.

The absence of books that can be bought has proved to be a very severe strain on the integrity and sense of fair-play of users of the library. Books given out on loan are kept longer than is allowed. Borrowing is increasingly extending to pages from volumes on reserve, which borrowing is not even brought to the attention of the Library staff for eventual retrieval. While the libraries are not in receipt of significant additions to their holdings, therefore, what there is seems to be forever dwindling.

Besides books, consumables such as chemicals and stationery are in very short supply. Lately, in-take into the Sciences seems to be restricted more by the shortage of raw materials for the prosecution of laboratory investigations than by any other factor while the absence of stationery for the

Faculty meetings for the formulation and review of academic policy are not held as frequently as should be the case

Additional living and learning space is another urgent requirement. In the Halls of Residence, cubicles that were intended for single occupancy have been adapted for double occupancy. Lately the pressure on the halls, especially on their sanitary facilities, has mounted with the admission of non-resident students many of whom are known to reside in the Halls as squatters. While converting the Halls for double intake proceeded, not much attention seems to have been given to providing additional class-room or laboratory space. In one particular case it was apparently foreseen early enough that an existing laboratory could not accommodate in-coming numbers and a beginning was indeed made of adding to the facility. The new facility is still not ready for use, however, although it is now nearly a decade since construction began.

The Sessional Address also referred to suggestions for an increased intake. And we recall recent observations to the effect that, indeed, even without additions to existing facilities the universities could maintain twice their present intake. We are sceptical of all such claims, but we need to ask even more fundamental questions: Do we want numbers for numbers' sake? If not, what type of trained manpower do we need urgently? It may well turn out that the need is more urgent for the type of training that is available at the Polytechnics, for example. But while we are looking at the universities we may have noticed that many of the more recent graduates, those trained in the Humanities especially, do not seem to find much to occupy them in the public services. In certain other areas, on the other hand, especially where quantitative and statistical skills are required, the volume of work seems too plentiful for the hands available, and there are not even enough students with aptitude in these areas to be trained. There are too many of the first types already, and we fear very much that the neighbouring countries are the more likely beneficiaries of any policy of swelling the ranks of those types. The universities should therefore go easy on suggestions for indiscriminate expansion.

Finally, staff. Many have been lost to the neighbouring countries and many more are preparing to leave. Leaving home is a painful decision which most would rather not take. If facilities for teaching and research could be improved, the urge to leave might be somewhat blunted; the urge could be made blunter still if meals for the month could be assured by one's take-home pay. Ultimately the

staff problem has to do with the economy. To the question how do we retain staff, therefore, the simple answer is to improve the economy, for while they cannot hope to replace long-abandoned cars, university lecturers have lately come to realise that retiring awards cannot even pay the deposit on an estate house. Evidently "going agege" brings the dream of owning a car once more and possibly a house much closer to realisation, hence the drift. It would seem, therefore, that only a competitive offer could effect a reversal of the drift. If, however, singling out university staff for rather special treatment is too invidious and discriminatory for public policy, we can appreciate abandonment of that line of thinking. The Government must still decide, however, whether it does or does not want to retain staff. If it does, it will soon be discovered, that patriotism and appeals thereto can hardly substitute for ordinary food, clothing or shelter.

Economy

*THE ECONOMY-LOOKING AHEAD

By

A. E. K. Ashiabor

In my last year's address, I referred to certain developments which threatened the emerging stability observed in 1980. I observed that monetary expansion was gradually being brought under control and the rate of inflation had declined from 116 per cent in 1977 to 50 per cent in 1980. But I remarked that the C12.00 per day minimum wage which was announced after the 1980/81 budget was approved, would impose an additional burden on the Treasury unless additional measures were taken to raise revenues. Reference was also made to the difficulties of the Cocoa Marketing Board and to the possibility that it might not be able to make a major contribution to Government revenue because of rising costs. As it turned out unfortunately, both predictions came true. In spite of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning's efforts to raise revenue, the 1980/81 financial year ended with a deficit of C47 billion instead of the C1.6 billion originally approved before the wage increase. As usual a very large part of this was financed by the banking system resulting in the additional injection of liquidity into the economy. Little wonder therefore that by the end of September this year the level of money supply provisionally stood at C7.6 billion compared with C5.3 billion

*This is an edited version of an address to the Local Centre of the Institute of Bankers on November 21, 1981.

¢2.3 billion or 42.7 per cent over the previous year. The rate of inflation which had consistently moved downward from 116 per cent in 1977 to 50 per cent in 1980 consequently took a sharp upward turn in 1981 and is now sadly about double the 1980 figure. The implications for the cost of living, real wages, income distribution and morale of fixed income groups, savings, and investment, and the balance of payments are clear.

On the external account, although strenuous efforts continued to be made to meet our external commitments and to live within our means, the balance of payments has taken a toll from accelerated inflation, greater divergence between the official and free market exchange rates, increased incidence of smuggling and the difficulties of the CMB in evacuating cocoa from the purchasing points. In addition, the terms of trade have worsened as the world market prices of cocoa and gold dropped while import prices continue to rise. These developments have currently resulted in a temporary tightness of the external payments situation.

But I begin to see hopeful signs on the horizon and some of the building blocks with which we should rebuild the economy are already being fashioned out. The most important of the hopeful signs is the general awareness now of the public that some corrective measures must come. There is even the refreshing acknowledgement in many circles of the fact that they may be temporarily unpleasant but that if they will solve the problem once and for all and set us on the right path, the sacrifice will have been a worthy one. As to the building blocks, I am alluding to the continued caution of the Government despite tremendous pressures in ensuring that our limited external resources are not over-committed, the general but gradual move towards de-emphasizing controls except in very essential areas, and the setting up of the legal and institutional infrastructures on which future economic growth must necessarily be built. Significant among these are the Investment Code Act which streamlines our investment approval procedures and grants generous concessions for sound investment, the conclusion of the International Cocoa Agreement, the Cocoa Marketing Board Act and the proposed bill to re-establish the Customs and Preventive Service. As efforts continue to find an acceptable macro-economic policy framework which makes a bold attack on our problems without prejudice to vital national interests, I

in September 1980. This represents an increase of must now address ourselves to the conditions necessary to sustain, the gains of the long-awaited solutions. Often, we have heard it said, and rightly so, that we took such measures in previous years only to get back where we started a few years later. This time when we have fashioned out a viable and acceptable solution we should not slide back. I would therefore like to make a few remarks on some of the conditions necessary to ensure that the expected gains do not elude us again.

Towards Recovery

The first and foremost requirement is that fiscal and monetary policies must ensure future stability in the value of the currency. The burden here falls squarely on fiscal policy. The record that failure to sustain the benefits of previous stabilization measures has been due largely to weak fiscal policies. Large budget deficits which soon followed attempts to stabilize the value of the currency generated additional liquidity, expanded the money supply, and weakened the currency thus undermining the programmes. Between 1974 and 1981 the size of the budget deficits rose from ¢154.9 million to ¢4.7 billion. Borrowing from the banking system to finance the deficit that period rose from ¢128 million to ¢3.6 billion. Our records also show that central government borrowing from the bank to finance its budget deficit accounted for over 80 per cent of monetary expansion between 1974/75 and 1980/81. There is thus a very strong positive correlation between the deficit and monetary expansion. It is therefore extremely important that the budget should be regarded as a major instrument policy and not just as a means of collecting revenues and allocating funds or of providing the basis for an audit.

The current rates of monetary expansion and inflation are not sustainable because they are neither conducive to short-run economic growth nor long-run political stability. In this regard, the healthy interest which Parliament has shown in the budget and fiscal policies recently is, in some ways, welcome. I would like to refer in particular to a recent debate during which an honourable member of the House called attention to an important provision in the Bank of Ghana Act 182) regarding expansion in the money supply. That provision in brief, states that whenever within any preceding twelve-month period the

should be made to the Ministry of Finance stating the causes of such a development and suggesting ways to rectify the situation. In the past years we have experienced increases well above this figure, reports have been written with some proposals but the constraints were such that little progress was made in this area. In 1977/78 for instance, current revenues covered only 56 per cent of current expenditures. For 1980/81 the comparable figure was 52 per cent. Recognizing therefore, that the present administration inherits a very difficult fiscal situation, we will have to take advantage of any improvements in policy to move quickly towards the desired goal of keeping monetary expansion well below the 15 per cent guidance limit set in the Act. The achievement of such a goal will assist substantially in holding down inflation and ensuring a measure of economic stability. But it will require strong budgetary discipline and firm measures to enforce expenditure control and expand revenues. We are all aware of the fact that we end up with larger than planned deficits. Last year we started with a deficit of C1.6 billion but because of increases in the minimum wage and other consequential adjustments, the year ended with a deficit of C4.7 billion. This year we have an opening figure of C4.2 billion which hopefully will not be too far exceeded.

Savings and Investment

The second main condition to underpin any benefits from stabilization programme is our ability to mobilize savings and investment. Here again the public sector's performance is important. Again, the budget is an important source of mobilizing funds. Even in the most difficult days of the First Republic, current revenues always exceeded current expenditures. The surplus or savings on current account was then supplemented by loans to finance development expenditures. In recent years current revenue was hardly enough to meet even current expenditures. There was indeed a deficit on the current account throughout the period. In other words part of current expenditures had to be met by borrowing from the banking system. The ratio of tax revenue to GDP is estimated to have fallen steadily in recent years while current expenditure continues to expand. While efforts are made to contain the rapid expansion in expenditures it is even more important that revenue collection should be improved so as to close the gap between revenue and expenditure. In this regard appropriate

pricing policies generally will provide a rational base for taxation. It is well known that because of the distortion in the economy a substantial portion of public sector expenditures are based on free market related prices while revenue collection is based on comparatively low official prices. Thus further liberalization of prices of non-essentials, even at the factory gate, will provide an expanded base for tax revenues. Such a policy should enable most public corporations to move losses to profit situations and avoid further dependence on the Central Government budget for subventions or subsidies. Subsidies themselves must be avoided as they only lead to a large extent to a misallocation of resources and encourage smuggling. If for some national policy reason they are found necessary, there should be a programme to withdraw them as soon as possible.

Monetary policy aims at influencing economic activity through the cost and availability of money. In past years, when there have been excessive monetary expansion through credits to finance government deficits monetary policy lost its effectiveness. Rates of inflation were such that even the highest nominal rates of interest could only result in negative real rates of interest. For example, currently the Government bond rate is 19½ per cent against an inflation rate of 100 per cent. At those rates of interest it is still attractive to borrow at 25 per cent and there is little incentive to save at 18½ or 19½ per cent. Since at least for psychological reasons interest on savings and loans cannot rise above certain levels, the effectiveness of the interest rate as a tool of monetary policy is blunted. Given monetary stability and reasonable rates of inflation, however, monetary policy especially interest rates can play an important role in the mobilization and direction of savings into investment in desirable sectors. It is important therefore for sustained economic growth that at the appropriate time interest rate policy like pricing policy remains flexible.

Generally, once we have achieved a breakthrough with a mutually acceptable macro-economic policy package, flexibility in economic management must be the watch word. Fixed attitudes towards prices of any kind be they the price of foreign exchange, money, goods or wages, only inhibits early adjustment and creates rigidities in the system which are difficult to correct afterwards. Such rigidities have been one of the unfortunate heritages which the present administration is trying to correct. Once corrected, it must not be permitted to recur. Indeed we should avoid

what I call the control mentality and set our sights on dismantling most of the cumbersome administrative controls in the economy. The stance of economic policy should gradually move away from direct intervention to setting only broad guidelines for lawful economic activity.

Income Distribution

A third condition for securing the gain of any policy package must be based on a well formulated policy of income distribution. In this regard an incomes policy must embrace the concept of a living wage carefully defined so as to ensure a fair minimum wage. Future increases in remuneration should be related to productivity. At the same time incomes policy must not be so regressive as to discourage initiative. There should be proper reward for initiative and enterprise. The present system permits too many mediocrities to rise to the top. Income distribution policies must also favour agricultural activity and the rural dweller, as against his urban counterpart. For instance a pricing policy for agricultural products should be such as to provide adequate reward and encouragement for the harsh conditions under which our rural populations live and work. More amenities such as water, should be made available and simple health centres and feeder roads should be constructed in the rural areas. These simple facilities requiring little technological know-how will go a long way to satisfy the needs of the rural communities who after all produce all the food and account for over 70 per cent of the country's foreign exchange earnings.

Agriculture

Finally, a major condition for sustained economic growth will rest on improvement in agricultural output. In Ghana, we have had to spend substantial amounts of foreign exchange to import large amounts of rice, wheat and maize. Yet we have the potential for self-sufficiency in rice and maize.

Between 1975 and 1979 the agriculture sector recorded an average growth rate of only 0.2 per cent. In 1979 agriculture, fishing and forestry accounted for over 60 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product and yet between the fiscal year 1970/71 and 1971/72 accounted for only 6.4 per cent of total budgetary expenditure. Although this percentage increased to 10.8 per cent between 1978/79 and 1979/80, it is still significantly low compared with the 15.3 per cent for instance for general administration, 20.9 per cent for education and 13.7 per cent for public debt. During the

source transfers to the agricultural sector if the momentum gained is to be sustained. In this regard, a large part of any savings should be used to increase the share of agriculture in budgetary appropriations particularly food crops. Considering the weight of local food in the cost of living index, a significant increase in food production should be a major contribution on holding down the rate of inflation as well as pressures for wage increases. It is perhaps, pertinent to note here that only simple inputs such as cutlasses, hoes, axes, chainsaws, rural credit and extension services are required. These do not have even to be at subsidised prices. What is important is regularity of supply. This should be supported by an active programme of improvement in rural transportation - feeder roads and short chassis high clearance diesel trucks which will cart the food from the rural areas to the urban areas. Later when resources permit, welfare facilities such as rural water supplies and clinics can be built.

Conclusion

All I have tried to do in this address is to look ahead. Now that we have diagnosed our ills and are working out a solution to them, all I have done is to pinpoint some of the bad habits which led to the disease in the first place. I am bound to conclude therefore that if after successfully attacking the disease we then revert to our bad habits i.e rapid expansion in Government expenditures large budget deficits rapid monetary expansion low savings and investment neglect of agriculture and the rural economy we should not blame the solution but rather our life style.

Law

THE KWAKYE CASE: A Comment

By

Kwame Frimpong

AT long last the Supreme Court has spoken on the Transitional Provisions of the 1979 Constitution and the fate of the AFRC convicts. This was in its decision handed down on Wednesday, November 11, 1981 in the Kwakye case. The majority opinion concluded that the Courts of Ghana are powerless as far as the fate of the AFRC convicts is concerned.

There are many who expected such an outcome and welcome it. There are others who are disappointed. This writer identifies with the latter.

The Court seems to have relied heavily on Sec-

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Article 217 of the Main Constitution for its ruling. Section 15(2) reads:

"For the avoidance of doubt it is hereby declared that no executive, legislative or judicial action taken or purported to have been taken by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council shall be questioned in any proceedings whatsoever, and, accordingly it shall not be lawful for any Court or other tribunal to make any order or grant any remedy or relief in respect of any such act."

Article 217 also provides:

"The transitional provisions specified in the First Schedule to this Constitution shall have effect notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Constitution.

The primary task before the court was the exercise of its judicial functions of statutory interpretation which is part of the major judicial power conferred on the judiciary by the Constitution; Article 114(1):

"The judicial power of Ghana shall be vested in the Judiciary of which the Chief Justice shall be the Head; and accordingly no organ or agency of the executive or the legislature shall be given any final judicial power."

Article 118(1)(a) specifically imposes the interpretation of the Constitution on the Supreme Court:

"The Supreme Court shall, except as otherwise provided in Article 35 of this Constitution, have original jurisdiction, to the exclusion of all other courts, in all matters relating to the enforcement of any provision of this constitution."

Accordingly the Supreme Court in dealing with Kwakye's case was acting within its constitutional boundaries. The relevant question, however, is whether it discharged its functions satisfactorily.

Statutory Interpretation

Judicial function of a statutory interpretation is a highly complex duty which requires tact and diligence. Any approach without due caution may result in absurdities. There are established rules which guide judges in the exercise of this important function. The one most frequently used and apparently relied on by the majority opinion, is the **literal or the plain meaning rule**. This simply means that once the words of a statute are plain and unambiguous then the judge must do nothing but accord it its plain meaning.

Unduly strict adherence to this rule could however lead to the absurd. We shall illustrate this point by two cases. In **Whiteley v. Chappell** (1868) L.R. 4 Q.B. 147, an

impersonate another person in voting. The accused in the case was charged with the impersonation of a dead man. By adopting the plain meaning rule the accused could not be guilty because a dead man is not a person. A second case involved a Bolognian law which made it an offence for one to draw blood in the streets. The question arose whether a surgeon who opened the vein of a person who had fallen in the street in a fit had broken the law.

It should be obvious that an unqualified reliance on the plain meaning rule would have meant the acquittal of the accused in the **Whitely** case and the conviction of the second accused in the **Balognian** case. Any such conclusion would have defeated the purpose of the enactment. This thus brings us to the most important consideration in the exercise of the judicial function of interpretation, which is the identification of the purpose of the enactment in question. In the **Whiteley** case the purpose or the evil that the law sought to eliminate was the question of double voting or the prevention of the unqualified person from voting. So when the accused used the name of the dead person to vote he was either voting twice or voting while he did not qualify to do so. Similarly, the Bolognian law wanted to prevent the spilling of blood in the streets—killing or injuring people in the streets. It did not seek to prevent the drawing of blood in the streets to save life.

The lesson to be drawn from the two cases is that the plain meaning rule cannot yield the desired result unless used in conjunction with something else, most preferably the purpose of the statute in question. For every statute should be seen as a purposeful piece of work handed down by rational human beings.

SIGNIFICANCE OF TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS

How do we relate these examples to the case before us? If we are to go by the strict interpretation of Section 15(2) then the Supreme Court was precluded from entertaining Kwakye's case. The words "no...action...shall be questioned in any proceedings whatsoever..." speak for themselves. If the Supreme Court found it expedient to act unconstitutionally to begin with then it could have gone further to delve into the case. If the Court had considered the very purpose of Section 15(2), its work would have been lighter. For Section 15(2) and similar sections of the Transitional Provisions sought merely to ensure that all those who had been duly convicted by the AFRC courts were not later freed on the basis of "technicalities" by the regular courts. We are all witnesses

to the fact that Krobo Edusei's assets were returned to him by the Acheampong regime. The Transitional Provisions wanted to ensure that no such repetitions occurred. Given that a person had been duly convicted a court was not empowered to re-open the case.

The desire to protect the achievements of the AFRC courts does not however mean that access to the courts is denied to those who claim not to have been tried. Accordingly a distinction could be made between (i) those against whom "executive, legislative or judicial action" had been taken, (ii) those against whom such action is purported to have been taken and (iii) those who alleged that no action real or purported had been taken against them.

Section 15(2) includes phrases such as "action taken"; "action purported to have been taken" and "in respect of any such act."

Those phrases raise both **question of law** and **question of fact**. But the question of law is inapplicable and inoperative until the question of fact has been established. **Has an action real or purported been taken?** This is a question of fact which a court has to determine. This was simply the issue in the Kwakye case.

The Court unanimously felt that Kwakye was not tried. So why was the relief that he sought not given? One school of thought holds that the Court's inability to grant Kwakye his relief was based to a great extent, on the wording of Section 15(3) of the Transitional Provisions which precludes the Court from granting relief even if certain laid down procedures are not followed in respect of the judicial, executive or legislative action. But surely, a distinction should be drawn between **failure to observe certain procedures** in the course of one's action and **failure to act**. The former deals with the non-compliance with procedural matters even though some form of action has been taken. The common example will be a situation where the rules of natural justice have not been complied with. Apparently it is this kind of situation that Section 15(3) covers. It does not appear to cover the situation where **no action** legislative, executive or judicial **has been taken at all**.

This writer was the Chairman of the Committee that recently probed the Ghana Prisons and he had the privilege of meeting most of the AFRC convicts. He was struck by their common complaint: **the fact that they had not been tried**. In the event the Committee had to recommend that the AFRC convicts should be given the opportunity to appeal to the regular courts even though the matter was not within our terms of reference.

OPPORTUNITY MISSED

In deciding whether Kwakye was tried or not the court would not have been defeating the purpose of Section 15 but merely ensuring that the section was given its true effect. Most Ghanaians are agreed that any person properly tried and convicted by the AFRC deserves conviction. We have all been witnesses to the corruption that almost destroyed our economy. We rejoiced at some of the measures applied by the AFRC. Most of us at that time rejoiced one way or the other because we saw their action as a direct revolt against the established court system which frequently favours the wealthy. That, however, should not mean that we should endorse any action that smacks of plain injustice—the very evil that the AFRC sought to remedy. A clearest example of plain injustice is where the facts establish beyond reasonable doubt that a person was not tried. If the person was not tried then how could there have been a conviction? If the Supreme Court is saying that it is powerless to act in a case of this nature, then it is, in effect, giving legality to naked cases of injustice. To some extent the Court is saying the end justifies the means and the following quotation from the noble words of Justice Brandeis in *Olmstead v. Untd States*, (277 U.S. 438) could not be a more appropriate warning:

"Decency, security, and liberty alike demand that governmental officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct that are commands to the citizen. In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperilled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our Government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes a law-breaker it breeds contempt for the law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means—to declare that the government may commit crimes in order to secure the conviction of a private criminal would bring terrible retribution. Against that pernicious doctrine this court should resolutely set its face."

Fortunately, by Article 11k(3) the Supreme Court is not bound by its previous decisions.



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Politics

THE TRANSITIONAL PROVISIONS — ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN GHANA TODAY

By

Kwamena Ahwoi

It has become customary for me, whenever I have spoken on the Transitional Provisions to make this little dedication. I dedicate my contribution to all those Ghanaians who died in the course of making a principled stand not just against military adventurists, aided and abetted by their civilian stooges but also against the exceptionally incompetent administrations that we had between 1974 and 1979. It is dedicated to all the hard-working people of this country who were, and are still, being forced to flee this country because hard work did not, and does not count any more, and who are now being chided as 'unpatriotic' and 'cowardly'. It is dedicated to all the babies who died because baby food was being retailed in polythene bags in Makola market and the 'Eighteen' thus becoming contaminated, whilst the foreign exchange earned by the farmers and workers of this country was being squandered on the latest models of automobiles. It is now being used to import 504 cars for MPs and Mercedes Benzes for Silver Jubilee celebrations. It is dedicated to all those "nsignificant" soldiers who died on June 4, 1979, and whose memories are being desecrated by the backlash of reaction which seems to suggest that they are the villains rather than the heroes of the politico-economic tragedy that was enacted on the Ghanaian national stage between 1974-1979. Finally, it is dedicated to the triumph of constitutionalism over the 'rule of the bayonet'.

But what constitutionalism? Some of the people to whom this address is dedicated went to their graves, hoping that the popular action of June 4 had said 'Never Again' to the system that June 4 was a reaction to. Unfortunately, the cry now is 'Never Again' to June 4.

But why is June 4 so important to a discussion of the Transitional Provisions? The answer is that the Transitional Provisions, especially the controversial ones, are a baby of June 4. In order, therefore, to assess the significance of the Transitional Provisions in Ghana today, we must try to remind ourselves, because we tend to have very short memories, of the circumstances which led to the establishment of the AFRC

and the form the Transitional Provision took.

Before June 4

The general malaise in which Ghana found itself on the eve of June, 4 can never really be accurately recollected. A group of soldiers who had overthrown a freely elected Government in 1972 and perpetrated itself in power for 7 years had succeeded in so dividing and polarising the country that father was set against son. In the process, the economy had been destroyed beyond recognition; 'stagflation' would even be too mild a word to describe the situation.

Obvious manifestation of incompetence and misrule had led to a deepening army-civilian-schism and dangerous class polarizations, as the population watched helpless whilst Colonels and their cronies who did not have a pesewa when they intruded on to the political scene unconstitutionally amassed wealth on a scale that shocked even the most ardent believers in appropriatory and expropriatory capitalism.

Meanwhile, they had succeeded in packing a Constituent Assembly to insert clauses of indemnity in the Draft Constitution which would prevent any questions being asked about their period of enforced stewardship.

This then was Ghana before 1979; a divided, sick country to be launched on to the platform of a democratic experiment based on a Constitution which would prevent calling to account the people who intruded on the national scene and ruled so disastrously. Was it, however, the rulers alone who were a failure and a disaster?

Long before June 4 itself, there were clear signs of institutional breakdown of the law enforcement and other agencies, especially the Police and the Judiciary. The fact that these institutions were helpless whilst the NRC/SMC rule was going on was an admission of limitations on the power of the established institutions to check the excesses of those Governments and reverse the calamitous trend that they had embarked upon. For example, the excess liquidity created in the system by the over-printing of currency was done in flagrant violation of the Bank of Ghana Act, 1963 (as amended), yet no lawyer attempted to challenge this action in Court.

The proliferation of Commissions of Enquiry, with their findings was an admission by both the legislature and the judiciary that the common law accusatorial system which operates in our Courts was not working in our particular circumstances. No less a person than the Chief Justice himself conceded in an address that he deli-

vered at the Annual Conference of the Ghana Bar Association in Sekondi-Takoradi in 1979 that — "the essential difference between the accusatorial and inquisitorial systems is apparent from their names - one is a trial of strength and the other is an inquiry.

The question in the first is: Are the shoulders of the party on whom is laid the burden of proof ...strong enough to carry and discharge it? In the second, the question is: What is the truth of the matter . . . I personally feel that the inquisitorial has a strong edge over the accusation . . . In 1964, we passed in this country, an Act which seeks to merge to some extent the two systems - the Corrupt Practices (Prevention) Act, 1964, Act 230 . . . had it been used oftener, the incidents of corruption which were allegedly unearthed at the recent trials by the People's Court would have been minimal and there would, in my opinion, have been no need to establish a Special Tribunal outside our known and familiar judicial set-up to deal with corrupt practices."

These were very frank and serious admissions by the Chief Justice. He was admitting that:

- (i) Our trial system is not aimed at finding the truth of the matter;
- (ii) The opportunity offered by Act 230 to use an alternative procedure which was more likely to get at the truth was not taken up;
- (iii) Hence the need for establishment of the Special Tribunal.

And then the law itself. The law was used to create so much lawlessness that in the end it lost whatever claim to fidelity it may have had. When thugs went to beat up a group of respectable Ghanaians, including the incumbent Vice President, who had met to discuss affairs of state, a law, the Union Government (Civil Proceedings) Decree, 1977, SMC 139, was passed to make it impossible to institute civil action against them. S. 1 (2) of that Decree - Law stated:

"No court shall entertain any civil proceedings or action whatsoever against any matter, arising out of or in connection with the symposium, lecture or rally held on 12th day of October, 1977, at the Accra Community Centre, in relation to the proposal of Union Government for Ghana or any matter connected therewith."

And S. 2 continued:

"Any proceeding or action referred to in

immediately before the publication of this Decree in the Gazette shall abate."

When people were detained without charge and without trial for committing no other offence than not believing in Union Government, Preventive Detention Decree were passed with retrospective effect to validate their detentions.

June 4

The offshoot of all these aberrations in the system was the explosion that occurred on June 4, 1979. The coup-makers reasoned that normal procedures having failed to give adequate protection to the body politic against marauders, rather special measures were called for. And having decided to hand over power to the elected government after only four months, the AFRC was at once faced with the problem of how actions and decisions taken outside the framework of the known legal processes were going to be protected, and also how their unfinished business of house-cleaning was to be carried on. Lawyers, judges, and the AFRC and In-coming PNP Administration, and the Joint Planning Commission, put their heads together and after serious deliberations, shouted in unison, 'Eureka'!

What had they found? Ouster Clauses - Transitional Provisions - clauses that would make it impossible for the established rules to be used to change things that those self-same rules had found impossible to prevent in the first place.

Lately, a very strange argument has been going on, spearheaded by the 'Daily Graphic' in its editorial columns, that 'transitional' is synonymous with 'transient' or 'transitory', which means 'of short duration', and to the extent that the Transitional Provisions have assumed an appearance of permanence, they are linguistically inelegant. For example, in its editorial of November 11, 1981, the 'Daily Graphic' wrote: G "Obviously, the word 'transitional' cannot be stretched to mean anything, but 'transitional', 'passing', 'transitory', and we believe it is for the Supreme Court to make a definite ruling on how transitional the Transitional Provisions are."

But this argument is palpably false. All that 'Transitional Provisions' means is that as a part of arrangements for passing the reins of Government from one group of persons to another, these provisions should be observed. One such arrangement is that certain actions of the departing administration are not to be

Any other interpretation of Transitional Provisions' will make some of the provisions contained meaningless. For example S. 18 (1) of the Transitional Provisions abrogate the 1969 Constitution, and S.18 (2) repeals the AFRC (Establishment) Proclamation. The proponents of the 'transitional-transitory' argument therefore seem to be saying that after a certain number of years, the 1969 Constitution will be revived, and the AFRC resurrected by reactivation of the Proclamation which legally brought it into being. The truth, however, is that those provisions are meant to be permanent.

The Transitional Provisions themselves are not all in controversy. They may very broadly be categorised into three:

(a) Matters relating to a smooth handover,

Ss. 1—6.

- (b) Matters relating to offices, appointments, and succession to property, Ss. 7—14.
 c) Indemnities, immunities and the purging exercise, Ss. 15—19

It is only in relation to the third category that there is controversy. And the argument is that these clauses, especially Ss. 15 (2), 15 (3) and 15 (4), by barring review of AFRC actions, amount to an infringement of fundamental human rights. This argument, however, proceeds, as I have argued elsewhere, on the unexamined assumption that the sole purpose of a Constitution is the protection of a pre-conceived set of "individual liberties", that these are absolute liberties, and that any infringement thereof renders the infringing provisions null and void.

But a Constitution is also a political docu-

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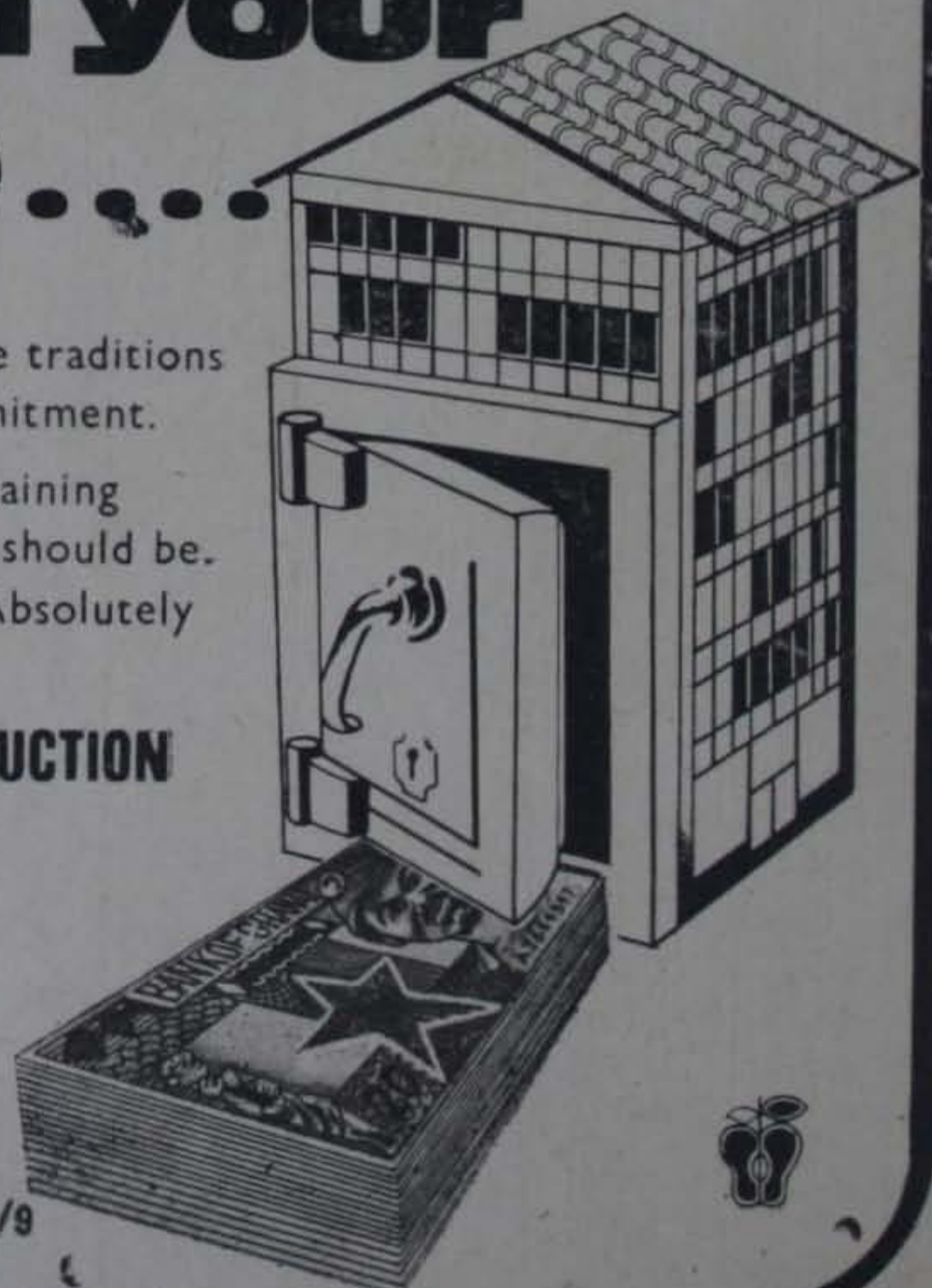
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ment, which is supposed to be rooted in the political and social, as well as the historical experience of the society it seeks to serve. The Ghanaian experience of 1979 was one of economic deprivation and strangulation by a small class of unproductive, greedy bandits who plundered the State shamelessly. The 1979 Constitution, in its original draft is simply a document which would seem to have been drafted for a stable, democratic utopia, economically viable and socially at peace. But this, of course, was far from the truth. The additions to the original draft sought to bear on the future conduct of affairs of state. And it certainly was not the first time that a post-independence Constitution was reacting to the historical experience of the country. The 1969 Constitution, faced with the experience of the CPP administration, inserted clauses against one-party rule as a specific reaction to one-party system of the CPP. Without any democratic expression of its choice, Ghanaians were debarred from deciding whether or not their representatives in Parliament should legislate for a one-party state for them. The same Constitution validated the disqualification of certain CPP members, some of whom, like Mr. C. K. Tedam, had been exonerated by Committees of Inquiry, thus indicating a rejection of the political system in which these individuals participated.

One looked in vain for a similar reaction to

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the economic and political nightmare that this nation went through between 1974-1979 in the original draft of the 1979 Constitution. There is none. There is thus underscored an impotence to deal, within the limits of constitutionality, with the problem of the cheats and their cronies, and therefore a tacit acceptance that extra-legal and extra-constitutional methods were needed to deal with them. It was therefore inevitable after 24th September, 1979, that what had been accomplished by extra-legal means would be protected within the Constitution. Hence the ouster-clauses of the Transitional Provisions.

The Kwakye Case

This brings me to the outcry over the decision in the case of **Kwakye v. A.G.** I for one am not surprised at the decision, thinking, as I do, that any other decision would have amounted to a subversion of the Constitution. Jurisprudence, otherwise referred to as legal philosophy, draws a sharp distinction between law as it is, or positive law, and the law as it ought to be. S.15 (2) of the Transitional Provisions is clear. Put in terms of a particular type of legal positivism, it says: "if 'a' is, then 'b' ought to be", i.e. "if a thing is found to be a judicial action or a purported judicial action of the AFRC, then the Courts ought not to touch it". The majority of the Supreme Court found it established that there was a purported action of the AFRC (i.e. a purported trial of Kwakye), and therefore the consequence (the Courts ought not touch that action) was automatically triggered off.

That attitude is different from the other judicial attitude that suggests that even if the law says 'a' and we disagree, we must be able to say that the law ought to be 'b'. That attitude may be subjectively desirable to us, especially if we are adversely affected by a particular positive law, or if it offends our subjective conceptions of justice and morality. But its attendant danger is that it then enables the judge to look at every other provision of the Constitution and pronounce it acceptable or unacceptable, and render judgment accordingly. In this way, the judge substitutes his own subjective conceptions of what the Constitution ought to be for what the Constitution does provide.

For example, a judge who believes in socialised ownership of property, would then hold the provisions of Articles 24 and 25 relating to the protection of private property to be unconstitutional. Seen in this light, therefore, the argument of whether or not there was a trial or a purported

this could happen to you!



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ed trial of the AFRC convicts pales into insignificance. In any case, there was no attempt by the AFRC to cover up the fact that it was not using known judicial processes. AFRC D 3, which set up the Special Courts was limited to 3:

- (a) You must be a Ghanaian.
- (b) You must be an adult.
- (c) You must understand English.

That was a clear rejection of Courts as we understand them. The Special Courts were an attempt at setting up an alternative legal form to the regular court system, and it was never intended that their activities be made reviewable by the regular Court system which was being rejected thereby.

Alternative forms of legality arise only in situations of crisis, when the existing law forms are seen to be so patently inadequate that they can no longer be tolerated.

The June 4 action involved people who did not regard the regular court system as one which could protect their interests. The people could identify with them in this respect if none other.

Thus the ground was laid, by virtue of the history of legal processes in this country, for the reception of alternative legal institutions, a popular revolutionary legality and legal form which the People's Courts represented.

Ouster Clauses

So what is the significance of the Ouster Clauses today? Surely it lies not in the fact that some people are in jail. It lies in the larger principles of upholding the Constitution, respecting promises given to military rebels to continue a process initiated by them and in the even larger purposive end of deterrence by example.

I have already argued that if in the face of the clear words of S.15 of the Transitional Provisions, the Supreme Court had assumed jurisdiction to review Kwakye's case, nothing could have stopped them from substituting their own subjective conceptions of what the Constitution ought to contain for what it does contain, if any other provision in the Constitution were to be in dispute. By their decision, therefore, they upheld the Constitution.

I have also argued that it is politically expedient and pragmatic to abide by promises that were given to the outgoing AFRC administration. But the third point I have not spoken about.

If you go to Spandau prison in West Berlin

today, there is a solitary octogenarian prisoner there. He is the sole inmate of that prison. He is guarded day and night by American, British, French and Russian troops. He has been there for about 40 years. He is near death. His name is Rudolf Hess. He used to be Hitler's Deputy. He fled Germany in the middle of the Second World War and attempted to negotiate a unilateral peace with Britain. After the War, he was jailed. He is there not because the war-time allies enjoy his being there. He is there, because he helps them remember. His presence there reminds them of the abomination that Nazi Germany represented.

For everyone who has fond memories of Acheampong there are many who recall babies dying because doctors went on strike protesting the continuing presence in government of the military and, to be trivial, who recall girlfriends and wives taken away by the soldier-lover-boys of the day. Such people cannot conceive of human rights in terms solely of what is alleged to have been denied the AFRC convicts. They conceive of human rights also in terms of what was denied people at the time when the present convicts were on top the world. Vengeance, after all has not entirely been expunged from mankind's penal vocabulary, despite all that Jesus Christ came to say about turning the other cheek. In any case, the traditional legal process itself daily punishes innocents. Courts of co-ordinate jurisdiction disagree, decisions are reversed, and the highest court of the land is put there simply to put an end to litigation, and not because of any inherent correctness in its decisions.

But it is said that there is another side to every story. And it is this other side to the problem of the Ouster Clauses that worries me great deal. It is a worry that arises from the Ghanaian situation today. If deterrence by example is to make sense then it must be seen to be attaining some objective. And such an objective would be seen to exist if the ends that the AFRC sought to attain are the same ends that the present administration seeks to achieve today.

Some of these objectives are spelt out in S. 16 of the Transitional Provisions, viz:

"To purge the Armed Forces of corruption and graft and to restore the image of the military and to deal with the accomplices of the Armed Forces and other persons guilty of malpractices to the detriment of the economy of Ghana or the public interest."

Others are spelt out in the Decree which set

up the Special Courts: "to institute criminal proceedings against persons who have committed certain fraudulent acts against the state; and also persons who have generally contributed to economic hardships and disorder in the country."

It was in order to attain these objectives that certain novel offences were created under the Special Courts Decree.

The continued incarceration of the AFRC convicts and the confiscation of their strangely-acquired property will only make sense if the objectives which were supposed to be furthered thereby remain the objectives of the incumbent administration. But of that there are grave doubts. And while the doubts remain the call for a Presidential pardon is probably worth-supporting, for is not June 4 a lost cause, after all?

True. Ghanaians fear the true Marxist-Leninist Revolution which will break the chains of fear and doubt and falsity which plague the Africans, the capitalised African Today!
I salute you. KA.
Let us return to True Socialism.

Letters

What Is Mr. Kwakye's Complaint?

S.R.—Could someone explain to me the nature of the relief former IGP Kwakye sought from the Supreme Court? He could not have been asking to be released from prison. He has not taken up residence yet in spite of his conviction. Or was he perhaps complaining that he was not tried by the AFRC court before being convicted? Did he submit to the court then? What nonsense is this? A man invited to appear before a court to defend himself promptly bolts away and then turns round to complain of not having been given a fair trial. Somebody suggested on television the other day that for certain types of offences it should be made the duty of the accused to establish his innocence. Maybe we should also begin to insist on the reverse of "habeas corpus", namely, that whoever seeks relief of any kind from the courts must produce his body in court even if the case is to be conducted by counsel. Some of us would like to hear whatever complaints he has from former I.G.P. Kwakye's own lips.

Community 10
Tema.

E. Koramoa

Venue Of Party Meetings

SIR—Why is it that various wings of the People's National Party are frequently meeting at Peduase Lodge? The other day it was the Party's Council of Lawyers, lately it was the steering committee of the Party. And why do the Minority Parties always hold their national conventions at Legon? Why was it the Dean of Faculty of Agriculture, described as such, who presided over the election of officers of the All Peoples Party at Legon in August? And why did the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, described as such, take the chair on Wednesday November 18, when the Leader of the All Peoples Party spoke at Legon? Was the meeting academic or political? The separation between

state and party should be made a lot more clear. Similarly public officers should be the first to see that close identification of their offices with political parties is hardly in the best interest of the office.

M. Aborampa

House No. 65 Intsin Street
Cape Coast.

10Th Anniversary Of F.D.C.

The Food Distribution Corporation should be congratulated for having survived this long, but whose idea was it that as part of the publicity on survival the Chairman of the Board of Directors should go on Television on Sunday November 14, to urge Government to provide more inputs for the Corporation? Would it not have cost the Corporation much less if the Corporation's needs had simply been set on paper and delivered to the relevant Ministry? And what will become of our Sundays if every Chairman of Board of Directors should take it into his head to go on the air to inflict on us claims of achievement and a catalogue of needs? The Ghana Broadcasting Corporation was also taking unwarranted liberties in introducing the broadcast by the F.D.C. Chairman as an address "to the nation". Is it the suggestion that anybody who has enough money to buy air space can address "the nation"? If there are no conventions on the matter, we should begin to develop some. My suggestion is that only the President can address the "nation".

Kobina Mensah

House No. 50, Essei Street,
Sekondi.

"Ghanaianism"

SIR—With the current rate of exodus of the professionals to the neighbouring countries to seek asylum from Ghana's woeful economy, one cannot help but say that the cause has been the failure of our predecessors to infuse a sense of patriotism in us. We have to begin giving lessons on patriotism in all our institutions from the primary school to the University. The lessons could be taught under a new subject featuring the following topics:

- (i) What is Ghana?
- (ii) Who is a Ghanaian?
- (iii) What is a Ghanaian to Ghana?
- (iv) What are the duties of a Ghanaian?
- (v) What are the effects of dishonesty and unfaithfulness to Ghana.

If this my suggestion is accepted then I shall like to suggest the name of the subject to be "Ghanaianism" and would also advice that I be consulted to throw more light on it.

Box 19,
Achimota

Albert Joe Pimpong

Politeness

SIR—Imagine coming upon a couple of sweet "innocents" at the main gate of the University of Ghana. Could you possibly refuse if sweetness requests a ride down-town? And then:

- A—Have you done the home-work, my sister?
B—I haven't o-o.
A—But why?
B—It's this boy. He came last night a talked a-a-a.
Me too I have told him I am not interested . . .

Even if conversation were a lot more refined, it is still impolite to accept a ride and treat the person who offers the ride as some kind of hireling. Isn't there some course in the University of Ghana which would enable students to appreciate that it is rude to carry on private conversation when somebody has offered them a ride? Or are such lessons supposed to be taught at home?

15 Lower Hill
Legon.

Kobina Egyir

The Way We Speak

SIR—It has long become a fashion among many Ghanaian^s to use English words or phrases to complete sentences in the local languages. This anomaly used to be geographically isolated to small areas where long contact with the whiteman made the inhabitants vulnerable.

Descendants from these "infected" areas may be pardoned if they cannot use the local words for say 'uncle', 'brother', 'aunt' or 'cousin'. Indeed, these people need our sympathy not only for the loss of their rich language but also the loss of indigenous family names.

The recent trend of this misfortune is rather alarming. My illiterate cousin surprised me when I visited her at the market a few weeks ago. She could hardly complete one sentence without an English word or phrase. Of course, she is not to be blamed if the poor woman is daily exposed to adulterated Ghanaian languages on radio and television. To her it is perhaps a symbol of civilization and advancement if she could mix a few English words with her Akan like the literates do.

Perhaps the G.B.C. could also explain why it has joined this war of extermination of our rich language through programmes like OSAFO DADZIE and the many discussion sessions.

P.O. Box 9098,
Kotoka Airport,
Accra.

Kobina Abrantie

Anticipating Nuclear War

SIR—I must admit to having been alarmed when I read Miss Hereward's letter LO Vol. XIII No. 12 on the risk of nuclear war, and the steps that the University should take to mitigate

the effects of it. Previously I had assumed that nuclear warfare was one hazard from which we were immune in West Africa. Even now, I cannot take the risk seriously, as I cannot think of any possible cause of conflict between the superpowers that would lead them to explode nuclear weapons in this part of the world. Is Miss Hereward thinking of the fall-out effects of a nuclear explosion in Europe, or the Middle East—the most likely places for such an eventuality? If so, surely in West Africa the effects would be comparatively slight. If whole populations which are theoretically at much greater risk are to provide 100% protection for themselves for an extended period, the effect of the diversion of resources from more vital and life-saving purposes is too horrible to consider.

In our own case, the University cannot find the material resources to complete or start work on buildings for which here is a pressing need. Would it be wise to divert what resources are available to set against a remote possibility?

^{re}A much greater risk for us here is that from earthquakes

and it is encouraging to know that the Geology Department is now taking this seriously, and giving students instruction in what action to take next time an earthquake occurs. Incidentally, has anybody given thought to the special problems involved in the construction of nuclear air-raid shelters in an earthquake zone? There is small consolation in being protected from nuclear fallout, only to be crushed under-ground as the result of seismic activity.

The Balme Library does have a current micro-filming programme. What we are concentrating on is material which is unique to Ghana, and which is subject to decay from atmospheric and pest conditions already, without waiting for a nuclear war. Often our copies are unique. The works suggested by Miss Hereward, valuable though they are, are printed texts, found in libraries across the world. I cannot envisage all copies being destroyed simultaneously. If there were to be nuclear destruction on such a wide-spread scale I suspect that Classical scholarship would be low on the priorities of any possible human survivors.

If it is of any comfort to Miss Hereward, the British Government is actively building bunkers for the protection of unique works of art, cabinet ministers and civil servants, and similar valuable artefacts in a disused slate quarry in North Wales, reported by *New Statesman & Nation*, Vol. 102 No. 2637, 2nd October, 1981, pp. 10-12.

J. M. Walpole

Balme Library
Legon.

Who Protects The Consumer?

SIR—It is gratifying to note that in response to the need for reduction of waste the Meat Marketing Board made a profit of C178,000 from the sale of smoked meat which had partially been declared unwholesome (*The Ghanaian Times* 12/11/81). But before anyone begins to congratulate the Meat Marketing Board we should pause and ask the following crucial questions:

What is the meaning of "Partially Unwholesome"?

Which medical authorities declared the meat partially unwholesome?

Does smoking make partially unwholesome meat completely wholesome?

After smoking, were the the meat samples re-examined and declared wholesome before they were sold?

Answers to these questions are of great public interest because the health of those who consumed the meat is at stake. One of the basic principles of food processing is to begin with sound raw materials. There is no middle way between wholesome and unwholesome food. Meat is a highly perishable commodity especially under our tropical conditions, and the changes which take place during deterioration can be very harmful and sometimes lethal to consumers. Unfortunately these changes occur before observable signs of spoilage such as smell and colour become apparent.

I hope the smoked meat was declared wholesome for human consumption before it was sold. Otherwise, we have great fears for those who consumed the meat, and the profits gained in one organization could be lost through the provision of more drugs for the already choked hospital. Undoubtedly, many Ghanaians are undernourished, and under

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such conditions, one's resistance to infections and attack by diseases is very low. In helping to solve our problem of under-nourishment it is necessary that enough food is made available, but whatever is available in the midst of scarcity, should be of good quality. People who are hungry will buy and consume anything without question, but who protects the consumer against fraud and the sale of unwholesome food?

Kofi Essuman

P. O. Box 134,
University of Ghana,
Legon.

The Price Of The Dailies

SIR—Kindly permit me to comment on the increases in the prices of the two daily newspapers viz, the **Daily Graphic** and the **Ghanaian Times**.

These two dailies were very critical about the increases in the electricity and water rates announced by the Electricity and Water & Sewerage Corporations respectively because the services being provided by these state corporations are sub-standard.

Recently, these two dailies have thought it wise to increase their price by 100%. It is indeed ridiculous to condemn one state corporation for increasing its rates and proceed to sell four-page newspapers with nothing special to offer at one cedi.

It is hoped that the quality and quantity of the news items would be improved to justify the increases.

Akuafu Hall,
University of Ghana,
Legon.

Kwame Owusu-Boampong

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The Administration Of Cocoa (3)

SIR—Your latest Observer Notebook comment (L.O. Vol XII No. 12) on the administration of Cocoa was timely in its concern for a vital national sector like the cocoa industry at this time when our precarious existence as a nation hangs on such key industries; but the comment turned out to be another in the series of criticisms lately levelled against the new Chief Executive of the Cocoa Marketing Board, with no real suggestions. While criticism is meant to lead to an improvement of the status quo, most of the criticisms levelled against Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia including your own, have always had overtones of ethnic and in the case of some of the criticisms even religious bias, though these are always emphatically denied by the critics. The two main arguments advanced are the incumbent's profession as a lawyer and his apparent poor performance in the past two years.

Firstly, the comparison you made with his two previous colleagues of the Interim Management Committee cannot prove Alhaji Bawumia's inappropriateness for the post of Chief Executive, since if the cocoa industry has been poorly managed in the past two years, as alleged, one person out of three should not bear the brunt and the remainder exonerated, notwithstanding that he was the leader of the three, since you accept that one of the other two could be an appropriate choice.

Secondly, the administration of a gigantic organisation such as the Cocoa Marketing Board which is bigger than some Government Ministries calls for a mature citizen of proven worth. And a man who has been a successful Minister of State and has since been called to the English Bar, should be deemed capable of taking mature and well-balanced decisions, unless it is being suggested that being technically related to cocoa should be the only yardstick for appointment.

Cornelius Vito Banu

Cocoa Marketing Board
Accra.

SIR—In the Vol. XIII No. 12, November, 1981 issue of the **Legon Observer**, under the Notebook column an article entitled "The Administration of Cocoa" displayed an amazing naivety given the calibre of the Legon Observer.

While the Observer rightly hailed the appointment of Mr. Harry Dodoo as Chairman of the CMB Board of Directors, it condemned the confirmation of Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia as the Chief Executive of the CMB.

To the **Observer**, either Dr. Gyamfi or Dr. Kobina Erbynn would have been more suitable as Chief Executive because of the academic training of the two men in Agriculture and Agricultural Economics respectively. The Observer does not consider Alhaji Bawumia's composite experience as a teacher, politician and lawyer good enough for the administration of cocoa.

I do not in any way question the profound knowledge both Dr. Gyamfi and Dr. Erbynn possess in their respective fields of study; I do not also say that Dr. Gyamfi or Dr. Erbynn could not have been Chief Executive of the CMB. It is the reasoning of the **Observer** that just because Dr. Erbynn and Dr. Gyamfi have been trained as agricultural economist and agriculturist so, therefore, that makes them more qualified as Chief Executive of the CMB than Alhaji Bawumia that I disagree with. Indeed the **Observer** did not need to stop at Dr. Gyamfi and Dr. Erbynn; it could as well go on to include the other numerous technically trained men in the Cocoa Industry, some of them also holding doctorate degrees, as preferable Chief Executives of the CMB.

In complex bureaucracies like the CMB, it is naive to place qualification for leadership on mere training in one technical field. To head a large organisation with the characteristics of the CMB, therefore, a person needs more of other qualities than merely being trained in one technical field. Such a person should be more of a courageous, imaginative, intelligent man, and even importantly, should possess a proven high moral stature.

The **Observer** does not credit Alhaji Bawumia with any real administrative acumen. Yet many other knowledgeable persons on the Cocoa Industry observe the evident reduction to a minimum of the wanton dissipation and misuse of cocoa money and property that had characterised previous cocoa administrations. This is a singularly important achievement for the Cocoa Industry.

Also, when strikes had become the order of the day in almost all major state establishments in the country, the CMB, whose ordinary workers faced stern austerity measures even more than other organisations, enjoyed a great deal of industrial peace under Alhaji Bawumia's administration.

Then on the international scene we were all witnesses to the pulsating negotiations that attended the recently concluded International Cocoa Agreement. It was clear the Agreement was on the verge of collapse to the detriment of Ghana. Close followers of the negotiations testify to the great role Alhaji Bawumia played in leading Ghana's delegation to wage a diplomatic war among most member states to bring about the dramatic success of the Agreement.

Alhaji Bawumia had instilled so much confidence in the various delegates through his powerful arguments that most member states tended to look up to Ghana's delegation led by Alhaji Bawumia during the difficult and crucial times of the negotiations.

If these are not marks of a great administrator then what else is?

The *Observer* concludes by saying: "and we do not particularly care if in criticizing Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia's appointment as Chief Executive of the CMB anyone is called a tribalist!"

Well, of course, if the *Observer* did not find it fit to raise the same objections about the appointments of past Chief Executives like Commander Addo and Col. Takyi who did not have any special training in relation to cocoa, then what else is tribalistic?

M. A. Yakubu

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University of Ghana, Legon.

Your Notebook comment, LO Vol. XIII No. 12 was most welcome. It is, of course, dishonest to read ethnicity into criticism of the appointment of Alhaji Mumuni Bawumia as chief executive of the CMB. If we insist that criticism is inspired by ethnic consideration, what about the appointment itself? The Alhaji's claims to the job are not that obvious. And of all the people who hold comparable qualifications, how did the Alhaji's name come up in the first place? Appointments have been made in the past which could not be easily explained, and it does not look like we have seen the end of such appointments. One only hoped that at least in respect of cocoa the appointing authority would show greater sensitivity.

Akyenba Mensah

Domiabra House,
Winneba

Notebook

THE ECONOMY AND OUR UNIVERSITIES

IN the editorial of our present volume, we have referred to the link between the national economy and academia, suggesting that an improvement of

the one will have a salutary effect on the other.

Academics should be the first to realise that in the present circumstances of the country, the more we can export of anything the better; and ability to impart knowledge should now properly be listed as one of the country's major exports. The pity is that we do not ever seem to get cash returns consistent with the volume of export. Foreign earnings from teaching abroad are hardly ever repatriated; such of it that arrives in the country finds its way to money markets other than the Bank of Ghana to do more havoc to the economy.

And while working in foreign countries and paying taxes to foreign governments, Ghanaian academics, like their counterparts in the other professions, still maintain their families at home, for very good reasons. We may be unhappy about the current performance of our primary and secondary schools, but that is because we have known them to be better. Compared to what obtains on the west coast of Africa we are still better off here. But if those working abroad must retain their children in the schools must we accept cedi-payment for fees? Why should academics on leave of absence from the country pay their rent in cedis if they retain houses on campus? And if, while on a visit, they should fall ill, do our emigre-compatriots pay only as much as the rest of us for treatment in the hospitals? In Cedis?

All that the above seeks to say is that we should begin to ask for a more meaningful contribution. Perhaps in sending to the Government a list of academia's needs in response to the President's invitation, the universities will also address the matter of how to exact adequate compensation from the emigre-population who continue to use the nation's facilities even while they are abroad.

SELF-HELP ON CAMPUS

WHILE waiting for Government to improve conditions of service there is no doubt that the universities could do a lot for themselves. Elsewhere we have remarked how inadequate living and learning space generally is. To be sure, some construction is going on all the time and new facilities are being commissioned every now and then. How soon any project is completed would seem to depend on the importance the universities themselves attach to it. Given our own scale of priorities we are both surprised and disappointed to learn that extensions to the Department of Chemistry on one campus have not been completed for use after ten

years or so since work began.

All the universities have quotas for foreign students. Even before the recent Government decision that such students should pay their fees in foreign exchange, the universities themselves could have sought permission from Government to collect such fees in foreign exchange which could have sustained subscription of journals, if nothing else.

We have also remarked that university staff want to be assured of food, clothing and shelter. If, for the moment, the universities are in no position to do anything about clothing, some guarantees could be given respecting food and shelter, at least. Recent efforts by associations of concerned citizens to organise bulk purchase and distribution of food to staff seem have succeeded in attenuating despair somewhat on some of the campuses. Some of the universities happen to have agricultural research farms. Proceeds from those farms could be distributed a lot more systematically and equitably. Self-owned housing schemes have been under discussion for many years, but not much seems to have been done about it until it is now almost impossible to build for sheer expense. Petty irritations like having to run after travel tickets or clearing personal goods from the ports when there are university officers who are supposed to provide these services do not exactly uplift staff morale.

Everybody expects the President and his cabinet to do things in this country. And the complaints about things not being done are loudest from university platforms. We can only reiterate that while waiting for help from Government, the universities could begin to do some things for themselves.

EDUCATION—WHO CO-ORDINATES WHAT?

IT occurs to us that it is not only the universities which have problems. For instance, while the universities are supposed to be co-ordinated by the National Council for Higher Education, who co-ordinates what outside the universities has never been clear, the rationale, that is. And now a Technical Committee has been appointed by the Government to advise on how to organise all education university education excepted, under the Ministry of Education. We wish the Technical Committee's terms of reference were not that limited, for some of the institutions that are to be placed under the Ministry of Education might be better off elsewhere seeing how bogged down the Ministry of Education already is by its present concerns. Students of the Ghana Institute of Journalism are especially unhappy about the envisaged transfer of the Institute from the Ministry of Information

tests in the dailies. But the students' suggestion that the Institute should be administered from the Press Commission is somewhat surprising. Must an Institute which offers courses on land economy be placed under the Lands Commission just because there is a Commission of that name?

We thought that who looks after what in Education would be determined by a national commission with wider terms of reference than the Technical Committee's. We were indeed looking forward to drawing the attention of such a national commission to the proceedings of the Tananarive conference on higher education in Africa, 1961. This conference at which Ghana was represented proceeded on the understanding that higher education referred to "all types of education of institutional nature such as universities, university colleges, liberal arts colleges, technological institutes and teacher-training colleges for which the basic entrance requirement is completion of secondary education, the usual entrance age is about 18 years and in which the courses lead to a given named award (degree, diploma or certificate)."

The import of the Tananarive proceedings is that, at least, in one tradition, post-secondary education is, for the most part, reckoned as higher education. Given proper recognition, educational centres like the Ghana Institute of Journalism could probably relieve the universities of some of the pressure with better returns to the nation, for all we know.

AND GNAT IS 50

WHILE attention is focused on education we cannot help noting that the Ghana National Association of Teachers has turned fifty. We wish to congratulate GNAT for having survived this far. And we recall with pride that when it was fashionable for associations of workers to declare themselves integral wings of political parties, GNAT was one association which refused to be swept by the tide, concerning itself solely with promoting the cause of teachers and the teaching profession. GNAT is to be commended for seeing its mission, in such clear terms.

There is a lot of despair among teachers currently. It is no just despair over food and shelter. Part of it relates to the absence of a clearly formulated national policy on education. For example, is the junior secondary school idea on or not? We have repeatedly urged the appointment of a national commission as a first step to putting things in their proper place. We were pleased to learn from speeches made by GNAT officials during the celebrations in November that the association also

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have a vacancy within Management for a

QUALIFICATIONS AND EXPERIENCE:

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These will be primarily to ensure sound mechanical maintenance of a major sector of the Brewery, and will include the planning and implementation of preventive maintenance schedules, installation and repair work, effective and safe use of labour, financial budgeting, and training of craftsmen.

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The Salary will be negotiable according to qualifications and experience, but will be on a progressive scale which compares favourably with Management salaries in other leading Companies in Ghana.

GENERAL

The job is a challenging one with scope for future promotion. The successful candidate will be expected to show leadership qualities, drive and initiative, and have the abilities to analyse problems. He should be adaptable, able to communicate clearly, and have ability to sustain long periods of hard work.

APPLICATIONS

These should be addressed as follows:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>1. For applicants based in Accra, Central and Western Regions:
The Personnel Manager,
Guinness Ghana Limited,
c/o Senior Area Manager,
Post Office Box 3610
Accra
(Ring Road East Industrial Area)</p> | <p>2. For applicants based in other Regions:
The Personnel Manager,
Guinness Ghana Limited
Post Office Box 1536,
Kumasi.

(Kaase Industrial Area)</p> |
|---|---|

So as to arrive not later than 15th Dec. 1981.

Short-listed candidates will be required to attend an interview in Kumasi.

For The Record

NOVEMBER 6

Sessional Address

The President's Sessional Address to Parliament announced increases in three cash crops, namely, cocoa, from ₵120.00 to ₵360.00 per 32 kilos, coffee, from ₵210.00 to ₵500.00 per 63 kilos, and shea-nuts, from ₵110.00 to ₵400.00 per 62 kilos. The Address indicated also that Government was contemplating the establishment of a Stock-Exchange Market in the country. The universities were invited to submit bold and realistic plans for halting continuing loss of staff to the neighbouring countries.

NOVEMBER 10

No Relief for AFRC Convicts

The Supreme Court decided by 5 to 2 that article 15(2) of the Transitional Provisions of the Constitution of the Third Republic precludes review of judicial actions and purported judicial actions of the AFRC. The Court was giving judgement in the appeal by Mr. B. S. Kwakye former Inspector-General of Police who was sentenced "in absentia" to 25 years imprisonment by the AFRC.

NOVEMBER 12

Registration of Voters

The Electoral Commissioner announced with satisfaction that 83.3 per cent of Ghana's estimated 5.7 million potential voters registered during the recent registration exercise.

Trans-West-African Coastal Highway

President Limann cut the sod at Anyinase in the Western Region to signify commencement of work on the ₵134 million Axim-Mpatabo-Elubo highway which forms part of the West African highway network connecting Lagos (Nigeria) — Nouakchott (Mauritania).

NOVEMBER 20

University of the North

Professor F. G. Torto, President of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences has cautioned against the contemplated Agricultural University to be sited in Northern Ghana. After drawing attention to the difficulty in maintaining existing institutions, Professor Torto asked what guarantee there was that the new University, if established, would escape a similar fate. Professor Torto was speaking at a public meeting during the 22nd Anniversary Celebrations of the Academy, November 16-20.

NOVEMBER 15

Hearts Win F.A. Cup

Accra Hearts of Oak beat Tamale Real United 1-0 in the replay of the finals at the Accra Sports Stadium to win the Football Association Cup for 1981.

NOVEMBER 17

Worthless Agricultural Ventures

The Ghana National Reconstruction Corps (GNRC) has announced abandonment of some of its farms in the Upper Region explaining that "most of the farms have proved to be worthless ventures"

NOVEMBER 25

Currency Deal?

A member of Parliament, Mr. Thomas Afful, Action Congress Party, has asked Parliament to investigate allegations that a functionary of the People's National Party (PNP) has been paid huge kick-backs from the printing abroad of new cedi notes. Contributing to a debate in Parliament, Mr. Afful even questioned the wisdom of printing new notes at this time.

DECEMBER 1

Rumpus in the PNP

Mr. Sam Addae-Amoako who in November secured a court order restraining the Chairman of the PNP, Nana Okutwer Bekoe, the General Secretary, Dr. Ivan Addae-Mensah, and the Chairman of the Publicity Secretariat, Mr. Kofi Batsa from continuing discharge of their duties as functionaries of the PNP told a press conference that he found it necessary to go to court because the individuals named had failed to pay into the Party's chest, both local and foreign monies received on behalf of the Party.

Nana Okutwer Bekoe, Dr. Addae-Mensah and Mr. Kofi Batsa have since announced their intention to sue for defamation.

OBSERVER'S NEW PRICE

With effect from January, 1982
The Observer will sell at ₵5.00 per
copy.
