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IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL ... 1
Turning Point in Anglo-Ghana Relations

L.C.N.R. COMMUNICATION ... 2
Political Parties and the Electorial System (II)
Political Correspondent

AFRICA ... 5
Sierra Leone: Tensions of a Constitutional Crisis
K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

THE ECONOMY ... 9
The Trade Fair and the Economy
G. Kportufe-Agama
Tourism and Ghana
A. N. Hakam

OBSERVER NOTEBOOK ... 12
British Probity, Corruption, and the Nkrumah Regime
Kwesi Armah and Britain
Crime

LETTERS ... 15
Kwesi Armah's Extradition
C.P.P. and Blows
Economic Independence in the Congo
The Constitutional Commission
White Paper and Apaloo Commission

RELIGION ... 16
Belief in God—Reply to my Critics
James Thrower

BOOK REVIEW ... 18
The Wretched of the Earth (by Frantz Fanon)
Kwabena Archeampong

NEWS SUMMARY ... 22

OBITUARY ... 23
Tribute to Sir Arku Korsah

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EDITORIAL

TURNING POINT IN ANGLO-GHANA RELATIONS

IT WAS all too easily and unreflectingly assumed that there was a fund of goodwill in Britain for post-coup Ghana. But since the Home Secretary's incredible refusal to extradite Kwesi Armah to Ghana to face trial in Ghanaian courts, most Ghanaians have been rudely shocked out of this complacency.

The highest Appellate Court in Britain, in its rejection of Kwesi Armah's appeal, decided that Kwesi Armah had a *prima facie* case to answer in Ghana for embezzling £30,000 of Ghana Government's money. The Home Secretary refused to follow the House of Lords' decision to extradite Kwesi Armah on two grounds. *First*, the case was full of political overtones, thus implying that Kwesi Armah would not have a fair trial in Ghana. *Secondly*, because of an impending Bill to be passed in the British Parliament which will substantially modify the Fugitive Offenders Act (1881)—under which Kwesi Armah was tried—it might be impolitic to extradite Kwesi Armah before this Bill becomes an Act of Parliament. These arguments are spurious, to say the least, and have been rightly rebutted by the N.L.C. in their Protest Note to the British Government. The Home Secretary added the insulting rider that the Ghana Government, if it so wished, could prosecute Kwesi Armah in Britain. What really impelled the Home Secretary to advance such untenable reasons as the basis of a decision which clearly puts a strain on the good relations existing between apparently "friendly" Commonwealth countries ?

It has been suggested that the Home Secretary was influenced by the fact that when Labour was in Opposition they were most vehement in their condemnation of the Conservative Government when it decided to extradite Chief Enahoro on charges of treason. To agree to extradite Kwesi Armah therefore would expose them to a charge of inconsistency. But this is a spurious argument, for the difference between Kwesi Armah and Chief Enahoro is the difference between a thief and a politician. *Secondly*, it is said that by refusing to extradite Kwesi Armah Britain is just being faithful to her liberal tradition of giving refuge to all exiles in Britain, a tradition which made it possible for Karl Marx, Freud and the Kabaka of Buganda to live in peace in Britain. But here no one is prosecuting Kwesi Armah for his political beliefs; he is being sought for stealing public funds, a fact amply proved in British courts.

It has also been suggested that Britain's current balance of payments difficulties may also have influenced the Home Secretary. Kwesi Armah made a lot of money when he was a High Commissioner in London. To allow him to be extradited to Ghana would mean the repatriation of all his wealth; this

might not be in Britain's economic interest. To believe this is to go beyond the evidence; however, it has to be proved that this argument is false.

A more probable reason is that there is a powerful "socialist caucus"—including Mr. Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary himself—in Britain who unsuspectingly believe that post-coup Ghana is a confirmation of the impossibility of "exporting" Marxist socialism to Africa. What is, however, forgotten is that Kwesi Armah and his colleagues were just fascist capitalists.

What then are the foreign policy implications of this British decision for post-coup Ghana ? It is about time that in foreign policy, Ghanaians learnt to be self-reliant and became a bit sceptical of the good faith of some professedly friendly Western countries. This is a harsh world in which nations are now aggressively seeking their own survival guided by the sole principle of their own permanent interests. More specifically, we should now stop allowing Britain to loom so large in our foreign policy calculations. Britain seems, after the series of coups in Africa, to be writing off Africa as an unstable continent where fair trials are virtually impossible.

Moreover, she also seems, in her relations with African countries, to be guided not by any genuine feelings of friendship, but solely by the cardinal principle of "permanent British interests".

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POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM (II)

by

Our Political Correspondent

IN THE first part of this article it was argued that one of the most important elements of democratic government—government based on the consent of the governed— is *free elections* and that a free election is "one in which there are real alternatives from which the electors can, without hindrance, choose".

There are two indispensable conditions which must exist if elections are to be free. *Firstly*, the electoral system, the arrangements in accordance with which elections are held, must be fair. The electoral system must not discriminate against any major opinions within the country; it must ensure a fair representation of all articulate opinions on major issues. *Secondly, the administration of the electoral system must also be fair.* Even the best electoral system can be so administered—given inefficient and corrupt electoral officers—as to favour one set of candidates at the expense of other sets of candidates. It follows that the greatest possible attention must be given to the administrative machinery that will conduct elections: it must be efficient, it must be absolutely impartial as between the various candidates and it must, consequently, be independent of the government of the day.

It is unfortunately not possible, nor is it even desirable, to decentralize the electoral machinery. It is highly probable that inefficiency, corruption and intimidation would be increased, rather than decreased, by decentralizing the electoral machinery.

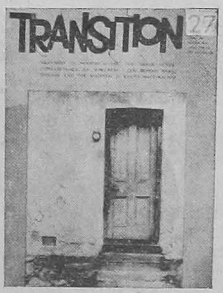
One has, therefore, to accept, perhaps with regret, that elections must be conducted centrally. Two possibilities are here posed between which the new Constitution must choose: either the central government itself must conduct elections or a body independent of the central government must do it. In deciding which of the two alternatives to choose there can be no difficulty whatever. Students of the African political scene will no doubt agree that African governments must all be prevented from handling elections. *It may confidently be asserted as universally imperative in Africa to-day that elections must be conducted by a central body which is independent of the government.* This body may preferably be called the Electoral Commission.

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Electoral Commission

IT IS here suggested, therefore, that the new Constitution should make provision for the setting-up of such an Electoral Commission. It should consist of not less than three and not more than seven members. *The members of the Commission should enjoy the same independence as will be accorded to the judges.* The functions of the Electoral Commission should be:—

(i) To see to the delimitation of electoral districts or constituencies;
(ii) to supervise and make the necessary arrangements for the whole process of all types of elections—local and national;
(iii) to serve as the appointing authority for all election officers; (civil servants and Civil Service machinery are not excluded from playing their part when so required by the Commission);
(iv) to decide on matters relating to the recommended limitations on parties;
(v) to register groups that qualify and seek registration as political parties; and
(vi) to serve as a court of first instance on election and electoral disputes. (Appeals should lie from the Commission to the Courts.)

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the *existence, functions and powers of the Electoral Commission should be entrenched in the Constitution.* Two different meanings are here implied. *First*, the provisions governing the Electoral Commission should not be capable of being changed easily by the government or by Parliament. They should be changed, like all the other entrenched clauses of the Constitution, only in accordance with a special and difficult method which must itself be written into the Constitution and also entrenched. *Secondly*, the provisions must be capable of being enforced in the ordinary courts of law, whose position in the Constitution will also have to be specially safeguarded. The decision of the Supreme Court in *Re Akoto*, that the Solemn Declaration of the President under the defunct Constitution although entrenched in the Constitution could not be enforced by the Courts, must be specifically condemned as subversive of constitutionalism.

Danger to Constitutionalism

Again, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Electoral Commission should be independent—especially of the government and of Parliament. It has already been argued that there can be no democratic government without the electors having a genuine choice at elections. In practice this boils down to only one choice—between the government of the day and its opponents. To ask the government, then, to manage the electoral machinery is like asking one of two boxers engaged in a fight to be the referee: at all times in every country this power is likely to be abused; in the under-developed politics of Africa to-day it is positively dangerous. So far, all African governments, like dictatorships everywhere, have come to look on elections as opportunities to confirm themselves in power and to think it perverse, indeed subversive, to attempt to urge the electorate to vote them out. Consequently, an election, to these governments, is, as Denis Austin said of the 1964 referendum in this Country, "an administrative exercise by the party rather than a test of public opinion". Every future government of Ghana must be made to understand quite clearly that elections are meant to give the electorate the opportunity, if they so wish, to vote out the government and bring in others; that it is to prevent the government from frustrating this; that the conduct of elections should be taken out of its hands and vested in an Electoral Commission; that the Commission should be made independent of all over-powerful groups in the Society, especially the government and Parliament; and, finally, that the Commission's position should be guaranteed by firmly entrenching it in the Constitution.

Corrupt and Illegal Practices

The establishment of the Electoral Commission does not, of course, exhaust the electoral laws. A few more suggestions may be thrown forward for consideration. The electoral laws must necessarily make provision for the severe punishment of corrupt and illegal practices in connexion with elections. The most corrupt practices are connected usually with money. It is here that the wealthy—especially those among them who feed fat on ill-gotten gains—can twist and manipulate the electorate. Stringent limits should therefore be placed on electioneering expenses both by parties and individual candidates. Limiting electioneering expenses has the added advantage of removing a strong incentive driving parties to dip their hands into public coffers. The argument that is sometimes advanced that to ask candidates for election to pay deposits puts the wealthy at an advantage is not acceptable, except if the deposit is too large. It may be suggested that a deposit of one hundred New Cedis (N₵100.00) would not put candidates who are not wealthy at any serious disadvantage. It is necessary to claim this deposit so that "freak" candidates, who cannot muster about one-eighth of the total votes, may be discouraged from wasting the time and energy of electoral officers.

Those who obtain more than one-eighth of the votes should, as usual, receive back their deposits.

It has been argued in the first part of this article that although parties should not be abolished it is necessary to discourage their excesses. One way of doing this is to loosen their dictatorial hold on their candidates who are elected to office. In this connexion it is essential that the electoral laws, or better still the Constitution, should ensure that although parties can expel Members of Parliament and local councillors from their ranks they cannot compel them to resign from Parliament or local councils. Parties, that is to say, should not have the right of "recall", and the practice of making M.P.s sign undated letters of resignation, which can be dated by the parties and submitted to the Speaker whenever M.P.s displease the party apparatus, should be made absolutely illegal. It is a particularly insidious way of depriving the elected representative of his independence and, hence, of his representativeness.

Voting

There is an important part of the electoral laws that has not yet been considered: the laws governing voting. Voting is, of course, the heart of the electoral system as well as of the democratic order. Important as the right to vote is, it has never been unconditional. Mad men, children and convicts have always been excluded from the vote. It would be proper also to debar people who refuse to pay their local rates from voting. Such people are obviously not fit to be citizens. On the other hand members of the Civil Service, Armed Forces, the Police Service, the Judiciary and the Electoral Commission should not, *ipso facto*, be debarred from voting; the number of intelligent and responsible votes that would be lost would be enormous. They should, however, be debarred from taking an active part in politics. These officials must be neutral as between contending political parties; they destroy this neutrality if they play an active part in politics.

The most essential feature of the vote has not been touched. How is the actual voting to be done ? Are we to stick to the old method whereby each party or individual candidate has a separate ballot-box hidden away from public view ? Or should we devise a new, more secure, system of voting ? This is crucial; for it is at this point that human ingenuity excels itself in devising ways and means of cheating the electorate out of its right to choose a government it wants rather than what somebody or group of people dictates. No one who has observed the conduct of elections in the last ten years in this country can possibly doubt that the old method lends itself too easily to rigging. *The secrecy of the vote does not consist in hiding to cast one's vote but in making it impossible, except under very special circumstances, for anyone else to know for whom one has voted.* It is therefore suggested that in all future elections there should be only one ballot-box at a time at each polling station. This ballot-box should be clearly and conspicuously displayed to the public view. The voter should mark or thumb-print the ballot-paper in secrecy but *the actual casting of the ballot, the actual putting of the ballot-paper into the ballot-box, should be done in public.* With this method of voting and with each candidate having a representative at each polling booth, "stuffing" of ballot-boxes and other forms of abuse stand a good chance of being reduced to a minimum.

It must not be thought that once the suggestions put forward in this article are adopted all will be well with our political parties and the electoral system. Human ingenuity, unfortunately, is illimitable and man's capacity for evil unbounded. No system of rules *by themselves* can, therefore, prevent a perversion of the electoral system. *But good rules, together with human determination, can prevent a lot of evil.* (Concluded)

Africa

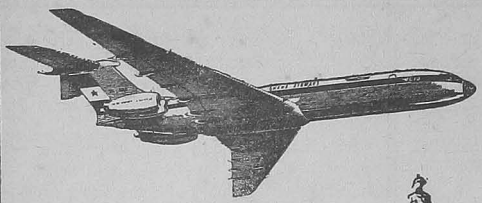
SIERRA LEONE: TENSIONS OF A CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS

By

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

AN INTRIGUING picture emerges from even the most cursory comparative look into the present political situation in the three countries of Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. So far the drama has been unfolding in the first two countries alone, but now Sierra Leone also faces a crisis which may develop into another African political disaster unless both patriotism and realism should suddenly go into the ascendency. In short, in Freetown the political gulf is widening between Sir Albert Margai and his Sierra Leone People's Party on the one side, and, on the other, all the oppositional forces taken together. But first a few words about the other two countries.

In Nigeria the situation is one involving the very survival of the country we have known as Nigeria, and in the search for a constitutional formula there is the search for a new basis of unity. In Ghana such a basis is universally assumed to exist, ethnic differentiation between interests and ambitions—in a word, tribalism—is widely held to be relatively unimportant, and the search for a new constitution turns mainly on the anxiety to prevent from arising again another disastrous case of power concentration.



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In each of these two cases the present situation is the result of a military take-over of the previous civilian government. In each case it is the new leaders and the people together that are engaged in the search for an entirely different constitutional formula, one that would guarantee democratic rule under law and frustrate the evil ambitions of thieves and dictator-types. However, in the Nigerian case political unity has been heavily undermined by ethnic incompatibilities, while in Ghana, on the other hand, ethnic unity would appear to have been strengthened by a political threat which menaced all interests, local and national. Nigeria, in short, is in search mainly of a new constitution that would reunite its people, while Ghana seeks one that would restore the rule of law and guarantee a foolproof system of social justice for a people already relatively united in common interests.

When we turn in detail to Sierra Leone we find there a combination of the crucial features characteristic of the situations in the two other countries. Sierra Leone's peoples are, up to now, still "all in one piece"; nevertheless the explosive potential is very near the skin surface of tribalism. Furthermore, the power-structure element which was the fatal feature of the Ghana phenomenon, and whose welcome destruction was the major achievement of the February Coup, seems to be precisely what the new Sierra Leone Republican Constitutional proposals now before the country set out to erect as the dynamo of its new machinery of government. Thirdly, the now "famous" spectre of "Bribery-and-Corruption" stalks the land—according to the newspapers at least—just as menacingly as in Ghana and Nigeria. But of all the dangers which Sierra Leone thus faces at the moment the greatest by far arises without a doubt from the Republican Constitutional proposals put before the House of Representatives at the beginning of its January sitting.

It is on this constitutional issue that the "oneness" of the population can for the moment be postulated. For with Sir Albert, the P.M., who is a Mende, are true-blue Krios like Berthan Macauley (the Attorney General) and Gershon Collier (Sierra Leone's U.N. Chief of Mission); while the opposition shows complete harmony of view among an ethnically differentiated group consisting at the top of political leaders like Siaka Stevens (a Limba) and intellectuals such as Raymond Easmon and Eldred Jones, established Krios. For the time being, therefore, the struggle for political power transcends the struggle over ethnic claims of advantage or privilege. And the struggle for power has expressed itself in recent times most vehemently over Sir Albert Margai's proposals: first for a one-party state, aborted as a direct result of the C.P.P. collapse in Ghana; and next for a Republic based on the proposals the Prime Minister presented to Parliament in January.

We can examine only a few of the main provisions here. First, the Headship of State. The draft Bill for a Republic of Sierra Leone provides in Section 16(2) that "the President shall be appointed by the Cabinet and shall hold Office during the pleasure of the Cabinet." In other words, the President will be appointed by the Prime Minister and his junior colleagues, and it is this Executive Power to whom, without any other apparent qualifications, the President will be beholden, *minus any protective sanctions*, for the security of his tenure. The insecurity which would thus surround this highest state office in the land is compounded by a further requirement. This is, that when the constitutional situation so dictates, it is the President who, "in turn", appoints the Prime Minister, under the provisions of Sections 46(4) and 50(8).

If the famous question here arises again as to "which came first: the chicken or the egg", the answer is that this is not the important point at all. The important point is that the President is required to choose as Prime Minister someone who, he has reason to believe, enjoys majority support in the House of Representatives; but the President would then immediately be caught in a game of mutual backscratching by this act. At the same time he becomes the potential victim of a power-play in which he can now be removed at the mere drop, say, of a costly joke he has made at the expense of an appointee who meanwhile has also become his political master. Nor does the temper and tempo of contemporary African politics suggest that this is some mere, idle speculation. Besides all this, the proposals on the Presidency also make no mention whatever of qualifications for the candidate—*nationality, age, education,* et cetera—*nor the length of his tenure of office.*

Tension has been created in non-SLPP (Sierra Leone Peoples Party) circles on this point, and on such other provisions of the proposed Republican Constitution as seem to aim at the concentration of power in the hands of a Republican Prime Minister. In particular, the power it is proposed to give the P.M. over appointments to high office is a principal cause for agitation. Here is a passage from the paper *Think*, for New Year's Day 1967:

> We do not want a Constitution which requires everything to be done "on the advice of a Prime Minister".—Civil ser-

vants to be appointed *on the advice of the Prime Minister;* Ministers, likewise *on the advice of the Prime Minister*, Judges *on the advice of the Prime Minister;* members of the Cabinet, *on the advice of the Prime Minister;* President, on the advice of the Cabinet which was appointed *on the advice of the Prime Minister;* Chief Justice *on the advice of the Prime Minister*." (Italics mine.)

Indeed the writer could have gone on to list other key posts to be virtually filled by the P.M. personally, such as the Civil Service Commssion, Electoral Commission, Auditor-General, and so on.

But there is more to come. One proposal in Chapter 4 of the draft Bill provides for the appointment by the President—it says the President *may* appoint—of not more than six persons *who are not members of Parliament to be Ministers and deputy Ministers.* In other words, a Head of State appointed by and holding office solely at the pleasure of the Prime Minister can, and almost certainly will, be "advised" by the P.M. to appoint on to the P.M.'s Cabinet, persons who—to cite only the most dangerous possibility—*may quite easily be party members previously defeated at the polls*! And these appointments, as S.J.A. Pratt (a Barrister) points out in another Freetown opposition paper *We Yone* ("Our Own") of 7th January, would be "without prejudice . . . and in addition to the provisions under which the President may appoint an outsider as Ministerial Attorney General." "Surely", asks Pratt, "this is discrimination which runs counter to the spirit and intention of the very First Chapter of the Constitution" (that on the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual)?

It is around the proposals in Chapter 5, concerning the Judiciary, though, that in Freetown the political tensions of the day cluster and strain most. Apart from the cause of complaint registered by the commentator in the *Think* article cited above, there is a devastating proposal with respect to the tenure and subsequent career of judges which must be brought to attention here. The security of tenure for a judge, in these proposals, is hardly enough guaranteed as things are. But in addition, a judge who resigns or is dismissed would thenceforth be prohibited from practising his profession of law. This, as is well known, is in principle what happens in Britain, and the example can glibly be cited in support. But everyone also knows the difference between "there and here" in these respects: *emphasize* the nature of the local political situations we are discussing, and we might just as well be talking about the North Pole as against the South, or about Eskimos and Pakistanis. In plain language, if, under our present political conditions and the Sierra Leone Republican Constitution as proposed, a judge should resign in protest or be sacked for reasons overt or covert, *he is finished*—even if he be only 40 years old and a judge for only four years.

In its editorial of Saturday, December 31, 1966, the Freetown *Shekpendeh* describes what it calls "the most important section of the Bill" as "peremptory and dictatorial". The editorial concludes with these paragraphs:

> With the lessons of Nigeria and Ghana, it is remarkable that the evils of the concentration of power in individuals have not been realised.
>
> No Prime Minister should be made to command such power and authority, and because of this, if not because of the other ills in the Bill, it must be rejected, a dissolution of Parliament notwithstanding.

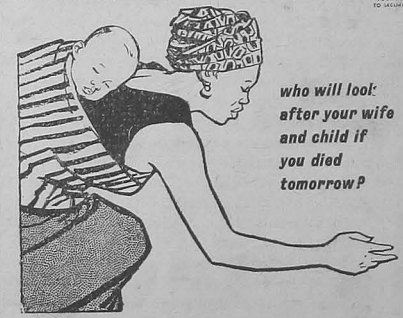
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The Economy

THE TRADE FAIR AND THE ECONOMY

By

G. Kportufe Agama

GHANA'S FIRST international trade fair opened this week with as many as thirty-two countries participating in it. The nineteen-day fair was to have been held two years ago but was postponed by the former government to this year. In opening the fair on the date laid down before it seized power, the National Liberation Council has shown a remarkable organization ability. We do not know yet how much money is spent on holding the fair, but we are certain that when the accounts are made at the close of the fair, a substantial amount of funds would have been invested in it. This investment has been financed mainly by the Ghanaian tax-payer, and partly by the participating countries. What do we Ghanaians and the foreign participants expect to get back in return ?

2. Besides its intangible educational effect as an eye-opener to the economic potentialities of both Ghana and the participating countries, the fair provides an opportunity for positive economic returns. This return will come in a variety of forms; and in some of these forms the return is direct, certain, and calculable, while in others it is indirect, uncertain, and not easily calculable. In assessing the overall return on the investment in the fair it is necessary to distinguish between these different forms in which the return accrues.

3. The most direct, certain and calculable return has in fact been accruing in the form of rent paid by exhibitors for space taken up at the fair site. As most of the exhibitors are foreigners, the greater share of rent received will be in foreign exchange, the provision of space being service exported by Ghana to foreigners. But unless the fair becomes an annual event, this foreign exchange earning is once and for all, and it must also be offset by the foreign exchange component of the expenditure on preparing the site. Even as a once-for-all return, one cannot really expect much in the form of rent on fair site. Another direct and quite reliable return will come in the form of windfall profits to the traders in Ghana who could import some of the goods on display at the fair for subsequent sale to the goods-starved Ghanaian public at immoderate prices. Again, this is a once-for-all windfall gain, and as we cannot be definite about the disposition of the potential windfall profits, we are unable to lay much store on this type of return.

4. We expect the really significant return to come in two forms, *first*, in the form of sustained increase in the value of goods and services we sell to foreigners; *secondly*, in the form of increased investment in Ghana by foreigners. The return in both forms is indirect, uncertain, and not easily calculable. But it is on the expectation of this return that the trade fair is focussed. The uncertainty about the return in either form arises from the situation in which the foreign participants have the same expectations about the fair as we do. Foreign participants are seizing the opportunity of the fair to promote the sale of their countries' products, and to exploit profitable investment outlets in this country. We should welcome this activity by foreigners, but in welcoming it, we should constantly be confronting in our minds our own expectations from the fair with the foreigners' expectations.

5. There is little doubt that there will arise the need to accommodate the clash of both economic and political interests which are likely to emerge as both sides attempt to fulfil their expectations. The first step on the way to successful accommodation of interests is for our people to realize the basic strength of the Ghanaian economy, namely, that the investments during the past few years in social overhead as well as plant machinery and equipment are adequate for sustaining a remarkable growth in the manufacture of a wide range of low-income consumer goods. As the domestic market is small and likely to remain so in the immediate future, we shall have to begin thinking seriously of exporting to neighbouring markets in order to be able to absorb the potential increased output. We will need to develop concrete ideas on regional economic co-operation in West Africa. This presupposes the existence of a domestic economic policy, and we therefore move to our second step.

6. This is the need for a clear-cut policy on the organization best suited for undertaking production in strategic sectors of the economy most efficiently. That is to say, it will be necessary to spell out precisely for a period of time, the specific areas in which the three agents of enterprise namely, the state, Ghanaian private business and foreign private business, should operate, but also to state clearly the goals to be pursued in each case.

7. Undoubtedly, the fundamental economic problem facing this country is not what type of enterprise we should have but how to promote some enterprise to achieve certain desirable goals within a given political framework. It cannot be said that during the past seven years, Ghana was starved of foreign enterprise; in fact it was surfeited with it, and we are in our present difficulties because we lost control over the direction of this type of enterprise. In our present circumstances, therefore, we venture to suggest that the promotion

of Ghanaian private enterprise should be the cornerstone of our economic policy, and that foreign enterprise should play a supplemental role.

8. Such a policy must constitute our economic strategy which will enable us to cope with the aftermath of the trade fair. And in view of the pressures which foreigners with business proposals to make are likely to exert on officials of the government, a third step ought to be a radical reorganization of personnel in the strategic departments of government. One field where this reorganization is most needed is the collection of economic data on foreign countries. In an economic strategy this kind of information is vital. This information will enable our economic officials to check on the claims by foreigners in proposals they present to the government. Under a regime of economic controls it is more vital. Trade and exchange controls, like any barrier to free life, challenge the ingenuity of people. Importers tend to over-value their imports and exporters under-value their exports in foreign exchange in order to obtain access to the foreign exchange outside the control of the authorities. An effective measure to eliminate this tendency is to set up abroad centres which will collect the prevailing prices of the major products in which this country trades.

9. Fortunately, this does not require the establishment of a separate organization. The existing machinery of the Foreign Service can be used effectively to perform this task. What may be needed is the redeployment of personnel in this Service so that its economic departments are administered by officials who possess some economic and financial knowledge. This task should not be entrusted to foreigners.

10. We come now to our last step. Policy, and economic policy, is essentially politics; and it is necessary that the political factor is fully taken into account, especially in our dealings with foreign enterprise. Indeed, we ought to consider this point so important as to make us compelled to reconstitute the Economic Committee to include some members of the Political Committee. We regard this suggestion as a compromise, and a good compromise, with the clumsy alternative of having the Political Committee to examine proposed economic agreements with foreigners after the Economic Committee has had its look. The need for this reorganization cannot be over-emphasized, especially as the present members of the Economic Committee are public officers who are responsible only administratively (and that remotely), and not politically, to the people of this country. This arrangement should not waive the present sound requirement that the Department of the Attorney-General check the legal drafting of these agreements.

11. The trade fair presents many opportunities, and these opportunities raise certain problems. We believe that if we follow the steps outlined in this essay, we will succeed in seizing the opportunities and in coping with their problems in our best interest.

TOURISM AND GHANA

By

A. N. Hakam

THIS SUBJECT when mentioned with regard to Ghana often generates either apathy or pessimism. It is frequently thought that spending money to attract tourism to Ghana is economically wasteful since Ghana is believed incapable of attracting tourists in sufficient numbers. Ghana, it is felt, cannot compete in attracting tourists with such long established resort areas as those of the Caribbean, the Canaries, the Southern Mediterranean, nor with the emerging but fauna-resplendent East African countries. In addition distance, it is felt, makes it too expensive for the average tourist.

False Assumptions

These are at best pessimistic assumptions; for, Ghana is a beautiful country, enjoys very interesting culture and folklore that would have a tremendous appeal for people from vastly different civilizations such as those from Europe, North America and Japan. (These, it must be remembered, are the large spenders in the tourist trade and their successful attraction makes the difference in success or failure in tourism). Furthermore, Ghana has beautifully situated beaches and a magnificent coastline of cloudless and sunny days in any given year where temperatures are kept mild by constant ocean breeze. These are conditions that any country would consider to be great national assets if properly exploited for tourism. As for air costs, air fares to Africa are going down soon by as much as 25 per cent, and this is not the beginning nor the end of a continuous trend. In the meanwhile, as incomes rise in the countries from which most of the tourists come and more and more people can afford to travel, the more likely that a vanguard of tourists will travel further and further away from the easily accessible places. For instance, right after the second world war, Western Europe and the Carribean were practically the only place frequented by North Americans. Now with improved incomes, and reduced fares, they venture in hoards to nearly all parts of the globe—as far as Japan, Tahiti, India, the Middle East, Russia, Eastern Europe and parts of Africa. So why not Ghana ? Some tourists would like places with a " difference ", not just the same old

places frequented by everyone else. So the countries that are imaginative in this respect can cash in very much by appealing to this element. Recently Gambia and Sierra Leone have been reported by *West Africa* to be making strides in this direction.

Why Tourism ?

The economics of tourism is very simple. As Arthur Lewis called it, it is an " export of service ". The service account of the balance of payments is greatly aided by an influx of tourism, and if sufficiently large, would tend to cancel out much of the deficit that Ghana is likely to have in her merchandise account (exports and imports of commodities), and other services—shipping, insurance, remittances and travel by Ghanaians abroad. Thus by attracting a minimum of 30,000 tourists annually, and if each were to spend on the average £200 for a 14-day stay plus air fares, this would bring in £6 to £8 million of foreign exchange—an amount that would exceed present Ghanaian foreign exchange earnings from diamonds. The average tourist, then, will tend to spend in one day in Ghana £10 to £15 (a rate of expenditure about 40 times the national average per capita expenditure), and all of it in foreign exchange. Furthermore, the tourist industry tends to be labour-intensive and thus would absorb much of the urban unemployed, in many direct services such as hotel employees, and various other indirect services and industries that cater for tourism such as arts and crafts industries of all sorts, hotel food and supply industries, laundries, air and shipping transport, car hire and limousine services, guides and hostesses, restaurants and night clubs. Also tourism tends to aid the economic development of the hinterland. Most genuine tourists do not wish to be confined to the capital city and thus new resorts tend to be built away from the main centres.

Tourist industry, though, requires good management, and imagination. On the other hand, it is technologically not a complex industry and well within the capacity of Ghana's present manpower resources, as a relatively easy industry to organize and run. Perhaps a most important element that should be mentioned is that tourism brings in foreign investments. It is a known fact that many private foreign investments in some of the countries of Western Europe, have their origin in tourists who developed an interest and affection for the country they visit and thus follow it up by a direct investment. In connection with foreign investments, perhaps, should be mentioned the fact that as the country proves attractive to tourists, financing of further physical tourist structures—hotels and resorts—could be foreign. The Hiltons and others would show enough interest to enter and build their own mansions. Thus tourism would then be self-financing. (Perhaps a sign in that direction is the recently signed agreement regarding the joint operation of the Ambassador Hotel and the Continental Hotel by Intercontinental Hotels Corporation).

There are non-economic benefits: it would make Ghana known to thousands of persons as a real and not just an abstract entity. It would tend to create goodwill for the country in international politics and " aid " matters. And in the case of inter-African travel, it would enhance Ghana's bond with her African sisters—a very important aspect of African unity—perhaps more important than trade.

How to Promote Tourism in Ghana

Having been convinced of the benefits of tourism the question becomes that of ability to attract. It is a rare phenomenon that tourists discover a place by accident. A place must become fashionable and it must have appeal. We mentioned that Ghana has various physical and cultural attributes that could make her attractive for tourism, but the question is that every effort must be made to exploit that through such promotional means as:

1. Attracting wealthy Africans and foreigners in neighbouring countries. This is a relatively easy source, since thousands of well-to-do foreigners live in Nigeria, Ivory Coast and all of the other neighbouring African states, for a middle and upper income African class that can afford travel is emerging in these countries, as well. The appeal to these would be to emphasise the distinctness of Ghana from the rest and the nearness of Ghana to such countries as Nigeria (for instance with the new Volta bridge the distance from Lagos to Accra could be travelled in about ten hours by car, on good roads nearly all the way.) In attracting French speaking neighbours, French must appear in the promotion and must be spoken in the better hotels.

2. Placing as many beautiful, large posters of Ghana in airline and tourist Offices and in as many public places as could be feasible in all the major tourist exporting countries.

3. Good guide books and brochures on Ghana and other information supplied in liberal quantities to tourists agents abroad — a sadly lacking aspect at present.

4. Selected Ghanaian embassies abroad should have a tourist promotion wing which could be combined as a function of the trade section of these embassies.

5. The Ghana Airways offices, wherever available, and in co-operation with tourist agents abroad should offer attractive package tours to Ghana that would include airfare and hotels stay at reduced costs for a number of days. This has an appeal to a certain class of travellers.

6. Co-operate with other tourist bodies and airlines of neighbouring states to attract tourists from Europe, and North America to visit several West African States

in one tour. This would appeal to the type of tourist who will only tour Ghana if he can also see several countries on the same trip. This is because of the air travel cost involved. With the recently established airline connection between the U.S., Europe and East Africa passing through Accra, it would also be fruitful for Ghana to exploit the stopover of the hundreds of tourists bound for East Africa to make them tour Ghana, as well.

7. The accent on youth has to be looked into. Increasingly the young university age groups have become a major factor in world travel. Since these have little to spend, intermediately priced hotels should be set up or even better still tourist homes and rest houses where the rate would not exceed £1 per day. Accra is especially lacking in moderately priced, clean hotels.

8. Perhaps a favourable rate of exchange for tourists must be investigated, especially if Ghana can be proved to reap greater benefits from increased tourism, as a result of it.

9. A reduction of double room hotel charges so as to induce more businessmen to bring their wives.

10. Folklore, traditional art and culture, durbars and festivals as well as castles and forts should be emphasized in tourist promotion. For instance, it is sad for an expatriate traveller in Ghana to read in the papers only too late that such a durbar or festival has taken place in such and such a village. These events should be publicized beforehand and not afterwards. What is needed is a good calender of such events. It must be mentioned that folk dancing and drumming in connection with festivals will have an unrivalled appeal to a foreign tourist. In some countries these are deliberately and artificially staged by governments not for their own sake, but for the sake of tourists.

11. A very important attraction would be genuine game reserves (and not ones in name only). Some people cannot associate a country in Africa without wild animals, preferably the large types—lions, tigers, giraffes, zebras, rhinos and elephants. These would attract hundreds of tourists to Ghana.

12. Scheduled inland tours should be set up to take tourists on various short and long tours in the country—to take them not to visit factories and public buildings but rather those aspects enumerated in 10 and 11.

13. We must remember that the aspect that the tourist would enjoy most in Ghana even more than culture, folklore and animals would be swimming and bathing. Unfortunately this is an aspect that fares very badly in Ghana. There are very few developed, protected beaches, and Ghana must have the smallest number of public swimming pools of any country blessed with beautiful sunshine. Accra does not even have one public swimming pool. Every hotel that gets built in Accra fails to have a swimming pool, an aspect that must be distressing to the traveller. Thus, building swimming pools and developing safe, clean beaches should be top on the priority of a tourist-attracting programme.

14. Every effort to make it easy for tourists to travel to and out of Ghana without red-tape must be made; and simple, easy to obtain visas must be given on the spot by consulates abroad.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that a tourist programme is not as simple as it may appear. Tremendous effort and imagination must go into it to make it successful. Besides, the capital investment that initially goes into it, may not bring in dividends for several years. However, in the end, persistence, boldness and well-managed programmes along the lines above may bring success.

Observer Notebook

British probity, Corruption and the Nkrumah Regime

WE ARE often reminded *ad nauseam* of the high standards of probity in British public life. We are often told that the British are incorruptible; indeed the favourite hobby-horse of British journalists, ex-colonial civil servants, sociologists and political scientists is writing glibly about the prevalence of bribery and corruption in Africa from a detached point of view. The spate of British books, articles and commentaries would make the unsuspecting believe that, at least, in public life the British are free of this near-universal social phenomenon. What, however, is the British record of public probity in post-independence Africa ? The facts are given by Mr. Justice F. K. Apaloo (Commission of Enquiry (Kwame Nkrumah Properties) Instrument, 1966).

A British Company—the Parkinson Howard and Co. Ltd.—was, on the evidence of the Apaloo Commission, involved in very massive corruption under the old regime. This internationally known company is headed by no less a person than Sir John Howard, sometime the Chairman of the Conservative and Unionist Party of Britain—a party that has ruled Britain for most part of the nearly seven decades of the 20th century.

The company confessed at the Apaloo Commission that between 1958 and 1965 they paid a total of approximately £123,000 (₵295,200.00) in cash to the C.P.P. at the request of certain Ghanaian Ministers of state. The Company was later requested by Mr. Ayeh Kumi, Nkrumah's Economic Adviser (or Adviser on Corruption ?), to make further payments, which it agreed to make, this time, by cheque. The amount involved was £120,000. The Company, thereupon, entered into a " Colourable Agreement " with a company " known as West African Industrial Consultants, by which the former agreed to pay the latter £120,000 (₵288,000) for alleged consultative services. This Company has itself to pay over this sum to NADECO Ltd.

for onward transmission to the C.P.P." "We are satisfied" continues the Report, "that a total sum of £82,500 (₵198,000.00) was paid to NADECO Ltd. for the benefit of the C.P.P. under this contract." (Apaloo Report pp. 39-40). All this is not to talk of the hotel bills paid for Ghanaian Ministers on delegations overseas, moneys paid into the London banking accounts of Ministers by the Parkinson Howard Group of Companies, and the dubious missions Sir John Howard undertook—including one to entice Mr. Gbedemah back from exile into Ghana—on behalf of the corrupt and discredited ex-President of Ghana.

It has to be remembered that other British firms aided and abetted Nkrumah's massive corruption; other British firms discredited in the Report are: Swan Hunter and Wigham Richardson, of Wallsend-on-Tyne; World Air, a London merchant bank; and the Ethelburga Agency, London aircraft dealers. These British firms might have engaged in corruption because Ghanaian Ministers made the payment of a 10 per cent commission a condition of awarding contracts. It is rather despicable that such apparently reputable international British firms could not resist the temptation to resort to morally dubious devices to win contracts. British standards of probity indeed ! !

The distressing thing about these British firms was that they must have been aware that in meekly agreeing to pay the 10 per cent commission they collaborated with Nkrumah to inflate prices in Ghana, thus helping to depress the Ghanaian's standard of living.

Kwesi Armah and Britain

THE GOVERNMENT of Ghana has lost the second round in its efforts to have Kwesi Armah, the former Minister of Trade, sent back to Ghana to face criminal charges involving the theft or misappropriation of funds.

In the first round, the government sought his return to face charges of corruption and extortion in connection with the issue of import licences. The government's case was that Mr. Kwesi Armah obtained a bribe from Mr. Fattal for the purpose of granting him an import licence. Under the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1881, Kwesi Armah could be sent back if our government established a "strong and probable presumption" that Kwesi Armah had committed the offences of which he stood accused and if sending him back would not be "unjust and oppressive."

Applying the test laid down in earlier decisions, the magistrate who first heard the case decided that the Government of Ghana had made out a case which could justify the trial of Kwesi Armah. The House of Lords, sharing the reservations of the High Court, disapproved of the test applied by the magistrate. In its view, the government of Ghana should have made out a case not only to justify trial but which, if uncontradicted, would be such as would result in a conviction. The government's case appears to have failed the test propounded by the House because:

(*a*) Fattal who said he paid the bribe was an accomplice (the law treats the evidence of such people with suspicion),

(*b*) on Fattal's own evidence the money was paid after the issue of the import licence and

(*c*) discrepancies existed between his statements to the Police and his evidence before the Ollennu Commission.

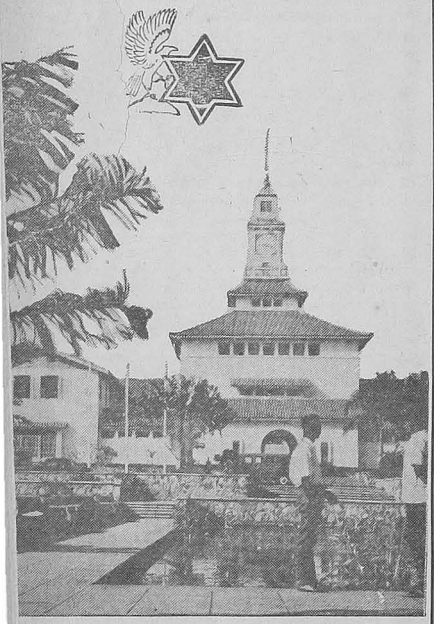
A factor which at least the High Court admitted partly induced its reluctance in supporting the magistrate's case and which is pertinent to the Home Secretary's decision now was that to send Kwesi Armah back would be "unjust and oppressive" contrary to S.10 of the Fugitive Offenders Act of 1881. This is because of the provisions of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1964 under which the Ollennu Commission was appointed. This Act, apart from offending the standards of Criminal justice generally accepted here, offends notions of natural justice as well. To make matters worse it was demonstrated to the Court that Kwesi Armah could be put in protective custody, win or lose. Only the assurances of the Ghana government not to prosecute him under the Corrupt Practices Act and to allow him to leave Ghana if he was acquitted made the High Court support the magistrate's decision. But the House of Lords was of the opinion that such assurances are unacceptable.

Soon after his victory Kwesi Armah was re-arrested, this time on a request for his extradition to face charges of misappropriation or theft of £30,000 intended for the Ghana High Commission at the time he was the High Commissioner. Kwesi Armah claimed he used the money for state service. He further argued that he was wanted for political rather than criminal reasons, and that if he was acquitted in a trial here he could be imprisoned under other laws. This time he lost his case. But his extradition depended upon the Home Secretary's discretion. The latter appears impressed by the political arguments made by Kwesi Armah which the courts could not properly consider.

It is not immediately clear why the British government would wish to antagonize a friendly government. But the Ghana Government is upset and so are many Ghanaians over a decision

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which seems to ignore the assurances of fair play and efforts to establish the rule of law here, not to mention the fact that in the government's view, based on advice of doubtful soundness, the crime was committed in the Ghana High Commission which under international law is Ghanaian territory. Some even suggest that influential people who are beneficiaries of Kwesi Armah's loots have a hand in the Home Secretary's decision.

The indignation felt over the decision is natural. It implied an adverse judgment on the standards of justice prevailing in this country. The implication is reinforced by the option extended to the government to prosecute Kwesi Armah in England. But some, if not all, the laws which the High Court considered to fall below standards of British justice remain in force here.

The Home Secretary's discretion has always been a source of embarrassment to British governments precisely because it involves passing judgment on the standards of justice in other Commonwealth countries. It is one among many shortcomings of the Fugitive Offenders Act. The conference of Commonwealth Law Ministers held in Britain last year, at which Ghana was represented, declared the Act out-moded. It was passed to regulate the transfer of suspected criminals from one part of the Commonwealth to the other at a time when all Commonwealth countries were directly under the British Crown. It was not intended to regulate the extradition of offenders between independent countries. This was regulated under the Extradition Act of 1870. But when the Commonwealth evolved into an association of independent states the Act continued to be used. This resulted in injustices. For example, the Act does not embody the principles contained in the Extradition Act, whereby extradition for political offences or for criminal offences where political motives underlie the request for extradition is not permitted. Non-extradition in such circumstances is universally accepted in the interest of human rights which find expression in international instruments.

The Home Secretary's decision appears to have been influenced by the fact that the law is recognised by all the Commonwealth as outdated and a bill to amend it to bring it in line with extradition to non-Commonwealth countries has been published. He must further have been mindful of the bitter criticism he and his colleagues levelled against the Conservative government's decision to send Enahoro back to Nigeria to face charges of treason; they couldn't now open themselves to what would be a devastating taunt from the Conservatives.

It is unlikely that the Home Secretary's decision would be reversed. The only course open to Ghana now is to prosecute Kwesi Armah in England. The fate of such a step is not easily predictable and would prove unnecessarily expensive.

Crime

THE INCREASE in criminal activities is becoming alarming. Cars disappear, customs sheds are broken into and banks are raided, sometimes with violence. Most people in Ghana consider the February coup as an opportunity for a fresh start and it seems the criminals think likewise. Unless information about crimes was suppressed under the Nkrumah regime, there is a definite increase in the crime rate. The wholesale release of the victims of the Preventive Detention Act may have benefitted some criminals.

Whatever the reasons for the increase, special efforts need to be made now to check the tide before we witness more gruesome acts. The Police Service needs to be strengthened in the towns and night patrols increased. Patrol cars need to be purchased and fitted with radio equipment to enable communication with headquarters. The government should consider building as many police telephone boxes as possible to facilitate reports of crimes. The general telephone service in the country needs to be improved for this among many reasons. Efforts to clean up the Police Service should be accelerated to eliminate elements prone to corruption and collusion with criminal elements and to strengthen public confidence in the Service. Better terms and conditions of service for the Police could minimise temptations. More time and effort should be put in preventing and detecting more serious crimes than in speed-checking and other petty matters. The public needs to be educated not to put faith in " money-doublers" and other cheats, and not to be so careless as, for example, to leave ignition keys in parked cars or leave windows open. Banks should strengthen their security systems. Finally, the government needs to make haste with schemes for the absorption of surplus labour. The unemployed are likely to resort to criminal ways of earning a living.

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Letters

Kwesi Armah's Extradition

SIR—I heard with shock that the British Home Secretary had refused to follow the court's decision that Mr. K. Armah should be extradited to Ghana. According to the B.B.C. on 26/1/67, Mr. Jenkins' ruling is based on the argument that people against whom criminal charges are to be made for political reasons should be granted political asylum.

It would seem to me a completely unwarranted assumption that the sole motive for charging Mr. K. Armah is political. We have read recently (**Ghanaian Times** 25/1/67) that the National Liberation Council has dismissed two senior police officials (presumably supporters of the present regime) for 'gross neglect of duty'. The N.L.C. is concerned to establish justice and the rule of law, and it is bad that it should be hampered in these efforts by Britain.

I have already protested to the Home Secretary and the British High Commissioner in Ghana. I should like to see a letter of protest signed by as many Senior Members of this University as possible. I hope that someone senior to myself will undertake to organise this. Meanwhile interested persons may contact me.

Department of Modern Languages,
Legon, Accra. **P. W. C. Maxwell.**

C.P.P. and Blows

SIR—I read recently in the local papers that Mr. J. E. Hagan, a former C.P.P. Regional Commissioner, was punched in the face by a member of the audience at the Annie Jiagge Commission inquiring into the Assets of ex-C.P.P. functionaries. This "punching" has been condemned by most Ghanaians. For my part, I believe the C.P.P. regime—especially Mr. Hagan's role in it at Cape Coast—made many people bottle up their emotions. We are now free to release some of our emotions, and I am all for the release of such emotions in the form of punches, cat-calls, boos etc; provided they would not end up in murder. The police should supervise this. This is freedom; if this is not allowed the emotions will seek outlets in stealing, subversion and disrespect to the N.L.C. which is vastly superior in common sense, humanity and moderation to the old regime. More harmless punches !!

Takoradi **Kwame Abrokwah**

Economic independence in the Congo

SIR—Last week, it was announced that President Joseph Mobutu of Congo (Kinshasa) **nationalised** "Union Miniere du Haut-Katanga", with the apparent intention of clenching his country's independence. The move is bold and laudable enough to be of interest to us all in Africa. Most people will find it difficult, though, to convince themselves that the newly appointed all-Congolese Board of Directors can manage the Company efficiently.

What Mobutu said in connection with the nationalisation, however should be of interest to Ghanaians in particular. He said that "if we have to be hungry to be free and independent, then we will go hungry. We prefer to remain poor and hungry to being rich slaves".

Fine words indeed. It is hoped every Congolese is prepared to tighten his belt with his leader just as every Ghanaian, a few years back, was prepared to follow

the ex-President when he told the outside world that "we prefer self-government with danger to servitude in tranquility". Few understood him then! The others, the masses, were prepared to sacrifice with him and did tighten their belts only to realize today what "self-government with danger" means—intimidation, persecution, despotism, expensive tastes, detention—and many other dangers.

What a pity. Leaders of New Africa time and again preach economic independence while they themselves have paranoic love for slick values, expensive tastes and big cars.

Is Mobutu's apparent call on his people for sacrifice a bona fide one?

Is he prepared to "remain poor and free"?

Naval Base, Takoradi. **Albert K. Kattah**

The Constitutional Commission

SIR—I write to comment on the appeals being made by the authorities and especially by the local press to all sons and daughters of Ghana who have the interest of the nation at heart to submit memoranda to the Constitutional Commission on the sort of Constitution Ghana should have. The move is welcome and our hearts are filled with joy.

I am, however, disturbed by the haste with which public response is being sought. Certain individuals and, worse still, a local paper have found it difficult to resist the temptation to condemn the slowness with which Ghanaians are responding to the appeals. When it was found out by those responsible that the public had not been fully educated as regards the form their memoranda should take—a factor contributing to the slowness of response—the press came to the rescue. But a few days later, a local daily came out with an editorial condemning Ghanaians for delay and aloofness (or apathy?).

Why the rush? It must not be supposed that constitution-making is a trite matter. Much reflection is needed to ensure that proposals put forward are sound so as to make the preparation of a final draft easier for the Constitutional Commission. It is too early for us to forget the great harm done to us as a result of the suspended bogus constitution hurriedly foisted on the country by Nkrumah and his band of swindlers. Let us learn from our past mistakes. "Haste makes waste," so says an old adage.

The kind of constitution I will like to see is one which guarantees freedom of worship, thought, assembly, the press and expression. It must ensure equality before the law and immunity from arbitrary arrest and detention.

Ghana News Agency, Accra. **J. C. Quaye**

White Paper and Apaloo Commission

SIR—The people of this country cannot be deceived by the Government White Paper on the Apaloo Commission's report, which subtly tries to whitewash Gbedemah, Botsio and Krobo Edusei over the Parkinson Howard Group affair.

Mr. Justice Apaloo, a Supreme Court Judge, after considering all the evidence and, more particularly, the witnesses' demeanour in the witness-box, came to the reasonable conclusion that Gbedemah, Botsio and Edusei could have received money from Parkinson Howard and paid it into C.P.P. coffers. But the White Paper goes to great lengths to exonerate these three close associates of Nkrumah. The White Paper rejects the Commission's findings because they are based on hearsay evidence of Mr. Granville. Is it being suggested that Mr. Justice Apaloo does not know what is legally admissible evidence?

Even a layman reading that part of the report relating to this affair as a whole cannot but be impressed by the just conclusions arrived at. On the other hand the White Paper's argument is incredibly unconvincing.

Is it posible that the hope of political associations have started to blind people in high places?

Accra. **Kwame Apeagyei**

Religion

BELIEF IN GOD—REPLY TO MY CRITICS

by James Thrower

I WOULD like to thank the Rev. Peter Barker and Dr. Konotey-Ahulu for their replies to my article, "Should we all believe in God?" (**Legon Observer** 23 Dec. 1966). At this juncture in Ghana's development, frank and uninhibited discussion of such issues cannot but be to the good. Religion plays a very important part in the life of the nation and it therefore demands reflective consideration from all who have the welfare of the country at heart.

To turn first to Mr. Barker. In his opening remarks he has, I fear, been misled by the editorial caption, "Belief in God", given to my article. It was not my intention to argue for or against the truth or the falsity of believing in God. I am quite aware that the actual behaviour of theists is irrelevant to the truth-value of propositions asserting or denying the existence of God. What I was concerned to do was, in the first place, to call attention to some of the confusion surrounding the loose use of words such as 'theism', 'atheism' and 'religion', and secondly, in the light of the loose use of particularly the word 'religion' and its cognates, to question the value and doubt the consequences from a moral point of view of a naive desire for a revival of religion, with its added consequence of an attitude of militancy towards atheism, used equally loosely.

Both Mr Barker and Dr. Konotey-Ahulu seem to me to fall into this confusion. In paragraph eight of his reply which reads, "Of course, belief affects behaviour; the man who entrusts himself to Christ soon discovers that the Master revolutionizes his whole attitude to life. But theists do not claim to be perfect . . . or if some of them do claim to fulfil a divinely given standard of morality . . ." Mr. Barker here equates the terms 'Christian' and 'theist'. What he says is no doubt true of some, though alas not of all, Christians, but the class of Christians does not exhaust the class of theists. Many theists, for example Moslems and the followers of the various gods and goddesses scattered throughout this land, are not revolutionized by adherence to "the Master", and the history of the Christian church itself shows that many Christians have interpreted the behavioural demands of commitment to 'the Master' very differently from each other, as well as at times against each other in some of the bloodiest wars in the history books. Dr. Konotey-Ahulu in his closing questions and answers makes the even bolder equation of Christianity with religion itself.

We cannot, therefore, I repeat, conclude that because a person is religious, or a theist and not an atheist,

that his behaviour will be such as to win our moral approval, or in the phrase which Mr. Barker objects to "will be followed by consequences which the majority of us would like to see." By "us", here, I mean those who are concerned about the standards and practice of morality in this country. It does not seem to me that simply urging people to 'be religious' or to 'be theists' and 'not atheists', without being much more theologically specific, has much bearing at all on the standards and practice of morality.

It is not in fact myself, as Mr. Barker claims, who sees theism as a means to an end, but those who in the name of morality, and they are many, as my having just taught a seminar on 'Religion and Nation Building' at the 18th Annual New Year School has shown me, are at present urging a revival of 'religion'. Dr. Konotey-Ahulu answers my third question, "Is in fact a revival of religion a good thing?" with an unhesitating affirmative. Admittedly he then goes on, as I have pointed out, to identify religion with Christianity, but taking his answer at its face value I would like to ask him if, as he believes, a revival of religion is, in itself, a good thing, whether he would still maintain this, if, for example, there were to take place a revival of religion in the form of orthodox Islam, resulting in the putting into practice of the theistic demand of Sura 5—The Table—of the Holy Koran? This 'divinely given standard of morality' demands that "As for the man or woman who is guilty of theft, cut off their hands to punish them for their crimes. That is the punishment enjoined by Allah" . . . a practice still adhered to by the theists of Saudi Arabia. And this is by no means the worst thing we should have to fear if the divine commands of the Koran were ever to be seriously adhered to! Much rather, surely, that we should sit for ever on the fence and let others enjoy the blessings of our uncertainty; which brings me to another point raised by Mr. Barker.

Why Mr. Barker should equate religious agnosticism (sit-on-the-fence-ism) with immorality (do-what-you-like-ism) I fail to see. There is neither philosophical nor empirical justification for doing so. In paragraphs six and seven Mr. Barker gives us a version of the moral argument for the existence of God which I should dearly like to take up, were the **Legon Observer** a journal of philosophy and provided space enough for this kind of dialogue, so profoundly do I disagree with it. (As an argument in the philosophy of religion and not because of atheistic humanist prejudices, I must add.) The dictates of conscience(s) seem to me to be so varied in their demands and so often contradictory that to claim their emanation from one source is impossible unless God is, as the eighteenth century Scottish Sceptic David Hume once suggested, really a somewhat motley committee. With regard to 'conscience' one has to be even more specific than with words like 'theist' and 'religion'. It is surely more accurate in this respect to talk of a Christian conscience, a Marxist conscience, an Islamic conscience, and so on. Further, Mr. Barker's account of the facts and implications of the moral life is not one which I recognise. 'I feel I ought to do this' does not imply 'It is God who is telling me to do this'. The first premise admits of many other equally plausible interpretations. One last remark on this point. It appears to me far more dangerous to the cause of morality to encourage people to believe that every moral demand they feel is the voice of God and has therefore divine backing, leading as it sometimes has done to the most frightening excesses of bigoted cruelty, than to create, as Mr. Barker accuses me of doing, "a state of uncertainty" with regard to religious faith.

In his penultimate paragraph Mr. Barker makes some remarks about Christian morality with which I heartily agree, but I must ask him to re-read precisely what I said when he goes on to accuse me of seeking "to limit the extent to which the churches should look outward to their responsibilities in the world." The passage he no doubt has in mind is as follows: "It might well turn out that . . . the task of building up a morally healthy society lies less with the churches than it does with those on whom the responsibility for social security rests. **This is not to say that it rests wholly with them."** "It might well turn out." I don't know. Perhaps one day the psychological and sociological evidence will tell us whether people steal, for instance, more because of their circumstances than because of their beliefs or the lack of them. I think we have much to learn about the motivation of behaviour. The point of the above passage was, however, in this instance, to have it both ways, and to suggest that both the Christian church **and** the government have responsibilities here, though these will overlap as Christians become more aware that they should also practise their faith, and take their part in redeeming the world, outside of formal church institutions, and activities.

Dr. Konotey-Ahulu in his reply appears to me to make my article a spring board for a message of his own, setting me up, irrespective of what I actually said, as a scientifically orientated atheistic humanist" Aunt Sally, at which he then proceeds to throw his darts. Apart, therefore, from the repetition of my name, for which "James Thrower" read "scientific humanist, the major part of his reply has only an indirect relevance to my original article. There are, however, two or three points that I must comment upon.

I am, of course, aware that Christianity is not a philosophy, if by a philosophy is meant a set of beliefs, held purely intellectually. I never said that it was. On the other hand Christianity does, I believe, despite what many Christian theologians are now saying to the contrary, involve the adherence to propositions which are held to be true, and the assertion 'I believe in God' whatever else that affirmation may involve, is one of them, and being such, comes, and always has come, under philosophical discussion. But as I have already pointed out, the truth or falsity of this assertion was not under discussion.

With reference to the point which Dr. Konotey-Ahulu makes in his third paragraph about "saints", I would agree that my usage certainly went beyond that of the New Testament. The "saint" or holy man I had, in fact, in mind was a Buddhist one, in that I was talking about "world-denying religions" as can be seen by turning to the context of my remarks. (Much of Dr. Konotey-Ahulu's trouble, here and elsewhere in his reply, springs from his persistent identification of Christianity and religion, as if Christianity were the only religion which I could possibly have had in mind. Thus, for instance, in his fourth paragraph, where after reciting some of the beliefs of (some) Christians, he comments, quoting my words "all these may be repugnant to the majority of moral men." This was not what I had in mind at all. I was in fact thinking of some of the demands of reli-

gions other than Christianity, for example Sura 5 of the Koran which I have mentioned, Yahweh's charge to David that he should slay all the Amelekites in the Old Testament, or with Christianity in mind, Queen Mary of England's obedience to what, presumably, by means of her conscience she took to be God's will to the effect that she should burn all important Protestants. Not surprisingly, therefore, when he accuses me of attempting to "slay religion" and "whitewash atheism," though where he got this extravagant idea from I cannot imagine, and of "lumping all beliefs into one huge heap of a caricature" he fails to see that what I was endeavouring to do was just the opposite, namely to try to unpack these terms into their concrete instances. I was in fact, he may be surprised to learn, saying nothing that one of Christianity's leading theologians, Dr. Karl Barth, has not said. My article could, though in fact it wasn't have been written by a confirmed Barthian, for one of Barth's major distinctions is that between Christianity and religion.) But to return. It cannot be denied, however, that historical Christianity has exhibited similar world denigrating tendencies, though I would agree with the doctor that such should not characterise the "true Christian." One might contrast here those two Christian saints, St. Anthony, who as Helen Wadell in her book on the Desert Fathers has said, "sold earth to buy heaven", with St. Francis of Assisi. This would also serve as yet another example of the differing interpretations which different people put on what is involved in adherence to the Master, or on the call of conscience.

Lastly, I am indeed aware that the Christian religion does not aim solely at producing moral people. In fact I would go further and doubt whether its aim is to produce 'moral' people at all. Its aim is rather to restore men to their sonship with God and that this has consequences and overlapping connections with what the world calls 'morality' which does not nullify the point that Christian ethics uses throughout theological terms, and is in fact applied theology, and leaves morality as such to moral philosophers and moralists. I do not hope that this rather concentrated point will not be misunderstood. Many people, however, as I pointed will out in my original article, and as I have already stated in this one, are looking to a revival of religion as a means to restoring the standards and practice of a certain basic human and social morality and it is to them that my original remarks were addressed, as should have been clear from my opening paragraphs.

Upon the remainder of Dr. Konotey-Ahulu's reply I have no comment as I do not regard it as relevant to my original remarks.

The issue, therefore remains, and I still ask, as being worthy of discussion, my original question in my original words "Is a revival of religion **necessarily** a good thing?" Dr. Konotey-Ahulu has answered with an unqualified yes. For myself, I should wish, as I have tried, to clarify the question and at least be more precise as to what kind of religion is meant, before I make up my mind either way. I trust that at least some other people, and particularly those in positions of authority, will do likewise.

I think also, and this was as much a part of my original intention, that a similar exercise would be welcome before we unilaterally rule atheism out.

Correspondence on this topic is closed—Editor.

Book Review

THE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH

by Frantz Fanon
(MacGibbon & Kee, 1965, London.)
Review by
Kwabena Archeampong

IT IS perhaps the greatest irony of history that revolutionary ideas and situations which are considered the most effective means of social and historical change cannot be completely dramatized. These ideas can be rehearsed or even staged with considerable historical amendments and revisions to the original script. For instance people in different times and places had tried to organize the world in accordance with the letter and spirit of the Holy Scriptures or of Marxism, and yet full-length presentations, faithful to the authorised texts have been found to be impossible in the different historical and social circumstances. For whenever and wherever there is an historical acting of a revolutionary idea, whether it is Christianity or Marxism, the result turns out to be really an adaptation of the original idea. Purists or those dedicated to the original Idea or "thing-in-itself" may deplore the revisionism of the actors but it seems inevitable that in any historical revolutionary situation the actors are forced to be inauthentic. The fact that one cannot live out a revolutionary idea fully and authentically is due to the Utopianism and the total violence in the very idea and process of a revolution. For a revolution is essentially the realization of an *alternative reality*, of an Utopia which can be brought about only through total violence—by means of complete destruction of all other situations logically incompatible with the Idea. Thus even though the statement of the ends of revolutions almost always refers to the achievement of a golden age, the language of a revolutionary or the prophet of a revolution is necessarily a language of violence. It follows then that to set out to justify or condemn the element or idea of violence in the context of a revolution by some external system of values is irrelevant, since the relation between Utopianism, revolution and violence is strictly speaking internal. It is therefore not untypical that even in the Holy Bible the language of the prophets and the Messiah is always a language of doom, hellfire and violence whilst the whole purpose of God is supposed to begin and end with the happiness of the Garden of Eden.

Revolutionary Utopias consist in the presentation of mutually opposing possibilities but they also carry the terrifying conviction that

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the actual situation should not have existed and must not (be allowed to) exist and that the alternative reality which is merely a bare possibility must be realized by all possible means, even though its happening is also historically inevitable. Therefore the actor in a revolutionary situation and the prophet of the Utopia live in a world of opposites; violence is the definitive relation of this ontological set-up. Frantz Fanon, in *The Wretched of The Earth* analyses with clinical precision and presents with prophetic ardour the Developing World: the world of colonisation and de-colonisation, a world in which such opposing concepts as oppression and freedom, authoritarianism and liberty, wealth and poverty both grip and collide. Within this world in which one thing negates the identity of the other thing and processes do not fuse into higher synthesis but each process constitutes a clean state of its opposite, Fanon describes the neurotic disorders of the Developing World, which the French call the Third World (*Tiers Monde*)

A violent deprivation of the freedoms, liberties and wealth of the native by the settler is the outward criterion of the schizophrenic disorders of the Tiers Monde. But basically the ailment has roots in the tension between opposite species in that universe. The rift between the species is not dialectical and horizontal as Marxism presupposes but instead it is existential and vertical and the opposing situations are as mutually destructive as they are mutually definitive. Europe, according to Fanon, is the creation of the Tiers Monde just as the Tiers Monde is the creation of Europe. Therefore one cannot preserve one without preserving the other; collorary, one cannot abolish one without abolishing the other. Hence, although decolonisation is the abolition of colonialism and the destruction of the settler through mental and physical violence, decolonisation is not the substitution of the native for the settler. In decolonisation the Tiers Monde also abolishes itself in a collective punishment and establishes a new order which is beyond the good and evil of the universe of the Tiers Monde.

If Europe is responsible for the inimical social and political relations in the Tiers Monde, the sickness has also been accentuated by a certain imbalance in the biochemistry of these nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. These nations are hampered in their growth by their own sterile traditions and tribalism; the people in these countries are abandoned or exploited by an underdeveloped and uncreative bourgeoisie and are oppressed by their own political leaders. Fanon contemptuously refers to this native elite—the class of intellectuals still working dogmatically with the categories of Europe and of the professional class and the leaders of the nationalist political parties—as "affranchised slaves" who have a very confused conception of social and political reality. The dimness of their perception of social reality lies in their rejection of total violence and in their pathetic attempts to be like the "other". Fanon attacks with more vehemence the political leaders and heads of government of these countries who make themselves the embodiments of the reason and will of the whole of the people, whilst they at the same time undermine the unity of their countries by their petty allegiances to their own tribes and families: . . . "these heads of the governments are the true traitors in Africa; for they sell their country to the most terrifying of all its enemies: stupidity."

Leaders in developing countries, have taken a partial view of the semantics of the English word "to lead" or the French word "*conduire*" to mean only *to drive* and thereby have reduced their people to an unthinking herd. This emasculation of the people by their own leaders is done through the political party which

> . . . instead of welcoming the expression of popular discontent, instead of taking for its fundamental purpose the free flow of ideas from the people to the government, forms a screen and forbids such ideas. The party leaders behave like common sergeant-majors, frequently reminding the people of the need for "silence in the ranks". This party which used to call itself the servant of the people, which used to claim that it worked for the full expression of the people's will, as soon as the colonial power puts the country into its control, hastens to send the people back to their caves.

The only embodiments of political reality and revolutionary virtue in the Tiers Monde, according to Fanon, are the people, the lumpenproletariat, the inhabitants of the marginal and subterranean worlds; the prostitutes and their pimps, hobos and the rural scum. These people alone have remained uncorrupted and their political virtues have not been compromised by their social roles. These alone are the demiurge and their hands are the magic hands which can take responsibility for everything. And when this class of people have achieved political education, when

> . . . the people have taken violent part in the national liberation they will allow no one to set themselves up as "liberators". They will show themselves to be jealous of the results of their action and take good care not to place their future, their destiny

or fate of their country in the hands of a living god.

This total liberation cannot be achieved except by means of a violent destruction of oppressive ideas and physical opposition to enemies of unfreedom. Thus "violence alone, violence committed by the people, violence organized and educated by its leaders makes it possible for the masses to understand social and political truths and gives the key to them". However, the idea of violence and revolution as a complete antidote to oppressive systems is valid only if these systems are definitive; but in a world in which unfreedom is hydra-headed and has no specific essence, the intentions of a humanistic revolution cannot be completely realized. Even in the Tiers Monde where Fanon comes close to identifiying the nature and extent of the oppressive situation, the neurotic nature of the crisis makes it a near contradiction to suppose that there can be a complete and total liberation.

In *The Wretched of the Earth* Fanon is primarily concerned with a sickness produced by the oppressive universe of the Tiers Monde. And yet since oppression anywhere and of any kind leads to sickness and unhappiness of a human being, the political sickness of the Tiers Monde is also the sickness of Europe (and of America). It is indeed a universal sickness and it is only when we have created a new humanity that the "work-less-less-than-men . . ., all the hopeless dregs of humanity, all who turn in circles between suicide and madness, will recover their balance".

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News Summary

(Ghana Broadcasting Corporation)

22/1/67

Report of the Apaloo Commission

THE Apaloo Commission which enquired into Kwame Nkrumah's properties found that, at the time of his overthrow Nkrumah was worth about £2¼m. Of this, over £400,000 including some £342,000 in bank accounts was held in Ghana. Nkrumah also owned properties worth over £265,000 outside Ghana, and controlled limited liability companies worth over £1m.

The Commission recommended that of the amount standing in his name in the banks in Ghana, Nkrumah was properly entitled to £45,000—one third of his total legitimate income. The rest should be recovered by the Government. It also recommended the recovery of sums standing to the credit of Nkrumah's wife (Fathia), his mother (Elizabeth Nyaniba), and his children.

Ayeh-Kumi and Halm, trustees of Nkrumah's accounts in foreign banks, were to recover for the Treasury moneys held on Nkrumah's behalf in the Midland Bank in London and the Swiss Bank of Incorporation in Zurich. The Commission also recommended the recovery of the ownership of Nkrumah's building in Cairo (valued at £58,000). The expenditure incurred from public Ghana funds on Nkrumah's villa in Rabat, Morocco should be recovered from his cash assets in Ghana.

The loss of £1m. incurred in the purchase of the assets of Messrs. A. G. Leventis and Co. should be recovered from Nkrumah and members of the Cabinet who sanctioned the purchase of the assets. Money loaned, given out as gifts, or improperly expended on people from Nadeco funds, C.P.P. funds, the Special Commissions Account and the Contingency Vote should be recovered.

The Government generally accepts the recommendations of the Commission.

Association of Ghanaian Importers and Exporters

AN ASSOCIATION of Ghanaian importers and exporters has been formed in Accra to reduce the cost of consumer goods for the average Ghanaian. Known as the "Association of Ghanaian Importers and Exporters", it aims to offer Ghanaian businessmen a higher bargaining position in respect of bulk purchases and finance.

Mr. Oduro-Kwaten protem secretary of the Association said the Association will offer advice to Ghanaian businessmen on management finance and market research. It will also negotiate with the government to reduce what he described as the present unbearable import and export duties paid by Ghanaian businessmen.

Police Superintendent Sacked

MR. J. E. K. AGBADJA, Chief Superintendent of Police formerly stationed at Ho, has been dismissed from the Ghana Police Service for gross neglect of duty. An official announcement in Accra says Mr. Agbadja was dismissed by the N.L.C. on the recommendation of the Inspector-General of Police Mr. Harlley.

Jurist pays respect to Danquah

THE Secretary-General of the International Commission of Jurists, Mr. Sean MacBride, who was on a short visit to Ghana laid a wreath on the grave of the late Dr. J. B. Danquah at a solemn ceremony performed at the Kibi public cemetry.

G.N.T.C.

THE Ghana National Trading Corporation (GNTC) has presented a cheque for three million cedis out of their last year's six million cedis net profit to the Government.

Nana Kobina Nketsia

NANA Kobina Nketsia, Omanhene of Esikadu, has been appointed the 17th member of the Electoral Commission.

Prisons Commission

MEMBERS of the Commission appointed by the N.L.C. to enquire into conditions prevailing in Ghana Prisons have been sworn in by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Akufo Addo. Members of the Commission are, Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye, chairman; Mr. N. A. Cameron, formerly Chief Adviser on prisons to the Uganda Government, Mrs. D. B. Vanderpuije, National General Secretary of the Y.W.C.A. and the Reverend W. G. Brandford, Secretary, Christian Council of Ghana.

The Deputy Chief Principal Officer of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, Mr. Acquah, is Secretary to the Commission.

Food Marketing Corporation to be investigated

THE N.L.C. has appointed a four-man Committee to investigate reports of irregularities and maladministration in the Food Marketing Corporation. The Chairman of the Committee is Mr. J. G. Amoafo, Chief Agricultural Economist and the members are Major J. G. W. Doamekpor of the Army Headquarters, Mr. K. Ghanney, Chief Superintendent of Police. Mr. T. Vardon, Senior Auditor, Auditor-General's Department is member secretary.

Special Course for Police at I.P.A.

THE Inspector-General of Police and Vice-Chairman of the National Liberation Council, Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, has opened a three-week special course for about 13 senior police officers at the Institute of Public Administration at Greenhill, Achimota.

The course has been designed to train the officers in administrative management so that they could improve upon the standards of efficiency in their various commands.

27/1/67

State Cocoa Marketing Board Statement on loans

IT HAS come to the notice of the Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board that certain people in the country are organising to take legal action against it in respect of the collection of loans granted to cocoa farmers by the defunct Cocoa Purchasing Company. These people are said to be advising debtors of the Board to resist repayments of loans granted them.

The State Cocoa Marketing Board wishes to make it clear that the whole of the shares of the Cocoa Purchasing Company was subscribed to and paid up by the Board alone and that the Cocoa Purchasing Company merely acted as an agent of the Board in granting the loans through a newly-created department of the Cocoa Purchasing Company known as the "Ghana Cocoa Marketing Board Loans Agency". This body was later absorbed into the State Cocoa Marketing Board

as the Loans Department of the Board when the Cocoa Purchasing Company went into liquidation.

The Board wishes it to be known that it does not intend to write off the loans under any circumstance whatsoever. Debtors are therefore warned of the futility of allying themselves with and giving financial contributions to anybody or organisation whose aim is to hand the loans granted to them annulled. They are further advised to intensify their repayment of the loans or face the consequence.

Persons behind such a move should be reported to the police.

The Kwesi Armah Case: Ghana protests against Britain's Decision

THE Government of Ghana has protested to the British Government about the decision of the Home Secretary not to return Kwesi Armah to Ghana.

N.L.C. uncovers plot to stage counter coup

THE National Liberation Council announced that it had uncovered a plot to stage a counter coup d'etat in Ghana.

Release of "Refugees" from Custody

THE Ghana Government has released from protective custody and granted political asylum to thirty refugees from the Cameroons and Fernando Po, who were placed under protective custody during the coup. An official statement said that in consultation with the representatives of the United Nations High Commission for refugees in Ghana and the Ghana Red Cross, the Government has agreed that should the refugees elect to stay in Ghana, the Red Cross and the U.N. would be responsible for their settlement .

British Car Assembly Plant

A MEETING between representatives of the Ghana Government and the British Motor Corporation (BMC) was held at the Castle in Accra to consider the possibility of establishing a Motor car assembly plant in Ghana. The plant will assemble BMC cars which include Austin, Wolseley, Morris and MG. The Ghana side was represented by six-man team headed by the Chairman of the Economic Committee of the N.L.C. Mr. E. N. Omaboe. The B.M.C. was represented by Mr. E. A. Oakley, Director, BMC Export Sales Limited. Present also was the First Secretary, Commercial, of the British High Commission, Mr. J. D. Millar.

OBITUARY

TRIBUTE TO SIR ARKU KORSAH

BY AFRICAN standards of life expectancy, Sir Arku Korsah has done better than most and Ghana is the better for it. He has given to the country a long period of distinguished service. In the administration of the law which was his primary occupation, he not only made history by becoming the first African Chief Justice but he was a major force behind such institutions as the Local Courts. The administration of justice and government are interrelated and Sir Arku Korsah's connections with the latter date as far back as to 1928 when he was appointed a Member of the Legislative Council, a post he held until 1940. Between 1942 and 1945, he was a Member of the Executive Council.

Born at Saltpond in 1894, Arku Korsah was educated at Fourah Bay, Durham and London, where he read degrees in law, and returned to set up a lucrative practice at Cape Coast in 1920. In 1942 he and Nana Ofori Atta I broke new ground when they became the first Africans to be appointed Members of the Governor's Executive Council during the Second World War. In 1945, he was appointed a Puisne Judge, and in 1957, a Justice of Appeal, and a member of the West African Court of Appeal. In 1956, he became the first Ghanaian Chief Justice, a post he held until his dismissal in 1963 by Nkrumah.

Except towards the end of Nkrumah's regime, Sir Arku Korsah maintained good relations with all previous regimes in Ghana, whatever position he held—a factor which has made him a controversial figure in professional and political circles. One is not certain as to the view he may have held with regard to Nkrumah's encroachments on the liberty of the individual and the independence of the judiciary. Following the acquittal of Tawiah Adamafio, Ako Adjei and Cofie Crabbe on charges of treason, a case in which he sat with Mr. Justice Akufo Addo and Mr. Justice Van Lare, he was dismissed from the Bench. This must have come as a shock to him and may have affected his health.

He was always at the service of the state. As old as he was, he undertook a mission last year to several African countries to explain the reasons which led to the February coup. As evidence of his versatility, he was a Member of the Commission on Higher Education in West Africa from 1943 to 1945. Altogether, then, he rendered invaluable services to his country. But in such a long and varied career it is impossible to avoid controversies and Sir Arku Korsah had his share. His death is a serious loss not only to his family, to which we extend our deepest condolences, but also to Ghana. When he died Kobina Arku Korsah was full of honour, mourned alike by his Government and his people.



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