



COLONIAL OFFICE

REPORT OF THE
COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO
DISTURBANCES
IN THE
GOLD COAST
1948

LONDON: HIS MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

1948

PRICE 2s. 6d. NET

Colonial No. 231

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Colonial Office,
Church House,
Great Smith Street,
S.W.1.

9th June, 1943.

To: His Excellency the Governor of the Gold Coast,
Christiansborg Castle, Accra

SIR,

We were appointed by Your Excellency under the Commissions of Enquiry Ordinance (Chapter 209 of the Laws of the Gold Coast) with the following terms of reference:—

"To enquire into and report on the recent disturbances in the Gold Coast and their underlying causes; and to make recommendations on any matter arising from their enquiry."

We have now completed our Report.

The nature of our recommendations, involving as they do, proposals to amend the Constitution, appear to us as more appropriate for address to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Accordingly with your consent and approval in submitting our Report we have adopted this course as appears from the Letter of Presentation which accompanies it.

We are, Sir,
Your obedient Servants,

AIKEN WATSON (*Chairman*),
A. DALGLEISH,
KEITH A. H. MURRAY.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY INTO THE DISTURBANCES IN THE GOLD COAST, 1948

To: *The Right Honourable,
The Secretary of State for the Colonies*

SIR,

The decision of His Excellency the Governor of the Gold Coast to appoint a Commission to enquire into the disturbances which occurred in the Gold Coast in February and March, 1948, was first announced in the House of Commons on the 25th March, 1948. The terms of reference were as follows:—

“To enquire into and report on the recent disturbances in the Gold Coast and their underlying causes; and to make recommendations on any matter arising from their enquiry”.

2. The composition of the Commission as then announced was as follows:—

Mr. Aiken Watson, K.C. (*Chairman*)

Mr. A. Dalgleish

Dr. K. A. H. Murray

with Mr. E. G. G. Hanrott, M.B.E., of the Colonial Office as Secretary.

3. The Commission was appointed by His Excellency under the Commissions of Enquiry Ordinance (Chapter 209 of the Laws of the Gold Coast) and its appointment was notified in Gold Coast Gazette Extraordinary No. 43 of the 7th April, 1948.

4. The Commissioners arrived in Accra on the 6th and 7th April, and were sworn in before the Acting Chief Justice in the Supreme Court on 8th April, 1948.

5. We held our first public session at the Survey School, near Accra, on Friday, the 9th April, 1948. At this session there was a large attendance of the public and of Counsel representing interested parties. The Chairman made an opening statement in which he outlined the procedure proposed to be followed and invited representations thereon. None were made. A copy of the statement is printed in the Appendix. After sitting for three days at the Survey School we moved into the Supreme Court in Accra to meet the convenience of public interest.

6. At our formal public session which were held on seven days at Accra and two days in Kumasi all interested parties were represented by Counsel. A total of 81 witnesses was called before us and examined on oath. Exhibits totalling 86 were produced and made part of the Record. A full transcript of all these sessions was issued daily to the Press. A list of the witnesses appears in the Appendix.

7. In addition we had a large number of informal sessions at Accra, Kumasi, Takoradi and Sekondi with individuals and organisations. At these sessions the Press was admitted and a transcript of the proceedings later supplied. We held 35 of these informal sessions and a list of the individuals and organisations appears in the Appendix.

8. We received and examined in all no less than 187 Memoranda from individuals and organisations throughout the Gold Coast dealing with a great diversity of subjects. A list of those submitting Memoranda is printed in the Appendix, together with an analysis of matters discussed therein. We are exceedingly grateful to all those who helped in this way.

9. All information sought from official sources was promptly and willingly supplied. We would like to take this opportunity of thanking all officials of the Administration for their unfailing courtesy and helpfulness and at the same time tender our apologies to them for the many and persistent calls we made on their time out of normal hours.

10. Apart from our formal and informal sessions we were astute to seek individually and collectively information from every source which promised assistance in matters relevant to our Enquiry. In this connection we visited markets, country towns and villages. We also saw educational institutions at Accra, Achimota, Kuntasi and Takoradi and had private interviews with a very large number of people in all walks of life. As these interviews were accorded to us in confidence and had no bearing on those parts of our Enquiry calling for the exercise of a quasi-judicial jurisdiction we do not propose to list the names of the individuals concerned.

Some of the Commissioners travelled by road for the better understanding of rural conditions and of the contrast between town and country.

11. In course of our enquiry into the matter of Swollen Shoot in cocoa trees we travelled through parts of the Cocoa Belt and later we were conducted over the West African Cacao Research Station at Tafo and the experimental farms attached thereto.

12. At Takoradi and Sekondi we inspected the port and the new housing estates.

13. We concluded our investigations in the Gold Coast on 9th May, 1948.

14. Our Report is contained in the following chapters.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTORY

15. In this Report wherever the term "Gold Coast" is used a reference is intended to the three territories comprised in the existing Gold Coast Administration namely "The Colony", "Ashanti" and the "Northern Territories". Where reference only to one of these components is intended it is identified specifically by name.

16. In accepting our Commission we were impressed by the urgency of our task. Until the unhappy disturbances which we were called upon to investigate the Gold Coast had experienced a long period during which the relations of the indigenous population to the Administration had been of the happiest. Accordingly our duty appeared to lie in a speedy ascertainment of the cause and an equally speedy assessment of the measures likely not only to prevent recurrence but also to assure that what had been a sudden outburst did not by delay become a chronic disease. To this end we feel that the ordinary type of Report might well be useless. A broad survey of causes accompanied by a broad outline of remedies appeared to be called for. That plan we have followed.

17. By far the most serious problem which the Administration has to face in the Gold Coast is the suspicion which surrounds Government activity of any sort. Its origin, apart from political propaganda, is diffuse and often obscure. It does not attach to persons or individuals in Government service. It is an attitude of mind based on no one specific grievance. That it exists we had evidence on all sides. That it must be overcome is the hard core of the problem of healthy relations between Government and governed.

18. In the main the underlying causes may be divided into three broad categories: political, economic and social. There is often no clear dividing line between them and they are frequently inter-related. They are not solely political or economic or social.

The remedy for the distrust and suspicion with which the African views the European and which is to-day poisoning life in the Gold Coast demands an attack on all three causes. None of them may be said to take precedence.

19. We mention this particularly because our approach to our problem is based on the firm belief that only by some real and far-reaching positive action in each field can this unreasonable suspicion be removed.

20. Cause and effect if pursued exhaustively becomes a fascinating research. This is evident from the variety of the complaints made to us as touching the recent disturbances. We have not attempted to pursue this interesting line of speculation. We have contented ourselves with the discovery of what to us appear to be the proximate underlying causes. In our opinion these may be summarised as follows:—

A. Political

- (i) The large number of African soldiers returning from service with the Forces, where they had lived under different and better conditions, made for a general communicable state of unrest. Such Africans by reason of their contacts with other peoples including Europeans had developed a political and national consciousness. The fact that they were disappointed at conditions on their return, either from specious promises made before demobilisation or a general expectancy of a golden age for heroes, made them the natural focal point for any general movement against authority.
- (ii) A feeling of political frustration among the educated Africans who saw no prospect of ever experiencing political power under existing conditions and who regarded the 1946 Constitution as mere window-dressing designed to cover but not to advance their natural aspirations.
- (iii) A failure of the Government to realise that, with the spread of liberal ideas, increasing literacy and a closer contact with political developments in other parts of the world, the star of rule through the Chiefs was on the

wane. The achievement of self-government in India, Burma and Ceylon had not passed unnoticed in the Gold Coast.

- (iv) A universal feeling that Africanisation was merely a promise and not a driving force in Government policy, coupled with the suspicion that education had been slowed up and directed in such a way as to impede Africanisation.
- (v) A general suspicion of Government measures and intentions reinforced by a hostile Press and heightened by the general failure of the Administration in the field of Public Relations.
- (vi) Increasing resentment at the growing concentration of certain trades in the hands of foreigners, particularly at the increase in the number of Syrian merchants.

B. Economic

- (i) The announcement of the Government that it would remain neutral in the dispute which had arisen between the traders and the people of the Gold Coast over high prices of imported goods and which led to the organised boycott of January-February, 1948.
- (ii) The continuance of war-time control of imports, and the shortage and high prices of consumer goods which were widely attributed to the machinations of European importers.
- (iii) The alleged unfair allocation and distribution of goods in short supply by the importing firms.
- (iv) The Government's acceptance of the scientists' finding that the only cure for Swollen Shoot disease of cocoa was to cut out diseased trees, and their adoption of that policy combined with allegations of improper methods of carrying it out.
- (v) The degree of control in the Cocoa Marketing Board which limited the powers of the farmers' representatives to control the vast reserves which are accumulating under the Board's policy.
- (vi) The feeling that the Government had not formulated any plans for the future of industry and agriculture and that, indeed, it was lukewarm about any development apart from production for export.

C. Social

- (i) The alleged slow development of educational facilities in spite of a growing demand, and the almost complete failure to provide any technical or vocational training.
- (ii) The shortage of housing, particularly in the towns, and the low standards of houses for Africans compared with those provided for Europeans.
- (iii) The fear of wholesale alienation of tribal lands leaving a landless peasantry.
- (iv) Inadequacy of the legal powers of government necessary to deal with speeches designed to arouse disorder and violence.

21. Before we pass to consider these underlying causes in detail, there are a number of general observations we should like to make. In putting forward many of our proposals, particularly those dealing with political reform, we are conscious of certain risks brought to our notice by Africans as well as by Europeans.

22. It would be idle to ignore the existence of bribery and corruption in many walks of life in the Gold Coast admitted to us by every responsible African to whom we addressed the question. That it may spread as further responsibility devolves upon the African is a possibility which cannot be denied. No nation can rise to greatness upon any such foundations. It is a challenge, therefore, to the Gold Coast Africans to set their house in order and a challenge which we believe will be taken up under the weight of responsibility. In any event, in our view its existence cannot be accepted as a barrier on the road to self-government.

23. Again, in discussion with many Africans, we found a marked disinclination to face realities. A tendency existed to take refuge in ill-founded optimism—that things would come right in the end or that someone would find the answers. This was exemplified in their attitude towards Swollen Shoot; a belief that Government funds were inexhaustible; and a blithe disregard of the complexities of modern economic organisation and the like. The hard truth that every penny of Government expenditure comes out of the taxpayer's pocket has nowhere penetrated public understanding.

24. Save among the older population there is an unconfessed desire for Europeanisation at least in many aspects. We say, unconfessed, because while undoubtedly growing it is not yet strong enough openly to cast off the shackles of tribalisation. But the hands of the clock cannot be put back. This movement is gathering momentum even if cloaked at times by anti-racial expressions. We doubt if it is sufficiently realised what problems these changes entail. Native authority in its widest sense is diminishing. The old religions are being undermined by more modern conceptions. Earlier disciplines are weakening. Others must be devised to take their place.

25. These are obvious dangers and present a background against which we have fully considered our recommendations.

26. So far as the economic life of the country is concerned we were struck by the high costs of production ruling in the Gold Coast. Many of the commodities, both industrial and agricultural, the export of which it is hoped to develop in the future would be too costly to compete in world markets. It is essential, therefore, if the commercial aspirations of the people are to be realised that productivity be increased. This can only come in two ways: by the fuller utilisation of natural resources and by more work on the part of the people. There are possibilities in both directions. We are inclined to believe that under-nutrition may be one of the causes of low output. For that reason we have emphasised the need for a re-orientation of agricultural policy. There is a very great wastage in the use of manpower, particularly in the distributive trades. There is need for greater use of machinery though the first step towards its realisation lies in the provision of technical education. There is of course the possibility of electrical power from the Volta. It has been said of another country that it "has developed politically without any commensurate increase in productivity. Interest has been focussed on administration rather than on the balanced development of the people". There is a like danger for the Gold Coast unless immediate attention is devoted to the urgent problem of increasing production. Upon such increase depends the means to pay for all social services and for the creation of a higher standard of life.

27. Finally we have gathered the impression that there has, in the past, been a lack of co-ordination in the planning of Gold Coast development. We think that it is less true to-day but that there is still a danger of disequilibrium. Is the administrative machine so organised and directed that a proper balance can be maintained between the expenditure of different departments? Are the capital developments which are planned in the post-war period calculated to bring about the maximum increase in productivity?

28. In this connection we felt that the administrative machine was weak for the purposes of modern economic planning. There is an almost complete lack of the statistics essential to the intelligent formulation of development schemes, or the successful administration of a complex social organisation. Many of the present economic disorders, in our view, could have been avoided if more statistical data had been available. Again we do not think that the proposals now under consideration to remedy this defect go far enough. There appears to be a lack of co-ordination between departments concerned with development. Too often measures have been adopted by one department without regard to the economic consequences for another. Accordingly we consider that responsibility for economic policy should rest with the Financial Secretary, on

whose immediate personal staff there should be an Economic Adviser and an Economic Statistician. All policies must be integrated and none more so than those directing the economy of the country.

29. It would be idle to suppose that many of the matters upon which we have had occasion to comment adversely are peculiar to the peoples of the Gold Coast. We are confident therefore that our strictures will not be held against us as evidence of a desire to belittle them. We found them a lovable people whose hearts were in the right place. Possessed of that virtue and given a real assurance against frustration we are confident they will rise to the occasion and with the patience of understanding in due course reap the harvest of their heritage.

CHAPTER II: THE DISTURBANCES

30. When we arrived in the Colony we found two matters exercising the public mind to a disturbing degree :—

- (i) it was asserted, and we have no doubt profoundly believed by large numbers of citizens, who were not necessarily disaffected, that the rioting and looting which began in Accra on 28th February, 1948, was the spontaneous eruption of a population frenzied by the shooting of innocent ex-servicemen ;
- (ii) the continued detention of six leaders of the United Gold Coast Convention without a trial on any specific criminal charge was a source of disquiet even among sections of the community unfamiliar with the meaning of "liberty of the subject".

31. To these matters therefore we directed our immediate attention. In relation thereto we took evidence in public and allowed all parties interested to be represented by Counsel.

A. The Shooting at the Crossroads, Accra

On 28th February, 1948, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon the Gold Coast Police resorted to the use of firearms. The incident took place at the junction of Rowe Road, Castle Road and Christiansborg Road, which is formed by a triangular piece of ground laid out with ornamental shrubs and known as Prince of Wales Gardens.

It was from this incident that all later mischiefs are alleged to have sprung. Accordingly to this incident we have first directed our enquiry.

32. The matter arose in this way :—

There exists in Accra and outside to an extent difficult to ascertain with certainty, a body known as the Ex-Servicemen's Union. Although we are told, and have no reason to doubt, that a similar body existed in 1937, we think we are doing no injustice when we say that the present association may be said to represent in its membership ex-service personnel who have grievances and who are dissatisfied with the constitution and management of the Gold Coast Legion in the representation of such grievances. Whatever the views of the rank and file of the Union it is clear that the leaders had a close association with the United Gold Coast Convention.

33. In February, 1948, the Ex-Servicemen's Union was minded to present a Petition to the Governor setting forth their grievances. To lend greater weight to their Petition it was proposed that members should assemble and march in procession to present the Petition to the Governor at his official residence at Christiansborg Castle. The march was originally planned to take place on Monday, 24th February, 1948, but was postponed until Saturday, 28th February.

34. The Secretary of the Union at this time was a Mr. Tamakloe, and three days before the procession took place he was requested by the Commissioner

of Police to call upon him, which Mr. Tamakloe with some of his colleagues did. The object of this request was to remind Mr. Tamakloe that under the Laws of the Colony processions could only take place if approved by a Competent Authority and then only along a route prescribed by such Authority. The Commissioner of Police also pointed out that on no account would any large body of men be permitted to approach Christiansborg Castle. The Commissioner of Police, himself an ex-serviceman and anxious to help, further suggested, that if so desired, he would try to arrange for the reception of the Petition at the Secretariat from the hands of a small deputation for transmission to the Governor and, provided Mr. Tamakloe could give an assurance that the procession would be under his control and remain orderly, the procession proposed might take place along a prescribed route. Mr. Tamakloe acquiesced in these proposals and readily gave the required assurance. The Commissioner of Police thereupon made the necessary arrangements.

35. On 27th February, 1948, the Commissioner discussed the route to be followed by the procession and this was eventually agreed. The route so prescribed will be found in Exhibit 4 a copy of which is printed in the Appendix. For convenience the prescribed route has been marked in red ink on the map of Accra which will also be found in the Appendix. No further comment on the prescribed route is necessary at this stage than to observe that at no point did it approach Christiansborg Castle or its neighbourhood or within one mile of the crossroads where the procession was eventually halted.

36. Apart from being the date for the procession of ex-servicemen, Saturday, 28th February, 1948, held some other significance. It was the day upon which new and reduced prices for certain commodities, consequent upon the end of the boycott of European stores (to which we refer in some detail hereafter) were to come into operation. The public expected much from these reductions which in fact were not so great as they anticipated. Some disturbance resulting from a sense of public disappointment therefore might have been apprehended. But in a country which had enjoyed so long a period of happy relationship between the general populace and those in authority it is perhaps scarcely surprising to find the prospects of the immediate future obscured by a pleasant past. In fact, although no disturbances during the forenoon in question were recorded, we are satisfied that a feeling of disappointment was manifest in the town and that the air was charged with possibilities. We mention this as we think it has a bearing on later events.

37. The ready acquiescence of Mr. Tamakloe in the suggestion of the Police Commissioner that the proposed Petition should be presented at the Secretariat, coupled with his assurance concerning public order and his acquiescence in the prescribed route, appears to have satisfied those in authority that untoward incidents arising from this large assembly of men were improbable. Accordingly the duty of preserving public order in Accra in the normal way passed to Superintendent Imray, Superintendent of Police Accra. That officer appears to have had some misgivings as reflected in the disposition of the forces under his command on the day in question.

38. On 28th February, excluding Administrative staff, there was available on duty at the material time in and around Accra, under Superintendent Imray, a total force of 3 officers, 3 Inspectors and 90 other ranks. These men were disposed as follows:—

At the Castle 1 officer, 1 Inspector and 20 men. The officer had a small supply of tear gas bombs. His men were unarmed save for ordinary batons.

At the Secretariat .. 1 officer, 1 Inspector and 40 men. The officer had a small supply of tear gas bombs. The men were unarmed save for ordinary batons.

At Victoriaborg Police Post 1 Inspector and 20 men unarmed save for ordinary batons.

At the main Police Bar-racks. 10 men armed with open sight rifles under the personal command of Superintendent Imray.

From the map of Accra it will be seen that while this disposition made for rapid concentration there was no parade of force in the immediate neighbourhood of the processional route.

39. Between 1 p.m. and 1.30 p.m. large bodies of ex-servicemen assembled on the old Polo Ground. They were at once reinforced by large numbers of spectators and sympathisers and admittedly there were present certain political elements. In passing, be it remembered there had been a boycott which had just ended, enforced largely by intimidation and we have no doubt that the gangs of young men who had enforced the boycott were present in strength. Varying estimates of the total numbers present were given. We are satisfied that by the time the procession reached the crossroads already referred to it numbered up to 2,000 persons of whom a large proportion were not ex-servicemen.

40. It is clear that almost from the start the procession did not keep to the prescribed route. When it became apparent that the original intention of marching to Christiansborg Castle had been revived, if indeed it had ever been departed from, the whole of the available police including the ten armed men under Superintendent Imray converged on the crossroads to baulk the advance on the Castle. By this time the purpose of the marchers or of some of them had become abundantly clear. Anti-racial cries were frequent and what had begun as an orderly procession had rapidly degenerated for the most part into a lawless mob. An ineffective but gallant attempt had been made by an African Police Inspector en route to divert or to stop the march. The temper and purpose of the crowd were manifest from remarks such as "this is the last European Governor who will occupy the Castle."

41. In this frame of mind the crowd was at last halted by the Police drawn up at the crossroads at just after 3 p.m. Met by this obstacle it reverted to the time-honoured custom of a heavy fusillade of stones directed against the Police, some of whom were injured.

Superintendent Imray advanced and ordered the crowd to halt and to disperse. This had no effect. The crowd came on. He next ordered the use of tear gas. Owing however to the wind vagaries and to the poor quality of the gas it had the merest temporary effect and only produced greater stone throwing as soon as the crowd had recovered from its first shock.

42. It then became apparent that unless the mob was halted the police would be overcome. A baton charge was useless as the police flanks were exposed with insufficient men to protect them. Superintendent Imray, having caused a bugle to be blown, warned the mob that he would open fire if they continued to advance. This proving of no avail he gave the order to fire. He was then in front of his men and it appears that his order was not heard. Accordingly, seizing a rifle from the nearest man Superintendent Imray himself fired at one of the ringleaders who had been exceedingly active in urging on the advance. He fired in all six shots and it was not until this resolute display of force that the crowd was finally checked in its advance. Thereafter, as if hopeful for some change to its advantage, it remained in hostile array until the arrival of the military about 4.30 p.m. the same day. The total casualties resulting from the shooting at the crossroads were two killed, including one ex-service man, and four or five wounded.

43. We were concerned at one stage as to why the provisions of Cap. 9 of the Criminal Code of the Gold Coast (analogous to the provisions of the Riot Act, 1714) had not been complied with. We have since had an opportunity of considering the matter and we are satisfied, apart from the fact that at the material time the reading of any proclamation would have been impossible, that Superintendent Imray by virtue of his office is *ex officio* a magistrate and the

words used by him in calling upon the crowd to disperse were sufficient to satisfy the statutory requirement if the occasion demanded it. In any event we are satisfied on the authorities that his duty to disperse these lawbreakers existed independently of the statute.

44. Turning now to the evidence called before us, we do not desire to be harshly critical of witnesses who, under the stress of political conviction or pressure of a kind difficult to resist, found public approval a stronger magnet than accurate testimony. We content ourselves with saying on this part of our Enquiry that having seen the witnesses and observed their demeanour and having sifted the evidence with the greatest care we find the following facts established :—

- (1) That the procession of ex-servicemen arranged to take place at Accra on 28th February, 1948, rapidly deviated from the prescribed route.
- (2) That those organising the procession took no steps to inform the assembly of the prescribed route and made no real attempts to prevent the deviation therefrom, and on the evidence appear deliberately to have misled the marchers as to the route to be followed.
- (3) That those organising the procession in fact intended that it should march to Christiansborg Castle as originally planned.
- (4) That the procession was accompanied by a large body of evilly disposed persons organised in a loose way for the purpose of spreading false rumours, urging the procession forward and making certain that it did not turn aside from its objective, namely, Christiansborg Castle.
- (5) That before the march on the Castle was repelled by force of arms the marchers or their associates showed complete defiance of constituted authority and a determination to overcome the Police opposed to them, manifested by heavy and persistent stone throwing at the Police to the effusion of blood, continuous threats and insults to the European officers and invitations to the African other ranks to abandon their duty.
- (6) That every effort was made by the Police to dissuade the marchers from their purpose before resorting to the use of firearms.
- (7) That in firing as he did Superintendent Imray was acting lawfully in the execution of his duty and the extent to which he used firearms was not in excess of the requirements of the occasion.
- (8) That while the necessity for the use of firearms is always to be deprecated our view is that if Superintendent Imray, as the officer in charge, had not used firearms as he did, he would have been guilty of dereliction of duty and the consequences of this large crowd of lawless people clearly bent on mischief, reaching, and by force of numbers storming the Castle, require little imagination. We are of opinion that Superintendent Imray deserves great commendation for his prompt action which we are satisfied, in the result, saved many lives and avoided consequences which must have been calamitous to orderly administration.

45. Whether the disorders and the looting which broke out in the afternoon of Saturday, 28th February, 1948, in the Commercial quarter of Accra began before the shooting incident at Christiansborg Crossroads or were consequent upon that shooting, as Counsel for the Gold Coast Convention sought to establish, we do not think is very material. If it becomes material we have no hesitation in saying that we unqualifiedly accept, in preference to that of all others, the testimony of Mr. Fair, who, tested by every standard, was a witness of truth. On his evidence it is clear that looting had broken out before the Crossroads incident even if we accept the view that that incident increased the tempo.

46. As to what happened in Accra after the looting started we have the opinion of Dr. Danquah that more shooting would have made for less looting and the earlier return to public order. This confirms the emphatic view of the Commissioner of Police and the Officer Commanding the troops that it was quite impossible to restore public order earlier, short of repeated shooting on sight.

A glance at the map of Accra will readily show the difficulties inherent, save with forces greatly in excess of those available, of clearing and successfully sealing off the streets. The view taken by both of these very experienced officers, with which we feel it impossible to disassociate ourselves, is that loss of property, however regrettable, was preferable to wholesale loss of life.

47. As appears from the Table of Casualties in the Appendix, approximately 15 persons were killed and 115 injured in Accra, on the 28th and 29th February apart from the casualties at the Crossroads. Of those injured no less than 101 were wounded by stone throwing, cut glass and the use of cutlasses. These injuries appear to have been received in the course of strife arising out of the taking and disposition of loot. Bearing this in mind, coupled with the fact that no specific allegations of excess on the part of the police and military until later reached us—indeed there were complaints of their passive acquiescence—we decided after perusal of the confidential files of the police and military, that these matters threw no light on the underlying causes and that no useful purpose would be served by extending our public enquiries in Accra beyond the shooting at Christiansborg Crossroads already referred to.

48. Towards the end of our Enquiry, an attempt was made to induce us to re-open our investigations into certain broad allegations reflecting on the conduct of the military during the looting. For the reasons already stated we did not think that any useful purpose would be served therewith. We were fortified in this view by the assurance we had received in quarters hostile to the Administration that the thorough and impartial manner in which we had investigated the shooting incidents at the Crossroads had eased local tension and given universal satisfaction. We have no reason to suppose that the Coroner upon his Inquest on the bodies of any persons who suffered death by violence, will exclude from his Inquisition any allegation of unlawful violence supported by proper evidence.

B. Koforidua

49. Disturbances and looting broke out here on Monday, 1st March, 1948, after the arrival of a lorry with men from Accra.

Casualties were 43 injured. Of these one suffered from a gunshot wound. The remainder were injured by stone-throwing, cut glass, and cutlasses.

On 2nd March two persons were shot in a lorry carrying loot in an attempt to ram a police convoy proceeding to evacuate European women and children from outlying districts.

C. Nswam

50. On Monday, 1st March, looting broke out here but was quickly brought under control by the military.

D. Akuse

51. On Monday, 1st March, looting broke out here but order was restored on 2nd March by the arrival of the military. In course of restoring order three persons were killed and four injured.

52. We held no public enquiry in these three towns having satisfied ourselves that no useful purpose would be served therewith.

E. Kumasi and District

53. The disturbances and looting first broke out here on Monday, 1st March, 1948, within an hour of the arrival of the train from Accra. No persons were killed on this date but 26 were injured, seven by gunshot wounds and 19 by glass and cutlasses. The trouble continued on Tuesday, 2nd March, 1948, but on that day no casualties were suffered. There was also a sporadic outburst on 15th and 16th March when three persons were killed and 11 injured.

54. We held a public enquiry into these matters at the Prempeh Hall, Kumasi, on the 23rd and 24th April, at which all persons interested were represented by Counsel.

55. Having carefully considered the evidence adduced before us we are satisfied that at no time during the disturbances was the force used by the military and the police excessive to the occasion. We are equally satisfied that the evidence of a number of civilian witnesses called before us with the intention of establishing brutality on the part of the police and military cannot be relied upon. As this may be the subject of other proceedings we refrain from further comment.

56. It was proved to our satisfaction that in the performance of their duties on one occasion there had been pilfering of civilian property by military personnel. We are satisfied, however, that this was recovered by the prompt action of the officer in charge and the property restored and that the delinquents were dealt with under Military Law.

57. One feature we find it impossible to pass over. During the disturbances disaffected persons, with the object of preventing mobility of the forces of law and order, set up road blocks on various roads. It appears to have been the custom of both police and military to compel residents of houses adjacent to such road blocks to remove them. There is no legal authority for this procedure and we must unhesitatingly condemn it.

58. We are of opinion that, subject to any statutory enactment, no citizen is bound to remove or to assist in removing a road block save and except under reasonable evidence of his active participation in placing such a road block. We recommend that the Officer Commanding the troops and the Commissioner of Police in the Gold Coast bring this formally to the notice of all ranks serving under them.

59. In concluding this part of our Report we recommend :

- (i) That early steps be taken to reorganise and strengthen the Intelligence Branch of the Police Force.
- (ii) That an adequate supply of the most modern tear gas be kept in the Police Barracks at all important centres. We are not satisfied that the potential value of tear gas in dealing with crowds on mischief bent has been adequately considered by the Gold Coast Police. We have perused the confidential files relating to this matter and they appear to show divided counsels and *laissez-faire*. The matter should be considered in the light of experience elsewhere.

✓ CHAPTER III : EMERGENCY POWERS

60. We regard the assumption of emergency powers by the Government, affecting the physical liberty of the subject in times of peace, as justified only by the gravest national emergency. The Criminal Law of the Gold Coast is ordinarily sufficiently wide to ensure the safety of the State. That an emergency of the gravest character existed at all material times in the Gold Coast admits of no doubt. That it justified the assumption of wide emergency powers is equally plain.

61. But the nature and use of such powers present a different problem. To that we addressed our minds closely. In particular we were gravely concerned with Removal Orders made by the Governor against six members of a political organisation called the United Gold Coast Convention. For the better understanding of these Orders a copy of the Emergency (General) (Amendment) (No. 2) Regulations, 1948, of the Gold Coast containing Regulation 29 (as amended) whereunder the Orders were made, together with a copy of the Orders, is printed in the Appendix.

We regard the right of access to all His Majesty's Judges in the Gold Coast as so fundamental to the liberty of the subject that nothing short of an armed attempt in being to overthrow the Government could, in our view, support the assumption of a power which deprives the subject of this right. We are fortified

in this view when we reflect that in the midst of a life and death struggle no such power was assumed during the late war by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, such a power was assumed under Regulation 29 by the Gold Coast Government during the recent emergency.

We are not concerned here to discuss what interpretation might be put upon Regulation 29 by the Courts. That its intention was to prevent access to His Majesty's Judges admits of no doubt.

Equally we are not unmindful of the fact that in certain circumstances the right may prove illusory. Again we are not unaware that "producing the body" under a Writ of *habeas corpus* may be made the occasion of public demonstration fraught with grave danger to public order.

Bearing all these matters in mind, our considered opinion is, that in so far as Regulation 29 purports to deprive His Majesty's Judges in the Gold Coast, of jurisdiction to entertain an application by a subject, detained otherwise than pursuant to a warrant issuing out of a Court of competent jurisdiction, the assumption of such a power was excessive to the occasion and we unhesitatingly condemn it. ✓

62. With the residue of the Regulation we have no complaint, having already premised the existence of an emergency.

63. Leaving aside that which we have condemned we now turn to the complaint of the six men against whom Removal Orders were made under the Regulation. In this connection we found that some confusion of thought had arisen as to our precise functions in relation thereto. These men were not charged with any criminal offence. We were in no sense trying them. Indeed by the time they came before us the Orders whereof they were complaining had been revoked. Our sole duty, as we saw it, was to ascertain whether in all the circumstances the Governor had acted in good faith and reasonably in relation to these men, in the exercise of the powers he had lawfully assumed under Regulation 29.

64. As we have already indicated, the assumption of emergency powers, of the kind we are discussing, postulates the existence of circumstances in which the ordinary criminal law is insufficient to maintain the security of the State. The strict rules of evidence, which are a necessary concomitant of criminal process, necessarily exclude information, which, though vital, may be incapable of legal proof. But a Government faced with an emergency of the character which had arisen in the Gold Coast must necessarily act on any information which it deems reliable and which it honestly believes to be true, but which, for many reasons, including the security of the State, it is unwilling or unable to establish by strict legal proof. This was manifest in Great Britain during the war when hundreds of citizens were arrested and detained for long periods, under the Defence Regulations, without any attempt to establish, by strictly admissible evidence, the matters alleged against them.

65. In the Brief Narrative of Events issued by the Government (a copy of which is printed in the Appendix) the Government bases its action in making the Removal Orders against the six members of the United Gold Coast Convention upon numerous allegations, some of which are of a somewhat nebulous character. We are satisfied, however, that when the Governor made the Orders now complained of on 11th March, 1948, although public order had by that time apparently been restored, that on the best information then available to him the Governor honestly believed:

- (i) that further disturbances of an even more widespread and serious character were in contemplation for political ends.
- (ii) that the six men were aware of this.
- (iii) that those who hoped to reap a political harvest from this violence centred their hopes on the six men as their real leaders.
- (iv) that by removing these six men from the scene, confusion would overtake the ranks of those contemplating further violence.

66. That finding is sufficient by itself to enable us to say that in making the Orders complained of we are satisfied that the Governor acted in good faith and reasonably under the powers he had lawfully assumed.

67. But we ourselves heard evidence at some length including that of each of the six men who were represented by Counsel. In course of that hearing a mass of documentary evidence was put in before us some of which is of the utmost importance in the conclusions at which we have arrived. We think it right, therefore in the interests of everyone to state our conclusions. Before doing so it may be convenient to set out briefly the background to our investigations.

68. The United Gold Coast Convention was mooted in April or May, 1947, and held its inaugural meeting at Saltpond in August, 1947. We were given a circumstantial account of its birth. However interesting that proved, we are satisfied that its creator and driving force—at all events until the arrival of Mr. Nkrumah—was Dr. Danquah. Dr. Danquah might be described as the doyen of Gold Coast politicians. He has founded or been connected with most political movements since his adolescence. He is a member of the Legislative Council and but for the accident of birth might have been a notable chief. He is a man of very great intelligence but suffers from a disease not unknown to politicians throughout the ages and recognised under the generic name of expediency.

69. The objects of the convention simply stated as printed are quite lawful in themselves—in a word, self-government for the peoples of the Gold Coast at the earliest possible opportunity. All of the members who appeared before us (with two exceptions) were emphatic in their expressed desire to remain as a unit within the British Commonwealth.

70. From the internal evidence of the Minute Book of the Working Committee, the Convention did not really get down to business until the arrival of Mr. Kwame Nkrumah on 16th December, 1947, and his assumption of the post of Secretary.

71. Mr. Nkrumah has had a varied career. He had a very diversified education in the United States and Great Britain and in both countries appears to have taken a prominent part in all political institutions designed to promote a forward African policy. Although somewhat modest in his admissions he appears while in Britain to have had Communist affiliations and to have become imbued with a Communist ideology which only political expediency has blurred. In London he was identified particularly with the West African National Secretariat, a body which had for its objects the union of all West African Colonies and which still exists. It appears to be the precursor of a Union of West African Soviet Socialist Republics.

72. Mr. Nkrumah appears to be a mass orator among Africans of no mean attainments. Nevertheless he appeared before us as "the humble and obedient servant of the Convention," who had subordinated his private political convictions to those publicly expressed by his employers. From the internal evidence we are unable to accept this modest assessment of his position. As appears from the Minute Book, the warmth of his welcome is reflected in the enthusiastic invitation from one member of the Working Committee to Mr. Nkrumah to "use the organisation as his own". From this it is clear that, for the time being at all events, he was occupying the rôle held by all party secretaries in totalitarian institutions, the real position of power.

73. There was found among Mr. Nkrumah's papers a document purporting to be the constitution of a secret organisation called "The Circle". Members of this body were required to swear personal loyalty to Mr. Nkrumah with disquieting threats in the event of infidelity. A copy of this constitution is printed in the Appendix.

Mr. Nkrumah told us in evidence that this document was "a dream" which he had carried around with him for some years. There is no evidence that "The Circle" ever became a live body and we must not speculate. Suffice

it to say that we are satisfied, having seen and heard Mr. Nkrumah, that, given the smallest opportunity, he would quickly translate his "dream" into reality.

74. In a working programme circulated just before the disturbances we have been inquiring into, Mr. Nkrumah boldly proposes a programme which is all too familiar to those who have studied the technique of countries which have fallen the victims of Communist enslavement. We cannot accept the naive statement of the members of the Working Committee that although this had been circulated, they had not read it. We are willing to believe that they do not approve of Communism as such. We do not think that many Africans do. On the other hand we feel that the Working Committee, fired by Mr. Nkrumah's enthusiasm and drive, were eager to seize political power and for the time being were indifferent to the means adopted to attain it. A copy of the relevant part of the programme is printed in the Appendix.

75. It is significant that, although from his evidence it must be plain that Mr. Nkrumah has not really departed one jot from his avowed aims for a Union of West African Soviet Socialist Republics, the Convention has not so far taken any steps to dissociate themselves from him.

76. Soon after Mr. Nkrumah's arrival the Convention began a drive in earnest for members. They held meetings in the towns at which according to the local press Mr. Nkrumah became the star attraction. They endeavoured to enlist under their banner everyone who had a public or private grievance against the Government and to seize upon every complaint, great or small, which might inflame a population avid for excitement.

77. It is also significant that during a period of great public excitement in Accra, namely the trial of a local Chief on a charge arising out of enforcement of the boycott of European stores, there had appeared in the streets of Accra posters urging the police (who apart from Officers are Africans) to strike and to refuse to obey orders. These posters were undoubtedly printed from blocks found in the premises of the Ausco Press, part of which premises were in the occupation of the Accra branch of the Convention. There is no evidence upon which we could properly find that these posters were printed by or on behalf of the Convention. But we are constrained to observe that the only persons likely to reap any political advantage from a breakdown of the machinery of Government, so far as we have been able to discover, were the members of the Convention.

78. Among other causes which the Convention Leaders sought to make their own was that of the dissident ex-servicemen. It is clear that several of the six men were active in addressing meetings of the ex-servicemen at a rally before the fatal procession on the 28th February, 1948.

79. That some, if not all, of the Working Committee and the officers of the Accra branch of the Convention, were well aware that the procession would deviate from the prescribed route there is little doubt. That they expected a clash when the procession proceeded towards its original objective of Christiansborg Castle must have been present to their minds. This is clear from the internal evidence of documents. It appears even to have been anticipated that cocoa farmers, up till that time not opposed in principle to the Government's policy of cutting out Swollen Shoot, might be emboldened by what was intended to arise from the ex-servicemen's procession. We are quite unable to accept the explanation of the Secretary of the Akim Abuakwa Farmers Union, that the reference in his draft minute of the meeting of the Executive of that body at Kibi on 26th February, 1948, to the ex-servicemen's march to the Castle "as sufficient to weaken the Government" was his private note. This was a meeting incidentally presided over by Mr. William Ofori Atta and addressed by Dr. Danquah. Equally we do not accept Dr. Danquah's evidence that he attended this meeting by chance.

80. On 28th February, 1948, the Working Committee of the Convention was in session at Saltpond. As we have already said we are satisfied that much was expected from the ex-servicemen's march. It is plain from the Minute Book of the Working Committee that long before there had been the slightest chance of investigating the facts a telegram to the Secretary of State had been decided on.

81. But the communication to the Secretary of State was not alone in the minds of the Working Committee. They had determined whatever were the facts—and the facts could only be ascertained after impartial inquiry—to make the greatest political capital out of the disturbance and focus world attention on their demands for immediate self-government.

That much is plain from the first and short telegram sent by Mr. Nkrumah to the Secretary of State. Attached thereto was a distribution list of the telegram for the World Press, which included the *New Times* of Moscow. As Dr. Danquah said very frankly in his evidence "we wanted the world to know". A copy of the short telegram is printed in the Appendix.

82. The second telegram which is a very long document was intended to convey to the Secretary of State a picture of Government completely broken down and only surviving by the grace of a few officers of the Convention. This notwithstanding, we were told by one of the six men that on the morning of the day following the despatch of this telegram he carried out his professional duties as a Member of the Bar by appearing in Court in support of several motions.

Allowing for the enthusiasm natural to those who hope to grasp political power which has hitherto seemed far removed, and appears momentarily like a mirage at hand, we think that the language used in this long telegram can be most charitably described as the "wish being father to the thought". A copy of the long telegram is printed in the Appendix.

83. We heard some evidence of members of the Convention who, not by reason of their duties as ordinary citizens, but rather to show up by comparison the futility of those in authority, tried to dissuade looters. We were not impressed by the result of their labours. A white flag was flown on the car of one of these gentlemen. Some discussion centred around its significance. We are satisfied that, while to Western ideas it suggests a truce, in West Africa it also imports victory. It would be kindly therefore to suggest, that its use on the occasions referred to, was designed to make the best of both worlds.

84. These telegrams were followed in the succeeding days by articles in the Press and other publications by or on behalf of the Convention, which, while calculated to advance its claims to govern, were not calculated to reduce public tension. The imposition of the Censorship under Emergency Powers was at that time in our view a wise and prudent step just as its removal before we began our deliberations calls for the like commendation.

85. We think that we have now given sufficient background to enable the conclusions we have reached to be understood. The fact that we heard the evidence on this part of the Enquiry in public, and caused a complete daily transcript of the proceedings to be supplied to the Press, renders in our view any detailed analysis of the evidence unnecessary. Upon the most careful consideration of the oral evidence in conjunction with the documents placed before us we unanimously find:—

- (i) That the disturbances at Accra and elsewhere were not primarily brought about by the shooting at the Christiansborg Crossroads.
- (ii) That such disturbances were planned but that there is no evidence to show by what persons or organisations they were planned.
- (iii) That save in its employment of a Secretary, whose antecedents were known to it, there is no evidence that the United Gold Coast Convention as such had any foreign affiliations.
- (iv) That Mr. Kwame Nkrumah has never abandoned his aims for a Union of West African Soviet Socialist Republics and has not abandoned his foreign affiliations connected with these aims.

- (v) That at all material times the views of Mr. Nkrumah were well known to and acquiesced in by Mr. Ako Adjei.
- (vi) That at all material times the political convictions of Mr. Nkrumah were well known to the Working Committee of the Convention and Mr. Obetsebi-Lamprey.
- (vii) That at all material times the majority of the Working Committee including Dr. Danquah, Mr. William Ofori Atta, and Mr. Akufo Addo did not honestly believe that Mr. Nkrumah had abandoned his political aims or was indifferent thereto, because they were determined to make use of Mr. Nkrumah by reason of his oratorical and organising powers in building up the Convention as an instrument of political power.
- (viii) That at all material times the majority of the Working Committee of the Convention including the four mentioned in paragraph (vii) together with Mr. Ako Adjei, Mr. Obetsebi-Lamprey and Mr. Nkrumah knew (a) that a route had been prescribed for the ex-servicemen's procession; (b) that the procession would deviate from that route; (c) that the procession would endeavour to proceed as originally planned to Christiansborg Castle and (d) that a serious clash with the forces of law and order might thereby be expected from which the Convention might derive considerable political capital.
- (ix) That the Convention, its Working Committee and some of the Members were active in promoting every kind of agitation and in exploiting every form of complaint likely to inflame an excitable populace with a sense of grievance disproportionate to the gravity of the matters involved, and calculated to promote action of a kind tending to weaken orderly administration.

86. In course of our Enquiry Mr. Obetsebi-Lamprey complained to us that the place to which he had been removed in the Northern Territories had at the material time experienced an epidemic of cerebro-spinal fever.

While our inquiries satisfy us that the conditions under which Mr. Obetsebi-Lamprey was living rendered the risk of infection minimal we think that the whole circumstances are very unfortunate and call for an apology to Mr. Lamprey, in this regard.

CHAPTER IV : EX-SERVICEMEN

87. That a great deal of discontent exists among a large section of ex-servicemen in the Gold Coast admits of no doubt. How far this discontent coincides with the existence of legitimate grievances is an entirely different question. That it lent powerful support to the recent disturbances appears to us to be a reasonable inference.

88. There are two organisations in the Gold Coast catering for ex-servicemen, the Gold Coast Legion with a membership of 30,246, and the Gold Coast Ex-Servicemen's Union with a reputed membership of 6,650.

89. Membership of the Legion is free to all demobilised non-commissioned ranks, and is open to demobilised officers on payment of an entrance fee of ten shillings. It has received financial assistance from the Government on the recommendation of the Legislature. It has a Central Council in Accra and Regional Councils in various towns in the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories. The bulk of the Union's membership is in the Colony.

90. The Legion preferred no complaints before us. The Union submitted memoranda and appeared before us by representatives at Accra, Kumasi, and Sekondi. In addition we had evidence from a number of individuals who claimed to speak for ex-servicemen generally.

91. Although the Petition addressed to the Governor on 28th February, 1948, purported to set out the grievances of the Union members the evidence

submitted to us covered a much wider field. A copy of the Petition addressed to the Governor and his reply is printed in the Appendix.

92. The complaints made to us on behalf of ex-servicemen may be summarised as follows :—

- (i) failure to implement promises made to men while in the Army.

It would be quite impossible at this point of time to ascertain accurately what was said by any particular officer to his men. General allegations are easy to maintain and admit of no real check. Whatever promises may have been given by individual officers it is quite clear that the instructions given to the officers in charge of units was to explain the contents of a booklet printed for Gold Coast Units overseas called "Release and Resettlement". This booklet was widely distributed. If any officer exceeded his instructions it is unfortunate that no action can now be taken. The contents of the booklet were most explicit. Page 5 pointed out that (on demobilisation) work would not come if the ex-serviceman sits down; he must go and find it. The rough must be taken with the smooth, and he may have to be away from his home. Page 10 points out that on return to his own country he would get back to his own food as West Africans still eat West African food cooked in the West African way. Page 16 refers to the fact that paid employment will not be plentiful for everyone who wants it and this applies particularly to lorry drivers. The information in the pamphlet is given quite plainly and those of the servicemen able to read English can have been under no misapprehension about their prospects on demobilisation.

- (ii) Insufficiency of disablement pension rates having regard to the increased cost of living.

As we state in our Chapter on Supplies, Prices and Distribution, the cost of living has undoubtedly risen substantially on the Gold Coast. We do not know how far that factor was considered when the basic rates now in force were fixed. This is a matter which we think may well be the subject of further consideration by the Administration if present high costs continue.

- ✓ (iii) That grants to men too old to enter Government service and to men anxious to start business on their own account had not been made as was done in the United Kingdom. While we recognise the great services rendered to the Empire by all ex-servicemen and that such services give them the right to every possible help in the difficulties they are meeting in civil life, we cannot agree that in all cases they are entitled to privileges denied to the ordinary citizen who by reason of age, occupation or health was unable to enlist in H.M. Forces.

In our view, apart from the special agencies set up to facilitate resettlement in civil life, the gratuities granted at the completion of service must be regarded as the fulfilment of the Government's financial obligations to all able-bodied men.

- (iv) That a provision should be made exempting all ex-servicemen from payment of state levies for a period of five years.

In our view this would create difficulties with other citizens and place ex-servicemen in a position which we regard as untenable. All soldiers and ex-soldiers are citizens and must share the common burdens of citizenship.

- (v) That Army training in vocational work is not treated as adequate for civilian or Government employment of the same kind upon demobilisation.

This is not a difficulty confined to the Gold Coast. In the Services it is not always possible to be selective in the choice of men for any particular job. The position is different in civil life, particularly where a more extended system of training is necessary before a man can be regarded as a first-class workman.

- (vi) That upon being demobilised and entering the Government service full credit is not given on establishment for the period of service in the Army.

This complaint is really bound up with No. (v). We think it is based on a misconception of the concessions in this regard promised by the Government. In certain cases such as Clerks full credit was given for Army service upon establishment whereas in the case of Nurses and Nursing Orderlies this was not so because a period of further training was held to be necessary, whatever their Army qualifications, before they were considered adequately trained for civilian employment.

In the booklet already referred to it was pointed out that "if you are *qualified* for a Government appointment your war service will be allowed to count for the purpose of salary at the time you are given the appointment". We think that it should have been made clearer that where further training was required for civilian occupations credit for years of war service would be given only after this training was successfully accomplished. The main complaints on this score were in connection with Nurses and Sanitary Inspectors, both having to serve probationary periods prior to appointment to the grade. We cannot see anything wrong in this procedure even though the nurse may have had nursing experience in the Army. What is and what is not sufficient training is clearly a question for the Medical Officers in charge of civilian hospitals and not one we can properly comment on.

- (vii) That men were improperly blacklisted by the Resettlement Department and so penalised when looking for work.

No specific allegations were made to us concerning individuals but we made searching enquiries. We were informed that men who refused the employment offered or were discharged for misconduct were put on a "stop" list. We have examined the cases on this list. There were 103 names on the list and the reasons given were clearly on account of misconduct, some of them very serious. Only in one case had we had any doubt about misconduct. A painter on the railway was discharged for inciting men to strike. As this was not raised by either the Railway Employees' Union or the Trades Union Congress we are of the opinion that the incitement may have been of such a character that it was either not reported to the Employees' Union or if so not regarded as a justifiable action.

- (viii) That although the Legion had direct representation in the Legislative Council such representation was denied to the Ex-Servicemen's Union.

We do not consider that ex-servicemen as such should have direct representation in the Legislature of the Gold Coast any more than railwaymen as such or market tenants as such. This applies equally to the Legion and to the Union.

- (ix) That the Union had failed to get the co-operation of the Legion whose representative in the Legislative Council was unsuitable and ignorant of the conditions of life of ex-servicemen.

This was a general allegation supported by no specific evidence. The gist of the matter appeared to lie in the suggestion that officers of the Legion are appointed over the heads of members. Since all ex-servicemen may become members in the Legion without payment and officers are elected by vote of a majority we cannot accept this suggestion. So far as representation in the Legislative Council is concerned the representative is nominated by the Governor. We are of the opinion, however, that so long as such representation is given, a practice of which we disapprove, while the Governor's constitutional right must remain unfettered, he may properly pay regard to the expressed wishes of the members.

We cannot help observing that if the two bodies—the Legion and the Union—are considered necessary the desired co-operation may be secured

if the bulk of the members of the Legion can be persuaded to exercise their democratic rights within the Legion. No other action appears to be called for.

- (x) That Africanisation of the Royal West African Frontier Force was not being effectively maintained, and more African Officers should be granted Regular Commissions in the Army and non-commissioned officers should be encouraged to take the King's Commission.

We can see no objection to the principle here contended for.

- (xi) That ex-servicemen were denied the opportunity of purchasing surplus Army lorries.

We find this to be quite inaccurate. When the sale of Army surplus vehicles commenced the Resettlement Branch, with the approval of the Commander of the Gold Coast district, made arrangements for a definite allocation of lorries for sale to ex-servicemen and many hundreds were in fact disposed of in this way. This also applied to salvage stores. Not only so but special consideration has been shown to ex-service drivers with civilian driving licences in the allocation of new lorries imported into the Colony.

- (xii) That while serving in the Army racial differences persisted in such matters as food, clothing and pay.

While these differences undoubtedly rankled during service alongside European units we are unwilling to believe that the memory of them survived the occasion or that save remotely they contributed to the recent disturbances.

93. Various other complaints were made by ex-servicemen before us but as these related to matters of common grievance of all sections of the community and are specifically dealt with elsewhere in this Report they do not call for special mention here.

Resettlement ✓

94. In the matter of resettlement we find that a great deal has been done. Trade centres and courses were instituted. Up to the end of September, 1947, 38,098 had registered for employment and 19,336 had been placed in employment, the largest number obviously being men in the unskilled grades. At the end of September the official figures shown as unemployed ex-servicemen on the books were 10,037. No doubt many had caused their names to be taken off the registered list for a variety of reasons—many, for example, having obtained employment by their own effort, and others having entered vocational training schemes. The number of unemployed ex-servicemen at the end of March, 1948, was 5,334, nearly half of whom were non-tradesmen.

95. We think that we have made plain, in our observations under the various headings of complaint, our conclusions and our views and need not therefore repeat them. ✓

96. The only recommendations we feel called upon to make are :—

- (1) That basic rates of disablement pension should be re-examined on the basis of any substantial increase in the cost of living since the rates were fixed.
- (2) That the whole question of credit for War Service in all lower grades of Government service should be re-examined by a Departmental Committee after hearing evidence by and on behalf of all organised ex-servicemen.
- (3) That the Government should take steps to enlighten the general public on what has been done for ex-servicemen and to bring home to everyone a fact about which general ignorance prevails—that the enrichment of any section of the community at the expense of public funds means a heavier burden by taxation direct or indirect of all other sections.

CHAPTER V: CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL REFORM

97. We are satisfied that in the conditions existing to-day in the Gold Coast a substantial measure of constitutional reform is necessary to meet the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous population. The fact that the three areas—the Colony, Ashanti and the Northern Territories—present, in some aspects, different problems by reason of the varying stages of cultural, political and economic development at which each has arrived, does not in our view provide a valid excuse for delay.

98. In approaching this question we have been careful to canvass widely representative opinion. While we have heard at some length the advanced claims of those who press for change overnight we have been careful not to neglect more moderate and conservative opinion. Equally we have sought official views among those who by long residence may claim an understanding denied to those of less experience. Among some of the latter, however, we were oppressed by the feeling that time had stood still. In a world where change was the keynote there appeared to be a disposition to let the world go by and to resent the intrusion of new ideas. It would be wrong, however, to suppose that this is a true reflection of the Administration as a whole. We found many officials, some even of long residence, whose eyes were on the future and who were prepared to write off the past as experience. Equally in the same quarter we had an exposition of liberal ideas which not only fortified our own conclusions but which we have not hesitated to adapt to the recommendations we are about to make.

99. The problem is no new one in Colonial Administration. The road to the answer is well signposted in past experience for all who would read to see. The only question is: how far to-day in the Gold Coast may that road safely be travelled? To this question we have given anxious consideration.

100. In so far as our proposals are acceptable we recommend them as the basis of constitutional reform for a probationary period of ten years. At the end of that period the whole matter should be reviewed in the light of the experience gained. We do not believe that an atmosphere of stability would be created by any shorter period of trial.

✓ 101. The new Constitution ushered in with such promise in 1946 was no doubt well intentioned. Its weakness in our view lay in its conception. It was obviously conceived in the light of pre-war conditions. Six years of total war had naturally arrested development in British Administration. For that no apology need be made. But the same period had been marked by rapid advancement in the experience of the Gold Coast Africans. Increasing numbers had received higher education. Large numbers had their horizons widened and their political consciousness stimulated by service in the Forces abroad and close contacts with other peoples. In that background the 1946 Constitution was outmoded at birth.

102. A brief summary of the 1946 Constitution and Administration is printed in the Appendix. An examination of it will show that the concession of an African elected majority in the Legislature, in the absence of any real political power, provided no outlet for a people eagerly emerging into political consciousness. On the other hand it provided a powerful stimulant for intelligent discontent. The real and effective political government remained in the hands of the Executive Council. Composed of *ex officio* and nominated members it was the instrument of power. The Legislature was largely a Chamber of Debate.

103. The 1946 Constitution did nothing to decentralise the machinery of government. Government continued to concern itself with the details of pre-eminently local affairs. The District Commissioner still controlled matters of local concern. Africans thus even at lower levels were still deprived of the school of political experience to be found in local management.

104. Only in Native Administration, residing largely in a hierarchy of vested interests jealously guarded by Chiefs and Elders, was the African provided with an approach to political expression. Even where an enlightened Native Administration admitted some fresh entrants into the fold of the State Council it was conceded as a great privilege and not conferred as an elementary right.

105. We have no doubt that this policy of rule through the Chiefs possessed many advantages. It had the convenient merit of tradition among a people still familiar in great part only with patriarchal government.

106. We are aware that a wide gulf separates thought in the towns with thought in the hinterland. But we are satisfied that much of what is thought in the towns to-day reaches an ever-widening circle. A great questioning has everywhere arisen particularly among the classes with little or no say in affairs. It has to be answered and in our view can only be answered by some radical change.

107. We have found an intense suspicion that the Chiefs are being used by the Government as an instrument for the delay if not the suppression of the political aspirations of the people. The fact that destooling—once the absolute privilege of a dissatisfied people, if need be exercised capriciously and violently—has been made the subject of a well-defined code, under the supervision of the Government is itself the object of grave suspicion. The view is advanced that so long as the Chief accepts and supports the Government policy he will receive Government support however much he has become the object of dislike to his people. That there is no evidence to support this view is beside the point. The suspicion exists.

108. In the same way, by reason of the fact that (the towns apart) election to Legislative Councils is by the Chiefs, who naturally elect for the most part members of their own caste, the Chiefs so elected have become the object of suspicion as mere tools of Government. Indeed nothing impressed us so much as the volume of evidence we received, not alone from the more forward sections of the community, of the intense objection to Chiefs being elected to and sitting in the Legislative Council. We were constantly reminded that the place of the Chief was among his people.

109. Apart from this we found great difficulty in getting any universal agreement on the precise place to be occupied by the Chief in any new political system. In our discussions we endeavoured to press the matter to its logical conclusion without result. There appears to be no doubt that so long as he occupies the Stool the Chief partakes of some measure of divinity. But it is a divinity with territorial limitations. Equally it is a divinity he loses the moment he is destooled.

110. Among Africans with modern political outlook we found that their conception of the place of the Chief in society was ornamental rather than useful; a man not necessarily of any particular ability, but of good presence, expressing in his person but never in his voice the will of his people; exercising the office of pouring libations to ancestors; remaining always among his people and never speaking save through his linguist; he must either remain on his Stool and take no part in external politics or forgo the office—he should not attempt a dual role.

111. That such a one must speedily become a mere puppet in the hands of politically astute subjects admits of no denial, even if not conceded by those who advance this thesis.

112. Needless to say the Chiefs whom we had the pleasure of meeting both publicly and privately did not conform to this conception.

113. While for ourselves we are unable to envisage the growth of commercialisation in the Gold Coast with the retention of native institutions, save in a form which is a pale historical reflection of the past, we do not think we are called upon to make any immediate recommendation for the solution of a matter upon which Africans themselves are not in agreement. Our sole concern

is to see that in any new constitutional development there is such modification as will prevent existing institutions standing in the way of general political aspirations.

114. To that end, in the recommendations we are about to make, the door is left open to any Chief to climb the political ladder to a seat in the legislative chamber. But whether he does or not will clearly be by the will of his people expressed through the Regional Council and not by the positive act of the Government. Therein in our view lies the true democratic approach to a difficult problem.

115. Turning now to the reforms which we recommend, we take as our starting point what we conceive to be the broad basis of His Majesty's Government's policy in West Africa. The moral justification for Britain remaining in the Gold Coast lies in this: out of a population of approximately four and a half million Africans, on a fair assessment, barely ten per cent is literate. We have no reason to suppose that power in the hands of a small literate minority would not tend to be used to exploit the illiterate majority in accordance with the universal pattern of what has happened elsewhere in the past throughout the world. His Majesty's Government therefore has a moral duty to remain until

- (a) the literate population has by experience reached a stage when selfish exploitation is no longer the dominant motive of political power or
- (b) the bulk of the population has advanced to such a stage of literacy and political experience as will enable it to protect itself from gross exploitation, and
- (c) some corresponding degree of cultural, political and economic achievement has been attained by all three areas now part of the Gold Coast.

116. Pending the happening of these events two matters in our view call for immediate attention:

- (i) The Constitution and Government of the country must be so reshaped as to give every African of ability an opportunity to help to govern the country, so as not only to gain political experience but also to experience political power. We are firmly of opinion that anything less than this will only stimulate national unrest. Government through advisory committees, as a measure of reform, in our view would be quite unacceptable.
- (ii) A forward policy of Africanisation must take place in the public services so that in all appointments or promotions, having laid down the standards of qualifications, the first question to be asked is: "Is there an African capable of filling the appointment?"

117. We are of opinion that any broad scheme based on these fundamental principles will be acceptable to the vast majority of the people of the Gold Coast and will assure orderly and peaceful advance to the goal of self-government.

118. We do not propose to draft a Constitution. That calls not only for detailed examination of every existing structure but also for a precise knowledge of the differences—cultural, social and economic—of the several peoples of the Gold Coast which we cannot pretend to possess save in broad outline. We say this because we are far from satisfied, assurances to the contrary notwithstanding, that the superficial similarity in conduct and outlook of the whole of the inhabitants as yet bespeaks a really homogeneous people.

119. Our intention therefore is to indicate broadly the pattern which, in our mind, changes in the Constitution should follow during the probationary period. Obviously, even if our pattern is followed, some elasticity will be necessary to enable difficulties in its practical application, not as yet foreseen, to be overcome.

120. If our recommendations are accepted the pattern of government which we hope to see emerging in the Gold Coast will conform in some respects to the

government now found in the United Kingdom. Apart from towns, which will have their Town Councils, the affairs of rural areas in matters of purely local concern will be dealt with by a Local Authority corresponding in some ways to a Rural District Council. Matters of wider regional concern will be dealt with by a Regional Council with an administrative structure not unlike a County Council. The legislative body with parliamentary status will be the Gold Coast Assembly functioning with a Board of Ministers acting as an Executive Council.

121. In relation to the smallest unit of administration we have made use of the name "Local Authority". This is a matter of convenience. Throughout the Gold Coast there exist to-day under a variety of names Native Administrations which by statute or custom are discharging duties in relation to certain local affairs. Until experience has found a better system such Administrations present the obvious base upon which to build. Such "Local Authorities" as now constituted are drawn from a privileged class or classes. It will be necessary to see that in their new and improved status a proportion, not now qualified for membership, is admitted. Only thus do we think can the way be prepared for universal suffrage which is the ultimate goal.

122. Accordingly we make the following recommendations:—

I. Local Authorities (excluding towns having a Town Council)

- (1) Pending such changes as may be enacted hereafter by the Gold Coast Assembly (hereinafter referred to as "the Assembly") at the request of the Regional Council the administration of local government in relation to purely local affairs should be entrusted to Local Authorities.
- (2) Such Local Authorities should be the territorial bodies, by whatever name called, which by statute or custom now discharge some of the duties of local government within a given area; provided always that the existing constitution of such bodies are modified so as to give representation therein to a specified proportion of adult males within the area not now eligible for membership.
- (3) As we conceive it, Local Authorities will ultimately be financed by grants from the Regional Council but, as the existing financial arrangement between the Central Government and existing "Local Authorities" admit of so much variation, any detailed recommendations at this stage are impossible. We suggest that a Committee with African representation be forthwith set up to study the whole question including the abolition of purely local imposts.

II. Regional Councils

- (1) A Regional Council should be elected for each of (i) the Colony and (ii) Ashanti and (iii) the Northern Territories.
- (2) The primary function of the Regional Council should be executive, but it should have certain powers under its constitution to make orders having the force of law just as a County Council in the United Kingdom can make by-laws under Act of Parliament.

Normally a Regional Council should be financed by grants from the Assembly, but it may be necessary in considering the whole question of Local Government Finance to empower the Regional Council to levy rates. This question might form part of the enquiry which we have recommended in paragraph 122.(3) above.

- (3) The powers and duties of the Regional Council should be such matters of local government as are from time to time delegated by the Assembly. To begin with we suggest these should comprise such functions as Public Health, Education, Housing, local communications, and social services.
- (4) The work of the Regional Councils should be discharged by *ad hoc* Committees of Members elected by the Council. These Committees

should report to the Regional Council in full session four times in the year on dates fixed by the Constitution.

- (5) The Regional Councils should in general be charged with the supervision of all Local Authorities within the Region.
- (6) The Chief Commissioner of the respective provinces should become the Regional Commissioner. His duties in addition to such as may be imposed upon him by the Government should be :—
 - (i) to preside over the Regional Council ;
 - (ii) to exercise all the discretionary or reserved powers in the Constitution of the Regional Council, which are not specially reserved to the Governor or to the Assembly.
- (7) The membership of Regional Councils requires different considerations in each Region. Our recommendations are :—
 - (A) *In the Colony*
 - (i) representatives elected by the Town Councils now in being ;
 - (ii) representatives elected by Local Authorities or groups of Local Authorities provided that not more than, say, one half of those elected should be members of a State Council.
 - (B) *In Ashanti*
 - (i) representatives elected by the Town Councils now in being ;
 - (ii) representatives elected by the Ashanti Confederacy Council provided that not more than, say, one half of those elected should be members of any Divisional Council or similar body.
 - (C) *In the Northern Territories*
representatives elected by the Territorial Council provided that not more than two-thirds of those elected should be Chiefs or members of any State Council or similar body.

Provision should be made for extending the basis of election in the Northern Territories during the probationary period to bring it into line with the Colony and Ashanti, if circumstances permit.

- (8) Provision should be made (a) to ensure as far as possible that members of the Regional Council are not drawn exclusively from citizens ordinarily resident in towns of the Region and (b) that one-third of the members retires annually after the first year.

III. Town Councils

- (1) The existence of a Native Authority dividing jurisdiction with an elected Town Council over the same area is an anomaly which in our opinion ought to disappear.
- (2) Accordingly we recommend that the sole authority in towns now enjoying an elected Town Council should be the Town Council, elected on the existing franchise. Subject to such reserved powers of the Governor as may be deemed advisable, such Town Councils should have complete jurisdiction over Public Health, Slum Clearance, Housing, Town Planning and Education within their areas and power within limits to levy rates and to borrow on the security of the rates.
- (3) In order to preserve the ancient link with the Chiefs we recommend the creation of an office to be known as " Chief of Accra " or other town as the case may be, to be held by the occupant for the time being of the Stool of the Paramount Chief who now presides over the Native Authority in the town. Provision should be made that the Chief must be summoned to all meetings of the Town Council but need not attend. If he does so attend he should be entitled to preside but should not have a vote. In his absence the Town Council should be presided over by a Mayor to be elected annually from among the members. The Mayor should have a deliberative and when presiding also a casting vote.

its own administration from which we hope will graduate officers of experience capable of taking over in due course every post of importance in central government. We are persuaded that this is the natural and profitable way of evolving complete Africanisation of the public service.

133. Meantime, whatever shape the administration may assume before self-government is accomplished, we do not for some time to come envisage the supply of Africans possessing the necessary qualifications and experience sufficient to meet the requirements of the senior administration of central government. Indeed we expect the rate of recruitment of European personnel may increase as the economic development of the country calls for expanded scientific and technical services. That however should not slow down Africanisation at the centre.

134. In this connection we have seen a mandatory instruction issued to the Head of every Department of the Administration, requiring in the case of every promotion or appointment the careful consideration of the claims of African personnel. We have no doubt that this instruction has been loyally followed in the best traditions of the Service. On the other hand we feel that something positive must be done if the natural suspicion of African personnel is to be met.

135. We recommend therefore the establishment of an Appointments Board consisting of (i) an African High Court Judge as Chairman, (ii) the Colonial Secretary and (iii) some other competent disinterested person.

136. To this Board should be referred every fresh appointment to or promotion within the Central Government Administration other than appointments carrying with them Ministerial responsibility under our new constitutional proposals. They should interview African candidates and also hear the Head of the Department involved. Thereafter before any European is appointed to the post they should certify to the Governor that in their opinion there is no available African suitable for the appointment.

137. Arising out of this question of Africanisation we heard many complaints about the disparity in emoluments between European and African established civil servants. So long as Europeans are necessary for the Service we do not think this is unreasonable or can be avoided. The European officer in existing circumstances has many commitments at home which are unavoidable. His residence in a country which is not his natural habitat exposes him to expenses which his African colleague can, without loss of dignity or convenience, properly escape. We feel that all reasonable Africans recognise this.

138. Arising out of Africanisation of the public services we desire to call attention to a matter which in our view calls for regulation. We feel that so far as the Administrative Branches of the public services are concerned a career therein demands a loyalty transcending all other considerations. In our opinion therefore a rule ought to be introduced that no civil servant in the Administrative Branch of the Gold Coast Government may be a member of any organisation having among its objects the attainment of any end by political means.

139. We recommend this because we are satisfied that intimidation exists in the Gold Coast to an unusual degree. The fact that it cannot be proved to the satisfaction of a Criminal Court makes it the more sinister.

140. As a corollary to this recommendation we also recommend a change in the Criminal Law whereby the solicitation of civil servants in the Administrative class to become members of an organisation such as we have referred to is made a criminal offence. Only in such a way can Administrative officers be secured the necessary protection.

141. We desire to add that we are confining our recommendation to those employed in the Administrative Branches. We have no desire to curb political views or activities of manual or clerical workers merely by reason of Government employment. Equally we have no objection to membership of Administrative officers in a trade union organisation with no outside affiliations.

CHAPTER VII: THE PRESS AND PUBLIC RELATIONS

The Censorship

142. Beginning about September, 1947, the Press in general which had hitherto exhibited a reasonably balanced opinion on affairs, gradually degenerated into an instrument of abuse of the Government. Immediately before and after the unhappy events of 28th February, 1948, its tone and content were calculated to inflame the populace, to keep alive public tension and to provoke further mischief.

143. The Censorship of the Press was imposed on 4th March, 1948, under the Emergency Regulations enacted by the Governor. As we have already indicated, in our view the existence of a grave emergency at that time in the Gold Coast fully justified such Regulations.

144. We have read a number of articles intended for publication immediately following the imposition of the Censorship. We are satisfied that in the absence of the Censorship, had those articles been published, further serious public mischief would have arisen. In our view the Censorship was a vital safeguard of public order.

145. The Censorship was lifted on 9th April, 1948, before we began our investigations.

Public Relations

146. There was submitted to us a Memorandum on behalf of the Press of the Gold Coast on this important subject. In addition we also heard Mr. Ako Adjei at some length.

147. While we are satisfied that the machinery for Public Relations on the Gold Coast is in need of overhaul we are unable to accede to the general proposition of the authors of the Memorandum and Mr. Adjei that a Department of Public Relations is unnecessary or an unwarranted use of public funds.

148. In the United Kingdom, which is served by a powerful Press reaching the remotest villages it has been found necessary, since the war, to develop a widespread system of Public Relations for explaining at large the objects of and the necessity for different aspects of public policy. We say at once that, if it is a necessary part of governmental administration in the United Kingdom, it is a thousand times more necessary in the Gold Coast, where the principal vehicle of information to large masses of the people is still the lorry driver and the itinerant hawker. We are satisfied that even among a large proportion of the literate population of the Gold Coast, which is barely ten per cent of the whole, the object of and the reason for many aspects of Government policy are the least understood of the matters affecting their daily lives.

149. This cannot wholly be attributed to a hostile Press. In some measure it must be accounted for by a failure on the part of those responsible in the Administration to keep alive the vital link between Government and Press so essential under modern conditions. It may well be that in the past the importance of Public Relations has not always been appreciated by those Heads of Departments whose co-operation is vital to the success of the enterprise. To that extent the Public Relations Department must be excused.

150. But that is no argument for the abolition of the Public Relations Department. Rather does it suggest to us the necessity for its complete overhaul and the enlargement of its scope with increase in its prestige. It is no substitute for the Press which necessarily remains the watchdog of public interest.

151. So far as we could discover, until the happening of recent events there had been no imaginative attempts in the Gold Coast to ensure the presentation of Government policy in a balanced way even to the literate population.

152. The driving necessity of the disturbances created a sense of urgency which produced the *Gold Coast Bulletin* on a daily basis. This was a four-page

- (4) The Regional Commissioner of the Region in which the town is situated should exercise all discretionary and reserved powers under any statutes applying to the town.
- (5) There are several large urban populations which do not now have the privilege of a town council. We think that in all such places where the population and circumstances warrant it provision should be made for the establishment of a Town Council.

IV. The Gold Coast Assembly

- (1) The Gold Coast Assembly should be the Legislature.
- (2) The Assembly should consist of :—
 - (a) 45 elected members, 15 to be elected by each of the Regional Councils ;
 - (b) 5 members nominated by the Governor to represent trading and other countrywide organisations and
 - (c) *ex officio* members of the Executive Council.
- (3) Unless also a member of the Regional Council electing him, no one other than a native of the Region should be capable of election for that Region.
- (4) The Assembly should be presided over by a Speaker elected from and by its own members. The Governor should no longer preside over the Legislature.
- (5) Unless dissolved earlier by the Governor on the advice of the Board of Ministers, the Assembly should be elected for a period of four years.

V. The Executive Council

- (1) The Executive Council should consist of a Board of nine Ministers. Of these five should be African members of the Assembly. Such African members should be nominated by the Governor. All such nominations should require approval by resolution of the Assembly. In the event of a motion of censure on any such nominated Minister being passed by a majority of not less than three-fourths of the Assembly, such Minister should leave office.
- (2) The *ex-officio* members of the Board of Ministers should include (i) the Colonial Secretary who should be the Senior Minister, (ii) the Financial Secretary, (iii) the Attorney-General and (iv) the Secretary for Internal Affairs, covering Police, Prisons, Posts and Telegraphs. *Ex officio* members should not lose office by reason of any adverse vote in the Assembly.
- (3) Members of the Executive Council should be salaried full-time Ministers.
- (4) The Executive Council should cease to be advisory and become a Board of Ministers with collective responsibility to the Assembly and should initiate policy.
- (5) Each member of the Board of Ministers should have a permanent Under-Secretary drawn from the Civil Service, to whom would be responsible the Heads of the Departments forming parts of their Ministries. These Heads of Departments would be technical officers.

VI. The Governor

- (1) The Governor should preside at all meetings of the Executive Council which he attends. In his absence, the Colonial Secretary should preside.
- (2) The Governor should continue to exercise all the powers reserved by the Constitution including the power of Certification and Veto.

CHAPTER VI: AFRICANISATION

123. We found no African who seriously suggested that there was as yet a sufficient number of Africans with the education or experience capable of filling an appreciable number of posts in the higher branches of the public service in the Gold Coast. But this very fact we found to be a source of complaint. It was said and we think with some justice: "You have not provided us with sufficient opportunities to learn. In cases where we have learned you have not given us the opportunity to show our capacity."

124. On the other hand according to the figures supplied to us there were in April, 1948, between 1,300 and 1,400 senior appointments in the Gold Coast Administration. Of these 98 were held by Africans. This was a fair increase from 17 in 1928 and 31 in 1938; moreover there are at present in the United Kingdom 171 students on scholarship whose training will make them eligible for senior appointments. Of these 156 are financed from Gold Coast Government grants or from His Majesty's Treasury. While therefore the increase to date may appear relatively small the potential increase now available shows no lack of good faith in recent years in promoting the policy.

125. Our attention was called to numerous cases where it was alleged that proper promotion was denied to Africans who were passed over in favour of Europeans whose academic qualifications were no greater and sometimes less. Particular reference was made to European entrants during post-war recruitment.

126. We have not seen the personal files of the persons cited to us as examples in this regard. In the absence of any allegation of bad faith we did not think it proper to ask for them.

127. But we are satisfied that by and large there exists a feeling amounting to frustration which breeds a natural suspicion that the policy of Africanisation is a promise and not a reality. This must be removed.

128. The problem is a difficult one rendered more so by the touching belief of so many Africans in the intrinsic value of an academic parchment. The fact that an individual has acquired a university degree, or a certificate of some sort or another is considered to be by itself the hall-mark of capacity. Academic education as a means of teaching human beings to think is not generally understood. A man with a degree expects at once to assume the seat of power irrespective of any lack of practical experience. The elementary tasks of administration which must be absorbed before the complex ones are tackled he regards as an insult to his intelligence. This is on par at a lower level with the case brought to our notice of an ex-serviceman, who on the strength of his war service, coupled with some Army experience in matters remote from education, demanded as of right to be employed as a teacher.

129. We do not state these matters by way of depreciation. Many Africans whose society we enjoyed share and deplore with us the tendency to which we have referred.

130. This tendency may be due to the angle from which the general education of the Gold Coast has been approached in the past. In any event only time can eradicate it.

131. It appears to us however that the question of Africanisation has always been approached from a fallacious but understandable point of view. It has been assumed that the public service as now exemplified is more or less static in form. That postulates that all that is necessary is to turn out Europeans and replace them by Africans. It takes no heed of the fact that by reason of the backward state of the country generally, matters which are essentially local in operation, continue to be the executive concern of central government.

132. If our proposals for constitutional reform are accepted we expect to see developing a system of local government enjoying both responsibility and power which will prove less expensive than the machinery now in use by central government for like purposes. Such local government will necessarily develop

publication in English published daily by the Government and widely distributed. In the main it is factual and we think that had it remained purely factual no criticism of its content could properly have been made. Where it ceased to be purely factual we are of the opinion that its usefulness was seriously impaired.

153. But our real criticism of the *Gold Coast Bulletin* is that it merely touches the fringe of the problem of public relations, in a relatively primitive country, whose general language in common use is not yet even basic English. The *Gold Coast Bulletin* in our view scarcely touched African opinion.

154. The problem of getting Government policy adequately and objectively presented to the literate population, where the Press as a whole remains hostile, is one of difficulty. To reach the great bulk of the non-literate population is an even greater difficulty. But both problems must be faced and overcome. The task admits of no delay.

155. It is essential in our opinion to put this Department forthwith in the hands of a trained and experienced officer with the necessary status to ensure that where the necessity for voluntary co-operation with his efforts is not appreciated, he may command the requisite assistance. Such an officer must be given the greatest possible freedom in the execution of his task.

156. It is no part of our duty to suggest how such an officer should attack the problems with which he is faced. Indeed it would be impertinence on our part to suggest how he should set about it. If he has had newspaper experience he will know how to use it.

157. We are satisfied that given the right officer and adequate support from the Administration a tree which in our view is now barren will bring forth much fruit.

158. The existence of a Public Relations Officer can never embarrass but must frequently assist a Press honestly minded to present public policy in an objective light. It need not and should not prevent the Press submitting that policy to the most searching examination and condemnation, if honestly so advised.

159. The continuance of the *Gold Coast Bulletin* is a matter which obviously calls for serious consideration. Save that we are averse in normal times to anything in the nature of government newspapers we feel the question is essentially one for the Gold Coast Administration in the light of circumstances now prevailing. We think that if the *Bulletin* or some similar publication is considered necessary, steps must be taken to ensure from time to time editions in the vernacular and that it is purely factual.

160. We are unable to recommend that the entry of a European newspaper in competition with existing newspapers in the Gold Coast should be prohibited. We know of no commercial newspaper which is run for any purpose other than private gain. In our view, in a country in which mass education is eagerly sought, there cannot be too many newspapers presenting news and views. If the news is stamped with accuracy it would be a confession of failure to suppose that African readers will accept the views in preference to those of African editors, who may be expected the better to reflect African views.

CHAPTER VIII: IMMIGRATION

161. We found a marked hostility among all sections of the indigenous inhabitants of the Gold Coast to unrestricted immigration. While some adverse criticism of European immigration was voiced we are satisfied that this was merely a background to the complaint of delay in forwarding Africanisation in the public services. The real complaint was against the steady influx of Levantine and Asiatic peoples whose apparent rise from poverty to wealth in a comparatively short period of time has caused much heart-burning.

162. There is a not unnatural fear that unless such immigration is controlled a problem no less grave and difficult than that of the Indians in other parts of Africa may arise in the Gold Coast.

163. The question is one of some complexity having regard to the technical difficulties applying to any policy of discrimination. On the other hand in a matter of this kind we feel that the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants ought to be respected. To this end we recommend the adoption of such administrative measures as may be calculated to ensure that the problems feared by the peoples of the Gold Coast do not in fact arise.

CHAPTER IX : THE BOYCOTT

164. There can be no dispute that in the immediate post-war years many Africans in the Gold Coast had to pay prices for essential commodities that had increased more than their incomes.

165. Many factors contributed to this unfortunate state of affairs. Short supplies created black markets. The many hands through which the goods passed before reaching the ultimate consumer, added greatly to the final retail price.

166. Various measures of price control were at times attempted. We are willing to believe, that without an army of officials ten times the size of the staff available, and in the peculiar structure of Gold Coast trading, the strict enforcement of these controls was impossible. We are not satisfied, however, that in the case of textiles the Government took all steps open to it to ensure that if prices were excessive only the Africans themselves were responsible. We are of the opinion that, if the Government had made a more robust use of its powers at an earlier stage, the event with which we are about to deal would never have taken place.

167. It is plain that by the end of 1946 at latest, short supplies, maldistribution, conditional sales, pass-book customers and other devices calculated to impede fair distribution at reasonable prices had created among the mass of the population a sense of frustration and the gravest social unrest.

168. Be it remembered at the same time, that while rises in world prices, cost of production and overheads are explanations not always readily understood by masses of literate people, such factors are absolutely meaningless to the vast majority of the inhabitants of the Gold Coast.

169. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the end of 1947 there existed a well-tilled soil ready to receive the seeds of any adventure calculated to reduce prices, particularly of imported goods in short supply.

170. At that time there lived in Accra, and still does, one of the many sub-chiefs, called Nii Kwabena Bonne III. This gentleman was a man of some business experience and we are prepared to believe that whatever personal ambitions he entertained, he was honestly anxious in the anti-inflation campaign which he instituted, to bring about a reduction in the prices of essential commodities in short supply for the public good. Naturally such a campaign which must add to prestige among the people, made a powerful appeal to the other chiefs.

Accordingly, after a short campaign throughout the country, Nii Bonne, with the support of the Chiefs, was able to impose in the Colony and Ashanti as from 26th January, 1948, a boycott on the purchase of European imported goods. We are prepared to believe that he hoped to achieve his ends by the peaceful persuasion of all Africans in the voluntary restriction of their purchases. But the co-operation of the Chiefs having been secured, the Native Administrations were quick to see their opportunity in profiting from breaches of the declared boycott. A system of fines, which in our view were quite illegal, and a general intimidation of offenders against the boycott quickly grew up. The

"spoils" to be expected from enforcement of the boycott naturally attracted many of the idle and lawless youths in the towns as voluntary enforcement officers. The difficulties of the Authorities in effectively restraining this form of intimidation, which it would appear had the full approbation of some of the Chiefs, are manifest and considerable lawlessness resulted. The hostile demonstrations in Accra in the precincts of the Court at which the trial of the local chief was about to take place on charges arising out of the attempted enforcement of the boycott, showed the extent to which the importance of law and order had declined.

171. We are unable to absolve the Government of the Gold Coast at this period from the strongest criticism for its inaction. The reason may not be far to seek. Among the foreign trading community in the Colony, there has long existed a conviction that the indigenous people, by reason of tribalisation and mutual distrust, are unable successfully to combine effectively for any single purpose. We should have thought that the successful boycott and "hold up" of cocoa carried out in 1937, which resulted in the Nowell Commission, would have cured every one of this fallacy. Unfortunately it still appeared to dominate trading circles and we think it had permeated the Administration. We say this because the first reaction of the Government to the boycott was to declare in effect that it was a purely trading dispute in which the Government, as such, must remain neutral. We cannot emphasise too strongly our view that every economic aspect of life in a colony, affecting the welfare of the indigenous population, is a concern of the highest priority to the tutelary Government of that colony. The people did not believe that the Government was not involved in this dispute. It had become known that, in place of more vigorous methods of price control for textiles, the Government had come to an agreement in 1945 with the importing firms on the retail margins which were to be charged on textiles. This was agreed at 75 per cent gross overall margin above the landed cost. Although this appears to be a high margin it will be appreciated that it was agreed on the understanding that profits on textiles were to be used to compensate for dealings in the less profitable but more essential goods.

172. There had been ample warning of impending trouble. In December, 1946, the Joint Provincial Council of Chiefs had met the Chamber of Commerce in presence of the Acting Colonial Secretary to complain about the high prices of imported goods and to ask for a fairer system of distribution. Later in the same month the Council was assured that a tentative scheme of price control had been worked out. The importing firms stated that they were placing larger quantities of goods for direct sale in the stores instead of indirectly through other distributors. No further action was taken until a year later.

173. In our view the question raised by the boycott was one calling for immediate Government investigation, if need be, by public enquiry. The charge was clear: it was being alleged that importers, and particularly those associated with the hated organisation which flourished under the name of the Association of West African Merchants (A.W.A.M.) were deliberately keeping up prices of essential commodities to an outrageous extent. If that were true the Government had the power to requisition them, and it had a duty so to act. But the Government took no action and the suspicion not unnaturally grew up that, at all material times, there was some private arrangement between the powerful importers (principally those represented by A.W.A.M.) and the Government whereby they were permitted to do as they pleased. We need hardly say that we are satisfied no such fantastic state of affairs ever existed, but we feel that the Government itself must be accounted responsible for the growth of this suspicion by reason of its failure to take positive steps either to clear the importers of this charge by impartial enquiry or by taking some robust positive action to prevent its continuance if true.

174. The Government indeed took no positive steps to deal with the boycott until 11th February, 1948, when a series of meetings between the Chambers of

Commerce, the Nii Bonne Committee and the Chiefs, under the chairmanship of the Colonial Secretary was arranged. As a result an agreement was reached whereby the gross overall profit margin to be charged by importers for cotton piece goods other than those for which maximum prices were established, was to be reduced from 75 per cent to 50 per cent for a trial period of three months. Upon this undertaking the boycott was called off.

175. We cannot help feeling that the announcement of this agreement was so framed as to lead to the greatest public disappointment. As we point out in our observations on Public Relations, we are dealing here with a country largely illiterate and with no objective press. We have not the slightest doubt that the way in which the agreement in question reached masses of the public was in a form calculated to suggest that the price of all the commodities affected was being reduced almost by half. The disillusionment which followed the discovery that prices were only marginally affected must have been intense. We have little doubt that it helped considerably to prepare the ground for the resentment which manifested itself in the looting and useless destruction which later took place in Accra and elsewhere.

176. We are not concerned here to discuss whether a profit margin of 50 per cent on c.i.f. prices is, or is not, reasonable. We would merely remark that the principle of a percentage margin is a pernicious one. There is no reason why a distributor's margin should vary with changes in external factors such as a rise in costs in exporting countries or a rise in transport costs; they should move with changes in distributive costs in the Gold Coast itself. A margin of 75 per cent based on costs in 1945 when supplies were very much less must have been a very liberal one when both prices and turnover were increasing.

177. This is a matter which may well right itself as and when supplies of commodities in common use substantially increase. Such increase, we are informed, may now be expected in the immediate future. We already have the satisfaction of noting that: (i) in the Gold Coast A.W.A.M. has been dissolved, and (ii) the actual prices of a large variety of commodities have to an appreciable extent been reduced. We can only express the hope that this policy will be consistently followed as and whenever conditions permit.

CHAPTER X: SUPPLIES, PRICES AND DISTRIBUTION

178. In our last chapter we dealt with the consumers' boycott arising from high prices of imported goods in short supply. But the end of the boycott in no way diminished complaints of this nature. General allegations of high prices and unfair distribution were more numerous than on any other subject. Increases in world prices and loss of normal sources of supply being meaningless to the average African, the whole of the mischief was naturally attributed to the larger importing firms. While only a long and searching examination of the books of the importers by accountants, for which we were not equipped, could afford an analytical survey in the field of costs, we are satisfied on the materials presented to us that the incidence of high prices in the Gold Coast cannot be solely attributed to the activities of importers.

179. During the war hardships were accepted cheerfully as part of the War effort but there was a general expectation that goods would become freely available again as soon as fighting was over; there is even now a widespread expectation that prices will return to their 1939 level. It is therefore not difficult to understand the disappointment in the present high prices and the impatience of controls which post-war shortages still necessitate.

180. The situation in the Gold Coast is very similar to that in so many other countries—a great shortage of consumer goods in relation to the amount of money in the hands of consumers—but many of the measures taken to protect

the consumer in other countries from the ills of inflation are, for various reasons, impracticable in the Gold Coast. Indeed, it is probably true to state that many features of its economic organisation actually aggravate the troubles of the ultimate consumer.

181. There is an unfortunate dearth of economic statistics in the Gold Coast which makes it impossible to assess with any degree of precision the more important factors in the present situation and their relative significance. We have, however, been able to collect a certain amount of official and unofficial data which throw some light on the reasons for and the extent of the present economic malaise.

Supplies

182. Total supplies of consumer goods are undoubtedly below the level of pre-war years. There are no official estimates of the output of food crops in the Gold Coast except those destined for export. It is not possible, therefore, to discover whether the total supply of home-grown foods, which probably accounts for more than 70 per cent of wage earners' expenditures, has actually decreased or increased. Such views as were expressed to us indicate that, apart from changes in yield between one crop year and another, production was not, in the post-war years, materially different from before.

183. Imports, on the other hand, of both foodstuffs and other essential consumer goods were demonstrably lower. The following table shows the percentage fall in the imports of commodities used widely by African consumers between 1937-38 and 1946, the last year for which complete data are available:—

<i>Percentage fall</i>			<i>Percentage fall</i>		
Wheat flour	..	.. 37	Cotton piece goods	..	25*
Rice	..	.. 98	Buckets, pails, etc.	..	60
Sugar	..	.. 46	Candles	..	70
Canned meat	..	.. 93	Kerosene	..	45
Canned fish	..	.. 95			
Milk	..	.. 29			

184. Such preliminary figures as we were given indicate that supplies of one or two imported commodities had improved slightly in 1947 and were expected to improve still further in 1948, particularly cotton piece goods, but the 1946 imports are significant in that they indicate the level of supplies which was reached in the first year after the War when it was widely expected that supplies would once again be not very different from before the War. They also indicate, for durable goods, the back-log of consumers' requirements which remains to be satisfied.

Demand

185. The first factor to be considered in the post-war period is the increase in population. In 1938 the population was estimated at 3,800,000; preliminary results of the 1947 census indicate that it is now about 4,473,000, an increase of 18 per cent in nine years. It is also of importance for social as well as economic reasons that the increase in population was very much more evident in the towns than in the country; whereas the total population of the four largest towns, Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi and Cape Coast, was about 176,000 before the War, it had risen so high as 273,000 by 1947, an increase of 55 per cent.

186. Money incomes and wages also rose rapidly during the War years, due to such factors as Allied military expenditure and increased receipts for exports.

* Imports of cotton piece goods in 1938 were abnormally low; if 1935-37 imports are taken as normal, the supplies in 1946 were 42 per cent lower.

187. Here again, it is not possible to give any precise indication of the amount by which the national income has increased or the change in the amount of purchasing power left in the hands of consumers. It can only be suggested indirectly. There is no composite index of earnings but it is estimated that wages in the lowest income groups are now 2-2½ times greater than before the War. Those of clerical workers and the like have probably risen 1½ to 2 times.

188. On the other hand, the total amount of money in circulation at present, about £18 million, is about four times the pre-War amount. Against this, public revenue, derived mainly from taxation, customs and excise has not increased proportionately, nor does there appear to have been any corresponding increase in savings or capital accumulation. It is clear, therefore, that money demand had grown rapidly during the War and, particularly, in the post-war years, while supplies had fallen.

189. Nor would it be safe to assume that these inflationary factors have reached a peak. The farmers' receipts for cocoa, which averaged about £6 million a year before the War and about £10 million in 1946/47, may be expected to reach about £16 million in 1947/48*; the possibility of a further increase in the farmers' price for the next cocoa crop cannot be ignored. Timber prices have doubled in the last year and exports are increasing. Values of other export commodities are also hardening. While increased taxes, customs duties and other sources of revenue are planned for 1948/49, they will not be sufficient to offset these higher receipts. Finally, there are plans for capital developments, financed by accumulated budget surpluses or grants from the United Kingdom, which may increase inflationary tendencies, at least in the short run.

Prices

190. Under such conditions of supply and demand, it is not surprising that prices have risen greatly, particularly in 1946 and 1947.

191. The cost of living index based on wage earners' budgets in urban areas was 211 in December, 1947, compared with 100 in 1939. In our opinion this under-estimates the real increase since imported goods are included at controlled prices where applicable, and not at the higher open, grey or black market prices.

192. Prices of home-produced goods, mainly food, have increased by more than double since pre-War years. There are, of course, wide variations between one market and another in the prices of indigenous foodstuffs, since local prices are very sensitive to local supply conditions. For example, the average price of palm oil in Ho market in 1947 was 19d. per bottle, while in Koforidua it was only 9d. Accordingly, too great reliance should not be placed upon general index numbers as an indication of conditions in any one area. We have estimated, however, that the prices of staple foods† on a number of urban and country markets are probably about 2½ times the pre-war level. The retail market prices have undoubtedly risen more than the prices obtained by the farmer, with the exception, of course, of cocoa.

193. The chief complaints about high prices, however, were concerned with imported goods, since those prices were expected, quite unjustifiably, to show a big decline when the War ended. Much of the criticism is of a general nature and largely based on antagonism to the large importing firms.

194. Such evidence on prices of imported goods as has been presented to us by importing firms has shown quite clearly that they have risen for reasons which are not generally appreciated in the Gold Coast. In some instances the rise is due to increased costs in the exporting countries while in others it is

* The export value of the cocoa crop in 1947-48 is expected to total over £40 million but it is intended that about £25 million of this be held by the Cocoa Marketing Board.

† Cassava, coco yams, corn, bananas, plantains and palm oil.

due to the fact that dearer sources have had to be substituted for cheaper pre-war sources.

195. The following two examples (a fuller list will be found in the appendix) illustrate this rise in the price of goods brought into the country :—*

	1939		April, 1948		Percentage increase
	Source	Landed cost, including duty	Source	Landed cost, including duty	
		<i>s. d.</i>		<i>s. d.</i>	
Billhook matchets, per doz.	U.K. ..	7 3	U.K.	22 11	202
Enamel basins ..	Japan ..	3 7	U.K.	17 3	382
			Belgium ..	26 8	644
			Czecho-Slovakia	28 10	705

Billhook matchets were more than three times dearer than before the War, while prices of basins, previously imported from Japan and now imported from other sources, were 5-8 times greater.

196. Taking a wide range of imported goods in common use in the Gold Coast we have estimated that they would cost the importing firms (including the payment of duty), about $2\frac{3}{4}$ to 3 times as much to purchase overseas and bring into the Gold Coast to-day as they did before the War. Some groups of commodities such as hardware and textiles have increased more than the average; others have increased less.†

197. This, then, is the background to the complaints of high prices of imported goods. Much of the increase can therefore be attributed to factors beyond the control of the importers, to increased prices charged by exporting countries—compare the changes in the export prices of cocoa and timber from the Gold Coast—and to the disappearance of some of the pre-war cheap sources such as Japan, and the consequent need to fall back on dearer sources if supplies are to be obtained in any reasonable quantity.

198. The price increases at the initial stages in the channels of distribution are, however, often greatly exceeded in the charges made to the ultimate consumer. The methods of trading in the Gold Coast, which are discussed later, afford every opportunity of adding to the price, particularly when goods are in short supply. Only one or two examples need be given. A 1 lb. packet of cube sugar, which before the war sold in the retail stores at $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, cost $8\frac{1}{2}d.$ in March, 1948; but this packet is usually subdivided into smaller quantities

* We have compared some of the increases in the c.i.f. prices and retail prices for the Gold Coast provided for us by an importing firm with the increases in some of the f.o.b. prices for exporting countries and, by and large, they are not materially different.

† Index Numbers of Landed Costs, including duty of Certain Classes of Commodities Imported into the Gold Coast, 1939 and 1948 (weighted according to 1939 quantities).

	1939	1948
Textiles	100	314
Haberdashery ..	100	292
Tobacco	100	155
Drinks	100	167
Hardware	100	445
Provisions	100	352
Sundry	100	283

and peddled by petty traders, the total receipts being as much as 2s. 8d. or 3s. Cotton goods, which may have been sold over the counter for 20s. a piece, are passed from petty trader to petty trader and eventually sold for £2 or more.

199. From these examples it is apparent that the real mischief of high prices charged to ultimate consumers is attributable in large measure to the unfortunate system of wholesaling and retailing which has become an integral part of trading in the Gold Coast.

200. The evidence which we were given and some of which we have cited in this report appears to us to justify the conclusion that for a large part of the population, prices had risen far more rapidly and to a higher extent than had many incomes or wages. Unfortunately, there are insufficient economic data to enable us to say where the shoe pinches most and where it is easiest. There is no doubt in our minds, however, that the benefits of higher export prices and the general increase in national income have not been spread evenly throughout the population. Some have benefited greatly; others have had to face a severe drop in their standard of living. The effects of these changes have been very noticeable in the last 18 months or two years.

Distribution

201. Home-produced goods for local consumption, mainly foodstuffs, pottery, firewood and so on, are sold mainly either by the producer direct to the consumer through stall or market or indirectly through a middleman. The system is simple and fairly direct. As we have already stated, most of the complaints about unfair distribution were concerned with imported goods; they related to:—

- (a) The continuation of licensing and other import controls.
- (b) The monopolistic position of the importing firms and restriction of African enterprise.
- (c) The basing of import quotas on past performance.
- (d) The methods of sale employed by importing firms.
- (e) Conditional sales.
- (f) Excessive margins and distributive costs.
- (g) The wide gap between the prices paid in the retail stores of the importing firms and the price paid by the African buying from a petty trader.

Licensing and Import Control

202. So long as goods remain in short supply and are subject to international allocation or there are shortages of specific currencies, we are of opinion that a system of import control and licenses is essential. It is in practice a method of rationing between countries, similar to rationing between individuals, and makes possible a fairer distribution of essential goods than would otherwise obtain in free competition. We were impressed by the increase since 1946 in the number of commodities that can now be imported under open general licence and in the number of countries on which these are available. Unfortunately, the commodities which are still in world short supply and of which the Gold Coast is allocated a specific quantity, include those which are keenly sought in the Gold Coast such as sugar, flour, canned meats, soaps and fats.

203. In fairness to the importing firms against whom feeling has been very high in the Gold Coast we feel bound to say that we were greatly impressed by their efforts to find alternative supplies when other sources have dried up and to make up as quickly as possible, within the limits imposed by shortages and controls, the lean years of the War. Without the extensive and intricate buying organisations of these firms, active in all the main exporting countries of the world, supplies of consumer goods in the Gold Coast to-day would have been far less and prices would have been even higher.

204. The benefits which world-wide buying organisations can and do confer upon the territories which they serve are certainly not understood in the Gold

Coast. By failing to make them known we feel that the importers have not only done themselves a great disservice but have sown the seeds of suspicion which powerful and successful enterprises normally attract.

Import Monopolies

205. Concerted action by importing firms first became noticeable in the early thirties when a cocoa buying agreement was arranged and evidence of disquiet on the part of the public is seen in the boycott of imported goods and the cocoa hold-up in 1932 and 1937. In addition, there was the absorption or amalgamation of independent firms into the United Africa Company.

206. During the War force of circumstances, arising in part from shipping difficulties, made it necessary to bring the firms into closer combination under the aegis of the Association of West African Merchants, known as A.W.A.M. This was done at the instigation of the West African Governments.

207. As we have stated in the previous Chapter this Association became identified after the War in the minds of the Gold Coast people as the mainspring of a conspiracy to keep prices up to an unjustified extent and we feel that its survival in West Africa until April of 1948 was a cardinal blunder. There is no doubt that its origin in association with the West African Governments lent colour to the suggestion that it survived only with Government support. Even now its demise is questioned although we are satisfied that it no longer exists in West Africa.

208. With restricted supplies, allocations among the distributors were made on the basis of average annual imports in the pre-war period, 1937-41. During this period, there had been no bar to anyone entering the import trade but, in fact, there were no African firms who were interested to any large extent.

209. The pre-war years were a period of considerable risks owing to fluctuations in the cocoa price and successful business depended on small profits and a large turnover. These importing firms maintained chains of retail and wholesale stores and sold as much as 60 per cent of their imports to African traders and re-sellers.

210. As the War period advanced, the position changed radically. The shortages of supplies coupled with a keen demand made the prospects of large profits most attractive and the desire to partake of these was widespread. Demands were made for an increased participation in the import trade, demands that were checked by the Past Performance policy in the allocation of quotas. This has given rise to a good deal of ill-feeling and the system was modified at the beginning of this year and more adequate provision made for newcomers. In our opinion this might well have been done earlier, even though supply conditions and prospects had not improved to such an extent as they had by the end of 1947.

211. We were pleased to be informed that some progress had been made at least for certain commodities as a result of the recent modification.

	<i>Percentage of trade by Africans, 1937-41</i>	<i>Percentage of trade by Africans, 1948</i>
Sugar	1.75	21.0
Canned meats	1.0	12.4
Unmanufactured tobacco ..	6.5	26.0

212. The comparative failure of Africans in the larger fields of modern commerce is due to a variety of causes. The close family ties—a legacy of tribalisation—tend to destroy the fruits of individual success and prevent the saving of capital. The claims of family—in the widest conception of that word—are still very real. Further the African has no substantial security to offer upon which he can borrow capital. As we show in our Chapter dealing with land tenure he can rarely have an interest in land capable of offering any real security. These and other difficulties place him at a great disadvantage in

competition with Europeans and others. Not unnaturally in these circumstances the African seeks to excuse his failure by reference to the sinister machinations of monopoly opposition. Because this has become something of an obsession and also bears on the question of high prices we feel it requires careful examination.

213. One of the more encouraging developments, however, is the further expansion of the Gold Coast Co-operative Federation which buys and imports on behalf of a number of co-operative societies. We see no reason why such an organisation should not grow in strength and we suggest that it might develop still more rapidly by increasing its contacts with producers' or wholesale co-operative societies in other parts of the World. Its great handicap must be lack of purchasing agencies in exporting countries and such affiliations would help to overcome this weakness.

214. Added to these complaints is the fact that African importers frequently complain that they are unable to obtain certain goods when the market is otherwise free. This applies particularly to branded goods. For obvious reasons manufacturers in the United Kingdom and elsewhere adopt the policy of appointing established firms in the Gold Coast as their sole agents and distributors. It is difficult to see how this can be overcome. The mischief lies in the exclusive "brand" consciousness among African consumers. African importers must bestir themselves to destroy this. We should have thought that with the assistance of their suppliers they were in a strong position to influence the sale of goods of equal merit under a different "brand".

215. Methods of distribution followed by importers also came in for serious criticism. The following figures supplied to us by one of the large importing firms shows how their trade used to be distributed:—

	Per cent
Sales through own retail stores	31
Sales to credit or pass book customers.. ..	25
Sales through cash wholesales	36
Others	8
	<hr/>
	100

216. The volume of goods offered for sale through the retail stores has now been increased, in response to popular demand and in the hope that goods may reach more quickly the ultimate consumer, at the expense of the third category of sales. It has been estimated that retail sales over the counter may now amount to about 60 per cent of the whole. But it is probable that a large part of this still finds its way into the hands of re-sellers and the pass-book customers. Many of these are women—known as "Mammies"—forming an important link in the chain of distribution as now in use. These pass-book customers are in fact the middlemen drawing their supplies from main warehouses and stores; they are beyond control as to the price they charge on re-sale (even where a statutory price control exists).

217. In the result only the fortunate and the privileged or those able and willing to queue can acquire at retail store prices goods in short supply. The bulk of the population is compelled to buy from petty traders at prices which have attracted two or more further profits before reaching them.

218. We are satisfied that this system leads to great abuses and encourages bribery and excessive charges and should be discouraged.

219. We do not pretend that direct sales necessarily preclude the like evils. We ourselves have seen crowds of women enter a store when a consignment of goods in short supply arrived for sale over the counter. A "tic-tac" system appears to operate outside main warehouses. Each of these women purchased a single piece of cloth at the store price and on coming out at once disposed of it to some woman trader conveniently situated round the corner. Even so we think that direct sales on the whole would produce better results. Equally a

policy of sending increased supplies to country branches might have eliminated some of the costly and unnecessary links in the chain of distribution.

220. Allegations were also made that branch managers and storekeepers employed by importers did not observe the pre-determined prices fixed by their principals. On the principle that profits cannot be hidden we were invited to observe the fine houses built by and for representatives of these classes. Even without this visual proof we are satisfied that, in a country where by general standards, gain is the important factor and the means merely incidental, practices of the kind complained of were indulged in. We accept the assurance that this was a clear breach of instructions from the principals but we are unable to accede to the view that it was incurable. We are not satisfied even yet that adequate steps are being taken to ensure that such offences will not be repeated.

Conditional Sales

221. General complaints were made about the evils of conditional sales. Early in 1940 conditional sales were made illegal. This Order was continued in different form in 1947.

222. The vigorous enforcement of this law is impossible without the co-operation of the public. The fact that no specific instances were cited to us speaks for itself. Much work remains to be done in the Gold Coast to convince the citizens that law enforcement is a public duty since laws are made for public protection.

Excessive Costs of Distribution

223. As we have already stated we are not in a position to assert that the margins claimed by the importing firms were excessive and led to undue profits, though we cannot help suspecting that they were ample. It appeared clear to us, however, that if consumers had generally been able to obtain the goods at the retail prices obtaining in these firms' stores, there would have been fewer complaints about high prices and excessive costs of distribution. We state again that much of the blame for the undeniably high prices paid by many consumers is due to the complicated traditional method by which the goods may pass through the hands of several re-sellers. The re-sellers of the Gold Coast are natural traders and they have not been slow to take advantage of the scarcity of goods and to make extortionate charges. We gained the impression, moving about the towns and countryside that there could be few of the population who were not selling and re-selling small quantities of goods, making small profits at the expense of each other. Such a system, encouraged by the custom prevailing in some parts of the country whereby the wife is expected to earn some of the expenses of housekeeping, is extravagantly wasteful of manpower and must eventually disappear if the country is to become commercially efficient.

224. One of the most paradoxical results of the distribution system is that the poorer African often has to pay more for his essential requirements, such as sugar, flour, tobacco, hardware and so on, than the richer members of the community. For this the African trader is no less blameworthy than the importing firm. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue since it is an obvious source of hardship and distress.

225. Various suggestions for the reduction of prices of essential goods were suggested to us:—

- (a) To absorb purchasing power by increased taxation or increased savings.
- (b) To control prices.
- (c) To control distribution and ration the consumer.
- (d) To increase the supply of consumer goods.

and we spent much time in examining the complexities raised by these suggestions.

226. Taxes, both indirect and direct, have been raised recently and we are of the opinion that further increases in direct taxation, on a progressive basis,

could still be undertaken without fear of the accusation that the Gold Coast was over taxed in comparison with other countries.

227. We are not over optimistic about the possibility of voluntary saving, either for personal saving or for investment, as a means of reducing the competition for consumer goods. In spite of this we think that the possibility of raising loans locally for the financing of many of the developments desired by the inhabitants of the Gold Coast should not be overlooked. There is a strong current of national feeling which might well result in a sensible response and contribution to a national loan for economic development such as that contemplated under the Volta scheme.

228. Control of prices was instituted at the beginning of the war, firstly for most locally produced foodstuffs and certain imported foodstuffs. Later it was extended to certain textiles such as bafts and shirtings and to other goods such as fishing nets, soap, tobacco and cigarettes, candles and so on. Price control of textiles other than bafts and shirtings was attempted less directly through an agreement in 1945 with importing firms to limit the average over-all gross margins on such textiles to an average of 75 per cent of the landed cost, including duty. We have given our opinion of this arrangement elsewhere in this report. Control of home-grown foodstuffs (excepting coffee and rice) was discontinued in August, 1947.

229. The whole question of price control has been referred to a Committee which was appointed in September, 1947. It would therefore be invidious to make anything more than general remarks on the subject. For any system of price control to work successfully, there appear to be at least three prerequisites, well defined channels of trade, an effective enforcing body and public conscience. Even though these are not found in the Gold Coast, we are of the opinion that some form of price control for imported essential commodities is preferable to none. It can be enforced for at least part of the supply sold to consumers and it is both psychologically and politically important to provide an indication of what may be considered a reasonable price. Further, we were not impressed by the arguments against more direct control of certain types of cotton textiles by means of fixed prices and not merely maximum prices.

230. The only other general point which we would make is on the system of fixing margins. Firstly, we think that it is probably more effective to fix only the retail price, differentiating in broad zones if it is necessary to make allowance for transport costs, than to attempt to fix wholesale and semi-wholesale prices in addition to retail prices. Secondly, we are of the opinion that a percentage margin, though temptingly simple to administer, is unsound in principle. It makes for too high a final price, and gives excessive profits, particularly if external prices are rising or imported supplies increasing.

231. Control of the distribution of certain commodities is achieved in the Gold Coast by regulating the release for sale by the firms from wholesale stocks. In general, this is at present applied only to sugar and fats from among the imported commodities generally consumed. We are of opinion that so long as shortages exist, this is a most valuable measure to retain. It can be used to great advantage in concentrating the release of goods, of which only a small allocation has been granted, within a short period, in preference to attempting to spread out a small quantity over a long period.

232. We explored in some detail the possibility of securing fairer distribution of goods in short supply by means of control of supplies and rationing of consumers. A number of witnesses thought that this would be possible but we have come to the conclusion that, while it might be possible, the establishment of a system would require a cumbersome administrative machine, open to too many abuses. It should be undertaken only as a last resort.

234. Firstly, rationing would have to be limited to those commodities which are in common use all over the country, such as kerosene, sugar and soap. It could not include those commodities such as butter or cheese which are consumed by only a small proportion of the population, since obviously the establishment

of an entitlement based on so much per head of population would be meaningless and would only lead to a black market in the coupons for such a commodity or in the commodity itself.

235. Secondly, the peoples of the Gold Coast have very widely differing standards and habits of living. These variations in requirements and consumption are so great that it would require a most elaborate and flexible points system of rationing to overcome these difficulties; and such a system would be almost impossible to work in a country where almost 90 per cent are said to be illiterate.

236. Thirdly, the existing trading system offers so many opportunities for abuses that the eventual irregularities in distribution might be worse than at present.

237. Fourthly, there is not the personnel available to administer such a scheme.

238. While a precise system of rationing seems to us to be impossible to institute, we think that more could be done to achieve a better distribution of such essentials as soap, candles and sugar, of which the supply is far below minimum requirements, by arrangements with the importing firms. We believe that it would be better to release larger quantities in the country areas and let surpluses, if any, trickle back into the towns than to rely on dispersals from the towns reaching the country districts. We understand that such informal and rough rationing of kerosene led to a much fairer distribution of restricted supplies and a general reduction in the black market prices.

239. We cannot, however, over-emphasise our conclusion that the whole selling system in the Gold Coast needs re-organisation in many ways. In the first place we would like to see more African organisations participating in the import trade if they can do it as efficiently as the existing firms; we have already indicated that we think some development of co-operative organisation might be successful.

240. In the second place, we suggest that a more specialised and firmly established retail trade spread throughout the country would be preferable to the existing amorphous growth, with its multiplicity of part-time petty traders and its waste of time and effort.

241. We realise that this would call for considerable changes in social customs and therefore we are prepared to admit that such reformation must take time. We have been informed that some at least of the importing firms aim at giving up their retail activities and concentrating their attention on importing and wholesaling. This would appear to afford an opportunity for African enterprise to take over and expand either individually or co-operatively, some of the existing retail agencies. Eventually there must be some reduction in the number of petty traders, particularly in the towns, and we would welcome the introduction of a restrictive system of licensing which would result in a gradual limitation of retailing to established shops and markets. Not only would this be of benefit economically but also in the interests of health and hygiene.

242. We considered at length whether a chain of Government-sponsored stores could be introduced in a short time to meet the present problem and reduce black market prices. There were a number of points in favour of attempting to do what had been done successfully in Ceylon, but on further reflection we were convinced that any ambitious scheme would probably not achieve its objects for the following reasons:—

- (a) The fundamental conditions are not analogous to those in Ceylon.
- (b) Without a reasonably effective rationing system or system of tying consumers to specific retailers, there would be little or no improvement in distribution, and, as we have already stated, we consider such a rationing scheme is not practical politics at present.
- (c) The scheme would entail a large buying and selling Government organisation, trained personnel—who are not available—the building of ware-

houses and stores, the acquisition of fleets of lorries with repair depots and the like.

- (d) It is doubtful whether such a chain of shops would under present supply conditions curtail very greatly the present amount of re-selling, petty trading and breaking of the price regulations.
- (e) It would take so long to introduce that the improvements in the supply position which may reasonably be expected in the next five years may have rendered its introduction unnecessary.

243. These are not arguments, however, for not working out some system of rationing and of allocation and distribution of a small number of important commodities, such as flour, sugar, kerosene, soap, candles and the cheaper textiles, in the event of supply conditions deteriorating. Such a worsening of the situation might call for a very drastic Government action such as requisitioning of supplies and the taking over of existing stores in some of the towns, but in the light of present circumstances and prospects, we do not recommend such an immediate course of action.

244. On the other hand, we feel that plans should be made and adopted to encourage the growth of consumers' co-operatives, both in the towns and in the country. We are the first to recognise that this will take time and will require intensive education and propaganda. We are confident that this is not only economically desirable, but also politically expedient, as a means of increasing the responsibilities of the African community and making clear the complexities and problems of modern economic life. The story of the existing truly co-operative organisations gives reason to hope that with encouragement, both financial and moral, the growth might be rapid; economic and political conditions are all in its favour at present.

245. If, as we think, the present difficulties and disquiet arising from high prices cannot be speedily and effectively mitigated by control of prices or of distribution, the only remaining practical alleviation is to increase the supply of essential imports. The relief would be immediate. We are encouraged to make this recommendation by the fact that, as we have shown, past restrictions of supplies to the Gold Coast appear to have been extremely severe. Allocations appear still to be based on minimum essential requirements estimated during the war.

246. The effect of increased supplies is clearly shown in the case of kerosene. Pre-war supplies averaged about 10,800 tons a year; the original allocation for 1947 was 7,140 tons and the black market price in Accra was 28s. per 4 gallons against the controlled price of 11s. 9d. An increased allocation in the middle of the year permitted a 10 per cent increase in releases and the black market price dropped to 13s. Again, as a result of fortuitous circumstances and delays in allocations, or shipments of allocations, a year's supply of some commodities has been released in a shorter period, say eight months, with beneficial effects on prices. In general, the consensus of local opinion is that an increase of supplies to the pre-war level would break the black market for most essential commodities. We are not so optimistic; we think that, in view of the increased population and the general inflationary position, the supply of some essential goods should be increased to a greater extent. It must be remembered that the value of exports from the Gold Coast has increased greatly since before the war and that a larger share of the trade is going to hard currency countries:—

	1938	1946
Value of exports to British Sterling Area ..	7,674,000	11,240,000
Hard currency areas	382,000	6,748,000
Other foreign countries	3,220,000	2,154,000
	<u>£11,276,000</u>	<u>£20,142,000</u>

(The visible credit balance of trade was £3,600,000 in 1938; in 1946 it was £7,300,000.) The figures for 1947 will show a further and remarkable increase in the value of exports to hard currency countries as well as in the balance of

trade. From cocoa alone, the past season's export is estimated to bring in well over £15 million from Canada and the United States.

247. Increase in the allocation of certain commodities such as flour, sugar, soap, kerosene, canned meats and fish and milk to the Gold Coast which would break the black and grey markets would appear to be justified. In our opinion they are warranted to ensure the continuance of the Gold Coast trade.

248. Though prices of imported goods can never be expected to return to their pre-war levels, a reduction from their present levels would do much to restore that confidence and goodwill upon which continued production for export depends and would mitigate a very real source of political discontent.

CHAPTER XI: TRADING DISCRIMINATION

249. Allegations were made before us about discrimination in the allocation of railway transport for timber export tending to discourage African traders. No specific instances capable of verification were supplied to us. Nevertheless, we pursued the matter with the General Manager of the Railways and the Shipping Companies.

250. Timber export from the Gold Coast is a long established trade. The old established firms not only have their markets but also their shippers. Over the latter, unlike the railways, of course the Government has no control. But we understand that in this regard no difficulty arises since shipping space for the trade exceeds railway transport.

251. At present, making the best use of railway transport it is found to be impossible to allocate freight space for more than 10,500 tons of timber for export every month.

252. At this figure 2,500 tons is allocated as a first priority for the Timber Control Board of the United Kingdom although actually the Timber Control Board requires at least 5,000 tons per month.

253. The balance of 7,500 tons of railway transport is divided in the following proportions:—

- (i) Established shippers having standing arrangements with the Elder Dempster Line: 40 per cent.
- (ii) Established shippers having standing arrangements with the Takoradi Coal and Lighterage Company Limited: 40 per cent.
- (iii) Shippers by the U.S.A. shipping companies: 15 per cent.
- (iv) Miscellaneous: 5 per cent.

254. These arrangements have been arrived at by representatives of the shipping companies, the Traffic Manager of the Railways and a Forestry Officer meeting every month. We are informed that a representative of the African exporters of timber is to be added to this informal committee.

255. The trouble appears to have arisen largely from the fact that in the last six months the number of exporters has risen from 12 to 68.

256. It is inevitable in such circumstances that the competition for the limited railway facilities is very keen. The harbour authorities cannot allow the harbour at Takoradi to become cluttered up with heavy stocks awaiting clearance. Accordingly the railways cannot accept for transport (i) timber for which shipping is not assured and (ii) timber which is not of first quality the shipping of which will be forbidden.

257. Since banking credits play a large part in the timber export trade and every newcomer has not the experience, credit delays have undoubtedly occurred.

258. We are advised that by the spring of 1949 the acquisition of new rolling stock by the Railways will enable the haul of all first class timber reasonably expected to be available for export. Until that materialises some system of allocation will continue to be necessary if existing facilities are used to procure

the export of the greatest volume of timber. To ensure that such allocation is not used to defeat the efforts of the small man we suggest that the Committee of Allocation shall not only have an African representative but shall be presided over by a senior officer of the Administration whose decision shall be final. His instructions in our opinion should be to ensure that, provided the small exporter can produce evidence (i) that his consignment is of timber of first quality and (ii) that he has completed the arrangements necessary to ensure speedy shipment, then haulage by rail should not be denied him to meet an arbitrary allocation of railway facilities to long established exporters.

CHAPTER XII: CUTTING OUT OF COCOA TREES

259. The prosperity today of the Gold Coast depends on Cocoa. The menace to that prosperity is "Swollen Shoot". Upon cocoa, so far as yet seen, depend the plans for a better country—better education, better medical attention, better housing and all those things which spell social improvement and which the people long for.

260. In the five pre-war years, the export of cocoa brought into the Gold Coast about £5,300,000 a year. This represented about 98 per cent of the value of its agricultural exports and not less than 63 per cent by value of the total exports. In spite of a heavy reduction in the quantity marketed since then the export value of the cocoa crop had risen in 1946/47 to £9,500,000, while in 1947/48, as a result of the phenomenal increase in world prices, the total export value of cocoa had risen to approximately £41,000,000.

261. The output has, however, shown a marked decline from the peak of 300,000 tons in 1936/37, to a post-war figure averaging about 200,000 tons (representing purchases from the farmer). Many reasons are given for this alarming decline such as the low prices obtained during the war years with consequent lack of attention to cultivation and harvesting, particularly unfavourable climatic conditions, loss of soil fertility and ageing of the trees. We are satisfied that the main contributing cause of the decline in production is the spread of "Swollen Shoot" disease.

262. This disease, first identified as such in 1936 (though noticed in various parts of the cocoa belt in earlier years), is now known to be caused by a virus carried from tree to tree by a mealy-bug which has fed on the sap of an infected tree. A diseased tree cannot recover, it dies within 16 to 24 months. The life of the virus is limited to not more than 36 hours in the mealy-bug and not more than 48 hours in the tree after it has been cut.

263. Work carried out at the West African Cocoa Research Institute, subsequently confirmed by observation on other cocoa farms in the Eastern Provinces, shows that the spread of the disease is very rapid. One experiment in an area of 4,636 trees, where the disease was allowed to spread unchecked, gave the following results:—

						Number of diseased trees	Total yield of cocoa pods
August, 1945	..	..	..	..	..	1,450	41,771
August, 1946	..	..	..	..	..	2,131	33,716
August, 1947	..	..	..	..	..	2,976	24,569

There are some 400 million cocoa trees in the Gold Coast and it is estimated that nearly 50 million of them are at present infected. Competent authorities estimate that the present rate of spread is about 15 million trees a year and that, if unchecked, the cocoa industry will have practically disappeared in 20 years.

264. The only remedy for the disease is to cut down the infected tree. This opinion has been arrived at after intensive research by the expert scientists of the Research Institute based not alone on their experience but drawing upon experience in other parts of the world. No scientific evidence to confute this claim was presented to us. There is no known cure for any virus disease in any

plant anywhere in the world and varieties of cocoa trees which might be immune to this virus disease have not yet been found.

265. At first, the cutting out of diseased trees was left to voluntary effort by the farmers, but the response was inadequate to counter the increasing spread of the disease. Accordingly the Government started in January, 1947, to use existing compulsory powers to enable the Department of Agriculture to cut out diseased trees without the consent of the owner. No complaints about the methods used were received until late in the summer and it was not until January, 1948, that serious opposition arose. In our view this opposition was to a great extent politically inspired. Between August, 1945, when cutting out by Government labour with individual farmer's approval was begun, and December, 1947, some 2½ million diseased trees had been cut out, without physical opposition. During the next three months there were numerous instances of violence and the compulsory cutting out of diseased trees was suspended in April, 1948. Farmers in the Gold Coast like most farmers throughout the world tend to an innate conservatism.

266. There were, in our opinion, certain weaknesses in the administration of the cutting out campaign due to urgency on the part of the Agriculture Department to deal expeditiously with a disease that threatened to upset the whole economy of the country. Various criticisms were made—

- (1) It is said that the propaganda designed to tell the farmer about the disease, its nature, rate of spread and probable effect was inadequate. There is no doubt that there is a genuine confusion in the minds of many cocoa farmers between previously experienced ills of the cocoa tree, such as Sahlbergella, Heliothrips and Drought Die-back, and the present Swollen Shoot virus. This confusion is accompanied by a failure to recognize that what may cure one disease is useless to cure another.
- (2) Diseased trees—and, in the earlier stages of infection, it often takes a trained eye to detect the symptoms—should have been clearly marked by trained personnel before the cutting-out squads went to work.
- (3) The system whereby labourers were paid on the basis of the number of trees cut out led to indiscriminate cutting of healthy and diseased trees.
- (4) Farmers were not notified of the probable arrival of the cutting-out squads and the work was sometimes carried out without their knowledge.
- (5) Some farmers forestalled, by bribes, the cutting out of their diseased trees.
- (6) Cutting out of cocoa trees is not a complete cure since the virus can exist in trees other than cocoa and the mealy-bug is also found on other trees and plants. This is true, but it is not an argument against reducing the sources of infection to a minimum and reducing the risk of infection to a comparatively negligible factor.

267. While constrained to admit that in some cases these criticisms can be justified and that both the propaganda and methods of administration could have been better than they were, it is equally clear to us in the light of the number of trees successfully and peacefully cut out between 1945 and 1947, that much of the later hostility to cutting out has been deliberately stimulated. We consider that the natural reluctance of the farmer to cut out a tree which may produce one further, though smaller, crop has been exploited for political reasons. We are confirmed in this by Dr. Danguah, who told us that the Government's scheme for eradication of the disease is scientifically sound but politically inexpedient.

268. In addition we were told by some farmers of the most fantastic and malicious stories current throughout the Cocoa Belt which have poisoned the mind of the cocoa farmer and created a distrust which will take time to eradicate. Two examples, only, need be given to illustrate these rumours:
(i) Britain intends to sell the Gold Coast to the United States but wished to ensure the death of the cocoa industry to avoid subsequent competition.
(ii) The large importing firms, such as the United Africa Company, are starting

big plantations in the Far East or in East Africa, and are anxious to reduce West African production.

269. The fear of exploitation, which we found to be very real, is a fertile soil for any evilly disposed person to sow the seeds of suspicion, however unreal or fantastic. While ordinarily such rumours would appear to call for no action, so seriously do we regard the need for removing suspicion that we feel a widely publicised declaration by the Secretary of State nailing them as mischievous lies is called for.

270. As we have said, no scientific cure other than cutting out was suggested to us. Instead we were treated to the following alternative policies:

- (a) Let nature take its course and the disease will cure itself.
- (b) Replanting should be started after the land has been rested for a year or two.
- (c) Science will find some other remedy.
- (d) Cocoa production should be allowed to decline and alternative crops introduced.

271. These suggestions are merely counsels of despair and can only lead to disaster. The cures for the less complex troubles of the industry which have been experienced in the past, such as soil exhaustion, lack of shade trees, abuse of pruning and so on, will not answer for Swollen Shoot. Experience of virus diseases in other plants and other countries does not yield any hope that their severity will decrease. The development of immune varieties is the only known counter-attack. So far these have not been evolved. Even if a resistant type were discovered to-morrow, it would take at least five years to test whether this resistance was likely to last, and a further ten or fifteen years to assess the yielding capacity of such trees and to supply farmers with worthwhile quantities of seed. We cannot see that any other investment of the £3,000,000 (which the cutting out of diseased trees and rehabilitation of the cocoa area is estimated to cost) would bring the same return to either the farmer or the Gold Coast. We are confident, in the absence of any scientific evidence to the contrary, that cutting out is the only possible method of control and that replanting with cocoa is the only economic course to be followed in the Gold Coast. Many witnesses were asked to suggest alternative crops which would maintain financial returns in any way comparable to cocoa, but no satisfactory answers were received.

272. It is, of course, possible that this misrepresentation of the Government aims and the deliberate confusion of the issues involved have reached such a pitch that in the interests of ordered progress an interval of "marking time" may be necessary. But we are not prepared to believe that the last word has been spoken. We cannot believe that those political leaders amongst the farmers themselves, who wish to achieve self-government in the near future and who are ambitious for the continued progress of the Gold Coast, are prepared to sit back and watch the ebb of its life's blood. This indeed would be the negation of political responsibility.

273. We suggest that the first step must be to establish or restore confidence in the scientists' claim that cutting out is the only sure remedy. We recognize, with regret, that present feeling makes it unlikely that further British scientific advice will be accepted as impartial. We therefore recommend that a small panel of three plant pathologists, of high repute, drawn from countries not commercially interested in cocoa, should be appointed to study the incidence and nature of the disease and to report on the means of its speedy eradication. Should it put forward some sound alternative, so much the better. In the event of their confirmation that cutting out is the only remedy, we recommend that that policy be followed subject to certain changes in administration and procedure. We envisage the following procedure:

- (1) That, whenever possible, the owner of the diseased trees or his agent should be given clear notice of the visit of the Agricultural Department's representative.

- (2) That diseased trees should be clearly marked or branded by trained staff before being cut out.
- (3) That an order should be served on the farmer to cut out the diseased trees within, say, thirty days of the date of the order.
- (4) That an opportunity be afforded to the farmer to make representations and to appeal if, in his opinion, non-infected trees have been marked.
- (5) That if the trees have not been cut out by the farmer himself within a specified time, they should be cut out by the Department's agents at the farmer's expense.
- (6) That the rehabilitation grant to those farmers who agree to the cutting out of their diseased trees be increased from its present level of £12 per acre to, say, £24 or £30 for an initial period of, say, two years and subsequently reduced progressively to its former level.

274. We suggest, also, that as soon as compulsory cutting out is resumed, it should commence in the Ashanti part of the cocoa belt, in which the disease is not as yet widespread and where the chances of agreement with the farmer would appear to be better, particularly if the rehabilitation payments were enhanced during the earlier stages of the treatment. Of the estimated 40 million diseased trees in the Gold Coast, only some 400,000 were to be found in Ashanti and of these 300,000 had already been cut out before the opposition grew in February and March, 1948. The Ashanti farmer is more likely to accept, if the implications of the spread of the disease were made clearer to him, the cutting out of a very small proportion of trees—possibly as low as one in a thousand—than to see his industry disappear, as it has already disappeared in certain parts of the Colony. As Ashanti at present produces about one-half of the total output, the saving of the Ashanti crop would be no small achievement. Moreover, there is a convenient natural gap between the main cocoa areas in the Colony and in Ashanti which runs, north-east to south-west, from Kwahu to Dunkwa practically along the common provincial boundary, and which would afford a fair quarantine area between the two provinces. The campaign might be carried into the Colony as soon as conditions permit.

275. As further encouragement and to enable the work of cutting out to proceed by agreement, we suggest that the Cocoa Marketing Board, out of the funds at its disposal, offers a bonus during the next five years, based on the number of trees or cocoa sales, to all farmers producing a certificate from the Department of Agriculture showing that as from a predetermined date their farms are free from trees suffering from the disease.

276. We would urge that the Government invite at the earliest opportunity the co-operation of African political leaders to overcome the hostility which only manifested itself in the past few months.

277. This cocoa problem is not a sectional, nor merely a farmer's, problem: it is a national problem since the economic life of the Colony is at stake. The Swollen Shoot issue is really the prime test of the ability of African leaders to shoulder political responsibility.

CHAPTER XIII: THE COCOA MARKETING BOARD

278. In the course of our enquiry we were pressed on occasions to recommend an alteration in the composition of the Cocoa Marketing Board designed to give the farmers a majority in its direction.

279. We are not satisfied that at this stage any such change is necessary or desirable.

280. The Cocoa Marketing Board was established by Ordinance on 12th April, 1947. It was the logical successor of the Cocoa Control Board established during the war years. Until it came under control the marketing of cocoa was for the farmer, and particularly the small farmer, a rash and hazardous undertaking. The price he received depended on a variety of circumstances of

which the honesty of those with whom he was so often compelled to deal was the least conspicuous. Since the advent of the Board he can anticipate receipt of a fair price and a measure of price stabilisation which in the past was only a farmer's dream. The existence of the Board and the system of compulsory collective sale have probably resulted in a level of cocoa prices higher than would have obtained in a free market.

281. All classes interested in the growing and marketing of cocoa are represented on the Board. The presence of four official members in our view ensures that the primary aim of the Board—to prevent the exploitation of the farmer—is its first consideration.

282. As we say elsewhere cocoa is vital to the well-being of the Gold Coast. It is therefore not merely a sectional interest. In such a case where a country such as the Gold Coast possesses an industry the success or failure of which may completely upset its whole economic life, we are of opinion that a strong measure of Government control over the industry is not only called for, but that a Government neglecting to impose it would deserve censure.

283. It follows therefore that where by reason of adventitious circumstances the commodity produced by the industry temporarily secures a return out of all proportion to the normal, control of such return must follow if the disasters of inflation are to be avoided.

284. The policy of the Board therefore in creating reserves by fixing a price to producers less than world price is to be commended on every economic ground as long as the reserves so created are (a) maintained as a cushion against future price fluctuations, and (b) distributed otherwise in the interests of the producers or their community.

285. We were told indeed by the Ashanti farmers that they would approve of the use of these reserves in the general interests of the Gold Coast such as the provision of cheap credit. While praising this very generous attitude we are not happy in our own minds that it sprang spontaneously from any real understanding of affairs. We feel rather that it had been planted there by persons who saw visions of handling funds now outside their reach. The history of co-operative enterprises in the marketing of cocoa throughout the Gold Coast, which were not subject to statutory control, presents the spectacle of many promised lands which only ended in a wilderness strewn with farmers' bones.

286. Accordingly, in our view, for the protection of the farmers, with whose interests we are primarily concerned, we are unable to recommend any change in the existing constitution of the Cocoa Marketing Board.

287. Pursuing this aim we are anxious, however, to find some positive means whereby to assure the farmer that the reserves accumulated by the Board are used not only to stabilise prices in lean years, but that the balance, within limits, is made available for his general benefit. As we state elsewhere, we think part of it might properly be used for the furtherance of stamping out Swollen Shoot while even greater efforts might be made in soil survey and conservation and the research which these subjects necessarily involve.

288. In education also exists a field capable of much assistance. We think that the Board, to encourage and hasten Africanisation, might offer a substantial number of scholarships for higher education. To meet the criticism so often made of the inadequate attention to higher education in agriculture we think that at least one-half of these scholarships ought to be for the scientific study of agriculture. Of the balance we think that three-quarters ought to be assigned to students of medicine, such students undertaking to practise for a period of not less than five years on qualifying, in the Gold Coast and in particular in the Cocoa Belt. The remaining quarter we think should be allotted to students of higher technical education prepared to accept appointments in technical schools in the Gold Coast.

289. In these proposals we see the cocoa farmers making a powerful contribution to and hastening Africanisation.

290. In like manner we are of opinion that if a housing programme is begun by any Regional Council, set up under our proposals for Constitutional Reform, the Cocoa Marketing Board should be empowered to invest any reserves not immediately required, in local or central government loans and provided representation on the Directorate is accorded to it, any undertaking such as the Volta scheme.

The Cocoa Bank

291. Many of the cocoa farmers are in debt. Some of these debts are of long standing. The mortgaging of industrial crops has always been a sorry business for farmers in all countries. In a society as at present constituted in the Gold Coast it presents the worst features of usury. Of the variety of mortgages in the Gold Coast there is no end. They usually, however, have one feature in common—the unlikelihood of the borrower ever escaping from the clutches of the lender.

292. To meet this situation we recommend the establishment by the Cocoa Marketing Board of a Cocoa Farmers Bank or Discount House. We do not at this stage propose that it should perform any ordinary banking business.

293. The primary function of the Bank would be at the request of the farmer to take over any outstanding mortgage on his farm. Upon such taking over the price paid by the bank would be a first charge on any moneys directly or indirectly becoming due from the Marketing Board to the farmer, repayable by equal instalments over a specified number of years and bearing simple interest at 3 per cent per annum.

294. Because we have observed that disarming simplicity is frequently the handmaiden of low cunning we feel that this scheme should only apply to mortgages evidenced by some customary document. Further the price to be paid on taking over must be based on a scale which has regard to the nature of the mortgage and how long it has been outstanding, i.e. has it involved over one or more years a share in the produce of the farm or, if money interest was covenanted for, did it exceed 15 per cent simple interest per annum. In such cases the face value of the sum advanced should be discounted by reference to a fixed scale and power should be taken to acquire the mortgage compulsorily on that scale.

295. The Bank should also perform the credit function of making loans (i) to farmers for current purposes not exceeding 40 per cent of their preceding year's receipts from the Marketing Board at 3 per cent per annum simple interest secured as a first charge on current moneys directly or indirectly payable by the Board to the borrower, and (ii) loans to approved co-operatives formed for the purpose of carrying on home industries to meet the needs of the population of the Cocoa Belt at a similar rate of interest.

296. As a corollary to the establishment of the Bank and for the further prevention of exploitation of the farmer we recommend the enactment of an Ordinance whereby from and after an appointed date any sale or other disposition of a cocoa crop then growing shall be null and void and of no effect if made before the date upon which the district price for such crop has been fixed by the Cocoa Marketing Board and published. All such sales or other dispositions should be evidenced in writing and the date thereof verified at the time of making by an officer of a rank not lower than Assistant District Commissioner or the Registrar of a Native Administration Court or such other officer as may be designated by the Regional Council.

297. We regard the whole question of the cocoa industry as so vital that we recommend that such of our proposals relating thereto as may be accepted (including our recommendations about the treatment of Swollen Shoot) be printed in the form of a pamphlet in simple language with editions in the vernacular. Copies of such pamphlet should then be sent to the officials of all

public bodies and institutions such as the principals of all colleges, the headmasters of all schools, all missions, Native Authorities and the like.

CHAPTER XIV : INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

298. At every turn we were pressed with the cry of industrialisation. We doubt very much if the authors of this cry really understood more than their vague desire for something that promised wealth and higher standards of life.

299. Apart from the possibilities of a hydro-electric scheme, which we discuss later, the establishment of any heavy industry on the Gold Coast capable of finding an export market must remain a dream. With an enervating climate in the torrid zone, lacking coal and other basic minerals, the prospect is so barren that not even the greatest enthusiast could suggest to us a method of accomplishment.

300. We do not mean by this that the country is necessarily condemned to remain a dumping ground for imports. At the same time international trade is no one-way traffic. The standard of life in a country producing primary commodities need not, in an expanding world production, be materially less than in an industrial country. But while there is clearly room for many secondary industries which would enrich the country, we are unable to foresee, in any circumstances, the Gold Coast emerging as a unit of heavy industries in the world markets.

301. In the matter of secondary industries we think there is considerable scope for bold planning on imaginative lines. We may say at once, that in a country which is quickly passing to a money economy the fact ought to be faced, the intense individuality of the Africans notwithstanding, unbridled private enterprise would at best lay the foundation of future social strife. We are of the opinion therefore that in building up secondary industries an attempt should be made to run them as co-operative units. In this we are treading no new ground. Apart from the Government-sponsored Cocoa Marketing Board, which has proved so successful, we are told that in other fields Co-operative Societies, while not always maintaining the letter of their constitutions, are slowly emerging as sound units in building up economic stability in the Colony.

302. We take the view therefore that the Government, either by guarantee to the Banks or by setting up an Industrial Finance Corporation, should through the Registrar of Co-operative Societies make the necessary advances to approved co-operative enterprises setting up secondary industries. The Industrial Development Corporation which has just been set up under an Ordinance of the Legislative Council might be used for the purpose. We are pleased to note that the Directorate of the Corporation will have substantial African representation as likewise that of any subsidiary company formed by it. Secondary industries of the type recommended should be directed primarily to supplying the needs of the home market. A few suggested to us which appear to merit consideration are :—

- (i) Fish canning.
- (ii) Utility and other furniture.
- (iii) Native cloth weaving.
- (iv) Vegetable oil refining and soap making.

303. The suggestion that petroleum products could be obtained from cassava was also advanced. Our own enquiries do not support the proposition but the authors of the suggestion will no doubt pursue the possibility.

The Distillation of Spirits

304. We had it impressed on us from several quarters that among potential secondary industries in the Gold Coast was the distillation of spirits. We do not think that it was seriously suggested that such spirits would be fit for

human consumption. It was suggested however that they might replace alcohol now in use for medical and commercial purposes.

305. We think that this potential use is worthy of examination and provided adequate safeguards in manufacture and distribution to prevent human consumption of the product can be devised, we see no reason why an African with the necessary capital should not be permitted to develop such a business. We would add however that we are in complete agreement with present trends in legislation to forbid the cutting down of cocoanut palms for the distillation or fermentation of spirits and wine.

Recovery and Treatment of Gold

306. Among the complaints raised by the Trades Union Congress but also separately in two memoranda submitted on behalf of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths of the Gold Coast was an allegation that broadly speaking the restrictions on the recovery of gold and the use thereof in manufacture had brought about a situation in which an ancient and worthy craft was in danger of extinction.

307. We have made inquiries in this regard and have been referred to the Gold Mining Products Protection Ordinance Cap. 126 of the Gold Coast Statutes.

308. We find that this Ordinance is directed to the prevention of loss of gold recovered from mining or other process in use by what may be conveniently described as European methods. But for the Ordinance we are satisfied that the loss of such gold would be very great.

309. There is no restriction under the Ordinance on the search for and recovery of gold by native methods or in the use to which such gold may be put, but a gold smith as such must have a licence—in our view a very necessary protection.

310. The real objection appears to be that the onus of proof as to the origin of the gold is placed upon the African who is found in possession of it.

311. Notwithstanding a statement made to us in all seriousness by one witness, that after heavy rain virgin gold might be found in the street drains which it was an offence to recover (a statement we found from observation to show a gift for hyperbole) it may well be that the discovery of virgin gold has become very rare and so dried up a source of supply of the goldsmiths.

312. To meet such a situation we recommend that existing provisions which enable a goldsmith to acquire gold be extended to secure all licensed goldsmiths the right to purchase through Government a limited quantity of bullion per annum at the price at which the same is sold to the Government plus a small percentage to cover the administrative costs. We are of the opinion that such a course would meet any legitimate complaint of the goldsmiths without seriously affecting the total value of gold exported.

The Volta Valley Scheme

313. To harness the waters of the Volta, for the production of electrical energy and its utilisation among other things in the manufacture of aluminium alloy on the spot, we believe is a scheme which has passed the visionary stage. The bauxite deposits which lie at hand for use in the process of manufacture of aluminium doubtless hastened practical consideration of the scheme.

314. Such a scheme, apart from creating a new industry, capable so far as yet seen of very great expansion, might well enable large tracts to become fertile by irrigation. At the same time the surplus electrical energy set free could be utilised to great advantage in hundreds of ways not calling for any great imagination.

315. We are not here concerned to discuss the scheme as such nor indeed are we competent so to do. That is a matter upon which the Government must advise itself from the experts available for the task.

316. We are however very much concerned to see that in the exploitation of the natural resources of the Gold Coast the indigenous population shares to the fullest extent the advantages.

317. We realise that in so far as the execution of the project depends on the manufacture of aluminium that is a commercial venture the success of which may well depend on world prices being maintained. If the view held by those in the trade and maintained in high places in Britain immediately after the late war is any criterion, any prediction of this nature is no sure guide. It would not be right therefore in our view, unless the scheme held prospects of paying its way independently of aluminium manufacture, for the Government of the Gold Coast to embark upon it as a national venture.

318. On the other hand while capital is entitled to a fair return measured by risk it may be proper to observe that views may differ on what is a fair return. It would be equally improper in our view to permit without adequate safeguards the investment of foreign capital. These should include a share of profits and provision for the national use of surplus water and surplus electrical energy, together with the option of ultimate national ownership.

319. Accordingly we recommend that, assuming the Government upon consideration, for the reasons given or other good and sufficient reason, decides not to embark on the scheme as a national enterprise, then in permitting private enterprise to carry out the scheme, such permission should be conditional on agreement on the following broad lines :—

- (i) The nominal share capital of the company formed to carry out the scheme should be small and the Government entitled to subscribe up to 49 per cent thereof.
- (ii) The bulk of the working capital should be provided by way of loan capital at a fixed rate of interest including a rate for amortisation in 50-75 years, the interest to be a first charge on the company's revenues but not otherwise secured.
- (iii) Upon redemption of the loan capital the Government to have an option to acquire the balance of the 51 per cent share capital at a price to be fixed, failing agreement, by arbitration.
- (iv) Surplus water to be available for public purposes.
- (v) Electrical energy surplus to requirements for manufacture of aluminium to be made available for public purposes at a price representing cost plus 5 per cent. which, failing agreement, to be fixed by arbitration.

320. We appreciate that this recommendation in this form may be quite unacceptable to foreign capital. Our intention is not to tie the hands of the Government to any fixed formula but to indicate the kind of arrangement which in our view should be aimed at and which we think the people of the Gold Coast are entitled to expect from the exploitation of their natural heritage.

CHAPTER XV : AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

321. We do not intend to describe in any detail the agricultural systems found in the Gold Coast. This is readily available in other publications. We merely wish to emphasise a few points which we think important in considering past policy and future development. The Gold Coast is predominantly an agricultural country. The great majority of its people are dependent, directly or indirectly, on agricultural production, for their day-to-day food, for the payment of imports, and for the revenue which has to provide such social services as they enjoy. There are four further factors which must influence very greatly potential developments. Farms are small and almost entirely in the hands of African peasant farmers. The system of land tenure in the Colony and Ashanti is largely one of tribal ownership, the individual farmer filling the role of tenant. Insecurity of tenure militates at every turn against the better utilization of the land. In the Northern Territories, the system is different and there is greater control in the use of land vested in the Government. There was, and still is, a heavy burden of indebtedness and the present system of credit does not meet

the requirements of the farmers. Finally, there is a considerable amount of absentee landlordism, particularly in the Cocoa Belt. All of these have undoubtedly handicapped progress.

322. Suggestions for improvements in the system of land tenure and for the solution of many of the present problems are embodied in the report of a special enquiry which was held in 1947 and we do not propose to deal specifically with this question, except to emphasise its importance for the future well-being of the Colony.

323. Apart from questions specifically dealing with cocoa production, a number of representations were made concerning the Department of Agriculture and the agricultural policy of the country. The relevant ones may be considered in five groups:—

- (a) The absence of any alternative crops to cocoa.
- (b) The lack of close contact between the Department and the farmer.
- (c) The weakness of agricultural education, experimentation and demonstration.
- (d) The excessive attention to the problems of export crops in comparison with crops for home consumption.
- (e) The absence of plans for future development.

324. Before dealing with these points, we wish to make one or two general observations about the work of the Department, though we do so with reservations as we may not have received a full picture of its work in the short time at our disposal. We did not receive any serious complaints about the efficiency or quality of the staff; the main source of trouble was, rather, the limited scope of its activities. This is no reflection on the staff but rather on the Administration's agricultural policy. Agriculture appears to have been the Cinderella Department—before as well as since the war. The Gold Coast has never been provided with the machinery in the form of staff, buildings, and experimental stations to provide for the basic needs of its agriculture.

325. Ample evidence is available to confirm this view; firstly, in the small annual expenditure, over a period of many years, on agriculture relative to the revenue of the country and to the value of the agricultural exports; secondly, in the almost complete disregard of agriculture in the more advanced stages of education and in the award of scholarships for study abroad; and thirdly in the lack of interest in technical problems shown by many members of the Administration.

326. This neglect is eloquently reflected in the following paragraph taken from the report of the Director of Agriculture for the year 1945-46:—

"The Department's sole laboratory accommodation was handed over to the West African Cacao Research Institute in 1944; since then no laboratory facilities have been available save in the citrus research building at Asuansi. Over the same period the Department has had the services of only one Entomologist and one Chemist. There has also been a shortage of locally trained African staff. Cadbury Hall, at Kumasi, which was run as a Departmental Training School, and gave an excellent training for junior staff, was closed down in 1939 and no effective alternative was substituted. It is now proposed to reopen Cadbury Hall as an interim measure but an Agricultural School on a larger scale is to be built on the new Agricultural Station at Kumasi. The Agricultural School in Nigeria has recently trained three of our young men."

327. The question of alternative cash or export crops in the place of cocoa was evidently exercising many minds and a number of suggestions were put forward. On many occasions, we challenged witnesses to name for us economic substitutes for cocoa, but no real alternative was forthcoming. It must be admitted that there is no other crop which would yield such returns on the world market. If the Gold Coast fails to save its cocoa industry, it is throwing away the advantages which Providence has given to it in natural conditions for cocoa production which are without parallel in the rest of the world. These unique natural conditions have enabled the Cocoa Marketing Board to obtain what is practically a monopoly price somewhere about eight times the pre-war price level.

328. Many of the crops suggested were better suited to conditions outside the cocoa belt, such as rice, cotton, soya bean, sun flower, castor seed and so on. We understand that a small amount of experimental work has been done in past years on the production of alternative crops but the complaint is that it has not been systematic or continuous and that the results, if any, have not been brought adequately to the notice of the farmer. Whether this is a fair criticism or not, we would recommend a more intensive search for possible substitutes as a partial insurance in anticipation of the disaster that would occur if wiser counsels do not prevail and the cocoa industry dies. Some of the large reserve funds in the hands of the Cocoa Marketing Board might be used for this purpose since the work would be of direct benefit to the cocoa farmer himself.

329. Criticisms were also made of the lack of contact between the Department's staff and the farmers. So far as we could ascertain, this was not deliberate policy on the part of the Department but is merely a reflection of the understaffing that has occurred. We do, however, feel that, if the number of personnel can be increased some of the functions of the Department can be decentralised to some extent, especially those of the more senior officials. There appears to be too much reference back to Accra.

330. There is no need for us to elaborate on the inadequacy of research and experimental stations. The dearth is obvious and has been evident for many years. Experience in other parts of the world has shown conclusively the dependence of agricultural progress on adequate scientific research and the application of its results in practice for farmers to see. The lack of this essential link in agricultural development for so long a time merely accentuates the urgency of remedying it. We are well aware of the shortage of trained scientific personnel at the present time a shortage that may become more acute if conditions of service in the colonies become less attractive, but this confirms us in our view that more active measures should be taken to develop agricultural education facilities, particularly in the training of scientific research workers. The lack of appreciation of the importance of this aspect of the work is seen in the fact that though large numbers of Government Scholarships for University education have been awarded this is the first year in which any have been made available for Agriculture; three have now been granted.

331. There is also need for more demonstration work if the results of research and experiment are to be adopted in practice. Here again, shortages of staff and equipment seem to be the limiting factors. We were told of some of the good work being carried out by the Department in its experiments and observation trials and in developing systems of mixed farming in the Northern Territories. The only complaint brought to us was that there was not more of it.

332. Possibly the most serious criticism was the greater interest displayed in the export crops at the expense of the crops grown for home consumption. This is undoubtedly a difficult balance to strike; it cannot be denied that the export crops provide most of the revenue upon which depends the maintenance of law and order, the provision of education and health services and so on; expenditure on research and development can easily be shown to produce dividends. Fundamentally however the life of the colony depends on its food supply.

333. The two existing research institutes in the Gold Coast are concerned with cocoa and limes, both of them commercial export crops, and a large part of the Department's staff is devoting most of their time to those two crops, and possibly a third, cocoanuts—also of export interest.

334. By way of contrast with the apathy towards food crops, we were told of the war-time agricultural developments, when a phenomenal increase in vegetable production and the development of a bacon industry were quickly achieved to meet the requirements of the Services. We agree that this indicates that results can be achieved under pressure.

335. We would like to see a great intensification of the efforts to improve the yields and quality of home grown foodstuffs. Two lines of development appear to us to be necessary ; to improve the existing systems and to modify them so as to meet the demands of an expanding and commercialised economy. There are ample opportunities in both directions. We would place a high priority on the first ; we believe that the days when local production was adequate for local needs are past ; the population is increasing rapidly and their purchasing power has risen ; there is no superabundance of food today in relation to the needs of the people. Levels of food consumption have been low in the past and we are prepared to accept the argument that nutritional levels must be improved if the level of output—mental and material—is to be raised and production costs brought more closely into line with world prices. There is therefore, in our opinion, a strong case for a higher priority for work on food crops ; it should certainly take precedence over—or at least rank on a par with—any further development in export crops.

336. We should like to emphasise once again that, though we are critical of the Administration, we would not wish to cast any aspersions on those in the Agricultural Department or the Research Institutes. We saw work of the highest quality being carried on under difficult conditions ; there is evidence of drive and initiative which, we think, may have been lacking in the past. The agricultural problems are well known to the experts and we are confident of their solution. But they must have more help. We have seen the plans for the future development of agricultural production. They seem admirably directed to meet many of the criticisms which were brought to us. Our only comment on them is that they might well be more ambitious in the light of the issues at stake.

CHAPTER XVI: LABOUR AND EMPLOYMENT

337. The submissions presented to us by the Trade Union Congress in general followed the pattern of other evidence received by us in course of our Enquiry and in so far as accepted by us are reflected in our findings.

Wages

338. While a body such as a Trades Union Congress can quite properly deal with many matters of national interest, particularly when such matters affect the members of the affiliated unions it was remarkable that very little was said about wages and working conditions. True the representatives drew our attention to discrimination between African and European rates of pay, but even this was brought out in discussion and not specifically mentioned in their memorandum.

339. In this connection it should be pointed out that in the Senior Service of the Government the salary for the appointment is the same for both African and European, but in the case of the European Officer, Overseas Pay ranging according to basic salary from £125 to £600 per annum is paid in addition. This overseas pay is a pensionable emolument.

340. We consider that there are good grounds for this extra payment but it may be that the underlying grievance is that it is a pensionable emolument which the African Senior Officer does not enjoy. We also consider that in the ordinary industrial life of the country the pay for European and African should be the same for comparable performance and responsibility.

341. In course of discussion we suggested that an Enquiry might be necessary into the general wage structure in the Gold Coast. Upon a full consideration of the facts we have come to the conclusion that at this stage, as no specific evidence of a character that could be checked was presented to us, no useful purpose would be served therewith. Indeed we were informed by the Trades

Union Congress that the mercantile firms had followed the example of the Government in observing the recommendations of the Harragin Commission and the Korsah Committee, although we believe that in some cases payment was only made after a strike or a threat to strike. Retrospective pay was also granted by the firms but the Trades Union Congress complained that nothing had been done with regard to conditions relating to sick pay, etc. The demand for the observance of the Korsah Committee Award, particularly with regard to retrospective payment, applied to the smaller undertakings who were not in a financial position to meet this particular demand.

342. The wages position in the Mining Industry calls for no comment. It was only recently the subject of an Award by Mr. William Gorman, K.C., in an Arbitration following a strike. No complaints were made to us on the existing position.

343. The question of retrospective payment is always a difficult one in industry. Where a comprehensive claim is put forward by a large class of employees obviously some time must be allowed for examination of the impact of such increase on the structure of the industry concerned. Any such reasonable delay in meeting the demand in our view ought not to penalise the employer by retrospective payment on the claim being met. On the other hand, without the penalty of possible retrospective payment there will inevitably be a tendency to prolong the interval between the demand and the answer.

344. In these circumstances in the interests of general economic stability we urge that in every case when a general demand for increase of wages rates is made in any industry the Labour Department procure the earliest consideration by employers of the demand so as to avoid the necessity of retrospective payments.

345. We are satisfied that the retrospective effect of the awards of the Harragin Commission and the Korsah Committee which these bodies felt constrained to make exacerbated to a substantial degree the economic difficulties created by short supplies.

346. The other large industry, in fact the largest single industry, is cocoa farming. The Trades Union Congress gave us the benefit of its views on swollen shoot but had nothing to say about wages and working conditions. In the Report of the Labour Department for 1947 it is stated that in the case of the yearly contract system if the Ashanti cocoa farmers are to attract more workers they will have to grant better terms than the rates of from £5 to £8 previously paid. This has been done. Old hands receive a rate of from £10 to £15, newcomers £7 10s. to £9. In addition food, housing and clothing (two suits per annum), soap and salt are provided. These extras are estimated to cost the farmers an additional £23 per annum. In addition to the yearly contract men there are two other classes of employees, day labourers and men employed on a profit-sharing basis. The former receive 2s. per day. In addition they receive rations estimated to cost from 6d. to 9d. per day. Their employment is intermittent. The men employed on a profit-sharing basis (called Abusa system) work from five to seven months per annum and provide their own farming implements. They receive free rations and one-third share of the gross proceeds in cocoa or in cash according to current prices.

347. It will be observed that employment of labour in the cocoa industry takes a variety of forms which meantime admits of no general recommendation.

Trade Unions

348. Administrative assistance in the proper organisation of labour appears to be bearing fruit. There are about eighteen Trade Unions covering workers in various types of employment. In addition there are ten associations registered under the Trade Unions Act which are more in the nature of Guilds and contain

many members who are in fact employers of labour or owners of small businesses.

349. The three largest unions are concerned with the Railways, Mines and Public Works Department respectively. While the Railway Employees Union membership (approximately 5,500) may cover the whole of the grade eligible the same cannot be said with regard to either the Mines Employees Union or the Public Works Department Employees Union. About 30,000 are employed in or about the mines but the Union membership was less than 3,000 according to the 1947 returns. The Railway Employees Union's success in organisation has been largely affected by the deduction of contributions through the payroll by the Railway Administration. A claim for a similar concession was dealt with at the Gorman Arbitration in connection with the Mines, but no award was made.

350. Trade Union membership is increasing but although between 25,000 and 30,000 names are on the books there are only from 12,000 to 15,000 actually paid up members. It is not possible to obtain accurate figures in either case.

Unemployment

351. Although not raised with us as a specific underlying cause of the disturbances we have felt it necessary to look into the question.

352. The Commissioner of Labour informed us that prior to the strikes that took place from September to November, 1947, there had been no unemployment problem. The figures for the end of March, 1948, of unemployed were 950 semi-skilled and 5,450 unskilled—a total of 6,500 of whom 4,000 (500 semi-skilled and 3,500 unskilled) were seasonal cocoa farm workers in the Kumasi area. These exclude unemployment among ex-servicemen dealt with in another section of this report. While these figures represent the number of persons whose unemployment has been notified to the Labour Department, there are, as far as we can ascertain, a large body of employable persons not gainfully employed who remain unaccounted for. Under any system of registration these would be classed as unemployed.

353. It may be of interest here to give figures, which can only be approximate, of estimated employed labour at 31st December, 1947, as far as they can be ascertained:—

Agriculture :					
(a) Cocoa farms .. .. .	..	..	..	..	210,000
(b) Agricultural Department .. .. .	..	..	..	..	1,800
(c) Timber Companies .. .. .	..	..	..	..	10,000
Mining .. .. .	..	..	..	..	38,000
Manufacturing .. .. .	..	..	..	..	23,000
Building .. .. .	..	..	..	..	11,000
Transportation .. .. .	..	..	..	..	8,000
Commerce .. .. .	..	..	..	..	16,000
Hotel and Personal Service .. .. .	..	..	..	..	8,000
Miscellaneous occupations .. .. .	..	..	..	..	2,000
Total .. .. .	..	..	..	..	<u>327,800</u>

It will be appreciated that in the Gold Coast a large proportion of the working population is self employed or engaged in family labour.

354. Registration has not been extensively tried. A Registry has been established at Kumasi and there are 28 Labour and Resettlement clerks employed in 13 district offices for the purpose of assisting in helping to place unemployed persons, whether ex-servicemen or not.

355. The Commissioner of Labour took the view that it would not be advisable to start a system of Labour Exchanges until registration and identification of labour had reached an advanced stage. His reason for this was that in a neighbouring Colony a Labour Exchange had been established in the principal seaport town and there was an immediate influx of people, all of whom believed that as the Government had opened such an office employment

would therefore be found for every applicant whether in employment at the time or not. This had resulted in greatly overcrowding the town and he did not wish to do anything that might have similar results in the Gold Coast.

356. Other factors influencing unemployment are :

- (a) the bulk of the adult male population is engaged in peasant production and only works for wages spasmodically;
- (b) industrialisation is limited in extent and to relatively small areas ; and
- (c) social insecurity is not a serious problem for more than a limited number of technical workers in the towns who are entirely divorced from their tribal lands.

357. We recommend :—

- (1) That registration of the unemployed in all areas be proceeded with ;
- (2) That the principal employers of labour be periodically informed of the number and grades of workers registered as unemployed ; and
- (3) That the principal employers of labour be urged when engaging new workers, and when practicable, to avail themselves of the information referred to in (2).

CHAPTER XVII: EDUCATION

358. Nothing impressed us more than the interest of the peoples of the Gold Coast in education. Practically every African, who sent in a Memorandum or appeared in person before us sooner or later started to discuss Education. This interest, in our opinion, is as deep-rooted as it is widespread. It does not spring solely from any mercenary assessment of material benefits but from some genuine desire for learning itself.

359. The initial impetus was provided by the Missions and Missionary Schools. The seeds which they have sown have produced a crop that must have far exceeded their expectations—a crop which is not without its embarrassments for those who have to meet to-day's demands.

360. The following figures give the approximate numbers of children in primary and secondary schools last year :—

	Number of Schools	Enrolment
<i>Primary</i>		
Government and Government-assisted schools	578	87,531
Approved senior primary	157	13,661
Non-assisted (including "designated")	2,018	97,219
<i>Secondary</i>		
Assisted	10	2,299
Non-Assisted	18	1,851

Though the enrolment represents only about 4½ per cent of the population, it indicates a very rapid rate of increase. Between 1926 and 1946, the numbers in the Government and Government-assisted schools rose from 33,000 to 90,000 while the numbers in the non-assisted schools had risen from 25,000 to 99,000.

361. Primary education normally commences at the age of about six and consists of three stages, covering ten years, though the majority of pupils at present pass through only the first two stages :—

<i>Infant Primary</i>	<i>Junior Primary</i>	<i>Senior Primary</i>
(Classes 1-3)	(Standards I-III)	(Standards IV-VII)

Secondary education covers about four years. Of the ten assisted schools, five are for boys, four for girls, and one (at Achimota) is co-educational.

362. There is one Government Technical School.

363. The non-assisted schools which are often assisted by Native Administrations are, unfortunately, not comparable with the Government and assisted schools. They are often ill-housed, ill-equipped and staffed by untrained teachers. Their existence and their very rapid expansion, however, does give a very clear indication of the unsatisfied demand for education.

364. In addition to the schools, there are post-primary Teaching Colleges, designed to turn out two categories of teachers, those with Certificate A and those with Certificate B. The former is obtained after passing a four-year post-primary or two-year post-secondary course, while the latter is obtained after a two-year post-primary course. The Certificate A courses are given at two co-educational institutions, and at seven assisted Mission or Church institutions. The Certificate B course which qualifies holders for work in infant and junior schools only, is given in eight institutions. The total enrolment at the end of 1947 was 1,266, an increase of almost 300 over 1946 and more than 900 above the pre-war figure. There are also specialist courses for trained teachers in domestic science and in arts and crafts at Achimota.

365. Educational courses are also provided by the Departments of Agriculture, Survey, Forestry, Police, Posts and Telegraphs and so on, for their employees.

366. Finally, the higher education facilities in the Gold Coast consist of Intermediate courses in engineering, science, arts and commerce centred at Achimota, with an enrolment of about 100. There are also said to be some 200 Gold Coast students in the United Kingdom. In October, 1948, the University College at Achimota will start its work, completing the educational ladder in the Gold Coast to a University degree level.

367. We think that it would be useful at this stage to give an indication of what recent developments have meant in terms of money. In 1938-39 the Government expenditure on education was about £213,000. The following figures show the actual expenditure in 1946-47 and the estimates for 1947-48:—

	1946-47	1947-48 estimates
Government " Ordinary " expenditure	£ 467,000	835,000
Government " Development " expenditure	223,000	320,000
Native Administration (approx.)	130,000	200,000

368. These expenditures show a very large increase over the pre-war years and it is important to relate them to the revenues of the country. In 1938-9, the amount spent by the Government on education represented 5·7 per cent of its revenue; the estimates for 1947/48 show that the proportion had risen to so high as 11·3* per cent. The Native Authorities' proportions are higher, as might be expected, but show a similar increase. The burden of education on both national and local revenues is already about twice as great as in the United Kingdom.

369. It is, in our opinion, important to bear in mind these facts when considering the criticisms of the educational system which were brought before us. Our impression is one of almost mushroom growth, which has been even more stimulated in the post-war years by increased wealth and which has put

	Gold Coast Government's Revenues (including extraordinary and Development revenues)	Native Authorities' revenues
	£	£
1938/9	3,780,000	—
1946/7	7,568,000	778,000
1947/8	10,236,000	945,000

a very great strain both on the finances of the country and on the administrative staff of the Education Department, neither of which has increased in proportion to the development in education.

370. The complaints can be grouped into four main headings:—

- (a) Educational facilities are too few and the rate of increase is too slow.
- (b) The development has been ill-balanced.
- (c) The curricula are not adapted to the needs of the country.
- (d) The method of teaching is not as effective as it might be.

371. It is, of course, true that the educational facilities are inadequate in relation to the number of children to be educated and we are told that the full development of universal primary education would take at least twenty years to achieve if finance and other factors are taken into consideration. This, however, appears to us to represent a minimum time, since at the end of only ten years there are expected to be at least 750,000 children of primary school age (450,000 children of infant-junior age and some 300,000 of senior primary age). It took twenty years for the school population to double itself between 1906 and 1926, and another twenty years almost to treble itself between 1926 and 1946. Can it more than quadruple itself in the next twenty years and yet maintain even the present standards? Do the trends in national wealth and public revenue and the economic prospects of the country warrant such optimism? We feel that it would be more realistic, so far as primary education is concerned, to base plans for the future on a longer period than twenty years. The pushing ahead of too ambitious schemes for the rapid expansion of primary education at the expense of secondary and higher education may do incalculable harm both to the structure of the whole educational system and to the economy of the country as a whole.

372. At present only a small proportion of the boys and girls who enter school at six years pass into the senior primary schools from Standard III, at twelve years of age. In comparison with the 200,000 children at primary schools, there are only some 4,000 places at secondary schools. We think, therefore, that the need for an increase in the number of secondary schools and for the provision of part-time education for those who cannot find places in senior primary or secondary schools should have the highest priority in the extension of educational facilities.

373. We fully appreciate the pressure that has emanated from the indigenous desire for mass literacy; but if the peoples of the Gold Coast wish to achieve a progressively greater measure of self-government within a reasonably short time and if they wish to model its economic organisation on those of the more industrialised and commercialised countries of the world, it will be achieved only by a soundly balanced system of education. If the material is limited, the alternatives are to build a narrower ladder that, while tapering, reaches the objective, or to build so broad a ladder that it fails to reach anywhere. The former seems to us to be the only possible alternative.

374. Turning now to the criticism that the curricula are not adapted to the needs of the country, the general complaint appears to be that the education provided in the schools actively discourages pupils from turning to trades and crafts. It is possibly true that in the past there was a tendency on the part of Africans to decry technical or craft training but certainly this tendency has disappeared; there was everywhere a demand for education of the hand as well as the head. It is realised that literary education alone is doing great harm in the Gold Coast. It is creating a gulf between town and country. It is producing a youthful hooligan element in the towns as boys emerge from school to find a glut of clerks and to find themselves disinterested in, or not equipped for, other occupations. It is creating a false sense of values in which the dignity of labour is lost sight of. There must be an immediate expansion of craft, technical and vocational training practically throughout the entire structure.

375. The method of education also came in for criticism. It is said that there is an almost complete absence of question and answer and of exercise which

involves deduction from, and applications of, principles learned. There is an undue reliance on memorisation. We ourselves observed among the younger people a tendency to repetition and a lack of critical thought. This is a menace to the pupils themselves as well as to the community, for a literate man so educated is susceptible to propaganda and rumour of the crudest absurdity.

376. It was alleged that in the Department of Education there was an excessive centralisation and a lack of contact or understanding between those administering and those teaching. We are satisfied that, if these exist, only understaffing and pressure of work account for them.

377. Bearing in mind all the difficulties which we have indicated, we suggest certain practical modifications and alterations in the present system which we think would meet some of the valid criticisms. We recommend :—

- (1) That greater emphasis should be placed on senior primary and on secondary education, and that the present educational policy should be reconsidered urgently with a view to continuing to a higher level the education of a greater number than at present. We think that this will bring better results to the Gold Coast in the long run.
- (2) That the Standard VII year at the senior primary school might well be abandoned entirely. We were advised on several occasions that this would not entail any decrease in efficiency but would be a positive improvement. Much of the work in this year is mechanical revision for the purposes of a Primary School Leaving Certificate which could, with advantage, be taken in Standard VI if its form was altered somewhat. In addition, the elimination of this wasted year would release some 200 trained and certificated teachers.
- (3) That the teachers released by this modification and the 300 which are expected to be turned out annually from the teacher training colleges should be used for the following purposes :—
 - (a) To increase the numbers of secondary schools and senior primary schools.
 - (b) To train pupil-teachers. The pupil-teacher system is a well tried expedient, but it is efficient only if the best trained teachers can supervise this work.
 - (c) To organise continuation classes for the majority of children who leave school at twelve years after Standard III. The tragedy of the present system is the large number of children who are turned out of school at this age with a mere smattering of unrelated knowledge and unprepared for the environment into which they come to live.
 - (d) To improve the teaching in the 2,000 non-assisted infant-junior primary schools of which some 760 have been "designated" as ripe for improvement.
- (4) That measures should also be taken to increase the amount of technical and vocational training in schools. A class of politicians, administrators and clerks on the one hand and a large population of labourers and semi-skilled operatives on the other are not sufficient to produce a highly developed country. Industrial, agricultural and commercial efficiency and progress are dependent on an extensive skilled class who can work both with their hands and with their brains. In addition to craft and technical training in schools, Trade Centres and Technical Schools or Institutes will be required for further education. We believe that the insistent demand from Africans for such facilities are an indication that the false value placed on a clerical "clean-hand" job will be more easily dissipated than many people believe.

(a) *In Infant-Junior Schools*

At present, time is allotted in infant-junior schools for handiwork but we are informed that this is not used seriously or to full advantage. Too frequently work of this nature is regarded as being so

unimportant as to be completely neglected. We should like to see the establishment of school gardens, a most successful development in many other countries, taken up seriously and energetically.

(b) *In Continuation Classes*

The continuation courses which we have recommended above should be associated with a parallel vocational training in an apprenticeship system outside school. We suggest that on two or three afternoons or evenings per week, such pupils should attend school for a continuation of their education in Arithmetic, English and, say, General Knowledge. Such pupils should be permitted to take examinations open to pupils who have remained at school and more particularly, the examinations or tests leading to Trade and Technical Schools. Part-time paid teachers, such as local literates and community leaders should be employed to supplement the fully trained teachers.

The system of apprenticeship should be sponsored and regularised by the Department for those attending the continuation classes mentioned previously. Carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, fishermen, painters, printers, weavers, and many other tradesmen and craftsmen should be encouraged to accept apprentices. We are aware of many apparent difficulties in organising this work but we are imbued with a deep sense of the urgency of this problem. Much help might be obtained from the technical branches and persons employed by the various Departments, Education, Agriculture, Forestry, Public Works and so on, workshop managers, commercial firms and from the tradesmen and craftsmen throughout the country. The Army, with its various trades and workshops could also help. This is a national problem calling for attention. "The devil finds work for idle hands to do" is no platitude in the Gold Coast.

The establishment of such a system would involve:—

- (1) The acceleration of the opening of the three or four Technical Institutes proposed in the Ten-year Development Plan.
- (2) The accordence of the highest priority to the provision of accommodation, equipment and materials for use in instruction.
- (3) The recruitment of further trained staff from outside the Gold Coast.
- (4) The assistance of the Labour and other Departments in surveying the field of unemployment and the demand for different types of labour and in enlisting the interest and co-operation of employers.

(c) *In Senior Primary Schools*

Vigorous efforts should be made to introduce one or more trade or craft teacher into every senior primary school. For too long the only work deemed suitable for such schools has been carpentry and for too long the idea has prevailed that teachers of this work should have a special training. This is no doubt desirable but the need is too great at present to worry about such refinements. Use should be made of skilled tradesmen and craftsmen, even if they are illiterate. The problem of increasing the number of trained technical teachers should be tackled with as much energy as has the training of non-technical teachers.

- (5) That the content of education in the schools should be reconsidered. In our opinion it is at present too "bookish" and the books on which it is based have, for the most part, been written for use in countries very different from the Gold Coast. In particular, the subjects of Geography, History, Nature Study and Civics, which are taught academically even in junior primary classes, should be reduced in favour of a body of general knowledge, taught in relation to the child's environment. Similarly the

teaching of basic subjects such as Arithmetic, Reading and Writing must be more closely related to the child's surroundings and to the practical work which we wish to see in every school. There is a great need for schemes of work and for special text books, suited to West African conditions, written by educationists experienced in the schools of the country.

378. With regard to further education, we think that the potentialities of continuation courses should be further examined. Some witnesses said that there was no demand for such facilities; others stated that the demand would arise if the facilities were present. We consider that the time is ripe for experiments in Mass Education, possibly in two urban and two rural areas as a start. We feel that in this direction may lie a more rapid and more effective attainment of the goal than through the present policy. Each Mass Education unit would be given the task of carrying out a well-defined project designed to improve the life of the community and the general conception of citizenship. Their programme of work would include not only the development of, say, social services but also of recreational and cultural activities. Literacy would be included in the target. Each unit would require a trained Mass Education officer to plan and co-ordinate the work, to train the personnel in techniques and to supervise their work. In addition specialists in the subjects included in the projects chosen for the area in which the team is working would be required.

379. In concluding our observations on education, two matters, we feel, call for special mention. We do not think that the pioneer work of the Churches and Missions has been fully appreciated by the African. The Churches and Missions have been mainly responsible for inculcating the desire for education; they have made possible the rapid development to the present stage. The progress now envisaged must affect to some extent the autonomy of their schools and teacher-training colleges; it may not be easy for many to limit denominational interests in favour of purely educational aims or to accept an intrusion of technical and vocational training into a more literary curriculum. But, from the views that were expressed to us by various leaders, we are hopeful that these difficulties will be bridged and that the co-operation of the Missions will continue as successfully as in the past.

380. Our second comment refers to the disorders and strikes that occurred in some schools and in Achimota during the recent disturbances. A number of more thoughtful Africans were wholehearted in their condemnation of this action by pupils and students, but we were not convinced that the dangers of such occurrences are sufficiently widely appreciated. We have seen similar situations arise in other countries—initially, perhaps, as the result of some trivial, non-academic grievance. But such actions are insidious; before long, the strike becomes a common occurrence and academic standards are affected. We have known strikes of students because they objected to the subjects contained in the degree course, or because the examinations were considered too difficult, or even because the examiners have "failed" a popular student. These may, at present, seem foolish and inexcusable to the students of the Gold Coast and they may aver that they could never happen there. But the virus is an infectious one and spreads rapidly. Education is still a privilege for a few and the time available to the average student is woefully short in relation to what there is to learn. Time wasted can never be regained and the intrusion of politics into schools and colleges must inevitably affect standards of both teaching and learning. It is because we wish to see the new University College hold its own among the Universities of the world and to see its teachers and its students freely interchanging with those from other institutions, that we are prompted to give this word of advice. We have evidence that trouble among the students and school children was stirred up for political ends. We condemn unreservedly the unscrupulous selfishness of those who caused this trouble while we suggest to students that, however strongly they may feel on any issue, they should

resist the temptation to take such action as must interfere with and eventually degrade academic standards.

CHAPTER XVIII: HOUSING

381. Nothing contributes more to social unrest than shortage of houses for the people. The Gold Coast in common with most parts of the inhabited globe suffers from this shortage but with added factors making for greater discontent. Housing conditions in rural areas call for great and concerted effort in their improvement. We trust that if our recommendations about the development of Regional Councils are accepted that this is a matter which will receive early and earnest attention.

382. In the towns also there is great need for accelerated slum clearance. We were appalled by some of the areas in Accra which reflect the industrial revolution at its worst.

383. We are glad to know that under the new Town Planning scheme it is intended to rebuild 180 acres involving 36,000 people. We trust that no undue delay will be involved in rehousing these people to enable the work to proceed. Consideration ought to be given, in our view, to the possibility of temporary rehousing in prefabricated houses.

384. Since 1st January, 1945, 331 houses of a better class averaging 4.5 rooms each have been erected in Accra for Africans as against approximately 100 for European occupation. While we recognise the importance of the latter if increased technical staff is to be recruited to meet expanding requirements, we are of the opinion that there should be greater concentration of effort on African working class houses.

385. Despite the admitted shortage of skilled artisans in the building trade we view with some misgiving the fact that the total building activity for Africans in Accra during 1947 was 30 temporary houses converted into permanent dwellings; and 108 single rooms with ancillary buildings.*

386. These figures for Accra while not necessarily representative for the whole country do disclose an apparent failure to realise that in this important social service the time factor is of the essence of importance. The most urgent efforts must be made to increase the tempo of the building programme everywhere and the matter should be regarded as a first priority.

387. While we were agreeably impressed by the new housing estates at Kumasi, Takoradi and Sekondi, laid out by Central Government, we feel that if urban administration becomes the sole responsibility of Town Councils, the tempo of house construction will be accelerated. At the same time home industries catering for furniture should sensibly increase the general standards of comfort which the new type of house bespeaks.

CHAPTER XIX: LAW REFORM

Land Tenure

388. While problems of land tenure could not strictly be described as a proximate cause of recent disturbances we found much evidence of apprehension about the future in widely different sections of the community. The matter is intimately connected with future development and for that reason we were moved to examine it.

389. The problem does not as yet arise in the Northern Territories where the title to land is vested in the Governor and alienation is therefore carefully regulated. Accordingly our observations and recommendations in this regard are primarily directed to land tenure in the Colony and in Ashanti where land for the most part is held by or on behalf of the tribes.

* Annual Report on the Gold Coast for 1947.

390. We did not concern ourselves, although invited so to do, with mining concessions. Apart from concessions of very long standing the grant of concessions has been regulated by Ordinance since 1901 and made subject to the approval of a branch of the Supreme Court. The Ordinances do not apply to towns. We also exclude from our consideration land acquired for Forestry Reserves which again is the subject of special legislation which we gather is regarded now as satisfactory.

391. The general fear of the African in the Colony and Ashanti today undoubtedly is that if alienation of tribal lands continues unrestricted there is a great danger that a landless peasantry may result. The situation of Africans in other parts of the Continent is cited with telling effect. However remote that may be we are of the opinion that some positive steps should now be taken to prevent the possibility of an avaricious chief, with the assent of venial elders, effectively alienating tribal lands for personal gain or some temporary enrichment of the tribe.

392. On the other hand if industrialisation of the country is to succeed to any extent accompanied by the expansion of commerce, not only must security of tenure be given to those who invest capital, but land which is alienated must become an asset capable of providing real security for borrowed capital.

393. To the indigenous inhabitants of the Gold Coast the conception of an English freehold is quite alien. Apart from (a) land vested in the Crown or (b) land already alienated, and held on somewhat dubious titles, all land is tribal. It is allodial in conception, the dominium being vested in the tribe or in the Chief and Elders as trustees of the tribe. The only alienation really understood is to part with the usufruct for a limited purpose. It would appear to conform to a kind of licence to use for a definite or indefinite term. This makes for great legal complexity and much litigation. It appears to be said with some truth, that a purchaser of land in the Gold Coast buys not the land but a lawsuit. These disputes almost become heirlooms of the families involved and must frequently eat up the value of the land before final adjudication, if the use of such a term be not too optimistic.

394. We are of opinion therefore that the time has come when some comprehensive positive action should be taken having for its objects (i) securing that the alienation of tribal lands shall only take place for approved purposes ; (ii) that the consideration passing on such alienation shall accrue for the benefit of the community selling and (iii) securing to a purchaser on these terms an indefeasible title.

395. We appreciate that such a fundamental change cannot at one step apply in its entirety to every form of alienation. Accordingly we propose to exclude what may be termed customary alienation where the interest in the land passing to the grantee is limited to user for a specific purpose for a term not exceeding 14 years with no right of renewal.

Excluding all such transactions we recommend that :—

- (1) From and after an appointed day excluding (i) land acquired by the Crown and (ii) land already alienated by a document of title purporting to give the grantee an interest in the land for a term exceeding 21 years, no alienation of any lands held by or on behalf of any State, Division or Community shall confer upon the grantee any title to such lands unless :—

(a) The purpose for which the land is being acquired is :—

- (i) The erection of a house for the occupation of the grantee or his family.
- (ii) The erection of a factory or other commercial building for a purpose approved by the Government.
- (iii) The site is approved by the Town Planning Authority and

- (iv) The extent of the land is no greater than is reasonably necessary for such purpose ;
 - (b) The title of the grantee is limited to a lease for a term not exceeding 99 years with no right of renewal.
 - (c) The purchase price or other consideration for the transaction is approved by the Land Court and paid into a fund to be kept by that Court and dealt with as after suggested.
- (2) Upon the approval of the Land Court in conformity with the above the Land Court shall issue a Certificate to the grantee who shall thereupon acquire an indefeasible leasehold title to the lands referred to for the term and subject to the provisions of the lease granted to him.
 - (3) The purchase money or other consideration paid into the Land Court Fund as aforesaid shall be applied from time to time towards such public purposes of the State or Division or Community wherein the lands alienated lie as the State Council or other like body, with the approval of the Governor, may determine.
 - (4) Where any such leasehold interest is determined by effluxion of time or otherwise so that the property reverts to the granters originally making the alienation, or their successors in title, any dealing with the reversion shall be subject to the same provisions and conditions hereinbefore made concerning original alienation.
 - (5) From and after the appointed day where the Crown, by virtue of any enactment in that behalf made and provided, gives notice of intention to acquire lands compulsorily it shall specify in such notice the use to which it is intended to put such lands. In the event of such lands or any part thereof not being put to such use within five years from the date of such acquisition the same shall revert to the original owners or their successors in title ; Provided always that the Land Court may on application of the Crown extend the period of 5 years but in no case longer than 10 years from the date of acquisition.
 - (6) There shall be established as a branch of the Supreme Court presided over by one or more judges of that Court as may be required a " Land Court ". The Land Court shall have exclusive jurisdiction over all disputes relating to the title to land or an interest in land except where such interest has been created by customary grant and the term thereof does not exceed 14 years. This normally would exclude from the jurisdiction of the Land Court questions of title relating to leases or licences for agricultural purposes.
 - (7) No appeal shall lie from the decision of the Land Court. The Land Court shall try all questions before it in a summary manner and make its own Rules of Procedure designed to secure this result. The Land Court shall hold sittings as occasion may require in all towns in which the Supreme Court now holds sittings.

396. The question of boundaries between tribal lands and in towns between adjoining owners has been and continues to be a source of great dispute. We are satisfied that until the Gold Coast has been completely surveyed this will continue to be a source of friction in the body politic. The only satisfactory means of founding a system of land tenure which will avoid disputes is land registration. For this a survey is a necessity.

397. As a corollary to our proposals above therefore we recommend :—

- (1) The setting up of (i) a Private Boundaries Commission and (ii) a Territorial Boundaries Commission.
 - (i) *The Private Boundaries Commission*
 - (a) It shall be the duty of the Commission to cause to be prepared a map of all towns which now have a Town

Council having delineated on such maps by reference to a Register of owners, every plot of land which (i) is vested in the Crown or held of the Crown on a lease having an original term of 21 years or over (ii) is still tribal land unaffected by alienation or tribal land the subject of a lease having an original term of 21 years or more and (iii) land which has been alienated under a document of title which purports to create an estate in fee simple in the grantee or a lease of an original term in excess of 99 years.

- (b) Upon the completion of such maps it shall be the duty of the Land Court to prepare a scheme for the compulsory registration of land in such towns.

(ii) *The Territorial Boundaries Commission*

It shall be the duty of the Commission to prepare a map of the whole of the country (exclusive of the towns already mentioned) delimiting the boundaries of every State, Division or other tribal lands and identifying the owners of all such land by reference to a Register as in (i) (a) above. Upon the completion of such map it shall be the duty of the Land Court to prepare a scheme for the compulsory registration of such land in conjunction with any scheme of registration at that date in force in the towns.

- (2) An appeal shall lie from the decision of the Boundaries Commission to the Land Court.

Sedition

398. We are informed that by the Laws of the Gold Coast the crime of seditious libel arises only on publication of such a libel in writing. We think that this is a weakness in a country where the spoken word is the most potent weapon of incitement. Accordingly, while we recognise the manifest dangers of creating a criminal offence, the conviction for which must usually depend on informers and where the language complained of will normally be spoken in the vernacular, we are of opinion that the law should be amended to cover the spoken word. We think that as a safeguard against any possible abuse no one should be convicted of the new offence save upon the evidence of two credible witnesses.

Prisoners on Remand

399. A complaint that was brought to our notice which seems to us to call for observation related to two matters connected with the administration of justice at Kumasi:—

- (i) It was alleged that upon cases coming before the Magistrates the Police were frequently not in a position to proceed until sometimes after the third remand and that meantime they opposed the grant of bail without having reasonable grounds for so doing;
- (ii) It was alleged that the place in which prisoners and accused persons were detained pending their cases being called before the Magistrates was so primitive as to be brutalising in its effect.

400. As to (i) we find that (a) the necessity for remands frequently arises from the fact that by reason of the duties imposed on the Magistrate involving travelling it is impossible for him to overtake current work in the time allotted for this Court; and (b) the Police only oppose bail in serious cases or cases (which are not infrequent) where they have every reason to fear that the liberty of the accused will merely secure the intimidation or disappearance of witnesses for the prosecution. Disappearance of witnesses is common form in stultifying criminal process.

If the work at Kumasi or elsewhere is such as ordinarily to prevent the Magistrate overtaking current work on the day appointed, such a state of affairs should be remedied by the appointment of a second or assistant Magistrate. No doubt this will be considered by the Head of the Judiciary.

401. As to (ii) we inspected the place of detention and we are of opinion that it calls for considerable improvement. We think that some more permanent structure designed to prevent those detained from the gaze of all who choose to look upon them and providing better shelter and segregation of the sexes is necessary and should be effected with the minimum of delay.

Native Courts

402. This subject was considered in some detail by a Committee of Inquiry in 1943. We do not therefore propose to cover the same ground.

403. The Native Courts administer customary Native Law. So far as our researches go that Law appears to be in the same state of uncertainty as English Equity in the days when it depended on the size of the Lord Chancellor's foot.

404. If, as we hope, the Gold Coast is going to develop along modern lines, which we are assured is the desire of its inhabitants, then sooner or later customary law must merge or be fused into the general law of the country which, for commercial purposes, is based on English Law.

405. Such merger or fusion can only be successfully achieved if the general body of customary law becomes known—not only to those who administer it on day to day exigencies—but also to the general body of the people. This can never happen while the administration of Native Courts remains a matter for vested interests or subject to the vicissitudes of the judges receiving customary "gifts".

406. It is desirable in our view for the principles of Customary Law to become established on some more permanent basis from which the subject may be assured of his rights by law and not by purchase.

407. To this end we recommend for consideration of those charged with law-making, the question of whether the time has not arrived when the jurisdiction of Native Courts might not be entrusted to African lawyers versed in customary laws and appointed by the Government to act as Stipendiary Travelling Magistrates. Such Magistrates would sit with two assessors drawn from the State in which the Court was being held. Principles would emerge from their decisions which in time would produce an established body of customary law capable of assimilation into the general law to the benefit of the body politic. Equally such a reform would improve the administration of Criminal Law in these Courts.

408. It is entirely a matter for the Africans themselves but because we conceive it as a parallel line of advance to the general trend of modernism we feel it right to call their attention to it.

CHAPTER XX: CONCLUSION

409. In course of our Enquiry many complaints were made to us which were quite outside our terms of reference. Accordingly we do not propose to deal with them here. Some of them involved what were clearly personal disputes with the Administration or a local authority. Others again were capable of solution by reference only to the ordinary processes of law. In some cases we were able to assist by presenting the matter to the complainant in a form which showed that his grievance was misconceived. In others by reason of the fact that we possessed no jurisdiction we could not assist. Whenever action by the Administration was possible we assumed the burden of taking the matter up with the Department concerned. We merely state this because we are

anxious, that where for the reasons given we found ourselves unable to treat the matter as coming within the scope of our Enquiry, those who complained to us should not feel that we have overlooked anything brought to our notice or brushed aside any legitimate subject of complaint on mere technicalities.

410. Finally we would like to tender our sincere thanks to our staff. No words of praise are adequate to their efforts. Working under conditions far from congenial they rose to every demand made of them and enabled our work to proceed at a pace otherwise impossible. To our Secretary we owe a word of special thanks. Not only did he make our welfare his personal concern but by voluntarily giving up his free time to attend our evening discussions, was able thereby to save us from many details which might have delayed the consideration of principles and the presentation of this Report.

AIKEN WATSON (*Chairman.*)

A. DALGLEISH,

KEITH A. H. MURRAY.

E. HANROTT (*Secretary.*)

9th June, 1948.

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APPENDIX I

GOLD COAST GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

No. 43

Wednesday, 7th April

1948

THE COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY ORDINANCE (CAP. 209)

Commission No. 3 of 1948

Commission

Issued under Section 2 of the Commissions of Enquiry Ordinance

By His Excellency Sir Gerald Hallen Creasy, Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and Saint George, Officer of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire, Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Gold Coast Colony, etc., etc., etc.

(L.S.)

GERALD CREASY,
Governor.

WHEREAS I have deemed it advisable to issue this Commission authorising the Commissioners hereby appointed to enquire into and report upon the matters set out in the terms of reference herein contained, being matters in which an enquiry would, in my opinion, be for the public welfare :

NOW THEREFORE, I, in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the Commissions of Enquiry Ordinance, do hereby appoint the following to be Commissioners with all due authority in accordance with the provisions of the said Ordinance, for the purposes of such enquiry :—

Andrew Aiken Watson, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Counsel	..	Chairman.
Andrew Dalglish, Esquire	.. .. .	} Members.
Dr. Keith Anderson Hope Murray	.. .. .

And I do hereby direct that the following shall be the terms of reference for the Commissioners :—

To enquire into and report on the recent disturbances in the Gold Coast and their underlying causes ; and to make recommendations on any matter arising from their enquiry.

And I do further direct that the Quorum of the Commission shall be two, either the Chairman and one member, or two members : and I do further direct that the Enquiry shall be held in Accra, and at such other place or places and at such convenient dates and times as the Chairman may from time to time appoint, and that the enquiry may be held in public or in private or partly in public and partly in private, at the discretion of the Chairman ; and I do further direct the Commissioner of Police to detail constables to attend upon the said Commissioners for the purposes of preserving order during the proceedings of the Commission, and of serving notices and summonses on witnesses, and of performing such ministerial duties as the said Commissioners may from time to time require.

Given under my hand and the Public Seal of the Gold Coast at Government House, Accra, this 7th day of April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and forty-eight and of His Majesty's Reign the Twelfth.

By His Excellency's Command.

ROBERT SCOTT,
Colonial Secretary.

APPENDIX 2

Commission of Enquiry

Gold Coast

STATEMENT MADE BY THE CHAIRMAN, MR. AIKEN WATSON, K.C., AT THE OPENING PUBLIC SESSION AT THE SURVEY SCHOOL, ACCRA, ON FRIDAY, THE 9TH APRIL, 1948.

Mr. Solicitor-General, I propose to address through you, as the senior member of the Bar present, my opening observations on the work of the Commission in accordance with the usual traditions of the Bar with which you and I and every other member of the Bar in the Colony are the common inheritors. As will have been observed from the terms of reference, which have been read by the Secretary, the scope of this Enquiry is very wide. Now it is the express desire of His Excellency the Governor as also of the Secretary of State for the Colonies that our enquiries shall extend to every aspect of life in the Colony which we may deem relevant for our purpose and we have been given wide powers to this end which we shall have no hesitation in using should occasion arise.

I would like it to be known—and it cannot be too strongly emphasised—that this Commission functions as a completely independent body, independent of the Administration, and we invite therefore and hope to have the co-operation of every citizen of the Colony who can assist us in arriving at a proper conclusion on the matters we are called upon to consider, either by Counsel representing parties or by parties themselves.

The procedure we propose to follow (subject of course to any representations which may be made to us and which we shall carefully consider) may be summarised thus:

Apart from the broad general questions arising out of our terms of reference there are two specific matters to which we shall have to direct our attention.

- I. The first of these, and it is a very important one, is the circumstances in which it became necessary for the Police to use firearms to restore order in the unfortunate events which occurred in Accra on 28th February, 1948.
- II. The second specific matter to which we shall have to devote considerable attention is the exercise by His Excellency the Governor of his constitutional powers in ordering the movements of certain of His Majesty's subjects in the Colony to be restricted.

Now as far as the first of these issues is concerned we propose to conduct the whole enquiry in public and I shall permit the Administration and all parties interested to be represented, if so advised by Counsel. We shall therefore appoint a day upon which to begin our public sittings for this purpose after consultation through the usual channels with those desiring to appear and take part.

We have already ascertained that probably the most convenient date on which to begin consideration of the first issue would be Monday, and subject to any representations we shall start on Monday.

Now so far as the second issue is concerned, which is directed to ascertaining why His Excellency the Governor made the orders restraining the movements of certain persons. We have seen the Government statement known as the "Brief Narrative of Events," and we propose to take that as the case for the Administration, and we are prepared to hear in public every representation that may be made by or on behalf of the gentlemen whose movements have been restricted. But it will be realised that questions may arise in which the security of the Colony is involved, and exercising my constitutional rights, if I come to the conclusion that a question of security is involved, I shall have no hesitation in adjourning the public sitting and continuing the hearing of the matter in private.

We propose to follow the procedure which is normally followed in every Court of Law and it is just as familiar to the members of the Bar in this Colony as it is to myself, and that is this:

Where parties are represented by Counsel the party may give evidence if he so desires, and we shall, of course, hear Counsel, but we do not propose to admit two forms of address, namely, the party himself and Counsel. The party himself will only address us if he is invited by his Counsel or at our request he appears to give evidence; otherwise he will be bound, as is usual in Courts, by the representation of his Counsel.

So far as the broad general question is concerned—the broad issue; how did these matters arise and how can they be remedied or prevented in the future—we have given that matter very great thought and my colleagues and I, after the most careful consideration, have come to the conclusion that at this stage, at all events, it might hamper us in our work if we made any positive rules as to the manner in which our enquiry should be conducted. Accordingly, wherever possible, in relation to the broad general issues, we shall take evidence in public. On the other hand, we shall be astute to seek information from every available source in the Colony, and in so doing that may not always lend itself to a public sitting. But the citizens of the Colony may rest assured that in whatever manner we seek to ascertain the facts we shall not blindly accept information from any quarter without subjecting it to the most careful scrutiny and examination, and checking it with all the available means in our power.

For the benefit of those who may be intending to make a case before us or make representations, I would just like to say this: It will assist us to an enormous degree if those desiring to give evidence will send a note of the kind of evidence they desire to give to our Secretary. I do not ask them to send full statements, but if they will indicate the nature of the facts to which they propose to address themselves when they come to give evidence, it will be of the utmost assistance to us because we, as examiners, regard it as vital that our examination of the matters we are ordered to enquire into should proceed apace. We do not want this Commission to drag on; we do not want the Report and any recommendations we may make to be made many months hence. We are anxious to be of service to the community and we feel we can best serve that interest by ascertaining as speedily as possible what the facts are, and again making our recommendations as speedily as possible.

So far as the public sittings and the Commission are concerned, we propose to follow this course. Our public sittings, apart from Saturday, will be from 8 to 12 noon, and from 3 to 6 p.m. daily, and on Saturdays we shall sit from 8 a.m. to 12 noon.

Now, Mr. Solicitor-General, subject to any representations which you may have on behalf of the Crown and subject to any representation which any members of the Bar present or any party intending to make representations to us is concerned, we propose now to adjourn this public sitting until Monday morning the 12th April, at 8 a.m., when we shall begin, then and there, to hear the evidence regarding the use of firearms by the Police in restoring order on 28th February. So if you have any representations on behalf of the Crown, we will be glad to listen to them, and if any other member of the Bar present has any representations about our proposed procedure we shall be pleased to entertain them, and if any member of the public is present and wants to make any representations to us we will consider it.

I would only like to say this so that there will be no misunderstanding. We are informed that, so far as the six gentlemen whose movements have been restricted are concerned, they propose to be represented, among others, by a member of the English Bar who is coming specially from London. There will be no difficulty, in so far as we are concerned, in making arrangements which will enable their case to be adequately represented by him when he arrives and we hope the fullest possible use will be made through our Secretary of making convenient arrangements to that end.

I think that is all I need say at this stage, Mr. Solicitor: subject to any representations we now hear I propose to adjourn until Monday at 8 o'clock.

APPENDIX 3

List of Witnesses

A—PUBLIC HEARINGS

NAME	HEARD AT
Abinakwa, K. O. ..	Farmers' Union Accra
Addo, E. A. Akufu ..	President of Accra Branch of United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Addo, Mrs. Adeline ..	.. .. . Accra
Adjei, E. Ako ..	Secretary of Accra Branch of United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Adunkwan, K. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Allen, D. M. ..	District Commissioner, Kumasi Kumasi
Allotey, E. K. ..	Ex-Servicemen's Union Accra
Ampaw, R. ..	Gold Coast Police Kumasi
Ankarh, H. A. A. ..	.. .. . Accra
Annan, V. B. ..	Treasurer of Accra Branch of United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Ansah, Nii Teiko ..	Asere Mantse Accra
Ashley, E. H. ..	.. .. . Accra
Assimch, E. T. ..	.. .. . Accra
Atta, E. A. W. Ofori ..	Member of United Gold Coast Convention Working Committee. Accra
Ballantine, R. W. H. ..	Commissioner of Police, Gold Coast Accra
Berkeley-Barton, E. M. ..	Superintendent of Police, Ashanti Kumasi
Boakye, K. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Bosonpra, K. ..	Farmers' Union Accra
Brindt, A. W. ..	.. .. . Accra
Carruthers, D. G. ..	Superintendent of Police, Kumasi Kumasi
Colbeck, Lt.-Col. H. E. ..	O.C. 1st Battalion, Gold Coast Regiment Accra
Danquah, Dr. J. B. ..	Vice-President of Eastern Region United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Doyle, J. F. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Duro, K. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Edlestone, C. R. ..	Assistant Superintendent of Police, Kumasi Kumasi
Edusei, K. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Eichenberg, K. H. G. ..	.. .. . Accra
Ellis, E. N. ..	.. .. . Accra
Esuman, C. Lakko ..	.. .. . Accra
Esuman, W. D. ..	Assistant Secretary United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Fair, J. B. ..	.. .. . Accra
Fleischer, S. K. ..	.. .. . Accra
Gbedemah, K. A. ..	.. .. . Accra
Glover, S. O. ..	.. .. . Accra
Glover, Y. T. ..	.. .. . Accra
Grant, G. A. ..	President, United Gold Coast Convention Accra
Gyinh, K. A. M. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Hargreaves, Major J. G. ..	O.C. A. Company, 1st Battalion, Nigerian Regiment. Kumasi
Hutchison, G. P. G. ..	.. .. . Accra
Hutchison, V. H. ..	.. .. . Accra
Imray, C. H. ..	Superintendent of Police, Accra Accra
John, J. R. ..	.. .. . Accra
Kaniaga, J. ..	Sub-Inspector, Gold Coast Police Accra
Kuduah, K. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Kusi, K. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Kwei, O. ..	.. .. . Accra
Lamptey, E. O. O. ..	Vice-President of Accra Branch of United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Lane, B. A. ..	Assistant Superintendent of Police, Accra Accra
Larbi, J. K. O. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Laryea, J. S. ..	Vice-President, Accra Branch of ex-Servicemen's Union. Accra
Lawson, M. L. ..	Ex-Servicemen's Union Accra
Loveridge, A. J. ..	Judicial Adviser, Gold Coast Government Accra
Mantey, E. ..	.. .. . Accra
Mensah, K. ..	.. .. . Kumasi
Mensah, S. ..	.. .. . Kumasi

NAME	HEARD AT
Michel, Lt. J. E. ..	Royal West African Frontier Force, Gold Coast Kumasi
Morphey, Major D. J. ..	Royal West African Frontier Force, Gold Coast Kumasi
Morton, E. T. ..	Accra
Moxon, R. L. ..	District Commissioner, Accra Accra
Myatt, Major F. ..	Royal West African Frontier Force, Gold Coast Kumasi
Partridge, Major O. P. ..	O.C. Troops, Kumasi Kumasi
Paulden, J. G. M. ..	Accra
Pound, G. B. ..	Acting Government Printer Accra
Privett, G. W. ..	Accra
Nelson, R. D. ..	Member of Executive of Accra Branch of United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Nkrumah, N. K. ..	General Secretary, United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Nyanteky, O. ..	Kumasi
Nyinah, J. K. ..	Inspector, Gold Coast Police (Accra) Accra
Reeves, W. R. ..	Assistant Superintendent of Police Accra
Rouse, Capt. A. D. ..	1st Battalion, Gold Coast Regiment Accra
Sagbodjar, P. S. ..	Accra
Simmons, Ago ..	Assistant Secretary, Accra Branch of United Gold Coast Convention. Accra
Solomon, D. O. ..	Accra
Tamakloe, B. E. A. ..	President, Ex-Servicemen's Union Accra
Vanderpuije, J. K. B. ..	Accra
Widdup, T. D. ..	Superintendent of Police Accra
Williams, F. A. ..	Treasurer, United Gold Coast Convention Accra
Whitcombe, Lt.-Col. L. C. ..	Chief Resettlement Officer Accra
Whitcombe, Dr. J. L. C. ..	Medical Officer, Gold Coast Hospital Accra
Yawvi, G. ..	Accra

B—INFORMAL DISCUSSIONS

INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANISATION	HEARD AT
Ackah, S. ..	United Gold Coast Convention Sekondi
Addai, B. D. ..	Municipal Member for Kumasi Kumasi
Addo, E. A. Akufo ..	United Gold Coast Convention Accra
Adjei, E. Ako ..	United Gold Coast Convention Accra
Aduamah, G. ..	Takoradi
The Ahantahene ..	Sekondi
Anah, T. M. ..	Sekondi
Anti-Inflation Campaign Committee	Kumasi
Apaloo, M. K. ..	United Gold Coast Convention Accra
Ashanti Club ..	Kumasi
Ashanti Confederacy Council ..	Kumasi
Ashanti Farmers' Union ..	Kumasi
Ashanti Kotoko Society ..	Kumasi
Ashanti Youth Association ..	Kumasi
Atta, W. Ofori ..	United Gold Coast Convention Accra
Aukordieh, Y. ..	Kumasi
Baffoe, E. J. ..	Sekondi
Cawston, Lt.-Col. E. P. ..	Kumasi
Ex-Servicemen's Union (Accra) ..	Accra
Ex-Servicemen's Union (Ashanti) ..	Kumasi
Ex-Servicemen's Union (Sekondi) ..	Sekondi
Gold Coast Aborigines Rights Protection Society ..	Accra
Korsah, The Rev. J. K. B. ..	Kumasi
Kumasi Town Council ..	Kumasi
Ocran, A. K. ..	Sekondi
Owusu, H. ..	Kumasi
Plange, H. ..	Sekondi
Quano, A. ..	Sekondi
Therson, J. Q. ..	United Gold Coast Convention Accra
Trades Union Congress ..	Sekondi
Tsiboe, J. W. ..	Abura Printing Works Kumasi
United Gold Coast Students' Union ..	Kumasi
West African Students' Union ..	London
Wright, T. S. D. ..	Headmaster, Methodist School, Fomena Kumasi

APPENDIX 4

List of Persons Submitting Memoranda (Excluding Memoranda from Official sources)

INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANISATION	FROM
Aba Club	Takoradi
Ababio, S. H., and Donkoy, L. M.	Dormaa
Abbey, T. K.	Kwahu
Aboso Socialist Democratic Party	Aboso
Abubekr, N. B.	Obuasi
Accra Earthquake Relief Estates	Accra
Accra Town Council (2)	Accra
Addai, B. D.	Kumasi
Addalo, K. A.	Kumasi
Addo, A. (2)	Accra
Adjei, A.	Accra
Adjepong, J. A.	Koforidua
Aduamah, G.	Takoradi
The Ahantahene	Busua
Alabi-Akeredolu, O. A.	Accra
Alema, G. N.	Accra
Amadu Baba Transport Services, Ltd.	Kumasi
Amenyah, J. D.	Accra
Amoh, S.	Obuasi
Anai, T.	Hô
Annan, V. B.	Accra
Anonymous (6)	Accra
Apaloo, M. K.	Accra
Apowa Literary and Social Club	Apowa
Appiah, J. K.	Accra
Arthur, A. F.	Sekondi
Arthur, J. B.	Takoradi
Akuashon Mantse of Ga Mashi (2)	Accra
The Asafuhene of Poasi	Poasi
Ashanti Club	Kumasi
Ashanti Confederacy Council	Kumasi
Ashanti Farmers' Union	Kumasi
Ashanti Kotoko Society	Kumasi
Ashanti Motor Union	Kumasi
Ashanti Youth Association	Kumasi
Ashanti Akim Area Native Court Office	Juansa
Assimeh, E. T.	Accra
Atta, W. O. (2)	Accra
Augustus, J. N.	Tarkwa
Aukordieh, Y.	Jamasi
The Awadada of Anlo State	Keta
Awuma, G. O.	Ho
Ayiku, M. T.	Cape Coast
Ayiso, P. K.	Kumasi
Badu, K.	Koforidua
Van Baerle, L. E. B.	Dunkwa
Banks, Rev. A. W., Principal, Wesley College	Kumasi
Brown, P. A. M.	Accra
Bruce, F. A.	Koforidua
Buachie, K., and Fori, J. (2)	Kumasi
Christian, K.	Kumasi
Cobbina, J.	Kumasi
Coleman, Mrs. H. K.	Accra
Colony Farmers' Union	Accra
Cooks and Stewards' Union	Accra
Amponsa-Dadzie, K.	Cape Coast
Danquah, Dr. J. B. (5)	Accra
Dapah, K.	Breman
Dare, W. B., and two others	Accra
Dennis, A.R.	Mangoase
Donkoy, P.	Obuasi
Dowuona, E. W. N., Headmaster, Presbyterian School (2)	Bisa
Dukwoh, K.	Kumasi
Elder Dempster Lines, Ltd.	Takoradi

INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANISATION

FROM

Pobee, J. K. B.	Accra
Enim, B. E.	Obuasi
Essilfuah, Madame E.	Kumasi
External Certificated Teachers' Association	Accra
Fiagbenya, G. L. K.	Akuse
Fosu, J. E. (2)	Obuasi
Frans, J. W.	Sekondi
Freedom Defence Society (2)	Accra
Gaskin, J. G.	Accra
Gbedemah, A.	Accra
Gbedemah, K. A.	Accra
George, H. K.	Accra
Glover, K. T.	Accra
Goka, K., and three others	Accra
Gold Coast Ex-Servicemen's Union	Accra
Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society (2)	Accra
Gold Coast Ambulance Drivers' Union	Accra
Gold Coast (African) Press Association	Accra
Gold Coast Gold and Silversmiths' Association (Obuasi Section)	Obuasi
Gold Coast Merchants' Association	Accra
Gold and Silversmiths' Union	Accra
Hausa Headmen	Kumasi
Higginson, R. W.	Kumasi
Holland, L. W.	Bososo
Idun, E. A.	Kumasi
Indian Merchants' Association	Accra
Johnson, Dr. J. W. de G.	Cape Coast
Joint Provincial Council.	Dodowa
Karikari, K.	Accra
Koi, Dr. A.	Lartey
Konuah, K. G.	Accra
Korlety, J. F. K.	Akuse
Korsah, The Very Rev. J. K. B.	Dunkwa
Kotey, G. N.	Tarkwa
Kumasi Town Council	Kumasi
Kushara Press	Koforidua
Kwashie Tetteh Family	Accra
Kyenkyenhene, K.	Kumasi
Lartey, J. B.	Accra
Lassey, D. M.	Sohum
Lodgekeepers at Gold Coast Hospital	Accra
Mensah, A. B.	Cape Coast
Mensah, E.	Sekondi
Mensah, G. B.	Ejisu
Mensah, J. K.	Kumasi
Mensah, K.	Kumasi
Mensah, T.	Kokofu
Meyers, J.	Accra
Nana Amoantwi II	Domabira
Nana Ayirebi-Acquah III	Winneba
Nhyen, A. and 37 others from Abofuo Village	Kumasi
Nii Ayitey Abjin Mantse of Gbese	Accra
Nii Kwabena Bonne III	Accra
Nimako, K. O.	Bompata
Nettey, A. E. O.	Saltpond
Nsiah, K.	Kumasi
Nsiah, K.	Jachi
Nsiah, Y.	Kumasi
Numo Akwaa Mensah II	Accra
Nurses of the Gold Coast Medical Service	Accra
Ocquahe, J. J.	Accra
Ocran, E. A. K.	Sekondi
Ocran, S. K.	Obuasi
Ofori, D. M.	Kumasi
Oluyemo, G. D. S.	Accra
The Omanhene of Akyem Abuakwa	Kibi
The Omanhene of Kwahu	Abetifi
Otabil, W. C.	Accra
Owoo, K.	Bibiani
Owoosu, S. K.	Bisa
Owusu, H.	Kumasi

INDIVIDUAL OR ORGANISATION

FROM

Owusu, K...	Accra
Punpun, J. O.	Mampong
Quartey, R. B. (3)	Accra
Reid, Mr. and Mrs. R. D.	Accra
Sackey, A...	Takoradi
Safo, S. M.	Kumasi
Satchie, D. J. K.	Akuse
Schandorf, T. O.	Accra
Stewart-MacNeill	Otrokpe
Takoradi Coaling and Lighterage Co., Ltd.	Takoradi
Tatto, S.	Takoradi
Taylor, Rev. M. B., Chairman of the Methodist Church, Gold Coast	Accra
Therson, J. Q.	Accra
Trades Union Congress	Sekondi
Trinity College	Kumasi
Tsiboe, J. W.	Kumasi
Tufuo, J. W.	Kumasi
Ugboma, E. C. K.	Accra
United Africa Co., Ltd. (2)	Accra
United Gold Coast Students	Kumasi
Vanderpuije, Mrs. M. Q.	Accra
West African National Secretariat	London
West African Students' Union	London
Williamson, Rev. S. G., Principal, Trinity College	Kumasi
Wu-Forsen, I. K.	Cape Coast
Women's Retailers at Makola Market	Accra
Wright, T. S. D.	Fomena
Wuta-Ofei, R. B.	Accra
Yaboa, S. K., and Opong, J. M. (2)	Dormaa
Young Shippers' Association	Kumasi
Yusuf, A. Bin	Sekondi

APPENDIX 5

Analysis of Memoranda Received

(Excluding memoranda and other documents from official sources)

I. By Areas	<i>No. of Memoranda</i>
Accra and District	78
Area of former Western Provinces	28
Area of former Eastern Provinces	20
Kumasi and District	37
Rest of Ashanti	22
Northern Territories	Nil
London	2
Total	187

II. Matters discussed

<i>Economic</i>	<i>No. of References</i>
A.W.A.M., High Prices and Distribution	42
Swollen Shoot and Cutting Out of Cocoa Trees	39
Industrial Development	15
Gold	12
Agricultural Development	12
Trading Discrimination	9
Cocoa Marketing Board	6
Unemployment	5
Syrians	4
Taxation	3
Dollar and Supply Shortage	3
Corruption	2
<i>Political</i>	
Constitutional Development and Self-Government	27
European "Settlement" and Allegations of Racial Discrimination	22
Africanisation	20
The Disturbances	19
The Boycott	16
Political Position of the Chiefs	15
Emergency Powers and Detention of Six Men	14
Ex-Servicemen's Grievances	13
Local Government; Native Administration Finance; Position of District Commissioners	12
Public Relations and the Press	8
Municipal Institutions	3
<i>Social</i>	
Education	20
Health	6
Housing	2
<i>Administrative</i>	
Land Acquisition	9
Police, Justice, Prisons	6
Forest Reserves	4
Postal System	3
Gun Licensing	3
Scholarships	2
Roads	2
Allocation of Vehicles	2
State Boundaries	2
Army (King's Commissions)	1
Administration in Togoland	1
<i>Individual grievances</i>	
Irrelevant	26
Connected with Disturbances	12

APPENDIX 6

Prescribed Routes for Ex-Servicemen's Procession, 28th February, 1948

No. AAP. /81/48.

The Superintendent,
Gold Coast Police Force,
Accra.

27th February, 1948.

PROCESSION PERMIT

Permission is hereby granted to Mr. B. E. A. Tamakloe, Secretary, Ex-Servicemen's Union, to form procession on Saturday, 28.2.48, from 1.30 p.m. to 6.30 p.m.

2. The procession will assemble on Polo Ground at 1.30 p.m. and proceed on Christiansborg Road to Court, Round Court to Pagan Road, Horse Road, Lutterodt Street to High Street and dismiss at White House.

3. The procession will keep as close to the left-hand side of the road as possible to facilitate free passage of vehicular traffic.

4. The procession will do nothing to obstruct traffic.

5. The procession will obey the Police direction at all times during the procession.

6. Nothing in the procession will be done or said that will occasion a breach of the peace.

7. The permit may be withdrawn without notice on any reasonable report being made against the procession.

8. Nothing in this permit shall excuse the holder hereof from liability to prosecution for any offence committed during and as a consequence of the procession.

9. The attention of all is invited to Section 41 (1) and (3) of Cap. 38, and Regulations 2 and 5 made under the Police Ordinance.

C. H. IMRAY
for C.O.P.,
Superintendent Accra,
Gold Coast

APPENDIX 8

CASUALTIES OCCURRING DURING THE DISTURBANCES
TABLE A. DEATHS AND INJURIES ACCORDING TO PLACE

Date	Austria		Hungary		Romania		Serbia		Kosovo		Totals	
	Deaths	Injuries	Deaths	Injuries	Deaths	Injuries	Deaths	Injuries	Deaths	Injuries	Deaths	Injuries
24th February	7	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	32
24th February	20	66	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	66
1st March	3	6	3	—	—	—	3	4	—	—	6	10
2nd March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3rd March	3	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	16
4th March	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
5th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
18th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
19th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
20th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21st March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
22nd March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
23rd March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
24th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
26th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
28th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
29th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
30th March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31st March	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Grand Totals	30	130	3	—	4	4	3	4	3	40	39	237

* These figures are for deaths.

THE EMERGENCY (GENERAL) REGULATIONS, 1948 (AS AMENDED FROM TIME TO TIME)

Gazetted 13th March, 1948

Order No. 29 of 1948.

THE REMOVAL (F. N. K. NKRUMAH) ORDER, 1948

(Made under regulation 29 of the above Regulations.)

WHEREAS I am satisfied with respect to FRANCIS NWIA KOFIE NKRUMAH, alias F. N. KWAME NKRUMAH, that it is expedient for securing the public safety and the maintenance of public order to make a Removal Order against him under the provisions of regulation 29 of the Emergency (General) Regulations, 1948 (inserted in such Regulations by the Emergency (General) (Amendment) (No. 2) Regulations, 1948 :

Now in exercise of the powers conferred upon me by the said regulation 29 of the above Regulations, and in pursuance of such regulation, I DO HEREBY MAKE THIS ORDER, and direct that the said FRANCIS NWIA KOFIE NKRUMAH, alias F. N. KWAME NKRUMAH shall be apprehended and detained and that he shall be removed in custody, as soon as may be, to such place in the Gold Coast as I shall hereafter appoint by directions under my hand.

AND I DO HEREBY FURTHER ORDER and require that the said FRANCIS NWIA KOFIE NKRUMAH, alias F. N. KWAME NKRUMAH, from the time of his removal to the place to be so appointed by me, and so long as this Order continues in operation, shall at all times—

- (a) remain and live in, and not leave or be absent from, the place to be so appointed by me ;
- (b) comply in all respects with such directions and requirements as I may issue at any time.

This Order may be cited as the Removal (F. N. K. NKRUMAH) Order, 1948, and shall come into operation on the 12th day of March, 1948.

GERALD CREASY,
Governor.

Accra
12th March, 1948.

Removal Orders in identical terms were made on behalf of :—

EDWARD AKUFO ADDO
EBENEZER AKO ADJEI
WILLIAM AFORI ATTA
DR. JOSEPH BOAKYE DANQUAH
EMMANUEL ODARQUAYE LAMPTEY (alias OBETSEBI-LAMPTEY)

APPENDIX 10

Brief Narrative of Events from the 17th February, 1948, to the 13th March, 1948

There is a direct connection between the riots of the 28th-29th February in Accra and the restrictions imposed on the freedom of action of six members of the United Gold Coast Convention: Dr. J. B. Danquah, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, Mr. William Ofori Atta, Mr. Akufo Addo, Mr. Ako Adjei and Mr. Obetsebi-Lamprey. The riots cannot be regarded as isolated incidents which developed because of the shooting at the Christiansborg cross-roads. They have a history and they have a sequel.

The boycott had not proceeded altogether peacefully in Accra. On the 17th February there were demonstrations and considerable rowdiness, arising out of a case, connected with the boycott, against an Accra chief. On that morning a series of posters had appeared in the streets of Accra, which attempted to cause discontent among the Police and persuade them not to obey orders. Later it was proved that these posters had been printed at the Ausco Press, which worked for the Convention, and is known in Accra as "Convention Hall".

EX-SERVICEMEN'S RALLY

On the 18th February a meeting described as an "ex-servicemen's rally" was advertised by posters in the streets of Accra. This meeting was to be held on the 20th February.

On the 20th February this meeting took place at the Palladium cinema under the auspices of the ex-Servicemen's Union. About 9,000 people attended at or near the cinema, but it was estimated that only about 1,300 of them were ex-servicemen or ex-members of the Home Guard. It was reported in the Press that Dr. J. B. Danquah was in the chair. Among the principal speakers, apart from the two ex-Servicemen Mr. Tamakloe and Mr. Laryea, who addressed it, were Dr. J. B. Danquah, Mr. Ako Adjei and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. None of these three persons are ex-servicemen. The first two are members of the Accra Branch of the United Gold Coast Convention and the last, the General Secretary of the Convention, is a communist among whose papers has been found a Communist Party membership card (No. 57565). Among those present was a European member of an overseas communist organisation, who is known to have a mass of communist literature in his possession.

The meeting was addressed in inflammatory terms and the so-called "success" of the disturbances of the 17th February was emphasised. Further attempts at spreading discontent were made, and ex-servicemen were called upon to march to Government House on the 23rd February, to present a petition to the Governor. The 23rd February had been the date fixed for the resumed hearing of the case against the Accra chief. This case, however, was again adjourned until the 4th March, and the ex-servicemen's march was also postponed by its organisers.

END OF BOYCOTT

Meanwhile at meetings held on the 20th and 21st February in the Colonial Secretary's Office at Accra an amicable agreement for the ending of the boycott had been reached between representatives of the Joint Provincial Council, Nii Bonne's Boycott Committee and the Chambers of Commerce. The end of the boycott was to be on the 28th February.

KIBI—26TH FEBRUARY

The proposal for a march to the Castle was soon known in Kibi. On the 26th February, a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Akim Abuakwa Farmers' Union was held at Kibi under the chairmanship of Mr. William Ofori Atta. Dr. J. B. Danquah also was present. The intention of the ex-servicemen to march to the Castle was discussed and, as a result of an interview with the Secretary of the ex-Servicemen's Union, it was suggested that such a march might be supported by the Farmers' Union as "sufficient to weaken the Government".

MR. TAMAKLOE AGREES

On the 25th February Mr. Tamakloe, General Secretary of the ex-Servicemen's Union, accompanied by Mr. J. F. Laryea, called on the Commissioner of Police at the latter's request. Notices had by then appeared in the newspapers that an ex-servicemen's parade was to be held on Saturday, 28th February, that is, the day on which the boycott was to end, and that it would march to the Castle to present a petition to the Governor. *At no time had any organisation or individual made any request to Government for arrangements for a Petition to be presented to the Governor or for a march to the Castle.* At the interview with the Commissioner of Police, Mr. Tamakloe stated that the Press announcements were correct. He was informed that the Commissioner of Police could not agree to any large body marching to the Castle, and that it would be better if a few ex-servicemen took the petition to the Secretariat and presented it to an officer of the Government for submission

to the Governor. Mr. Tamakloe was also told that if the ex-servicemen wished to have a procession they could have one, but that they must follow routes prescribed by the Police. Mr. Tamakloe agreed to all these arrangements.

At a subsequent interview on the 27th February, the routes were prescribed in the presence of Mr. Tamakloe and Mr. Laryea. The permit for the procession, dated 27th February, has already been published in the Press. Mr. Tamakloe assured the Commissioner of Police that he could exercise control over the men who were to form the procession. Mr. Tamakloe and Mr. Laryea agreed to the prescribed route.

CONVENTION DISCUSSES PARADE

On the 27th February the Convention held a mass meeting at the Palladium cinema, Accra. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Akufo Addo, Mr. Obetsebi-Lamptey, Mr. William Ofori Atta and Dr. Danquah. The ex-servicemen present were exhorted to parade at the old Polo Ground at 1 p.m. on the following day, when they would be given further instructions.

28TH FEBRUARY

In Accra, on the morning of the 28th February, cotton goods were on sale in the stores at the new agreed prices. The stores were visited by increasing numbers of persons, among them being men of a rough type who seemed anxious to persuade the crowds in the streets that the stores were not in fact charging the agreed prices. The crowds gradually thickened and by midday had become really dense. Shortly before 3 p.m. an attack on the Kingsway Chemists was started and shortly after 3 p.m. the crowd had succeeded in breaking in; at 3.05 p.m. a number of roughs, led by a man with a 4-in. by 2-in. scantling, started to break into Bartholomew's in Station Road.

At about 1.30 p.m. the parade arranged by the ex-Servicemen's Union had formed up on the old Polo Ground. At 2.50 p.m. a delegation of ex-servicemen, headed by Mr. Tamakloe, presented, as had been arranged, to a senior official at the Secretariat, the petition addressed to the Governor. In the meantime the parade had started its march. It had not kept to the agreed route and was marching in the direction of Christiansborg. At the Victoriaborg Police Station an Inspector of Police made unsuccessful attempts to turn the procession back. The procession continued and by the time it reached the Christiansborg cross-roads had been joined by many persons who were not ex-servicemen and had lost its identity as a march of the ex-Servicemen's Union. At the cross-roads an Inspector of Police made repeated attempts, all unsuccessful, to persuade the leaders to turn the procession back to its agreed route. The procession was now in an ugly temper, shouting abuse and throwing stones. Reinforcements of Police were rushed to the spot and the most strenuous attempts were again made to persuade the procession to turn about.

These attempts had not the slightest effect and the crowd continued to press forward. There was heavy stoning. The Police had now no alternative but to resort to the use of tear smoke. Some were accordingly discharged but had barely any effect and the crowd began to press forward with renewed determination and violence. The Police had now exhausted all means of control except force. Some of the Police had already been injured by stones thrown by the crowd and it was apparent that the Police party was in the gravest danger of being overwhelmed. As a final warning a bugle call was blown by the orders of a Police officer and the crowd was given a last order to disperse. As a last resort shots had to be fired.

The unfortunate man who was killed instantaneously had been in the forefront of the mob and prominent in urging it forward.

The shots were fired between five and ten minutes past 3 o'clock. The mob did not start to retreat towards Accra until after a quarter past three.

The rioting in town had accordingly started before, and independently of, the events at Christiansborg cross-roads.

FURTHER RIOTING

As is common knowledge, rioting and looting continued until late at night on the 28th February, and began again on the 29th February. On the morning of the 29th one of the first stores to be broken into was the Kingsway Wholesale Stores. The looters removed spirits and alcoholic drinks of all sorts and passed them over the wall to the inmates of Ussher Fort Prison. Later a mob broke down the front gate of the prison and some prisoners, including some serving long sentences for violent crimes, by now intoxicated and in a wild mood, escaped temporarily to join in the looting and general disorder. This release of convicts—and those in Ussher Fort included the most experienced and dangerous criminals—is of a pattern familiar in communist disorders when the communists are seeking to seize power.

DISORDERS NEAR KIBI

On the morning of the 28th February there were disorders in the area around Kibi. A large crowd attacked and beat up a party of men engaged on Swollen Shoot work at Fisa near Atukrom. Later in the day officers of the Agriculture Department and Police were attacked by hostile crowds at, and near, Old Tafo and Osiem.

THE CONVENTION'S CLAIM

On the 29th February, making its own judgment of events, the United Gold Coast Convention telegraphed to the Secretary of State. They stated, among other things:

"Civil Government Gold Coast broken down".

"Unless Colonial Government is changed and new Government of the people and chiefs installed at the centre immediately conduct of masses now completely out of control with strikes threaten in Police quarters and rank and file Police indifferent to orders of officers will continue and result in worse violent and irresponsible acts by uncontrolled people. Working Committee United Gold Coast Convention declare they are prepared and ready to take interim Government."

The Working Committee includes Dr. J. B. Danquah, Mr. E. Akufo Addo and Mr. W. Ofori Atta. When a Convention delegation asked to see the Colonial Secretary in the afternoon, they were told to do all that they could to help to restore law and order and to be careful in their own activities.

COMMUNIST METHODS

On the 1st March, the situation in Accra was under control but disturbances and looting were breaking out in other parts of the country such as Kibi, Suhum, Koforidua, Nsawam and Akuse. Further examination of the activities of the Working Committee of the United Gold Coast Convention showed additional links with the communist organisation overseas. Investigation also showed that the ends of the Working Committee, while ostensibly the attainment of self-government by constitutional means, were in fact revolutionary: they included plans for a more widespread and comprehensive disturbance of the peace than had been indicated or could be understood from the Convention's telegram to the Secretary of State or even from Dr. Danquah's manifesto of the 1st March addressed to the chiefs which was published in the Press under the title "The hour of liberation has struck". Investigation also showed a danger of forms of terrorism, quite alien to the spirit of this country and fortunately not hitherto employed. These included assassination.

As will be apparent, the root causes and circumstances of the riots in Accra on the 28th and 29th February are far from simple, and the Governor had already arranged with the Secretary of State for them to be the subject of searching and detailed enquiry by an independent and impartial commission. In the meantime, as a measure of common prudence, solely in the interests of public safety and for the protection of the people from further violence, and for no other reason, he had no alternative other than to order the restriction of the movements of six members of the Gold Coast Convention whose activities had been brought to his notice, and whose names have already been mentioned.

This, in broad outline, is the history of events from the 17th February to the 13th March. The investigations that are needed to complete the story are still continuing. However, so much misunderstanding regarding recent events has been spread about that it is desirable to make public the facts described above.

Printed by authority of the Governor

APPENDIX 11

Document known as "The Circle"

NAME	THE CIRCLE
MOTTO	The three S's : Service, Sacrifice, Suffering.
AIM	1. To maintain ourselves and The Circle as the Revolutionary Vanguard of the struggle for West African Unity and National Independence. 2. To support the idea and claims of the All West African National Congress in its struggle to create and maintain a Union of African Socialist Republics.

INTRODUCTION

Since no movement can endure unless there is a stable organisation of trained, selected and trusted men to maintain continuity and carry out its programme forward to successful conclusion,

And since the more widely the masses of the African peoples are drawn into the struggle for freedom and national independence of their country, the more necessary it is to have an organisation such as THE CIRCLE to establish stability and thereby making it impossible and difficult for demagogues, quislings, traitors, cowards and self-seekers to lead astray any section of the masses of the African peoples.

And since, in a country like West Africa with foreign, despotic and imperialist governments the more necessary it is to restrict THE CIRCLE to persons who are trained and engaged in political revolution as a profession, and who have also been trained in the art of combating all manner of political intrigues and persecutions thereby making it difficult for any one to disrupt the national liberation movement.

I, therefore, accept and abide by the laws of THE CIRCLE which are as follows :—

1. I will irrevocably obey and act upon the orders, commands, instructions and directions of the Grand Council of THE CIRCLE.
2. I will always serve, sacrifice and suffer anything for the cause for which THE CIRCLE stands, and will at all times be ready to go on any mission that I may be called upon to perform.
3. I will always and in all circumstances help a member brother of THE CIRCLE in all things and in all difficulties.
4. I will, except as a last resort, avoid the use of violence.
5. I will make it my aim and duty to foster the cause for which THE CIRCLE stands in any organisation that I may become a member.
6. I will on the 21st day of each month fast from sunrise to sunset and will meditate daily on the cause THE CIRCLE stands for.
7. I accept the Leadership of Kwame Nkrumah.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE

On my life honour and fortunes, I solemnly pledge and swear that I shall always live up to the aims and aspirations of THE CIRCLE, and shall never under any circumstances divulge any secrets, plans or movements of THE CIRCLE, nor betray a member brother of THE CIRCLE ; and that if I dare to divulge any secrets, plans and movements of THE CIRCLE, or betray a member brother or the cause, or use the influence of THE CIRCLE for my own personal interests or advertisement, I do so at my own risk and peril.

DUTIES OF CIRCLE MEMBERS

1. Each circle member should join an organisation and should adopt two methods of approach :
 - (a) Advocate and work for the demands and needs of that Organisation.
 - (b) Infuse that Organisation with the spirit of national unity and the national independence of West Africa, and the creation and maintenance of the Union of African Socialist Republics.

CIRCLE FUND

Members of each branch of THE CIRCLE shall maintain a fund by voluntary contributions, such fund to be used for furthering the cause of THE CIRCLE only.

CIRCLE MEETINGS

The Grand Council of THE CIRCLE shall meet at least once a year and shall decide general policy and give directives to territorial and local branches of THE CIRCLE. Members of each branch of THE CIRCLE shall meet on the 21st day of each month, and at such other times as members may deem advisable.

CIRCLE COMMUNICATION

A close liaison shall at all times be maintained between the Grand Council and the individual territorial and local branches of THE CIRCLE. As far as possible all communications should be done by personal contact, couriers and messengers. Letter, telegrams, telephones and cables should be used only for making appointments. Discussion of CIRCLE matters in public places is forbidden.

CIRCLE MEMBER RECOGNITION

Ordinary handshake with thumb pressure.

CIRCLE GOAL

At such time as may be deemed advisable THE CIRCLE will come out openly as a political party embracing the whole of West Africa, and whose policy then shall be to maintain the Union of African Socialist Republics.

APPENDIX 12

Extract from the Report of the Secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention

(Circulated under cover of letter from Mr. Nkrumah
dated 20th February, 1948)

SECRETARY'S RECOMMENDATIONS :—

The following Recommendations are submitted for the consideration of the Working Committee :—

* * * * *

XII. Shadow Cabinet :—

The formation of a Shadow Cabinet should engage the serious attention of the Working Committee as early as possible. Membership is to be composed of individuals selected *ad hoc* to study the jobs of the various ministries that would be decided upon in advance for the country when we achieve our independence. This Cabinet will forestall any unpreparedness on our part in the exigency of Self-government being thrust upon us before the expected time.

XIII. Organisational Work :—

The organisational work of implementing the platform of the Convention will fall into three periods :—

First Period :—

- (a) Co-ordination of all the various organisations under the United Gold Coast Convention : i.e. apart from individual Membership the various Political, Social, Educational, Farmers and Women's Organisations as well as Native Societies, Trades Unions, Co-operative Societies, etc., should be asked to affiliate to the Convention.
- (b) The consolidation of branches already formed and the establishment of branches in every town and village of the country will form another major field of action during the first period.
- (c) Convention Branches should be set up in each town and village throughout the colony, Ashanti, the Northern Territories and Togoland. The chief or Odikro of each town or village should be persuaded to become the Patron of the Branch.
- (d) Vigorous Convention Week-end schools should be opened wherever there is a branch of the Convention. The political mass education of the country for Self-government should begin at these week-end schools.

Second Period :—

To be marked by constant demonstrations throughout the country to test our organisational strength—making us and taking advantage of political crises.

Third Period :—

- (a) The convening of a Constitutional Assembly of the Gold Coast people to draw up the Constitution for Self-government or National Independence.
- (b) Organised demonstration, boycott and strike—our only weapons to support our pressure for Self-government.

APPENDIX 13

Text of Short Telegram addressed to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 29th February, 1948

Secretary of State Colonies London.

After permitting peaceful demonstration of unarmed ex-servicemen Police without provocation fired on them Several killed Many wounded.

Police and political officers unable to protect life and property.

Civil authorities unable to control situation appealed to certain civilians who are officers of the United Gold Coast Convention to restore order. Main shops in commercial areas looted. UAC Central Store burned down. People demand Self-government immediately. Recall Governor. Send Commission supervise formation Constituent Assembly. Urgent.

Kwame Nkrumah General Secretary United Gold Coast Convention
Saltpond Gold Coast.

Information copies to :—

Secretary General UNO Lake Success New York.

Reginald Sorensen House of Commons London.

Gallacher MP House of Commons London.

The New African 94 Gray's Inn Road London WC1.

Pan African News Agency 22 Cranleigh House Cranleigh Street London NW1.

Pan Africa 58 Oxford Street Manchester.

Editor *WASU Magazine* 1 South Villas London NW1.

Editor *Daily Worker* London.

Associated Negro Press Chicago.

New York Times New York.

New Times Moscow.

APPENDIX 14

Text of Long Telegram addressed to Secretary of State for the Colonies on the 29th February, 1948

Civil Government Gold Coast broken down, Police unable to protect life and property since early afternoon yesterday. Main Stores, commercial centres looted and completely emptied merchandise. U.A.C. Central Store burned down. Neither Police nor political able intervene or stop progress of looting and destruction. Deep-seated roots of disorder and lawlessness set aflame by unprovoked massacre of civilians and unarmed ex-servicemen by shots fired by Police Superintendent Imray against peaceful procession ex-servicemen to present petition to Governor on their distressing condition and post-war neglect. Imray fired rifle into crowds after grenades thrown into procession. Announcement on Government radio that ex-servicemen provoked police on Castle Road absolutely without foundation. From January 26th Government have shown abject ineptitude in face of demonstrations by people against high prices imported goods and black market. Complete boycott all imported goods in colony Ashanti and Togoland proceeded without Government taking any initiative to end same or effect settlement. Boycott having brought business complete standstill and paralysed trade, Government's first bulletin issued fifteen days after commencement boycott declared boycott ordinary trade dispute which was no concern of Government unless law broken. But for initiative Joint Provincial Council and United Gold Coast Convention calling upon Government intervene and but for native authorities and Anti-Inflation Committee having approached Government to call in Chamber of Commerce for discussion with view settlement. Government's indifferent attitude would have left boycott continue indefinitely. Early yesterday morning boycott being lifted by Gonggong, it was evident housewives and shoppers not satisfied at so called reduced prices, expressed open resentment in several forms. Ex-servicemen's procession coming late afternoon arranged as to routes with Police Commissioner Ballantyne. Ex-servicemen marched orderly completely unarmed, Riot Act not read nor arrests attempted but firing started when Accra President ex-Servicemen's Union addressing his men between Police and march. President himself was shot through his shorts and shot injured man next him. Two died on spot and five in hospital, many injured. In addition, looting cars found in town attacked and wrecked, occupants assaulted. Grave position results from ineptitude Government regarding economic distress of people in addition repressive measures such as Accra proclaimed under Peace Preservation Ordinance and threats of curfew and pending prosecution of prominent chief, Asere Mantse of Accra, for alleged offence in connection boycott have completely caused loss prestige and confidence in Government. Deep-seated conviction of masses exploitation by Europeans cause of their sufferings. At beach and Customs warehouse, Assistant Police Superintendent Reeves found himself and Police utterly unable stop or check looting and had to appeal to an Officer of the Convention to persuade looters cease looting. At Castle Road, Police Commissioner Ballantyne utterly unable disperse infuriated crowd. After some of them had been shot dead by Police, appealed to another Officer of the Convention disperse crowd. Both cases with a short speech and wave of hands, crowds dispersed. This gentleman proceeded to Government House where he met scenes of utter resignation with Police and political officers at loose end unable to come to decision as to action. Imray admitted to this gentleman at Castle he fired shots and Ballantyne stated it was necessary open fire for ex-servicemen would proceed to Government House and kill Governor. Whole administration seized with outrageous and unfounded fears of suspected danger to them and position is disgraceful and deplorable. District Commissioner Accra subsequently phoned same gentleman to return and use his influence disperse crowd. Unless Colonial Government is changed and a new Government of the people and their chiefs installed at the centre immediately, the conduct of masses now completely out of control with strikes threatened in Police quarters, and rank and file Police indifferent to orders of Officers, will continue and result in worse violent and irresponsible acts by uncontrolled people. Working Committee United Gold Coast Convention declare they are prepared and ready to take over interim government. We ask in name of oppressed, inarticulate, misruled and misgoverned people and their chiefs that special Commissioner be sent out immediately to hand over Government to interim government of chiefs and people and to witness immediate calling of Constituent Assembly. Governor Creasy, unfortunate inheritor of aftermath of Governor Alan Burns oppressive and window-dressing administration, to be recalled and relieved of his onerous and impossible burden. We speak in name of inherent residual sovereignty in chiefs and people in free partnership with British Commonwealth for our country to be saved from inept incapable Government indifferent to sufferings of the governed. The souls of Gold Coast people slaughtered in cold blood upon Castle Road crying out loud for vindication in cause of freedom and liberty. Firing by Police and military going on this morning. Let King and Parliament act without delay in this direst hour of Gold Coast people and their chiefs. God Save the King and Floreat United Gold Coast.

President,
United Gold Coast Convention.
Saltpond.

APPENDIX 15

Petition, addressed to the Governor of the Gold Coast, handed in at the Secretariat at 2.50 p.m. on February, 28, 1948, by Mr. B. E. A. Tamakloe and five others

PETITION ADDRESSED TO HIS EXCELLENCY SIR GERALD CREASY, K.C.M.G., O.B.E., ETC., GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE GOLD COAST, AND BRITISH MANDATED TERRITORY OF TOGOLAND

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The Petitioners are Your Excellency's loyal and dutiful African ex-servicemen, who saw active service during the World Wars I and II, and whose petition respectfully sheweth:—

I. Recognition of Gold Coast ex-Service Union

1. That in 1920 Your Excellency's humble Petitioners organised themselves into an Association known as the Gold Coast Ex-Servicemen's Union for the purpose of bringing their grievances to the notice of the Government. This Union is recognised by the Gold Coast Government, and two of Your Excellency's predecessors became its Patrons-in-Chief with the Officer Commanding the Gold Coast Regiment as Patron.

The Union did excellent service by recommending members for pensions and identifying them for war gratuities and medals as the award of these benefits were delayed for more than 20 years after the end of the World War I.

2. That when World War II started, members of this Union were approached several times by the Government to lecture and assist in recruiting for the Army. As an effective measure, several members of this Union re-enlisted as encouragement to the young men. The Union was then the only medium through which the Government got in touch with the ex-servicemen.

II. Co-operation with the Legion

3. That Your Excellency's Petitioners are aware of the fact that the Government has established Resettlement Centres, the Labour Department, and the Gold Coast Legion to assist the ex-servicemen of this country to settle down to civilian life. However, Your Excellency's Petitioners maintain that great relief and better results could be obtained if co-operation exists between the Union and the Legion. Such co-operation is at present non-existent.

4. That Your Excellency's Petitioners maintain that the Honourable Ben-Smith is not a true representative of the ex-servicemen of this country, owing to the fact that he knows nothing of the conditions of life of the ex-servicemen. He has no contact, influence nor understanding with the majority of the ex-servicemen of this country.

5. That as the Gold Coast Ex-Servicemen's Union had failed in all attempts to get the Gold Coast Legion to co-operate with the Union, Your Excellency's Petitioners are compelled to bring their grievances to Your Excellency hoping that Your Excellency will use your good offices in the matter.

III. Release of Prisoners

6. That Your Excellency is aware that several of the ex-servicemen are at present serving terms of imprisonment for trivial offences committed while on active service overseas. Your humble Petitioners pray that Your Excellency may use Your Excellency's clemency in granting pardon to these unfortunate ex-servicemen, who at the hour of Britain's dire need, offered their lives at the altar of supreme sacrifice. Your Excellency's Petitioners are not condoning the offences they committed nor doubting the justice of their conviction. But your humble Petitioners feel that their unfortunate comrades were induced by excitement of their surroundings to commit the offences for which they were convicted. Your Excellency's Petitioners maintain that the mere separation of these unfortunate comrades from their families and relatives for over a year after their return from overseas, is sufficient punishment in itself.

IV. Pensions and Gratuities

7. That your humble and loyal Petitioners pray that sufficient grants be given in the financial estimates of the Government for the purpose of increasing pensions and to open industrial centres in this country. That the present pensions given to the disabled soldiers are too small to meet the present high cost of living in this country. Your Excellency will agree, Sir, that 18s. or 30s. a month could hardly keep together the life and soul of a disabled ex-soldier, especially if he has a wife and children to look after.

8. That rehabilitation funds be established for those ex-servicemen, who are deprived by reason of age from entering the Government Service, and for those who are anxious to start their own business, as is done in England.

V. Africanisation and Regular Commission for African Officers

9. That Africanisation of the Royal West African Frontier Force be effectively maintained, and more African Officers to be granted Regular Commission in the Army and Non-Commissioned Officers to be encouraged to take the King's Commission. That an independent body be appointed to enquire into the comfort of the soldiers of this country.

10. That all ex-servicemen be exempted from paying the State Levies for at least five years, as is done in the French colonies due to their present financial position.

11. That Your Excellency's Petitioners pray that Your Excellency give personal instruction to the Heads of all the Government Departments to co-operate with the Resettlement and Labour Departments in finding useful and gainful employment for the ex-servicemen.

VI. War Service Credit

12. That the Junior Pupil Sanitary Inspectors, Pupil Nurses, and Pupil Dispensers, who are ex-servicemen, have not been awarded their War Service Credit to which they are entitled and which was approved by the Government as appeared in Gazette No. 9 of the 9th day of February, 1946.

13. That Your Excellency's Petitioners are confident that Your Excellency considers that the present cost of living is high, and believe that Your Excellency will agree with Your Excellency's Petitioners that their lot is pitiful, and they pray that Your Excellency may be gracious enough in granting a compassionate allowance to Your Excellency's Petitioners so that they may feel that their sacrifices in the wars were not made in vain.

Your Excellency's Petitioners in duty bound will ever pray to be Your Excellency's Obedient and Loyal Servants.

Members of the Executive Committee :

R. THOS. DODOO

J. S. LARYEA

R. P. CRAIG

F. L. ADJEI

J. D. ANKRAH, P.R.S.

G. E. LUTTERODT

B. E. A. TAMAKLOE,

General Secretary.

S. A. CODJOE,

Secretary, Accra Branch.

GOVERNMENT'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

No. 4295/S.F.6

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Accra.

4th March, 1948.

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor to acknowledge the receipt of the Petition which you and the members of your Executive Committee handed to Mr. Kerr of this office on Saturday, the 28th February. The Petition has been duly laid before His Excellency who has directed that the points raised in it should receive early consideration by the Departments concerned and that their views should be submitted to him as early as possible for his further examination.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant,

Mr. B. E. A. TAMAKLOE,

General Secretary,

Gold Coast ex-Servicemen's Union,
Accra.

KENNETH BRADLEY,
for Colonial Secretary.

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY

4295/S.6/40

Colonial Secretary's Office,
Accra.

10th March, 1948.

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor to inform you that the Petition which you and five others submitted at 2.50 p.m. on Saturday, the 28th February, 1948, at an interview previously arranged at the Secretariat, and which has already been acknowledged in the letter from this office No. 4295/S.F.6 of the 4th March, has received His Excellency's careful consideration.

2. His Excellency has directed that the following reply should be made to you for transmission to those of the ex-servicemen whom your organisation represents. The points raised in each of the paragraphs of the petition submitted by you are treated separately.

Recognition of Gold Coast Ex-Service Union

3. *Your paragraphs 1, 2 and 3.*—So far as can be ascertained, the first meeting of your organisation, which was then called "The Ex-Servicemen's Association", was held on the 24th November, 1934, and the late Sir Arnold Hodson, who was Governor at that time, in a letter dated the 11th December, 1937, accepted the position of Patron-in-Chief.

Since that date no particulars of the constitution, objects, or membership of your organisation have been conveyed to Government, and the only communications regarding its activities have been the following:—

- (a) A letter dated the 7th of March, 1947, enclosing copies of letters addressed to the Ga Mantse and to the Gold Coast Legion in the matter of relationship with the Legion.
- (b) A complimentary copy of the first issue of a periodical entitled "Ex-Service", dated the 25th April, 1947.
- (c) A request dated the 14th of October, 1947, that your organisation should be granted an interview with Field-Marshal Viscount Montgomery. This was passed direct to the Military Authorities who were responsible for the Field-Marshal's engagements during his short stay.
- (d) A letter dated the 28th October, 1947, intimating your intention to collect funds at the beginning of November by the sale of emblems.

In the absence of more definite evidence that your organisation was a properly constituted body actively engaged in giving material assistance to ex-servicemen, the Government naturally has continued to regard the Gold Coast Legion and the Resettlement Branch of the Labour Department as the sole agencies for serving the needs and representing the interests and views of ex-servicemen.

His Excellency wishes you to be assured, however, that there has at no time been, and there is not now, any obstacle to the extension of official recognition to legitimate associations of ex-servicemen, separate from the Gold Coast Legion and designed to represent the problems of their members to Government, provided that any such association can furnish evidence of a suitably framed constitution, that its objects are directed solely to the interests and welfare of ex-servicemen, and that its financial position is made known to all parties concerned by the regular publication of its accounts, properly audited.

4. *Your Paragraph 4.*—His Excellency has no doubt whatever as to the sincerity of the Honourable R. Ben-Smith's interest in the welfare of ex-servicemen, which he has constantly and continually evinced on the Central Council of the Gold Coast Legion. His Excellency is pleased to say, however, that the Gold Coast Legion is proposing to strengthen its Central Council by inviting additional Gold Coast citizens, who are interested in the welfare of ex-servicemen, to serve as members.

5. *Your paragraph 5.*—It is perhaps not generally appreciated what the Gold Coast Legion has so far been able to achieve on behalf of ex-servicemen. Progress in providing suitable buildings for the various branches of the Legion in the main centres has been hampered by a very serious shortage of building materials. Plans have been prepared with the full agreement of Government to build memorial halls, for the use of ex-Servicemen at Accra, Koforidua, Kumasi, and Tamale; accommodation is already available for the use of ex-servicemen at other centres. The Old Soldiers' homes at Kumasi have been taken over by the Legion and renovated; a settlement has been built at Yendi; and the construction of an Old Soldier's home at Tamale will shortly be begun.

A few of the other services that have been provided are set out below:—

The administration of benefits to ex-servicemen of the 1914-18 War, formerly in the care of a Regimental Fund, was transferred to the Legion in 1944.

The Legion has taken up and rectified a considerable number of complaints of ex-servicemen of this war in regard to unpaid Allotments that had accrued during active service, and in regard to entries or incomplete records in Discharge Books.

Ex-gratia payments have been made, over and above statutory disability pension and gratuities payable by Government, to the extent in the year 1947 alone, of £1,012 4s. 9d. These payments have been made up of monthly grants in deserving cases amounting to £737 odd and other individual benefit payments for dentures, carpenters' tools, etc., amounting to £275 odd.

Legal assistance has been provided in a number of Court cases free of charge.

At the instance of the Legion free medical treatment has been accorded by Government to ex-servicemen and their wives and children under 12 years of age.

The Legion has taken particular care of disabled ex-Servicemen and has made representations on their behalf to the War Pensions Assessment Board. Those who have had limbs amputated receive every attention and assistance in the servicing of their artificial limbs and in the provision of such items as new shoes, when required.

The Legion maintains close contact with the Resettlement Advice service of the Labour Department in its centres throughout the Gold Coast.

There are Regional Branches of the Legion at Accra, Koforidua, Winneba, Swedru, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi, Kumasi and Tamale; the audited Balance Sheet of the Legion can be inspected on request at any of these places.

Recognition of Gold Coast Ex-Service Union

3. *Your paragraphs 1, 2 and 3.*—So far as can be ascertained, the first meeting of your organisation, which was then called "The Ex-Servicemen's Association", was held on the 24th November, 1934, and the late Sir Arnold Hodson, who was Governor at that time, in a letter dated the 11th December, 1937, accepted the position of Patron-in-Chief.

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His Excellency wishes you to be assured, however, that there has at no time been, and there is not now, any obstacle to the extension of official recognition to legitimate associations of ex-servicemen, separate from the Gold Coast Legion and designed to represent the problems of their members to Government, provided that any such association can furnish evidence of a suitably framed constitution, that its objects are directed solely to the interests and welfare of ex-servicemen, and that its financial position is made known to all parties concerned by the regular publication of its accounts, properly audited.

4. *Your Paragraph 4.*—His Excellency has no doubt whatever as to the sincerity of the Honourable R. Ben-Smith's interest in the welfare of ex-servicemen, which he has constantly and continually evinced on the Central Council of the Gold Coast Legion. His Excellency is pleased to say, however, that the Gold Coast Legion is proposing to strengthen its Central Council by inviting additional Gold Coast citizens, who are interested in the welfare of ex-servicemen, to serve as members.

5. *Your paragraph 5.*—It is perhaps not generally appreciated what the Gold Coast Legion has so far been able to achieve on behalf of ex-servicemen. Progress in providing suitable buildings for the various branches of the Legion in the main centres has been hampered by a very serious shortage of building materials. Plans have been prepared with the full agreement of Government to build memorial halls, for the use of ex-Servicemen at Accra, Koforidua, Kumasi, and Tamale; accommodation is already available for the use of ex-servicemen at other centres. The Old Soldiers' homes at Kumasi have been taken over by the Legion and renovated; a settlement has been built at Yendi; and the construction of an Old Soldier's home at Tamale will shortly be begun.

A few of the other services that have been provided are set out below:—

The administration of benefits to ex-servicemen of the 1914-18 War, formerly in the care of a Regimental Fund, was transferred to the Legion in 1944.

The Legion has taken up and rectified a considerable number of complaints of ex-servicemen of this war in regard to unpaid Allotments that had accrued during active service, and in regard to entries or incomplete records in Discharge Books.

Ex-gratia payments have been made, over and above statutory disability pension and gratuities payable by Government, to the extent in the year 1947 alone, of £1,012 4s. 9d. These payments have been made up of monthly grants in deserving cases amounting to £737 odd and other individual benefit payments for dentures, carpenters' tools, etc., amounting to £275 odd.

Legal assistance has been provided in a number of Court cases free of charge.

At the instance of the Legion free medical treatment has been accorded by Government to ex-servicemen and their wives and children under 12 years of age.

The Legion has taken particular care of disabled ex-Servicemen and has made representations on their behalf to the War Pensions Assessment Board. Those who have had limbs amputated receive every attention and assistance in the servicing of their artificial limbs and in the provision of such items as new shoes, when required.

The Legion maintains close contact with the Resettlement Advice service of the Labour Department in its centres throughout the Gold Coast.

There are Regional Branches of the Legion at Accra, Koforidua, Winneba, Swedru, Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi, Kumasi and Tamale; the audited Balance Sheet of the Legion can be inspected on request at any of these places.

It is unnecessary to restate here the published objects of the Legion, which are devoted entirely to the interests of ex-servicemen and to the provision of assistance and advice; the Legion may be approached directly or through any District Commissioner or officer of the Labour Department.

Release of Prisoners

6. *Your paragraph 6.*—The "trivial" offences committed on active service, as mentioned in your petition, for which 12 ex-servicemen are still detained in H.M. Prisons in the Gold Coast, include attempted murder, manslaughter, robbery with violence, and mutiny. The sentences imposed by Courts-Martial are reviewed at regular intervals by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, West Africa, and reduction of sentence depends entirely on his consideration of the circumstances and of the prisoners' conduct. It is understood that all the 12 cases in question will be reviewed again in the normal course between April and October.

Pensions and Gratuities

7. *Your paragraph 7.*—The schedules of disability pensions contained in the War Pensions Regulations (No. 17 of 1945), were reviewed by a committee appointed for the purpose in September, 1947, consequent on recommendations made by the War Pensions Assessment Board, the Gold Coast Legion, and the District Commander. Revised regulations conferring substantial increases in disability benefits have been prepared and have been approved in principle by the Standing Finance Committee of the Legislative Council and by the Executive Council. They were submitted in mid-February to the Secretary of State for approval.

As regards industrial centres, courses were provided at Trade Training Centres to equip Army tradesmen for pursuing their occupations in civilian life, but the response was comparatively poor, and although grants at usual Government rates in the form of scholarships were awarded to those considered suitable for the rehabilitation training, less than 65 per cent. of those awarded grants attended the course provided.

8. *Your paragraph 8.*—The Gold Coast Legion is always prepared to consider the provision of financial assistance in genuinely necessitous cases, and to furnish loans of a limited nature to those who entertain a genuine intention to set up small businesses of their own. The improving financial position of the Legion will enable this part of its work to be extended.

Africanisation and Regular Commissions for African Officers.

9. *Your paragraph 9.*—It is considered that the questions of increasing the number of African officers and of the welfare of serving soldiers are not matters for discussion with your organisation. You may rest assured, however, that this Government has been, and is, in close consultation with the military authorities on these matters.

10. *Your paragraph 10.*—The proposal submitted by you that ex-servicemen should be exempted from any form of taxation by Native Authorities does not accord with the policy adopted, namely, that re-absorption into civil life implies the assumption of civil obligations as well as of civil privileges, and no approach can therefore be made to Native Authorities by Government in this regard.

11. *Your paragraph 11.*—From the beginning of demobilization, it has been the established policy that, all other things being equal, preference should be given to ex-servicemen in the filling of vacancies in Government employment. This policy has been in no way altered, but His Excellency is causing a reminder to be addressed to Heads of Government Departments, drawing their attention once again to this matter.

War Service Credit

12. *Your paragraph 12.*—War Service Credit has not been denied to Pupil Sanitary Inspectors, Pupil Nurses and Pupil Dispensers. During the pupil courses, in which it is emphasized service must necessarily be of a temporary character, ex-servicemen cannot be treated differently from other pupils, but on the satisfactory completion of their courses and their absorption into the permanent establishment, they will immediately receive the war service credit which is their due.

13. *Your paragraph 13.*—It is not clear what exactly is the intention of the phrase "compassionate allowance" contained in this paragraph of the petition. It is assumed, however, that it derives from a comparison with the improved conditions of Government servants and employees as a result of the recommendations of the Harragin Commission and the Korsah Committee, which rectified pre-war conditions of service. Servicemen during the war years enjoyed rates of pay and allowances considerably in excess of those in force immediately prior to the outbreak of war, while provision of free clothing and free food continued to be made. Basic rates of pay and tradesmen's allowances were materially increased, and marriage allowances were introduced. On demobilization servicemen had earned substantial release benefits including, for those who had served overseas for six months, overseas service allowances. In these circumstances His Excellency does not feel that there is any justification for any form of special *ex-gratia* payment to

be made to ex-servicemen generally, but he has satisfied himself that, as stated in paragraph 8 above, the Gold Coast Legion will always be prepared to consider the provision of financial assistance in cases of genuine need.

14. I am to assure you again of His Excellency's constant interest in the welfare of ex-servicemen and of his desire that assistance should be afforded commensurate with any established and legitimate need. It is believed that the extent of the assistance of the Legion has not been fully appreciated in the past, and that the statement of what it has already been able to do as a voluntary non-Government organisation as set out in paragraph 5 above, will do much to clear away misunderstanding. The Resettlement service of the Labour Department, in conjunction with Government Departments and private firms, will press forward in its object of finding employment for those ex-servicemen genuinely seeking work; its record compares very favourably with that in other countries. Finally, the Government's decision to increase disability pensions may be taken as an indication of its wish to see fair treatment accorded to ex-servicemen.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

ROBERT SCOTT,
Colonial Secretary.

Mr. B. E. A. Tamakloe,
General Secretary,
Gold Coast Ex-Servicemen's Union,
Accra.

APPENDIX 16

Summary of the present Constitutional and Administrative System

THE GOVERNOR AND THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

The Gold Coast is administered on behalf of the Crown by the Governor assisted by an Executive Council. The Executive Council consists of the Colonial Secretary, the three Chief Commissioners (of the Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories), the Attorney General, the Financial Secretary, and the Director of Medical Services, together with Appointed Members who at present number four—three unofficals (Africans) and one official (European).

THE POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION

For administrative purposes the Gold Coast comprises three areas—the Colony, Ashanti, and the Northern Territories—each being administered on behalf of the Governor by a Chief Commissioner.

Each of the three areas is divided into districts, each in charge of a Senior District Commissioner or District Commissioner responsible to the Chief Commissioner.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

The Governor is empowered to enact Ordinances for the Colony and Ashanti with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council constituted by the Gold Coast Colony and Ashanti (Legislative Council) Order in Council, 1946. If the Governor considers that it is expedient in the interests of public order, public faith or good government that any Bill should be introduced, or any motion proposed, and if the Council fails to pass such Bill or Motion, the Governor may by declaration order that such Bill or Motion shall have effect. These special powers have not been used.

The Legislative Council consists of a President appointed by the Governor, or, if no such appointment has been made, of the Governor himself as President; six *ex-officio* members, who are those who serve on the Executive Council with the exception of the Director of Medical Services; eighteen elected members, of whom nine represent the Colony and are elected by the Joint Provincial Council, four represent Ashanti and are elected by the Ashanti Confederacy Council, and five represent the municipalities of Accra (two), Cape Coast, Sekondi-Takoradi, and Kumasi (one each); and six members nominated by the Governor. The nominated members at present include representatives of the Chambers of Commerce and of Mines, the Chairman of the Methodist Church of the Gold Coast, and three others.

Legislation for the Northern Territories is enacted by the Governor. This is often effected by extending the operation of laws enacted by the Legislative Council to the Northern Territories, but in certain matters it is necessary for the Governor to enact separate legislation.

AREA COUNCILS

(A) The Colony

The Joint Provincial Council consists of:—

(i) The Paramount Chiefs of the Colony.

(ii) Representatives of those Native Authorities which do not include a State.

All bills which are being introduced into the Legislative Council are referred first to the Joint Provincial Council for its views and comments. It elects members to sit in the Legislative Council (*see above*).

• (B) Ashanti

The Ashanti Confederacy Council consists of the Head Chiefs of the Divisions of Ashanti and the Kumasi clans, with a number of non-chiefs, and meets under the presidency of the Asantehene. It has functions similar to those of the Joint Provincial Council. It elects members to sit in the Legislative Council (*see above*).

(C) The Northern Territories

A Northern Territories Territorial Council on the lines of the Colony and Ashanti Councils was formed in December, 1946, but is still in the experimental stage, with purely advisory and deliberative functions.

MUNICIPAL COUNCILS

In each of the towns of Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi-Takoradi there is established a Town Council with an unofficial majority of elected members. Kumasi Town Council has an equal number of elected and nominated members.

Each Council is invested with powers and duties to levy rates and to carry out the usual municipal services.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION

In all parts of the Gold Coast local government, apart from the municipalities, is in the hands of Native Authorities and subordinate Native Authorities. These are normally traditional bodies whose powers have been given legal force by Government recognition. They therefore consist mainly of Chiefs, who are invariably assisted in their respective spheres of authority by councils of elders and sub-chiefs. The Chiefs and elders usually owe their position to heredity according to family groups.

The Native Authorities are charged with the maintenance of law and order in their areas of jurisdiction and with the general welfare of their people. They are subject to the close supervision and guidance of Administrative Officers. They are empowered to make bye-laws, including those for the imposition of an annual rate and for the payment of fees for entry parks, market sheds and other local services.

APPENDIX 17

Table showing the changes in landed cost, including duty, of certain representative goods imported into the Gold Coast between July, 1939, and April, 1948

Description of Goods	July, 1939		April, 1948	
	Origin	Cost	Origin	Cost
		s. d.		s. d.
<i>Textiles</i>				
Bafts, 33½", per 12 yards ..	India	4 0½	Germany	15 8½
Shirtings, 35½", per 12 yards ..	India	3 11½	India	18 6½
Dutch Blocks, 2-colour, 48" ..	Holland	16 9	Holland	48 0
Wax Fitters, 2-colour, 48" ..	U.K.	14 6½	U.K.	44 9½
Dyed drill, 2½"	U.K.	7 5	Germany/U.K. ..	22 9½
<i>Hardware</i>				
Enamel basins, white, 30 cm. ..	Japan	3 7½	U.K.	17 3
			Czechoslovakia ..	28 10
			Belgium	26 8
Matchets, 3-Star, size 1	Sweden	6 9	Sweden	13 0½
Billhook matchets, No. 410, ..				
per doz.	U.K.	7 3	U.K.	22 11½
Grey Pearl Cord, 24/8 ply ..	U.K.	1 0½	U.K.	5 0
			Canada	4 9
			Belgium	5 2½
Galvd. Buckets, 28/30 lbs., ..				
11"	Belgium	8 8½	U.K.	35 3
			Czechoslovakia ..	37 8
<i>Provisions</i>				
Sugar, Tate & Lyle No. 3, ..				
Cubes, per cwt.	U.K.	18 7	U.K.	58 2
Milk, unsweetened, ..				
condensed, 96 × 6-oz. tins ..	Local purchase ..	18 0	Holland	42 9
Flour, 95-lb. bags	U.S.A.	12 0	U.S.A.	42 10