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EDITORIAL

THE AUDITOR-GENERAL AND THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

THE AUDITOR-GENERAL'S Report (Report Parts II and III, 31st December, 1964) on State Enterprises, Public Boards and Corporations, Educational Institutions etc. has just been published, and lives up to its reputation of being frank.

The Auditor-General is particularly worried about the state of the accounts of the University of Ghana, Legon. An investigation by his Department into the accounts of the University "disclosed that no Trial Balance had been prepared since September 1963 and consequently the final accounts for 1963/64 had not been prepared and the closing balances for 1962/63 had not been brought forward in the books of accounts for 1963/64. The investigation also revealed that internal accounting arrangements had been ignored with the result that not a single return of analysis of emoluments had been submitted to their office for the whole of the year 1964/65. Filing and documentation of records were also badly in arrears" (Report p.27, para. 312). It is most reprehensible that the fundamental accounting requirement of publishing audited annual accounts was not followed in an institution of Legon's standing. This has come as no surprise to those who have had anything to do with the Accounts Branch of the University; nevertheless, something must be done about this unsatisfactory state of affairs.

We are aware that the new Administration has shown concern about this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Last year, the University Council viewed the financial situation with such an alarm that a Financial subcommittee of the Council was set up to examine the University Accounts. In November last year, the University Accountants, Messrs. Knox, Cropper and Gedge Co., examined the accounts and irritably reported to the Council that they were thoroughly dissatisfied with the University accounts. In other words, the Auditor-General has publicised what has been felt in many circles for a long time: that the Accounts Branch of the University of Ghana could be accused of negligence of duty, inefficiency and carelessness.

However, to use this evidence to come to the conclusion that the whole University—the academic and administrative staff—is irresponsible, is to display misplaced ingenuity, a certainly malicious attitude of mind. A whole lot of distinctions have to be drawn, and it does not call for any sub-

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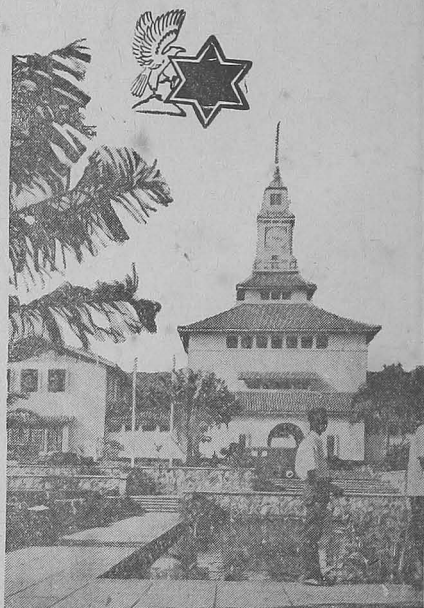
tlety of mind to do so. Issues must be separated from the need to find scapegoats. What has to be done is to place the issues involved in their proper perspective. The general accusation by the Auditor-General is that irregularities exist in the accounts of the University of Ghana. This accusation, in itself, certainly brings the University into disrepute. Ghanaians should rightly be worried over this unsatisfactory state of affairs and to clear the good name of the university there is a need to set up a full Commission of Enquiry to examine the accounts and any other related matters that may arise.

It is no use arguing—as might be argued in some quarters—that to call for such a commission is to endanger academic freedom. Where the taxpayers' money is involved and where responsible peoples' attitude to the taxpayers' money is so cavalier, the plea of academic freedom is clearly beside the point. There is no denying the fact that the top administrative grade of the Accounts Branch is formally and technically competent; however, the relevant issue here is that this technical competence is not revealed in the work of the Accounts Department. Furthermore, circulating and unconfirmed rumours have it that what the Auditor-General says in his report about the University is just the visible part of an iceberg; the submerged part is yet to see the light of day, and only a Commission of Enquiry can reveal the submerged part.

The advantages of such a commission are obvious: whether one admits it or not the University's prestige is now at stake, and only a Commission of Enquiry may restore the jeopardized prestige. The period from 1961 to 1966 should be thoroughly investigated, and reasons provided for the failure to audit the accounts. In a country like ours where people set so much store by University standards, have so much faith in so and expect, much from, the staff and students, a failure to appoint a Commission of Enquiry to look into accounts will do lasting damage to this fine institution. To ask for a Commission of Enquiry is to recommend a method which may seem fashionable now in Ghana, but is very urgent, for the Auditor-General's Report is a challenge to the moral courage and integrity of the Administrators of the University of Ghana.

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L.S.N.A. Communication

THE EXECUTIVE

By

Our Political Correspondent

IN CONSIDERING the type of executive for which the new Constitution must make provision there are certain objectives that must be steadfastly kept in view and to which the nature of the executive must be closely related.

In Ghana, as in all other developing countries, an overriding objective of the government (in this sense synonymous with the executive) must be rapid modernisation. This means that the government must, as a matter of high priority, concern itself with rapid, all-round social and economic development. It must have enough power to mobilize the resources of the country for the provision of schools, hospitals, good drinking water, roads, houses etc. not only in the urban areas but also, or even more so, in the rural areas. Resources cannot be shared without first exploiting and developing them. The government must also have power, therefore, to ensure that the right type of industries are set up at the right places, that the right type of agricultural products are cultivated and that modern scientific knowledge is applied in this activity, that resources are applied to the provision of the economic infra-structure without which very little, if any, economic development can be carried through etc.

It is necessary to ensure that in pursuing the objective of rapid modernisation the freedom of the citizens will not be sacrificed, for freedom is also an overriding objective of governments in developing countries. Indeed, it may be held that the objective of rapid modernisation itself is the enlargement of individual freedom. It is therefore completely unacceptable to argue that in order to achieve rapid modernisation freedom must be sacrificed or postponed to an indefinite and uncertain future. Both rapid modernisation and maintenance of freedom must be overriding objectives of government in developing countries.

Rival Systems

It is suggested that the objectives here outlined imply that the new Constitution should make provision for a strong central government. This strong central government must, however, be so democratically organised that it will not have the constitutional right to ride roughshod over our fundamental liberties and that the people will have the opportunity at all times to change the personnel of the government if they so desire.

It is in the light of the above that the two systems of executive that seem to be available perhaps with modifications, to the Constitution makers should be considered. The two systems are, of course, the parliamentary executive or the cabinet system and the non-parliamentary executive or the presidential system. The two rival systems are derived, respectively from the British and the American systems. To ensure that our reasons for our choice are fully understood a short, sketchy description of the two systems will here be given.

In the Cabinet system executive power is vested in a council or a group of people called the Cabinet and led by a Prime Minister. (The Prime Minister has been, increasingly, dominating the Cabinet.) The members of the Cabinet are selected from the party or parties which command a majority in the legislature (or that part of the legislature which has effective political power). The Cabinet remains in power so long, and only so long, as it has the confidence of the legislature. That means the cabinet remains in power only so long as a majority of the legislature support it. As soon as the legislature declares (by majority) that it has no confidence in the Cabinet or refuses to support the government on a major issue the cabinet must resign in favour of another cabinet. The cabinet commands the confidence of the legislature; it must dissolve the legislature and call for a general election.

In the presidential system or the non-parliamentary executive, executive power is vested in a council or group of people but in one person called the President. The President is usually elected directly by popular vote and independently of the legislature. He is not selected by the legislature; and he is not responsible to the legislature in the sense that the Cabinet is. He does not have to resign if the legislature passes a vote of no-confidence in him or if it refuses to approve his major measures. The legislature and the President (the Chief Executive, as he is called in America) are constitutionally independent of each other although the President must govern in accordance with the laws passed by the legislature and cannot spend any money that has not been authorised by the legislature.

Presidential System for Ghana

Which of the two systems will better suit Ghana? It is here suggested, in all humility, that the presidential system is the answer. It is clear that this suggestion runs counter to the overwhelming majority of suggestions that have been put forward in the popular press and to the Constitutional Commission during its tour of the country.

reported in the daily press). It is equally clear that the reason why many people prefer the cabinet system is the experience of our recent past. It is feared that the presidential system may allow another unworthy person, supported by a bunch of ruffians and "gaping sycophants", to re-impose a corrupt and detestable dictatorship over the country. This is understandable. We should not, however, allow our recent experience to cloud our judgement and obscure our vision. We should ask ourselves which of the two systems is better calculated to achieve the twin-objectives we have set down for the government.

It would appear that the direction of political thinking in the country is such that the cabinet system will not be able to cope with the problems of rapid modernisation. The reason is that the cabinet system will most probably lead to instability of governments. Government will resign every now and again as a result of constant defeats in the legislature and, consequently, developments will slow down and we shall lose our sense of direction, remembering especially the parlous state of the Civil Service. The cabinet system does not necessarily result in weak government, but strong Cabinet government is possible only on the basis of a strong party system. Now, it is as clear as day that people are intensely against a strong party system in the country and no future government, for a long time to come, is going to be able to exercise such control over M.P.s. as will ensure stable government. Indeed, there is a strong body of opinion in the country to-day that is completely opposed to the party system itself. It is necessary to warn that in the absence of parties the cabinet system will lead to such instability and confusion that even the very people who are against parties to-day will swing decisively in favour of over-strong government. The opportunities this will open up for a would-be dictator are so plain that the point need not be argued here.

No attempt is being made to play down the dangers that a presidential system may pose to the country. The threat of dictatorship, the possible resurrection of the personality cult, the rebirth of sycophancy, of both the gaping and the active variety, and the danger of the total personalisation of politics in the country—all these will have to be closely watched. It is believed, however, that safeguards can be provided against these, that some have already been suggested in these columns and that, with our experience to prod us on, we shall be on our guard to prevent the perversion of these safeguards. In addition to these safeguards there are two

others that are specific to the presidency which may be considered.

Impeachment

It is in conformity, not only with our traditional norms of government but also with all democratic institutions, that a Chief Executive and other high officials of state should be made constitutionally answerable to the people or their representatives for venal crimes or gross maladministration of which they may be guilty whilst in office. The new Constitution must therefore provide for the impeachment of the Chief Executive and other high officials of state in the event of their being suspected of having committed certain heinous offences. These offences must also be elaborated in the Constitution but not be so clearly defined as to make it legally impossible to include any offences or diabolical acts which may have escaped the attention of the framers of the Constitution. Impeachment will, of course, be in addition to the normal responsibility that the President and other high officials of state bear to the electorate or their representatives.

It is fashionable to argue that impeachment is a crude and out-dated instrument for ensuring that political officers keep to the path of righteousness. This may be so in countries where tradition (including the tradition of the use of the process of impeachment) has established the principle of high probity in public life and where departures from this principle can *nowadays* be dealt with through the ordinary political and legal processes. It is not so in Ghana or many other African countries where high officers of state, including Heads of State and Government, have yet to learn the most elementary principles of integrity in public life. Nevertheless it is important to hedge the power of impeachment round with safeguards so that it is not easily abused.

To initiate an impeachment ten or more MPs should prefer an indictment. The indictment should go to an independent tribunal for impartial examination to see whether a *prima facie* case can be established. This tribunal may preferably consist of the Chief Justice, the Senior Judge of the Supreme Court, the Senior Judge of the High Court, the President of the Bar Association and a retired judge nominated by the other members of the Tribunal. If a *prima facie* case is not established the case should be dismissed outright. If a *prima facie* case is established the matter may then be put before Parliament. The President may appear before Parliament to defend himself. If the case against the President is upheld he must forthwith resign. After his resignation, when he is no longer President,

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he can then be prosecuted in the ordinary Courts for any offence committed whilst in Office for which any other citizen would be prosecuted.

Term of Office

The other safeguard specific to the presidency is the limitation of the length of time a person can be president. In a truly democratic system no Head of Government must be allowed to remain in power for too long. It has been said, very wisely, that democracy operates on the vital hypothesis that no one is indispensable. What is "too long" may differ with people and countries, but there is, in the modern world, a general consensus that a four- or five-year term is adequate. Five years perhaps may provide more stability for us. No one, then, may be President for more than two five-year terms. Where a Vice-President (which should be provided for to succeed the President in case of death, incapacitation, resignation or to act for him in his absence) succeeds to the remaining part of a President's term he may be elected to only one full term in addition to the uncompleted term.

The limitation on the terms of office of the President must be considered one of the most essential clauses of the Constitution and one of the most important safeguards of our freedom. A cursory glance at African politics underscores this statement. Every African Head of Government considers himself indispensable to his country; either he must lead or the country is ruined. Somalia apart, there is no African country where the Head of Government has retired voluntarily or agreed to be removed constitutionally; only death (natural or violent) or *coups* have so far been able to save Africa from the permanent embrace of her leaders. It is this disease of indispensability which has so far made it impossible to have a viable democracy anywhere in Africa. It must be resolved that we in Ghana will never allow anyone to rule us for more than ten years even if that person were Emperor Marcus Aurelius himself.

Africa

NIGERIA'S AGONY

By

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

AS LONG as the decrees and declarations continue to be made, we too may continue to hope for something reasonable to emerge from it. Otherwise the Nigerian tragedy takes on deeper and darker hues daily. Without minimising the hope, we can still opine that the East-North impasse is at the moment the most disquieting of all the political situations which are creating such anxiety in the council chambers of black Africa, and far beyond. True, Sierra Leone is by no means purged of the political crisis which has developed there too during the last few months, and which is the latest item in our continental catalogue of disasters and near-disasters; moreover, the Margai-Stevens conflict also threatens to blow up big before the current general election (March 17-21) is determined; it may do so perhaps even after the results are declared. But explosions in Sierra Leone, even if they should go off, would be like musketry to the bombs and cannon-fire which will shatter both homes and hopes in Lagos, Kaduna, Enugu, and Benin City, were the quarrel between Colonel Gowon and Colonel Ojukwu to be allowed to develop into open hostilities. The Congo affair itself, for sheer horror, would pale off into second place in the presence of a Nigerian civil war.

Of course the blood-feud between North and East need never develop into the blood-bath of a general, or even a limited, civil war in Nigeria. Indeed if Colonel Ojukwu had his way the escalation of bitter quarrel into actual fighting will not happen, in spite of the Eastern leader's declared "[readiness] to meet force with force". But in that case neither will there be a Nigeria any more, at any rate the Nigeria we have known and agreed to allocate the place and part of an "African Giant". For, in compensation for the avoidance of civil war, Colonel Ojukwu now offers the alternative of "decentralisation"—a mild euphemism for that oft-threatened and thoroughly apprehensible break-up of the Federation. By such a dispensation the Eastern Region would become, by unilateral choice, the first "Nigerian" separate, autonomous state, and the remaining three of the present four divisions would be left to make their own arrangements. Needless to add, the departure of the East would almost certainly be the signal for the other breakaway moves then to be expected, with the Northerners being the most likely to take their place next in line for the "Secession Stakes", regardless of what the Centre thinks.

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The defusing of the charge by the substitution of "decentralisation" for civil war, in this way, may be the less of two evils, but it will certainly not be the end of danger. Indeed the prodigious "uterness" of the difficulties of partition—to borrow a term from James Baldwin—may itself precipitate a negative reaction in the form of an application of sanctions which may then reconnect the fuse. And if this danger should not materialize, that would not mean there was no further risk either. Negotiations and bargaining over the distribution of national or regional assets and liabilities in such circumstances cannot be expected to predispose the contestants to any back-slapping camaraderie. On the contrary, the permutations of dissent, and of defection from the straight line of rationality, will be enormously increased. The fact is, there can be no guarantee whatsoever of peaceful negotiations, or of peace thereafter, in these matters. India and Pakistan over Kashmere do not constitute the only case in point, and that case was never fraught with even half the potential dangers of Nigeria's multi-lineal ethnic, territorial and economic problems, if and when the time comes for partitioning into—how many parts, anyway?

How many parts, indeed. This is the second line of major problems. For even assuming that all the contestants agreed to the present four-part division at first (North, West, Mid-West, and East), would it stop there? Not by a long chance. The North is not homogeneous, and neither is the East. . . . So we cannot but expect a general pressure from more secessionist moves, a call for other acts of partition. Some of these demands will be based on a Togoland-Ewe type of dilemma: whether to re-unite two halves of one people in half a territory, in order to bring them together again; or to unite two halves of one territory, in order to get one people back in one place. And some, as in the case of the Oil-Rivers area of Eastern Nigeria, will involve a Katanga type principle: that of a smaller but richer part of the whole wanting to become separate and autonomous, in order to avoid having to carry the bigger, poorer part in financial support for ever. But the "poor relation" is, in this case also, the political power, and would of course try to crush any Tshombe-style sub-separatist rebellion in quick order. But since, as in Katanga, international capital is heavily involved in Eastern Nigeria, some of the possibilities here are best left to the imagination.

Which immediately posits the third major problem of partition, namely economic viability in each separate state-to-be. Northern Nigeria, even if potentially rich, is vastly undeveloped as well as solidly and palpably landlocked; for the

export of her groundnuts, cotton, and hides, air-freight transportation is impossible, and the then foreign ports of Lagos, Port Harcourt, Cotonou, Lome, Whydda, or where-else—even on favourable traffic terms—would be, at least in effect, a thousand miles away each. As for the East, an Ibo state there without the Oil-Rivers province would be for a generation or more an economic wilderness for 10-15 million people. Only the Yorubas, of the three major divisions of Nigerian peoples, would be relatively homogeneous as well as economically viable; and even they would have their problems.

What does all this argue? For us at any rate it argues the need for a speedy agreement on some form of confederation in Nigeria, rather than for partitions into separate autonomies. Secondly, we would like to urge Ghana, and any other African state (except Guinea) that would, if it could, to rally to the aid of our big, stricken neighbour and sister, as mediators and arbitrators; or, if they are doing so already, to persist until they succeed. Let us hasten to add that we make these comments and offer these suggestions out of no smug self-satisfaction with our own lot, nor in complete confidence in the security of our own future; rather, we speak from an overpowering concern over our fortunes and our fate, in a new Africa still being painfully born before the eyes of the whole world.

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The Economy

A POLICY FOR THE FISHING INDUSTRY (II)

By

G. Kportufe Agama

IN OUR first instalment, we described the main features of the fishing industry, and drew attention to the lack of government policy for this industry. Since then, government appointed a Commission to inquire into the activities of the State Fishing Corporation, rented thirteen of the eighteen Russian trawlers which have been idle for over a year to Mankoadze Fisheries, a Ghanaian private firm, and took delivery of a fishing research vessel donated under the United Nations Development Programme. These activities appear to indicate some government policy on the fishing industry. But this policy, like government economic policy on other specific sectors and issues, is not yet announced. And as we cannot sensibly discuss unannounced government intentions, we limit ourselves in what follows to our own view of how government should treat the fishing industry.

Insufficient Production

From our previous analysis, it is clear that the main bottleneck in the fishing industry is not lack of demand but insufficient production. Fishing is a traditional activity of littoral Ghanaians, and a policy on fishing with the objective of raising output must, therefore take into account commonly practised modes of fishing in the country. It is easier to effect improvements in the fishing industry through the medium of private fishermen. One of the main lines of improvement ought to be the provision of credit to purchase motorized fishing vessels which are easy to handle. The terms of credit must be devised in such a way as to favour significantly, and thereby promote combinations of fishermen into fishing co-operatives. Another element of policy is that government must conclude reciprocal agreements on fishing rights with neighbouring West African countries, and enforce the country's laws against infringement by foreign fishing interlopers. In addition, it would be desirable for the country that the government remove the present vexatious levies on fish landed, levies which are intended merely for raising revenue rather than for providing definite incentive for greater production. The idea behind these elements of policy is to promote gradual adaptation of human resources accustomed to a certain activity to new methods. This is likely to have greater beneficial impact in the long run than crash programmes of investment in complex, though second hand methods which lack the full complement of requisite human

resources. This is particularly so in an industry like fishing.

Although the State Fishing Corporation was established to increase output, its operation as well as government activities related to it moved in a direction extremely opposite to our suggested line of policy. Not only was there a determined effort to eliminate private Ghanaian enterprise from the fishing industry but also the attempt was characterized by an over-capitalization of the public sector of the industry without any consideration for effective utilization, and therefore, for economic return. The existence of cold storage facilities scattered all over the country which hardly stored fish is too well-known to be over-emphasised. This is, of course, a standard, albeit no longer refreshing, flogging of the fallen regime. There are, however, two areas where the present government cannot claim to be entirely innocent.

Fishing Laws

The first of these relates to the enforcement of the laws of the land on fishing. Any foreign vessel fishing in Ghana waters must not only be at least fifty-one per cent under Ghanaian ownership, and the Ghanaian owners must reside in Ghana. This regulation is more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Foreign vessels fish in Ghana waters with remarkable impunity, and at times—indeed a great number of times—with considerable subsidy. In 1961, for example, a Frenchman brought three fishing vessels, purportedly from the Ivory Coast, on a visit to our fishing grounds and, surveying them, he found that they were full of sardines. He caught some which he sold here, changed his earnings into foreign currency, and left. The following year he returned with six vessels and did pretty much as the previous year. In 1963, he came back with a flotilla of 23 which netted a rich catch. But his luck ran not with the Bank of Ghana which, on the recommendation of the Fisheries Department that foreign fishing vessels must secure their own foreign exchange cover, refused to change the local currency into foreign exchange. Thus rebuffed, our Frenchman did the next best thing, he hauled his earnings in Ghanaian currency physically to the Ivory Coast where he had to settle for a much less favourable exchange rate.

It is not surprising therefore that in 1964 none of the so-called Abidjan vessels landed in Ghana ports. But in 1965 three came back, and immediately after the coup the following year fifteen were on hand. In fact, this time their operators succeeded in getting the Bank of Ghana to change their local currency earnings into foreign exchange much to the chagrin of the officials of the Fisheries Department who dutifully but unsuccessfully opposed the

measure. It is common knowledge in fishing circles that many foreign vessels operating in Ghana possess Ghana and Ivory Coast licences which they use for convenience. It is therefore not surprising that one of the vessels commonly regarded as an Abidjan boat was stated by the Inspector-General of Police as belonging to "a well-known C.P.P. supporter . . ." in his press statement on subversion on February 22, 1967.

Pertinent questions arise in the mind of the curious reader. We shall pose only two. The first is how do these vessels obtain their annual licences when they do not obviously fulfil the requirements of the law? The second question is how do the real or apparent owners obtain immigration quotas for the foreign personnel who operate the vessels? It was usual for the former government, under the banner of African unity, to order the release of foreign vessels intercepted by our coast guard, even though on one occasion a Ghanaian vessel, on its way from international waters, was intercepted in Ivory Coast waters, fined N¢400, and deprived of its catch of fish. Under what banner or slogan does the present government feel satisfied with such intolerable foreign interlopers?

Tax on Fish

The second area of policy in which the government has been ill-advised is taxation. In 1963 the fishing industry experienced a boom. In 1962 domestic catch was 57,970 tons in 1962 valued at N¢7.2 million as compared with 89,549 tons valued at N¢12.04 million in 1963. Indeed, as a result of the high profits made from the industry in 1963, the government, faced with its usual mounting expenditures, imposed a tax of N¢100 per ton of fish over 20 centimetres overall length, and five per cent *ad valorem* on fish 20 centimetres long or less. In post-coup Ghana, two additional taxes were added. These appear in the *Industrial Bulletin* No. 50 of 21 October, 1966 and consist of a port levy of 66.66 new pesewas per ton, and a wharfage fee also of 66.66 new pesewas per ton on vessels in port whether they are laden with fish or not. Drawing attention to the disincentive effects of these taxes on production, Ghanaian private fishermen have protested without success against these new levies. The objective of raising revenue for the government prevailed over that of providing incentives for increased production.

Taken together with the large overhead investments in the State Fishing Corporation, the effect of government activities has been to make fish dear in Ghana. Indeed, Ghanaians pay the highest price per ton of fish along the West Coast of Africa. The comparative figures for other West

African countries speak for themselves. While a box of fish weighing 52 pounds costs between three to five new cedis in Ghana, the same quantity costs 45 new pesewas in Sierra Leone, one new cedi in Nigeria, and one and one-half new cedis in the Ivory Coast.

Government Policy

A realistic approach to the fishing industry lies in government disengagement from direct fishing. In this connection, the rental of the thirteen Russian trawlers to a private firm is a step in the right direction. An important alternative to direct government fishing is research into fisheries which at present receives scant attention. With the exception of the Union of South Africa, Ghana is the foremost fishing country along the West Coast of Africa, but up to now, it has little organized research into this great natural resource. Recently, the Fisheries Department received two research vessels from Yugoslavia but these vessels are properly fit for research into the mechanics of boatbuilding rather than into fishing. They belong to a far earlier age and therefore require constant repairs.

As part of the programme of concentrated research, a fishing school should be established. This school must be separate from the Nautical College which should be left alone to train only sailors. In the event of government being unable to finance a fishing school, it should subsidize the employment of trained Ghanaian labour by private fishing firms, or grant exemptions from taxation in respect of expenses on such trained labour. The implementation of these measures will go a long way towards removing from an important natural resource sector of the economy the current perversion in some aspects of our domestic economic management which results in taxing Ghanaians in order to subsidize foreigners. (Concluded)

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Education

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN GHANA

By
L. H. Ofosu-Appiah

UNIVERSITIES, like the Civil Service, are a foreign importation into this country. With these imports came the concepts of the independence and autonomy of universities and the civil service. While the British, who were the importers, were running our affairs, we could reasonably take these concepts for granted; and very little effort was made by us to examine the historical development of these concepts in Britain and elsewhere in the world. We have seen in the past six years that it is very dangerous to take such ideas for granted, and that every type of freedom must be fought for and safeguarded in human society. I propose to examine the general question of university autonomy and academic freedom and then go on to show why we in Ghana should try to establish a tradition of autonomy and academic freedom in our universities by learning from our past mistakes.

When we talk of the independence or autonomy of a university, we do not mean that a university has all the powers of a sovereign state. This state of affairs does not exist anywhere in the world. No university institution is completely free from the control of the state in which it is established, whether it derives its revenue from that state or not. There are various forms of state control of academic institutions in the modern world. In France universities are a part of the Civil Service, and in Germany universities are state-controlled. The various states in the United States of America exercise some form of control over their universities and colleges while they have to respect the autonomy of the private universities and colleges. In Britain, the tradition of university autonomy dates from the Middle Ages.

Universities in Ancient Times

Originally, higher education in most parts of the world was centred around a learned man under whom students came from many countries to study. This was how the ancient Greek Sophists started educating the young men of Greece, and this was how Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum were established. Ancient Egypt, India and China had higher educational institutions run on similar lines, and in this way an international comity of learning gradually evolved. In Europe in the Middle Ages it was found that

because the cities in which universities were established like Bologna, Paris and Oxford were independent corporations, foreigners who came to study could not be granted protection by the King. There were frequent quarrels between the townspeople and the scholars, and these quarrels often led to bloody fights. The separation of church and state did not make it easy to enforce the law; and so, in order to create a favourable atmosphere for learning, universities, consisting of students and scholars, were formed into corporations which were under the authority of the church and were recognised by the state. This is how the division between town and gown started. But the charters and the regulations which were established did not exempt the universities from allegiance to the King or Parliament.

Civic Universities

When the civic universities were established in the 19th century in Britain none of them had charters which granted them the type of autonomy which Oxford and Cambridge had. Since higher education in the industrial cities of 19th century England started as private enterprise, those who paid the bill controlled the universities. University College, London, was financed by a joint stock company, while Owens College, Manchester, and Mason College, Birmingham, were financed by wealthy individuals. The trustees decided the policies of these institutions. Thus, as Fiddes says, the trustees of Owens College, Manchester, "as one of their first acts laid down, could dismiss a professor at their absolute discretion." The teachers could only represent their views to the trustees through the Principal. There was no curriculum, no senate, no boards of studies or faculties. But from such beginnings a tradition was gradually established whereby these institutions came to be under the rule of two separate authorities—a Council, and a Senate or Academic Board. The Council consisted predominantly of laymen who were interested in the work that the universities were doing, and a small number of academics, including the head of the University. The Senate, however, was controlled by professors, and it came to have the responsibility for academic matters like curricula, appointments, discipline, examinations and the awarding of degrees. Although there was no law preventing the Council from interfering with academic matters, yet the lay members came to trust the Senates to such an extent that gradually it became established that only the Senates could deal with exclusively academic matters. A convention was therefore established and the lay members of the Council, who in Britain knew a lot about universities, scrupulously kept the rules of the game.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Longmans Research Fellowship In English Language

Applications are invited for a Longmans Research Fellowship in the English Language, tenable at University College London for one year.

The Fellowship may be awarded only to an African graduate, who holds a lectureship or preferably a senior lectureship in a University or Training College in Africa and is concerned with the teaching of English, or who is a Government official with duties in that field.

The Fellow will be expected to undertake approved research in the field of Present-day English Language under the direction of Professor Randolph Quirk. He will have facilities for work in the Department of English Language and Literature, the Communication Research Centre and the Department of Phonetics in the College, and he will have access to the material of the Survey of English Usage.

The Fellow might, if he wishes and if it were thought appropriate, undertake the course for the College Diploma in English Linguistic Studies. Arrangements might be made for him to undertake courses available at other schools or institutes of the University of London.

The emoluments of the Fellow, which will be subject to United Kingdom Income Tax, will be determined by the College so as to include

- (a) his tourist-class return air fare;
- (b) payment of fees, and a sum for the purchase of necessary books and equipment, and travel in the United Kingdom;
- (c) an adequate allowance, not less than £80 a month, for living expenses;
- (d) where applicable, a maintenance grant of £200 a year for his wife, and £50 a year for each child up to three.

Letters of application should include a curriculum vitae giving details of academic qualifications including the dates, classes and subjects of degrees, previous and present occupations, research undertaken and in progress, and publications. Applicants should give the names of three referees.

Applicants should give their marital status and the number and ages of their children. They should also state when they wish and would be able to take up the Fellowship.

Applications should reach the Registrar, University College London, Gower Street, London W.C.1., by 17 April 1967.

It must be stressed here that it was not the law and the constitution which prevented the lay members on the Council from interfering in academic matters. It was rather the scrupulous regard which those men had for academic institutions and the trust they put in the men who were charged with their running. And the trust could be taken for granted because the two parties had identical outlook on academic matters. They were either university men themselves, or came from families with an academic tradition and respect for knowledge.

University College of the Gold Coast

When the University College of the Gold Coast was established in 1948 the Ordinance which was passed followed the constitutions of the British civic universities. A Council and an Academic Board were established and the College had four representatives on the Council including the Principal. These representatives were elected by the Academic Board, and were, like their counterparts in Britain, Professors or Heads of Departments. The Ordinance laid it down that the first Principal was to be appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the next Principal by the Council on the recommendation of the Academic Board. The Gold Coast did not have at the time many men and women conversant with the working of academic institutions, so the membership of the Council had to follow the traditional pattern of the Colonial era. A judge of the High Court, Sir Lesley McCarthy, who drafted the Ordinance, became its first Chairman, and Sir Tsiibu Darku and the late Kobina Sekyi were among the members. There were two members representing the Inter-University Council. The other main feature of the Council was that membership was partly regional, but the Northern Territories were not represented.

In all countries the state has a medium through which it deals with universities. In Britain the Universities Grants Committee (U.G.C.) is the body which caters for the interest of the universities, and its report is laid before Parliament. A convention has been established whereby attacks on the universities are not made openly in Parliament, since it is expected that where things go wrong the U.G.C. would deal with the universities directly. Although the main function of the U.G.C. in Britain is to see that the universities obtain all the financial aid they need, the Committee does exercise a veiled form of direction over the universities. If, for example, the failure rate of a department in a university were high, the Committee would call the attention of the Vice-Chancellor to it and suggest an enquiry within the University. In this way public criticism

would be avoided and the universities could be made aware of their shortcomings. In the Gold Coast the University College Council was expected to play the role of a Governing Body as well as of a University Grants Committee. But the composition of the council was such that it could not play both roles effectively. Although some of the lay members of the Council were graduates, none had had experience of the internal working of a university administration. And so they generally chose to give the academic men a free hand to build up the College according to their own idea of what a university should be. The public relations of the University College has been attacked for being very poor, but nobody has blamed the lay members of the Council for neglecting their duty of asking simple questions. For example, if the law required the University College to publish a report annually and that was not done for a year, the lay members of the Council should be severely censured. They could also have insisted on being given the background of all the members of the staff, and this would have saved them the embarrassment of discovering ten years later that one of the professors claimed a degree which he did not have! But the historians of the period, like Sir Eric Ashby, have been guilty of putting all the blame for this state of affairs on the Principal and his colleagues, when the Africans should also share the blame.

The Law and Academic Freedom

The autonomy of the University College of the Gold Coast was established by law, and it was left to the first Principal, David Balme, to establish a tradition of academic freedom, and this he did admirably. It should be pointed out that autonomous universities do not automatically have academic freedom. In the 19th century, Oxford had rules against certain religious sects in Britain, but it was an autonomous university. Academic freedom does not seem to have been defined in any English court of law. But Lord Chorley points out that the nearest approach to statutory recognition of academic freedom in a British University is in the articles of association of the London School of Economics and Political Science, where it is stated that no member of the staff shall be "under any disability or disadvantage by reason only of any opinions he may hold or promulgate on any subject whatsoever." It was in 19th century Germany, where universities were state-controlled, that the practice of granting the privilege of academic freedom began. The Germans divided the privilege of academic freedom into the privilege of the teacher to be free to teach, and the privilege of the student and research worker to be free to do their work. This idea has been extended

in English speaking countries in such a way that academic freedom is now regarded not as a privilege, but as a right.

Academic freedom has been defined as "that freedom of members of the academic community, assembled in colleges and universities which underlies the effective performance of the functions of teaching, learning, practice of the arts, and research. The right to academic freedom is recognised in order to enable faculty members and students to carry on their roles." The features of academic freedom which universities expect are *the freedom to select staff and students and to determine the conditions under which they may remain in the universities.* The university should be free to set its standards of admission, to lay down its curricula, subject to certain financial restrictions, and to award its degrees. It is on the financial side that universities cannot have complete freedom. In Britain there is a school of thought that once a university has had its grant approved by the Universities Grants Committee, it should be free to allocate it. But some people feel that Parliament should have a say in such matters, while others think that Parliament must be kept out by the Universities Grants Committee giving more direction to the Universities. In the University College of the Gold Coast academic freedom was limited only by the fact that the College was in special relationship with the University of London and had to accept the entrance requirements and degree standards of London University. This limitation was asked for by the leaders of the Gold Coast themselves in order to safeguard the degrees of the new College. The criticism of later years that this was an imperialist trick to keep down the number of graduates must therefore be dismissed as unhistorical and dishonest.

Balme and Change in Constitution

One of the actions of David Balme which has been criticised severely was his decision to change the constitution of the University College under the Ordinance and run it on the lines of Cambridge University. The Government of the Gold Coast refused to accept his new constitution, but he adopted a clever legal device by persuading the College Council to publish bye-laws which did away with the old constitution in fact, if not in law. Sir James Duff, who was a member of the Council at the time says "I am afraid that this disrespect for the constitution made it easier for Nkrumah to begin the series of gross interferences with the university (as it had become) which went on until the end of his regime." What is not easy to understand is why Sir James and all the members of the Council with their

Chairman, Sir Arku Korsah, agreed to pass the bye-laws. David Balme wanted to turn the University College into a full University in 1953, and his main reason was that he was trying to prevent government interference in the affairs of the College. The move was vehemently opposed, but the new constitution had some merits which even its critics admit. It made it possible for younger dons to take part in shaping policy and to gain experience in Committee work. This later on became an asset. The history of the Kumasi University might have been different if the senior staff had had similar training over the years. I think Balme's disrespect for the constitution is due largely to the fact that he is the only head of the University who had made a correct assessment of Nkrumah. He also had the advantage of not owing his appointment to Nkrumah, and came at a time when Nkrumah was not the Redeemer of the Gold Coast. Like Aristotle's proud man he did not regard Nkrumah as an equal, and kept him out altogether. This rankled with Kwame, and his subsequent attacks on Legon sprang partly from this snub. The Chairman of the College Council was made aware of the illegal position when the Council reappointed Balme for another 5 years in March 1953. The Colonial Secretary pointed out that the recommendation had not come to the Council from the Academic Board established under the Ordinance, but from the Council of the Senate and was therefore illegal. The College had to hold elections for the Academic Board and then the mistake was corrected. But after that the College continued to be run according to the bye-laws, and so the illegality persisted.

Freedom from Political Interference

But the main feature of the first ten years of the College's existence was the almost complete freedom from political interference. Occasionally there were rumblings from the C.P.P. But on the whole the battles were internal. The main point of conflict was over Africanisation. Here the foreigners displayed an intransigence which cost the University dearly in the end. For when the first set of post-graduates qualified, the second Principal and his supporters maintained that they could not be absorbed into the existing staff. The university staff was open to the best competitors in the world, it was maintained; though no attempt was made to explain why the best were mainly Britons! This attitude opened the way to political interference in appointments later on, but at the time the warnings were disregarded. Largely through the efforts of the Chairman, Sir Arku Korsah, and Mr. K. A. Gbedemah,

the then Minister of Finance, the government agreed to set aside a certain sum for "Closed Lectureships" limited to Ghanaians, but the members of the government made it plain among themselves that they would hit back later. The stage had been set for a confrontation.

The second Principal, Stoughton, was a man after Nkrumah's heart because he was a scientist. His appointment was applauded in Parliament, and he himself assured the staff that he knew how to deal with the government in order to secure maximum cooperation. He was soon to be disillusioned. One of his first acts was to write a new constitution for the University College. This was based on the model of the English civic universities and the College was to be ruled by professors. It was severely criticised and finally thrown out, and the College continued to be run on the same lines as before until in June 1961 the College Council was abolished and an Interim University Council was established by Nkrumah with himself as Chancellor.

(To be concluded)

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Observer Notebook

African Ministers at Addis Ababa

THE EIGHTH regular session of the O.A.U. Council of Ministers opened on February 27 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, attended by representative Ministers of all but four of the 38 member-states. The absentee states were Upper Volta, Niger, Guinea and Lesotho.

The Council was opened by Crown Prince Asfa Wossen of Ethiopia who acted for his father who is on a state visit to Russia. The session opened on a note of idealism—that “we must concentrate on the use of force as the only path in achieving freedom for the people of Zimbabwe”. This is idealism because with the exception of the North African countries, Egypt, and Algeria, particularly, and perhaps Ghana in tropical Africa, all the African states are just too impotent militarily to be able to muster enough “force” to fight in Southern Rhodesia. It appears contradictory that Ethiopia should sound this note of idealism; however, the contradiction is only apparent when it is remembered that Ethiopia at world councils sounds such idealistic notes in order to stave off pressures from home for a more radical approach to domestic problems. No wonder then that this note of idealism was coolly received by the participating Ministers. Unlike previous such sessions realism dominated the conference.

It is unrealistic to embark on arms deals when various sectors of the economies of African countries are competing for the poor foreign reserves of African countries. The new spirit of realism was reflected in the severe whittling down of the Liberation Committee's budget. It is indeed sad that African countries cannot match their idealism with action, for too much realism cannot solve the Rhodesian issue. The existence of independent Rhodesia is a standing affront to the independence of African countries. African diplomatic strategy should do two things: first, convince the North African states that the Rhodesian cause is their cause too; this is necessary, for the countries with the strongest Armies in Africa are South Africa, Egypt and Algeria—in that order.

A full-scale war may have catastrophic effects, as it may provide excuse for the combined armed forces of South Africa and Rhodesia to crush some African states, to let alone the cold war implications of such a step. Secondly, African diplomatic pressure must emphasise in American, Russian and U.N. circles that the Rhodesian problem is a threat to peace. However, unless

the Africans in Southern Rhodesia are prepared to embark on guerrilla warfare no one may be convinced of the necessity to help them. Resort to the use of force as a solution for the Rhodesian crisis may be a peroration and a political slogan of African “progressives” and radicals, but it seems to be the only way out as Britain looks either impotent or unwilling to do much.

Mandate for Perfidy

IT LOOKS as though the Gaullists will have a new and probably strengthened mandate for another five years. It is probably a good thing for France. Gaullism has been a welcome opportunity for France to escape from the tradition of weak governments due to a multitude of parties none of which was strong enough to provide effective leadership for the country. General de Gaulle has been able to extricate France from a colonial war in Algeria that served no useful purpose and which could have resulted in a demoralising defeat that could have emphasized France's decline as a major power. General de Gaulle has also restored French prestige and influence in world politics not to mention the enormous economic rehabilitation of the country.

This is all well and good for France but what has General de Gaulle meant for us in Africa? At first glance he has been a good friend judging from the “unsober adulation” for “papa” shown by many a leader in Africa to him. Moreover France spends a larger percentage of her national income in aiding developing nations than any other country in the world. What a progressive outlook not to mention France's policy towards the U.S. rape of Vietnam! But on a closer look, General de Gaulle is an enemy of African aspirations. His big aid is well compensated for by the adulation he gets which underlines the success of French cultural imperialism.

To seek independence is to invite brusque and rough treatment—witness Guinean independence and the threats of famine Djibouti politicians have been facing. Independence must at all costs be made to seem like self-inflicted punishment. As for Vietnam is it not possible that the General is jealous of U.S. power which on the one hand makes it impossible for her to experience a Dien Bien Phu and on the other hand makes it possible for her to get away with practically anything including ignoring the General?

But the real treachery consists of French ambivalence over Rhodesia and South West Africa and French aid to Portugal and South Africa—our greatest enemies. France is a chief supplier of arms, more particularly military aircraft, to South Africa contrary to numerous U.N. resolutions.

(The General has nothing but scorn for the U.N.) Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, Chairman of the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO) has been reported as saying that he is seeking the help of several French-speaking African states to try to influence General de Gaulle to stop supporting Portugal. Good luck to him. He should, perhaps, first try to dissuade these states from giving uncritical support to the General. This may obviate the need to change the General himself.

Congratulations, Chief Electrical Engineer

IT WAS so refreshing to hear the announcement of the Chief Electrical Engineer on the radio in the evening of 8 March warning residents of certain areas in Accra that their electricity would be cut off temporarily for stated reasons. This is a responsible practice for which the Chief Electrical Engineer in charge of Accra should be congratulated. One hopes that greater publicity will be given to such announcements in the future, e.g., in the main news programmes and in the local papers.

Those responsible for water supply can take a leaf out of the Chief Electrical Engineer's book. Irresponsible shut-offs without warning, particularly at weekends and holidays when people are at home and need water as has been happening in Tesano, among other areas, should cease. One hopes that the Expediting Committee will be made more useful and given disciplinary powers to suspend salaries, or cancel pay rises, or mete out other appropriate punishments not only for such conduct but for inefficiency generally.

Public Transportation

THE STATE of public transportation is a sad comment on the calibre of leadership this country has had. A good system of public transportation could obviate the need for many cars. In a developing country like Ghana it is sad that luxury items such as cars should be necessities. The foreign currency wasted in the importation and upkeep of cars could be more profitably utilised in increasing our productive capacity. But this does not seem to worry anybody, most of all Ghana's elite whose main concern is expanding consumption incomes and availability of all kinds of frivolous comforts.

What is worse, the state of public transportation is another indication of the apparent unconcern for the plight of the average man in this country. People are more concerned with orders of precedence and inexcusable absurdities such as a half pesewa than in promoting the general welfare. For most people in the towns getting to and from work is sheer tedium. As for travel to distant places it is a nightmare. Few people have ever

appreciated what misery the average person goes through. In a place like Accra there are only a handful of buses to ply a few routes. Long queues and long hours of waiting are the rule. The result is that workers get home late and have to wake up early.

Without the "tro-tros" things would really be impossible. But not only are the "tro-tros" treated with disrespect by the Accra-Tema City Council (for example, they cannot take on or discharge passengers at bus stops), the government is no longer licensing open vehicles with wooden frames and roofs. While one understands the reasons behind this policy, what are the authorities doing in the form of replacements? Even if there are enough "tro-tros" to satisfy the transportation needs of the city, which is not the case, has one stopped to consider the problems posed for the womenfolk, particularly those with babies on their back when they have to board or alight from some of these "tro-tros"? Don't those responsible feel guilty when they ride pompously by in their Mercedes cars ignoring the pleas for lifts from the people whose labour earned the foreign currency used to import these cars? Something has to be done about transportation in and out of towns and about the degenerate middle class of this society. Will people stop re-scheduling debts for only two weeks and pay some attention to this problem? Nobody is impressed by such exercises if the basic problems such as prices, rents and transportation are ignored.

Planned Parenthood

PLANNED PARENTHOOD has come to Ghana at last, that is to say, as a movement. Thanks to the pioneering tenacity of Drs. A. A. Armar, Susan de Graft Johnson, M. A. Barnor, K. Bentsi-Enchill, and Professor Fred T. Sai, backed by some doctors' wives and other women, a Planned Parenthood Association has been formed. It also speaks volumes for the sincerity and realism of the doctors as a whole that they resolutely refused to stand for election as officers in the new organization, insisting that this responsibility should properly belong to, and be shouldered by, laymen. As a result Mr. Hayfron-Benjamin, a practising lawyer, was elected first President at the inaugural on Friday, 3 March, 1967, with Mr. N. O. Addo, a sociologist at Legon, as Secretary. The movement has thus got off to a wise and auspicious beginning. We believe it will survive and grow, and we wish it the success it deserves.

Planned parenthood is of world-wide concern. And, though Africans may not believe this, it is as crucial here as it is for India and China; the difference is one only of time and history. The

Indians and Chinese proliferated uncontrollably during the last several centuries and before "the Population Explosion" came to be realised as the danger to humanity it is; Africa on the other hand is offered the chance, now, of playing a part in the staving off of this imminent catastrophe (by taking the prophylactic measures being so anxiously devised by medical science), *before* this continent should become a high-density population area like China and India.

The point is, Africa *could become* such an added peril. Peril it is, too, and the rate of growth is what sounds the alarm now—the alarm of a progressive build-up of the "explosion" potential of world population. Take Ghana alone for example. The rate of population increase here has been cautiously stated by most of the experts to be around 2.5% per annum, which is high enough to cause anxiety for its middle-term effects. But others—among them knowing Ghanaian doctors—are quoting the figure at as high as 3.4 to 3.6%, which is positively frightening. At a rate of growth even just somewhere between 2.5 and 3.4%, Ghana's present population—so the experts estimate—would have doubled itself by 1980.

In terms of the relation of space available to density of population, this is not much of a problem: Ghana can "house" that many, and perhaps much more. Indeed, even for China and India, though overcrowding is part of the problem, spatial considerations *per se* don't constitute the main concern. The nightmare keeping everybody awake to the threat of ultimate disaster in this matter is of course that of *food*.

Man, for all his marvellous brain power and ingenuity, seems to be in defeat by the challenge of "Population Growth *versus* Food Production". One hopeful way of meeting that challenge—if it can't be met by a commensurate increase in food production—is by a decrease in population growth. This is the message of Planned Parenthood, apart from considerations like "health of the mother", "ability to care and provide for the children", and so on. We ignore the primary aim of planned parenthood at our peril, that is, at the price of starvation for hundreds of millions of innocent people—now, and even more in the future.

Letters

Accidents—Macchi Jet Aircraft

SIR—My attention has been drawn to the letter in the *Legon Observer* (Vol. II No.2) in which Mr. M. F. Owusu made some ill-informed comment on the unfortunate accidents involving Macchi jet aircrafts of the Ghana Air Force.

It is not my intention to comment in detail on his

letter but I can assure him that "loss of control" was certainly not the cause of the first two accidents, nor were they caused by bad maintenance or any defect in the aircraft. The cause of the third accident is still under investigation.

Mr. Owusu may also rest assured that all major accidents are very thoroughly investigated by experts and that there would be no hesitation in grounding aircraft until remedial action had been taken if there were indications of mechanical failure having caused an accident.

It is pertinent to point out that military jet aircraft accidents are not peculiar to the Ghana Air Force. Experience in most air forces has shown that fatal accidents can be expected during the period of introduction of a modern jet aircraft into service. This is a known fact of life and every effort is made, by paying meticulous attention to thorough training, careful supervision and discipline, to keep the number of accidents to an absolute minimum. Nevertheless, as in all walks of life, there is always the possibility of 'human error', which is something that cannot be completely eliminated.

M. A. Otu

Burma Camp,
Accra.

Air Vice Marshall
(Commander, Air Force)

Editor's Note:-

Representatives of the Editorial Committee of the Legon Observer recently had the opportunity of interviewing the Air Vice-Marshall on this matter. Our impression, after this interview, was that although the basic facts stated in Mr. M. F. Owusu's letter in our issue Vol. II, No. 2 were correct, they were not enough to base really objective and general conclusions on. The accident rate of our Air Force, for example compares favourably with that of similar Forces in other countries, including the most advanced nations. The conclusions in the letter referred to—both those explicitly stated and those implied in the questions—would therefore seem to be exaggerated. It was not our intention to present a distorted picture of the Force and we are most happy to transmit to the general public the Air Vice-Marshall's assurances that there is no cause for alarm.

Discrimination

SIR—I write in reply to Dr. A. A. Akiwumi's letter in Vol. II, No. 4 of the *Legon Observer*.

The occasion is still vividly remembered, but, regretably, Dr. Akiwumi only tells half the story. "Le Chevalier" is a small, intimate place which endeavours to offer the kind of service diners expect of a first class Restaurant. (That this aim is appreciated by many, both "black" and "white", is proven by the venture's success, as the Restaurant is mostly full when open for business, be it lunch or Dinner time). Most of our guests come after having reserved tables beforehand knowing that without doing this they might be disappointed.

On the night in question Dr. Akiwumi was very courteously told that all tables had been reserved and would he kindly wait at the bar till a table for two be-

came vacant. Those people who arrived after him but were led to their tables before him had indeed made reservations during the day. I would expect that a person of Dr. Akiwumi's standing should be able to appreciate that in any first class Restaurant like the "Le Chevalier" this procedure must be strictly adhered to. I could not afford to make an exception for him which would have disappointed a far greater number of other clients who had personally come during the day to make reservations—we did not have a telephone at the time—which I had personally confirmed.

I sincerely hope that Dr. Akiwumi appreciates this; if I told him that I was busy this was in fact so. When about fifty people are dining "à la carte" with only one person to supervise the service, there simply is no time for long arguments. I can assure Dr. Akiwumi, and anybody else for that matter, that everybody is welcome, but always with understanding that confirmed reservations have priority.

"Le Chevalier" never discriminates against "black" or any other colour, and that this is so is amply demonstrated by the very gratifying patronage the Restaurant continues to receive from Ghanaians of all walks of life. Shouldn't we perhaps better remind ourselves of what Dr. Aggrey said so long ago about the black and white keys of the piano and patiently try to strike up to chords in harmony?

P.O. Box 1525,
Accra.

Pierre Chevalley
Managing Director.

The Future of our Liberators

SIR—The account of the recent interviews given by certain members of N.L.C. to the "Legon Observer" has removed doubts in the minds of many a Ghanaian as to what our liberators plan to do after handing over power to civilians. Almost all of those interviewed seem to have decided to take up new professions instead of continuing as soldiers or policemen. While one appreciates the view expressed by one N.L.C. member that a soldier who has had a hand in overthrowing one regime will be inclined to overthrow another with which he strongly disagrees, one may still question the wisdom of the proposed withdrawal of our liberators into private civilian life.

Whether we like it or not a precedent for changing a regime unconstitutionally has been established in Ghana as in many other under-developed countries. What we have to do now is to devise ways and means of preventing our country from going the Latin American way. To attain this end one would suggest that the continued presence of our Liberators in the Armed Forces or the Police Service, as the case may be, will serve as a healthy check on future politicians and also help keep under control the revolutionary ardour which "a cruel necessity" may have unleashed in the young.

Legon

K. A. Awadzje

The Cedi and Entertainment

SIR—I think the old cedi was a most unfortunate currency for I do not know of any other currency which was held in so much contempt. Anybody organising any sort of entertainment did not think he was asking for much if he charged a minimum of one Cedi, and curiously enough those who had to pay did not think they were parting with much. I remember a time when Ringway Hotel charged four shillings on

its big nights and two shillings on other days. But as soon as the cedi arrived, it became the standard charge for entertainments in that Hotel which were not by any means superior to what we used to have.

I see that force of habit, probably, is inducing the same kind of disrespect for the new cedi. The charge for dances at the Labadi Pleasure Beach is almost invariably one new cedi flat. The "flat" business is another thing I do not understand. After all people still attend dances in pairs, but to return to the point, during the recent independence anniversary celebration the Labadi Pleasure Beach charged one new cedi and fifty new pesewas or fifteen shillings per person for one of its dances. In the past if a couple had to pay as much as thirty shillings to a dance you could be sure it was a formal affair, evening dress and all, and the charges were deliberately high to make the thing more or less exclusive. The cedi now makes it possible to charge anything for the most ordinary thing.

The story is the same in the cinema houses. Not too long ago, it was possible to take one's girl friend to a cinema, buy her a bar of chocolate or two and a packet of cigarettes for oneself and return home by a taxi and still have some change in one's pockets, all on one pound. I am aware that the past is not now, but I do not believe things have gone so bad as to justify a situation where you had to put down two new cedis and expect no balance before a couple could see a good film in Accra. Sometimes I wish it were possible to organise a boycott against certain entertainment houses. It may, yet be possible.

Academic Section,
Registry, Legon.

Ebow Daniel

Public Transport: Another prestige project?

SIR—What is wrong with public transport? The answer to this question is simply that those in charge of it do not make use of it. One has the impression that public transport is largely treated like a prestige project. With buses from England, Yugoslavia, Germany, Spain U.S.A. and soon from Hungary, the Accra-Tema City Council can boast of one of the most international of fleets. Mechanics are sent to all these countries for short periods to learn how to maintain these vehicles. On their return they are often idle because of the shortage of spare parts.

It also seems that the City Council is only interested in buying the biggest vehicles they can find. Consequently they can only get a few resulting in slow, irregular service and empty buses at most times of the day except a few hours in the mornings and evenings when people are going or returning from work. During these rush hours the buses tend to break down. At Tema medium-size buses are assembled which in my view suit our needs but the authorities seem to show little interest in them. Most of them seem to be sold to Ghana Airways for the transport of their personnel.

These types of buses cost probably less than half as much as the huge imported ones. Their maintenance crew can be trained locally. The City Council could buy more of these than the prestigious foreign ones some of which are left-hand drive or have heaters, and the same time save foreign currency. The foreign currency saved can be used to expand the assembly plant at Tema so as to satisfy the domestic market. Once there is a sufficient number of buses the big ones can be kept in the depots during off-peak

hours for maintenance and repairs and be sent on the roads to relieve the pressure of the rush hours. A proper public transportation system will make owning such expensive items as cars less of a necessity. This will help us save the country some foreign currency.

History Dept, Legon.

A. Van Dantzig.

Reform of Ghana Constitution

SIR—Please allow me space in your esteemed journal to address this letter to Mr. Edward Akufo-Addo, Chief Justice of Ghana.

In the issue of the "Daily Telegraph" of 27 February 1967, you were reported to have said many things in an interview given to Mr. Ian Colvin indicating the general lines of constitutional reform which you, as chairman of the Constitutional Commission, intend to promote.

You are reported as saying that you intend to introduce some sort of quality vote. What will be the criteria for determining the right to vote? Will it be the possession of property or, a certain level of income? If so, won't this system rather create two strata of the society—the aristocracy to which you belong and the class of the ordinary man? What would be the difference between this and what Ian Smith is advocating in Southern Rhodesia? Is not your remark going to be taken as a "stab in the back" of other Africans struggling elsewhere for equality?

You talk of literacy and intelligence as qualifications for voters. That is well and good, but can you, our learned judge, tell the world how you will test the intelligence of the electorate? Is it to be the I.Q. method or will you ask people to answer questions on the constitution as happens in the U.S.A.? Is one to have a degree before he can vote? You also talk of doing away with the secret ballot box on the pretext of avoiding fraudulent practices. But is the prevention of fraud the rationale behind this institution? Is it not because of the need to prevent intimidation that secrecy is required when voting?

On the issue of not giving the vote to people of 21 and raising the minimum age, may I ask whether those under the voting age will be exempted from taxation? Do you subscribe to the saying that no taxation without representation? Is age synonymous with wisdom? In a country such as ours where the young constitute a big percentage of the population is such a proposal sound?

As regards your assertion that you and the members of the commission have noticed with surprise several instances in Britain recently in which Cabinet Ministers have overruled or appeared to direct justice, I would ask whether it would not be proper and wiser for you, not having all the full facts or evidence as to how these British Cabinet Ministers arrived at their decision to keep quiet?

Would it not be fitting if you kept this "high office" free from politics? What will be your attitude if you are faced in the future with a challenge to the constitutionality of a legislation which in your view does not reflect the policies underlying the next constitution but which, however, reflects the political, economic and social aspirations of the majority of the people and not only the elite? Courts have been known to obstruct social progress and the danger is greater where the judiciary is so closely associated with politics.

Will you please resign the chairmanship of the Cons-

titutional Commission and hold the office of the Chief Justice in dignity or give up being the Chief Justice and enter politics?

42, Woodstock Ave.

K. B. Bresi-Ando

N.W. 11, London

Ghana's External Relations

SIR—I have read with great surprise Mr. Karikari's article captioned "Ghana's External Relations since the Coup" in *Legon Observer* (Vol. 11, No. 4). I am not, however, interested in Karikari's criticisms of our relations with the Eastern Countries and the Commonwealth. What interests me is his concluding statement. To quote him—"And one of the serious blunders we have committed in our foreign policy is that we have told the world that Ghana is in serious economic and financial difficulties." I do not know why Karikari should like us to make a secret of our empty coffers. The world knew of our near-bankruptcy at a time when Ghanaians were ignorant about this fact. When once a British paper hinted that Ghana was on the verge of bankruptcy, Kwame Nkrumah quickly retorted that our economy was "bouyant," and that our reserves amounted to seventy million pounds—a statement which startled the world and made people wonder where this fantastic money came from. Does Mr. Karikari want us to adopt the political tactics in George Orwell's *Animal Farm* where Napoleon fooled the animals during a great famine, by instructing a few selected sheep to remark casually to the hearing of Mr. Whymper that their rations had been increased. Napoleon even ordered the almost empty bins in the store-shed to be filled nearly to the brim with sand and have it topped with grain. Thus Whymper was deceived and continued to report to the outside world that there was no food shortage on *Animal Farm*. I find it dishonest to paint a glowing picture of Ghana to the outside world at this period in our history; I congratulate the N.L.C. for painting a true picture of Ghana. Unless Mr. Karikari has some facts up his sleeves I find it difficult to agree with his concluding statement.

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B. Hughes and Salary Increase

SIR—Allow me to record in the *Legon Observer* my appreciation of Mr. P. T. Yiadu's letter on the above topic which appeared in Vol. II No. 5.

"...Post-coup Ghana is not to see the Hodgkins, the Pat Sloans, the Bings and the Marshments replaced with the Hugheses. Modesty, honesty and integrity are at least expected in expatriates who believe they understand the problems of Ghana better than Ghanaians".

Indeed the above quotation must be enshrined in words of gold at public places because a major element in our past misfortune was due to certain expatriates who, having at their mercy gullible, incompetent Ghanaians placed unfortunately in positions of power, experimented with them at the expense of the entire nation their preconceived pet Utopian theories.

It has now become fortunately clear that our post-coup government is realistically using qualified Ghanaians to run Ghana's affairs; Post-coup Ghana knows that the brain is "colourless".

Once again well done Mr. P. T. Yiadu, Ghanaians

are now wide awake and fear certain "Greeks" even when they purport to share our burdens.

House No. 1/A. 38, Site 3

John Spio

Community No. 1, Tema.

Neon-Glamour Vrs. Cheap Basic Needs

SIR—The recent announcement by the Accra-Tema City Council (A.T.C.C.) that advertisements as well as names of shops along certain streets of Accra should be in neon, calls for comment.

If the reason for this announcement is to increase the splendour of the streets affected, particularly during the night when the city is deserted, then I think the decision does not help anybody, not even the Council.

In a recent speech, the N.L.C. member responsible for trade has stressed the need for Ghanaian businessmen to expand their businesses in order to remain viable. The suggestion is splendid, but we have to be clear what expansion means. Expansion involves the ability of businessmen to plough back their hard-earned profits or else to resort to mergers to obtain the size that will earn them economies of scale. It also involves, more than anything else, the ability to eliminate unnecessary cost items, such as those suggested by the council. It is a well known fact that after paying the various taxes, duties, exorbitant rents and commissions to the remaining or budding "little Nkrumahs" most businessmen find themselves unable to earn any profits at all, and therefore find it difficult to keep their businesses going. To compel them or even to suggest to them that they should invest their scanty capital in neon signs for glamour is therefore an affront to common sense, especially when these signs are not likely to yield the owners any more turnover or earnings than they have been making.

Two years or so ago, the A.T.C.C. surprisingly decided that our Taxi Drivers should appear in white shirts and black ties. Did the Council really believe that this would guarantee good behaviour in the taxi-drivers?

Now this very council thinks it is desirable and indeed more urgent to turn Accra's Liberation Avenue into London's Regent Street and the Liberation Circle into a Picadilly Circus. But is the council aware that people who live and admire the glamour of London do obtain their basic needs of life three times cheaper than we pay for them in Accra? Is the Council aware that compelling shopkeepers to incur extraneous expenses on glamorous neon signs in our present economic circumstances, where even rotten apples sell fast, will only result in further increases in the prices of our already expensive basic commodities like footwear, clothing and food?

The council could do more serious thinking about housing, public places of convenience, improvements in system of refuse-removal etc., rather than about glamour.

The people of Accra and Ghana are in dire need of the basic things of life and would wish to have them satisfied first—in abundance and at reasonable prices. We will not be fed with more of Job 600s
Ghana Academy of Sciences, A. Quansah-Quaye
Accra.

Book Review

WORKERS AND POLITICS

Bruce H. Millen: The Political Role of Labour in Developing Countries

(Washington, D.C. Brookings Institution, 1963)

Ioan Davies: African Trade Unions

(Penguin 1966)

Review By

J. A. Peasah

MODERN GOVERNMENTS, expected, as they are, to concern themselves either directly or indirectly with almost all aspects of the citizens' lives, come up in many respects against large groups of people who, in one way or the other, offer a challenge to governmental action. No groups have a potential to present such a barrier in a more "embrassing" manner than workers' groups. For, government action, in the context of modern political morality, is expected to be such as would not make the plight of the worker more difficult than necessary, and yet it is also essential that groups of workers should not be permitted to thwart the essential purposes of government. This situation appears even more complicated, when one reflects on the fact that the wielders of governmental power are generally their employers.

It is thus a paradoxical, and yet an understandable, situation that that section of the society that needs the greatest governmental succour, is not only the poorest, the most insecure, the most remote from sources of governmental power, but also is one of the most productive and most capable of frustrating governmental action. Without organized labour modern society becomes anarchic; and yet without trade unions workers may never be given their due. Trade Unions are, therefore, formed in order to stabilise a situation, the anarchic potential of which is clearly discernible.

But the actions, organisation and aims of trade unions affect their members and outsiders in certain important respects, among which are the following: they control the lives of their members; the livelihood of the society as a whole is in a great measure at their mercy through the operation of collective bargains which affect not only the terms and conditions of labour, but also the prices of goods; their greatest weapon, the general strike, can easily throw society into chaos; they determine in a very essential manner the rate of production, and thus become crucial in deciding the fate of governments. And yet trade unions have offered a measure of equality of bargaining power, justice and a sense of social commitment

to the individual worker who otherwise would be lost in this amorphous technological world.

Governments, therefore, partly for reasons of self-defence and partly for purposes of checking excessive concentration and possible abuse of economic power, while not unduly sacrificing the interests of the worker, have found it important to watch closely and control the activities of trade unions. Hence, one can understand the love-hate relationship that sometimes exists between governments and workers' organisations.

But whatever the situation, it is now an indisputable social fact that labour unions have come to stay; and what is important is to help them find a social role, which while not negating their principal aim of protecting the interests of workers, makes them operate harmoniously within the context of the wider interests of all the citizens. For this purpose, three possible approaches immediately spring to mind: political parties could embrace within their ranks these unions (the usual African model); the Unions could by and large remain outside the party system and serve merely as pressure groups against both government and employers (the American model); and lastly, the unions could decide to overturn the existing system and seize both governmental and economic power, in the name and for the interest of the "proletariat", the final inheritors of the social product (the Communist model). Whatever the approach, the Unions are politically relevant.

Of the two books under review, one attempts a general analysis of the political role of unions in developing countries, while the other discusses unions particularly in Africa. Both embark upon a very ambitious project, encompassing so much in so few pages. It is, however, better to deal with the more general, Millen's, before the particular, if such can be said of Davies's.

Millen, an American, who, at the time of writing the book, was on leave from the American diplomatic service, makes very little attempt to veil his preferences as to what policy America should adopt in her dealings with trade unions in developing countries. Observing that the American view of "free and independent trade unionism" means the primary devotion of the Union to the "economic function of collective bargaining", absence of links with a government or political party and absence of connection with communism, he comes to the conclusion that as a result of certain particular forces, especially nationalism, trade unions in developing countries cannot follow this model and thereby avoid "political unionism". Trade Unions in such countries are herefore characterised by the large amount

of time devoted to direct political work, the desire of the leaders to win political power, the "frequent use of direct mass action . . . in support of non-industrial objectives", ideological conformity, tendency toward "movementism" and formation of a political union resembling a political party.

Since the American model, therefore, cannot work in developing countries, Americans are advised to accept this situation but note that "The Communist unions are usually well financed through the local Communist party or from foreign sources, and they must be combated". (p.25). This advice is naturally expected from an American, whose country has undertaken the self-imposed task of not only ridding herself of communist influences but also of "saving" other countries from the scourge of communism. One may wonder whether, with regard to developing countries, America generally does not

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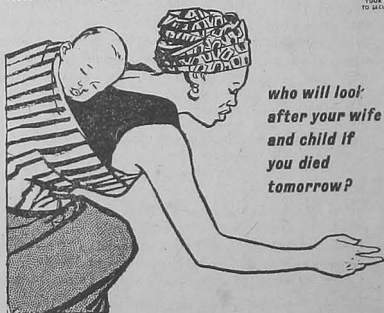
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*who will look
after your wife
and child if
you died
tomorrow?*

have the tendency to hang the bogey of communism on the necks of persons and countries that tend to disagree with her policies.

Moreover, he thinks that, though it is impossible to establish, in absolute terms, the ideal relationship that should exist between unions and political parties, it is objectionable to find that in the developing countries, there is a high possibility that some of the states, admiring the Russian model, would use "totalitarian" methods for effecting economic growth. Consequently, though, at the initial stages, such a situation could be tolerated, "once the concept of nationhood (which is quite distinct from nationalism) has rooted itself more substantially," he believes it may be possible to encourage pluralism even "within the confines of a single party political system." (p.104). These are fine words, but Millen fails to tell us where this magic line between nationhood and nationalism, especially in developing countries, can be drawn or how pluralism (if that implies autonomous centres of opinion and power) could be encouraged "even with a one-party political system."

However, given his own premise that there are strong links between these unions and political parties, one would not fail to realise that fighting "communism" and "totalitarianism" would entail an extension of the cold war into trade unionism. How this fight could be waged without attempting to topple certain established governments is in doubt.

The introduction of the cold war concept into his analysis vitiates, in some respects, the objectivity which he tries so hard to establish. He writes in a vein characteristic of the 1950s which made every effort to show how different the developing countries were. Hence, union-party alliance in Europe is pardonable but, in these developing countries, it is potentially dangerous. With this spirit, it is understandable why for instance British labour representatives preached in the colonies the virtue of separation of trade unionism from politics while they themselves, at home, were neck-deep in politics.

On the whole it is a book worth reading despite the fact that, due to the vastness of the area covered in the first half, the many "perhaps" and the "we-do-not-fully-knows" tend to make one doubt the validity of some of the conclusions. It does come to grips with some of the significant realities in the developing countries.

Davies's work appears more painstaking. Much as he agrees with Millen that trade unions must serve as strong centres of opinion, he goes on to recommend that "the most fruitful role that unions in these states can play for the fore-

seeable future may simply be to act as outlets for dissenting views on political policy and organisation of economic growth, so preparing the way for popular movements capable of replacing present self-centred elites." (p.150). Very much unlike Millen, therefore, he envisages a continued political role for the unions, the assumption being similar to the Marxist one of the uncontaminated virtues of workers. But one wonders whether self-centredness is the cancer of only political leaders. If it is, then Senator Bob Kennedy could be said to have hoodwinked the whole world by writing "The Enemy Within", in which he revealed the dubious activities of certain leaders in the American labour movements.

However, Davies makes really keen observations about the ambiguity, prejudices and hypocrisy in the attitude of colonial regimes to the unions, the important role played by the unions in the nationalist movement and their post-independence position. For instance, in the chapter on African working class, he rightly concludes that "the most evident growth overall may be in the ranks of the unemployed, the casually employed and the dispossessed". This is a warning which should not escape African countries, if they are to check the tendency towards the expansion of the "industrial reserve army" and the "lumpen proletariat".

Davies's book is a must for all who are interested in the trade union movement in Africa. The facts in it are solid.

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Commentary

THE NEW CEDI — A NEW NOMENCLATURE

By

Kontopiaat

LIKE MR. SARPEY in your issue of Vol. II, No. 5, I do like crying over spilt milk, and, in my case, even if I did the spilling. I do not take too kindly to seeing things I love and treasure just disappearing irretrievably without bemoaning them. It could be a really beloved person, a precious history book which a student borrowed and conveniently forgot to return, or even the old cedi.

However, I have even greater reservations about the new cedi than Mr. Sarpey. First of all, formerly when one gave away a cedi or two one had sacrificed only 8s. 4d. or 16s. 8d. Now it is 10s. or £1, an undesirable increase (certainly from the giver's point of view though not necessarily from the recipient's) of 1s. 8d. per cedi, and as much as 3s. 4d. per two. The more generous one is these days the more ruined financially one is bound to be: ($G \times NC = FR$; i.e. Generosity \times New Cedis = Financial Ruin).

My second serious objection is the mental gymnastics involved in all this exercise. Honestly I virtually got round the bend the other day trying to check whether I had not been done in by the bar-maid who gave me a change consisting of a judicious mixture of old and new pesewas for the new cedi which I gave her in payment of a bottle of club and two tots of Kantamanto! Thank the Elements the old coins will be interred two months hence.

Talking of my mental worries reminds me of the plight of school children in all these new twists and turns. You see, brought up as I was on 'God save the King', I must confess today without fear of any District or Regional Commissioner that I never ever got down to memorizing the words of our first anthem! Since only a few changes have been made here (thanks to Rev. Baeta), probably the plight of the kids is not as grim as all that. But that is, if that were the only conversion exercise imposed on them by the glorious coup (pronounced Kuup!). Unfortunately it is not since they also have to get to grips with the new cedi. And here, they have all my sympathy! It is quite an ordeal coping with decimals. It is virtually a nightmare having to master fractions—at least I found it so. But when the two are compounded in the same exercise as they are when £2. 4s. 5½d is N¢4.45½ . . . well, well. Moreover we were taught and I am

sure our children are still being taught (just as I am sure they are still finding that ever illusive L.C.M.) that $\frac{1}{2}$ is equivalent to .5 in decimals. If so, what in the name of Cassius Nimbus does 0.45½ps mean? Ridiculous, isn't it, Cassius? Poor kids! But take heart! I understand the big departmental stores are taking no notice of the $\frac{1}{2}$ ps and $2\frac{1}{2}$ ps. The Makola women of course even counted them out before the coins left the mint! So after all, you may have to worry about 0.45½ only in your school-leaving examination and not in actual life.

My last and final objection to the new cedi is that whoever devised the various denominations forgot to name all of them. The Americans have their dimes, cents and dollars; the Danes have their cents and croners, the English have the guinea, pound, crown, florin, shilling and pence. We have the pesewa and the cedi but alas there are more denominations in between— $2\frac{1}{2}$, 5, 10, and 20. Twenty new pesewas or worse still $2\frac{1}{2}$ new pesewas in Twi or Ga or for that matter in Nzima is really a mouthful. You try it! Therefore if the brains (really?) behind the new coinage want me to forgive them or even to reconcile myself rather like Mr. Sarpey to the inevitable, then they should name all their monstrosities.

I have a few suggestions to put to them in this respect since I believe in positive or constructive criticism. First, these coins can be named after persons. What about calling the 20 pesewas coin Adomako (after all his name is already on all the notes!), the ten penny piece Omaboe, the five penny piece Alex Kwapong and the $2\frac{1}{2}$ piece Henry Ofori or rather Akufo Addo? I do not think Policemen and Soldiers (even retired ones) will take too kindly to being involved in this, so keep off their names! Is it not nice to say this cloth costs 1 cedi 2 Adomakos and 3 Oforis or Akufo Addos (=14s. 7½d a yard! I can see one ready but serious objection to these splendid names however! What happens if any of them dies, as I suppose they will have to, one of these days! And since we have to avoid too frequent changes, perhaps this suggestion is not so brilliant after all.

My second and more serious suggestion therefore is to name them after the old Akan traditional currencies. I favour this myself for it is my sincere belief that unless our constitution (Constitutional Committee to note), ideologies and even the names of our currencies are derived from or based on our culture and indigenous beliefs, concepts and institutions, they cannot really thrive. Now then, I do not think it is generally known that the Akans have a nomenclature for their currency derived from the names of their

gold weights. To give you a few examples—pesewa is the name of the gold weight for a 1d; takufa for 3d, kokoa for 4d, Taku for 6d, ntaku mienu 1/-, ntaku annan 2/-, soafa 3/-, fiasofa 3/2, borofa 4/-, nsoasafa 5/-, soa 6/-, fiaso 6/6, domma 7/-, nsuansa 10/-, nsanu 13/-, dwoasuru 15/-, surupa 20/-, tekyiman soa 25/-, asia 26/-, dwoa 30/-, osoa 40/-, osoa ne nsuansu 50/-, asoanu 80/-, benna 140/-, pereguan 160/-, pereguan asia 186/-, pereguasooa £10, ntanu £16, ntanu asoanu £20, ntansu £24 and pereguan du £80 etc. etc. You see, a little homework on the part of the bank authorities would have enabled them to give some of these excellent and indigenous names besides pesewa to these new coins. I therefore recommend—indeed peremptorily order—that the 2½ coin should be called *takufa*, the 5d coin *taku*, the 10d nkowa-mienu (*nkowa* for short), the 20 *soafa*, the 1 cedi note *nsuansa*, the 5 cedi note *osoa ne nsuansa* (*osoa* for short), and the 10 cedi note *asoanu ne suru* or *asoanu*.

I bet our forefathers and great grandfathers, and I am absolutely certain our chiefs, will feel extremely grateful for this!

News Summary

(By Courtesy of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation)
3/3/67

Ghana's External Debts

THE Governments of Ghana and Britain have signed an agreement on the settling of medium term commercial debts owed by Ghana to British creditors. Colonel A. A. Afrifa, N.L.C. member responsible for Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs signed on behalf of the N.L.C. and the British High Commissioner, Mr Harold Smedley signed for his government. The agreement gives formal expression to the proposals of the multilateral meeting held in London last December. It follows bilateral talks which began in Accra on the 14th of last month and is the first of a series of bilateral agreements which Ghana will be negotiating with creditor countries concerned.

G.B.C. Commercial Service

THE Ghana Broadcasting Corporation is now carrying and charging for certain social announcements which it has hitherto not been carrying. These are announcements about wedding and child outdooring. Other announcements for which the Corporation will now charge fees are festivals, meetings (rallies included) deaths, memorial services, wake-keepings, funerals, and thanks for sympathy.

Cocoa Purchasing

THE State Cocoa Marketing Board says the purchases and sales of the current main crop cocoa will cease on the 23rd of this month. It adds that in order to assist the Board's Licensed Buying Agents in obtaining complete returns from their up-country stations, final purchases returns will be accepted up to the 30th of this month.

Armed Forces Magazine

MAJOR General A. K. Ocran, Chief of Staff, at the Armed Forces Headquarters, has inaugurated a new Ghana Armed Forces magazine at the Burma Camp in Accra. The magazine is produced by the Public Relations Directorate of the Ghana Armed Forces and runs into 45 pages.

U.S./Ghana Food Agreement

GHANA and the United States have signed an agreement for the sale of 3.9 million New Cedis worth of agricultural commodities from the United States. Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, Inspector-General of Police and Vice-Chairman of the N.L.C., signed on behalf of Ghana while Mr. Franklin Williams, U.S. Ambassador in Ghana signed on behalf of his country. Under the agreement, the U.S. will supply various items of agricultural commodities including 10 thousand metric tons of rice, and 10 thousand metric tons of wheat flour for the first half of this year.

12/3/67

Arrest of Saboteurs

A NIGERIAN trader was arrested at the Togo border with a firearm and ammunition concealed in loaves of bread. More arrests of would-be saboteurs have since been announced by the police.

A police announcement has requested Capt. K. Tsikata, formerly of the Ghana Army to report to the police.

Auditor-General's report

THE latest issue of the Auditor-General's report has revealed an alarming misuse to which some highly placed public servants put the tax-payers' money in 1964. While Ghanaians were asked to tighten their belts because of the poor financial position of the country, the Managing Director of the Fibre Bag Manufacturing Corporation spent five hundred pounds to purchase a cow, sheep drinks and other things for the performance of certain rites to clear the factory site of what he called evil spirits. The same Corporation also spent one thousand, 200 pounds on drinks to celebrate the anniversary of the formal opening of the factory. The report adds that these and other instances of bad control and imprudent spending resulted in a serious deterioration of the Corporations' financial position.

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Africa	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	38/-	\$5.45	70/-	\$10.00
U.K.	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	64/-	\$9.15	120/-	\$17.15
Europe	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
U.S.	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
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what the young Majors ought to have done was to have acted as referees—because of their monopoly of force (which is not the same thing as what is morally right)—holding the ring to help the Governor-General to return Sierra Leone to the path of constitutionality and democratic politics. The young Majors are now talking of “wiping out corruption”; “giving the country stability”, “riding the country of tribalism” and “stabilizing the economy”. All this talk is a way of trying to legitimize the military regime. But all this is an unconvincing attempt in a country where people have just made a clear choice, and where there is no reason to believe that soldiers will be more able to deal with these problems—if they are problems at all.

For all Africans who are interested in non-violent political change, constitutionalism and free elections, the Sierra Leone military take-over is very disquieting. In Ghana there was a clear case for it: the Government had subverted the Constitution and destroyed personal freedom. In Nigeria, a fratricidal civil war which Nigerian politicians seemed unable or reluctant to do anything about, partly justified the coup. In Sierra Leone, on the other hand, the *raison d'être* of the army take-over is, at best, self-aggrandizement.

What are the wider implications of this Sierra Leone crisis? First, it is clear that if Sir Albert Margai had been magnanimous enough to concede defeat in the elections Sierra Leone would have been the first African state to have changed its government constitutionally and democratically. This failure on Sir Albert's side shows clearly that the greatest enemies of the survival of democracy in Africa are our own political leaders. Our political principle seems to be “once in power, in power stay forever”. One prays that it does not also become the political maxim of the new African military regimes, for it becomes a more dangerous principle since they have the monopoly of force.

Secondly, the crisis shows that some soldiers in Africa are now seriously considering themselves as rivals of politicians and, on the flimsiest excuse, take over political power. But for those who believe in democracy in Africa our future does not lie in either the rule of corrupt, selfish politicians or in military rule. Military rule should be, at best, a stop-gap. If soldiers wish to become civilian rulers, they should seek power in democratic elections.

Finally, for all those who take a long term view of Africa's future, the solution of the apparent instability of African political systems lies in a resolve on all sides—soldiers and the enlightened sections of our society—to make democratic institutions work. Unless this is done Africa's political future is bleak indeed.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Longmans Research Fellowship In English Language

Applications are invited for a Longmans Research Fellowship in the English Language, tenable at University College London for one year.

The Fellowship may be awarded only to an African graduate, who holds a lectureship or preferably a senior lectureship in a University or Training College in Africa and is concerned with the teaching of English, or who is a Government official with duties in that field.

The Fellow will be expected to undertake approved research in the field of Present-day English Language under the direction of Professor Randolph Quirk. He will have facilities for work in the Department of English Language and Literature, the Communication Research Centre and the Department of Phonetics in the College, and he will have access to the material of the Survey of English Usage.

The Fellow might, if he wishes and if it were thought appropriate, undertake the course for the College Diploma in English Linguistic Studies. Arrangements might be made for him to undertake courses available at other schools or institutes of the University of London.

The emoluments of the Fellow, which will be subject to United Kingdom Income Tax, will be determined by the College so as to include

- (a) his tourist-class return air fare;
- (b) payment of fees, and a sum for the purchase of necessary books and equipment, and travel in the United Kingdom;
- (c) an adequate allowance, not less than £80 a month, for living expenses;
- (d) where applicable, a maintenance grant of £200 a year for his wife, and £50 a year for each child up to three.

Letters of application should include a curriculum vitae giving details of academic qualifications including the dates, classes and subjects of degrees, previous and present occupations, research undertaken and in progress, and publications. Applicants should give the names of three referees.

Applicants should give their marital status and the number and ages of their children. They should also state when they wish and would be able to take up the Fellowship.

Applications should reach the Registrar, University College London, Gower Street, London W.C.I., by 17 April 1967.