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by Colonel A. A. Afrifa

EDITORIAL

SIERRA LEONE: SOLDIERS AND POLITICIANS

CONSEQUENT UPON the general election on March 17 the Governor-General, Sir Henry Lightfoot-Boston, appointed the Opposition leader, Mr. Siaka Stevens, as Prime Minister. But, within minutes of being sworn in on 21 March the new Prime Minister, Mr. Siaka Stevens, was placed under restriction in State House in Freetown by the army, then headed by Brigadier Lansana, which declared martial law and accused the Governor-General—who was also restricted in the State House—of acting unconstitutionally. It is this initial charge of unconstitutionality which triggered off the series of dramatic events resulting in the take-over by the young Majors of the Sierra Leone Army.

Did the Governor-General act unconstitutionally as alleged by Brigadier Lansana, who obviously might have acted on the initiative of Sir Albert Margai, the outgoing Prime Minister? According to recent more reliable figures Sir Albert Margai's 'Sierra Leone People's Party' won 27 seats, Siaka Stevens' 'All People's Congress' 32 seats, Independents 5 seats. On the evidence of these figures—which make unreliable the original, official figures of S.L.P.P. 32, A.P.C. 32—Brigadier Lansana's charge of "unconstitutionality" against the Governor-General sounds extremely absurd. The original official figures made the election appear a "dead heat", and, most probably, Brigadier Lansana believed that in such an eventuality, Sir Albert Margai and his S.L.P.P. could "intrigue" back into power. The young Majors, however, by seizing power made it difficult for Lansana to have his way.

It is an African tragedy that Sierra Leone—a country with a tradition of conducting peaceful elections and a tradition of municipal government (traditions which date back to 1787)—should have missed the historic opportunity of becoming the first modern African country to change its government peacefully and constitutionally. Did the young Majors who have now unconstitutionally seized political power act in the best interests of Sierra Leone in particular and Africa in general? Given the confused Sierra Leonean conditions and the assumption of political power by soldiers in many African countries, the question does not admit of an easy answer. However, it is clear, given the latest election figures, that the Governor-General was acting perfectly constitutionally, and it was rather Brigadier Lansana who was acting unconstitutionally. Also, the people of Sierra Leone demonstrated quite clearly in democratic elections that they wanted Mr. Siaka Stevens to be their Prime Minister. Furthermore, Mr. Siaka Stevens' A.P.C. was going to challenge the legal validity of the five S.L.P.P. candidates who were declared unopposed, and who helped to give the S.L.P.P. an overall total of 27. Given these factors,

what the young Majors ought to have done was to have acted as referees—because of their monopoly of force (which is not the same thing as what is morally right)—holding the ring to help the Governor-General to return Sierra Leone to the path of constitutionality and democratic politics. The young Majors are now talking of "wiping out corruption"; "giving the country stability", "ridding the country of tribalism" and "stabilizing the economy". All this talk is a way of trying to legitimize the military regime. But all this is an unconvincing attempt in a country where people have just made a clear choice, and where there is no reason to believe that soldiers will be more able to deal with these problems—if they are problems at all.

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

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

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

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

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Longmans Research Fellowship In English Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Africa

SIERRA LEONE'S TURN

By

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

AFTER WEEKS of unrest, of high speculation, and of predictions of varying degrees of inaccuracy by some of us, Sierra Leone too has gone the way of all the contemporary African regimes which have so deliberately chosen the path of corruption and sheer stupidity: the Army has put an end to the nonsense of the politicians. In Freetown too the now familiar signs are up: "Army [or "Army-Police"] Take-over", "the Constitution suspended", "Parliament dissolved", "political parties abolished", "politics prohibited", etc., etc.

But the "etc., etc." in these cases is often more significant than being merely an abbreviation indicating that the writer has come to the end of the series but has to pretend there is much more. In these cases, "etc., etc." could mean: in addition, "the President [or former Prime Minister] has been assassinated [or arrested, or detained]", "all former Ministers have been arrested and put into protective custody", and—more et ceteras ! . . .

One was for the time being struck to see that in Sierra Leone both the old and the new Prime Ministers, Sir Albert and Mr. Stevens, had to be detained. Whatever difficulties Siaka Stevens could be charged with having helped to create in the past —and one remembers the Independence and Queen's visit episodes—Stevens can hardly be saddled with the "democratic collapse" of the last few days. This collapse, from all the factual evidence we have placed before our readers direct from Freetown, would seem to have been squarely the responsibility of the ex-Premier and some of his ill-advised junior colleagues and self-interested aids.

As far as the direct fate of these ex-Presidents and Prime Ministers are concerned, one can only be thankful that Africa has not yet "made the grade" in this matter. We have not quite reached the stage, in other words, of such revolutionary incendiarism as has been attained in South America, where they are said to sing, every now and then:

He was the best President we ever had,
He was the best President we ever had;
We were happy when we got him,
We were sorry when we shot him,
. . . the best President we ever had !

Africa has not yet reached that stage of happy and frequent regicide; indeed we have only just opened this unexpected era of modern political-change-by-violence. But at our rate of progress we shall soon enough arrive at the South American standard. There are now only a few black states left on our continent in which changes of post-independence governments have not been effected by military coups of one level of violence or a higher. And as long as the dictatorial, one-party, corrupt tendencies continue to hold sway over the new school of politicians, so long will the coups, the threats of coups, and the expectation of coups continue. There can be no other alternatives.

This latest one, Sierra Leone, is already unique in a few but intensively interesting aspects. First of all, the change of government occurred while the country was still a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, under the original Statute of Westminster 1931, since modified to accommodate certain changes in the style and nature of political allegiance within the group. Sierra Leone was a Dominion at the time of the fall of the Margai Government last week, with Elizabeth II as its constitutional Queen and Sir Henry Lightfoot-Boston as the Queen's constitutional Representative. Thus the detention of Sir Henry under house arrest while still Head of State in the Queen's place raises a constitutional issue so far without precedent in the history of these many coups in ex-British Africa.

Secondly, the situation culminating in Sir Henry's appointment of Mr. Siaka Stevens as Prime Minister, over Sir Albert Margai, was also without contemporary historical parallel. Consider the facts. (1) Sierra Leone has almost achieved the comparative miracle of a peaceful, democratic post-independence change of government, itself a unique record. (2) The dead-heat finish of the race for parliamentary seats by the two parties, as reported in all the newscasts, is, however arrived at, as improbable as a one-in-a-million chance. (3) The Governor-General then decides to invite Mr. Stevens instead of Sir Albert Margai to form the new Government, even before the final count has been officially declared.

(This action, we insist, was unconstitutional, to say the least, even if we grant that it could also have been validly a matter of discretion, and that it reminds us somewhat of the Forbes Burnham-Cheddi Jagan episode of 1965, when the colony of British Guiana was changing into the present Dominion of Guyana.) (4) The intervention of the Army Commander, Brigadier Lansana, at precisely this point, is equally queer, even granting his charge of unconstitutionality against the Governor-General. (Brigadier Lansana may claim prescience for his act, but that is now unprovable and leaves intact the suspicion of those who believe that the timing of his intervention bespeaks a prior collusion between himself and Sir Albert.) (5) This justifies, at least in their own eyes, the second intervention

and real coup on the part of Lansana's junior officers, who act with lightening speed to prevent their chief "imposing" the unpopular Sir Albert Margai back on the people.

Most devastating of all the unique acts of this drama is the latest development (as this article goes to press): that of the cancellation of the invitation to Lt.-Colonel Genda by the National Reformation Council to return home from New York and head the Council, in a position analogous to that of Lt.-General Ankrah.

"He who hesitates is lost" can well become the epitaph to Colonel Genda's career, if first impressions of his reactions in New York are not false. Certainly history will record few episodes of such high drama and poignancy as this: in which an unknown soldier, turned diplomat by political displeasure, is handed a glittering spot in history on a golden platter, only to see it withdrawn from him as abruptly as it was unexpectedly offered, because he was too dazzled by the gift—or so the reports have it—to stretch out his hand in acceptance. The place so ready-made for him, at the side of kings and presidents, is now occupied by another new man and previously unknown fellow-officer, Major Jackson Smith.

It is not known yet—though it may be so by the time this article is in print—what action the new Reformation Council may take with respect to the ministers, functionaries, and politicians of the just-fallen regime. Nor is it my place to offer them any advice on this score. One can only note with anxious interest some of the immediate developments arising from the Army-Police—echoes of Ghana !—take-over. For instance, we note what amounts to the confirmation by the N.R.C. of Sir Albert's choice of new Chief Justice, Mr. Gershon Collier, the man the Bar Association said would "not command the respect of the Bar . . . " (see my previous article in *Legon Observer* II, 4, p.8). Judging by the volume of opposition in the anti-S.L.P.P. press prior to the take-over, one wonders also how the Siaka Stevens forces feel and what they will eventually say about the retention of Mr. Berthan Macauley, Q.C., as Attorney-General. Perhaps no other aid of the ex-Prime Minister, except Collier in recent months, has incurred more general displeasure, even hostility, among Sir Albert's political enemies than the brilliant draughtsman of the ex-Prime Minister's laws . . . .

At the swearing-in ceremony for the Bench, a question of great interest is said to have been raised by Sir Samuel Bankole Jones, former Chief Justice unceremoniously kicked upstairs as President of the Court of Appeal (only) by Sir Albert. Sir Samuel is reported to have mentioned his unease about the constitutional purity or otherwise of the new oath he was about to take, with consideration being had to the status of the one he had taken before and the circumstances of the present requirements. Sir Samuel is a meticulous lawyer and jurist, as everyone knows; his point raised the same immediate doubts about the constitutional position as have occurred to other people with respect to the Queen's representative at the time, now also being referred to as "the former Governor-General". But Sir Samuel should be the first to recognize that a military coup, or other unconstitutional method, which overthrows a government automatically renders null and void, for the time being at least, all existing political arrangements except essential functions and services. And these are also automatically disconnected from the framework of the previous allegiance under which they were operated, but which are now cancelled, or at least suspended. For the time being, surely, is it a matter purely of "new king, new law" ?

To African nationalists the real worry about Sir Sam's question is not his probable meaning, but whether it does or does not recall the traditional conservatism of Sierra Leonean politics. Are we, in short, likely to see a rebirth of the phenomenon we all used to extol as "Ancient and Loyal Sierra Leone", at a time long past the middle of the twentieth century, in revolutionary—even if messy —Africa ?

Post-Script:

Since this article went to press, direct information has been received from Freetown which:

(a) Rejects the charge of unconstitutionality against the ex-Governor-General, by insisting, first, that in fact all the votes had come in and the true election results known; and secondly, that constitutionally as well as discretionally Sir Henry Lightfoot-Boston had had every right to appoint Mr. Stevens new Prime Minister over Sir Albert Margai;

(b) **declares categorically** *that the true result of the election was* **not** *the so-called "dead-heat" pronounced by the Sierra Leone Radio and echoed around the world, but a clear, heroic victory for Siaka Stevens by 32 seats to 27, with 5 successful Independents most of whom have already declared that they had at no time crossed any "carpet" over to the S.L.P.P.*

Thus the position is claimed to be that Lansana's original non-coup in fact robbed the majority of the electorate of their constitutional, democratic election victory and thus smashed the triumph of democracy for which the world had hoped. The Army-Police take-over is thus looked upon as—though originally unnecessary—the real salvation of an otherwise impossible, intolerable, and explosive situation. It nevertheless means that this has created a restless, "cheated-feeling" majority of voters whom the new Government may have difficulty pacifying.

Finally, it will be remembered that the N.R.C. has now given the **aim of a fair tribal and territorial distribution of power** *as the official reason for the change of Chairmanship from Lt.-Col. Genda to Lt.-Colonel Juxon Smith. Meanwhile, the position of Colonel Genda still remains a personal tragedy.*

Education

UNIVERSITY AUTONOMY AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN GHANA

By

L. H. Ofosu-Appiah

THE HISTORY of Kumasi College of Technology was somewhat different. It was established by Government Ordinance in October 1951 during the first C.P.P. administration, and opened in January 1952 with 200 Teacher Training students transferred from Achimota. It was therefore not expected to be run as a University institution. But it did have a Council with a good deal of autonomy. Although an Engineering School was established in 1952 it was not till 1955 that the College started preparing students for London University External degrees in Engineering. There were no plans at that stage to have a special relationship with a British university, and most of the mistakes made at the time were due to lack of planning. The Government occasionally threatened the authorities of the College because they could not see that anything good had been achieved in spite of the enormous amount of money spent on the College. Eventually, after a strike of students, the second Principal had to leave, and Mr. R.P. Baffour was appointed Principal. The College staff did not have the same years of apprenticeship in the running of academic affairs, and an authoritarian system was developed which lasted till the overthrow of the C.P.P. regime.

Struggle for Autonomy

The struggle for university autonomy and academic freedom really began in May 1961 and was limited to the University College at Legon. The first indication of trouble came in the last week of May when an undated letter from the Office of the President signed by Mr. E. K. Okoh informed the Chairman of the College Council of the impending change of status and continued: "You will appreciate that under these circumstances all appointment of members of the academic staff will be automatically terminated". It was also in this letter that it was revealed that expatriation allowance, abolished in 1950 by the Colonial Government, was to be restored. Protests followed and Nkrumah was forced to withdraw the letter. But soon a second letter to the Chairman dated the 25 May 1961, and signed by Mr. T. K. Impraim made it plain that there would be dismissals before the changeover to University status. He states that "The Government cannot blind itself to re-employ as academic staff at the new University persons who were recruited specifically for the purpose of teaching (sic) a University College founded in colonial times and in special relationship with the University of London . . . It seems to the Government best to negotiate upon an individual basis in regard to each case where a reappointment is not made. *Osagyefo the President, however, wishes me to emphasise that the Government cannot under any circumstances give an overall undertaking that all existing academic appointments in the University College will automatically be continued at the new University.*"

The Chairman of the College Council did his best to reason with the President, and in a letter dated the 26 May 1961 examined the legal and academic implications of the government's threat to dishonour the contracts by not reappointing some members of the staff. The principle of academic freedom here involved is that it is the right of the University College and not of the Government of Ghana to dismiss staff. Sir Arku stated among other things that, "As the situation is so extremely serious, will the Government please authorise the Council now to issue a general statement to the students that the Government will take every measure possible to ensure that there is an adequate academic staff in October to enable the students to complete their courses. This statement could not be made unless the Government agreed to the withdrawal of the paragraph in the first letter referring to applying for re-appointment." The Chairman of the Council did not get a reply to his letter. Instead he got a copy of a letter sent to the Principal dated the 27 May 1961 and signed by Mr. F. W. Beecham, an old student of the College. In this letter Nkrumah repeated his threat to dismiss some members of the College staff. It is stated that "The Government has decided that all assets, liabilities and agreements entered into by the former colleges should in general be assumed by the new Universities. With the changes which are to be made, however, in these institutions, *it may be necessary to terminate certain appointments* and to revise the conditions of service of others. In such cases, negotiations will be undertaken with the persons concerned on an individual basis".

Weakness of Academic Board

If the Government of Ghana expected a violent reaction from the University College staff, it did not get one. The Academic Board passed a feeble resolution on the 31 May 1961 in which it stated that the Government had not made it clear whether it was intended that any members of staff would have their appointments terminated, though that had been clearly stated in all the

three letters sent to the College! There was no formal reply to the resolution. Instead, in the middle of June the University College Council was dismissed over the radio and an Interim Council consisting of Cabinet Ministers and four members of the Academic staff was established. An Interim Vice-Chancellor, Nana Kobina Nketsia IV, was appointed to begin the new era. Then followed the dismissal of six members of the Academic staff. The reaction of the students was swift and predictable, and only the police prevented them from marching to Flagstaff House. The Senior members, as was to be expected, were divided, and two protests were signed. One was strongly-worded and was sponsored by the majority of expatriates. The other was very mild and was the work of the majority of the Ghanaians. (One gathers that it was given to Nana Nketsia to be taken to Nkrumah, but it never got to him.) The most interesting feature of the times was the way in which some of the Ghanaians equated their interest with the national interest. The most honest of the ambitious men of the time was Mr. A. C. Kuma, who had been promoted Lecturer in the Academic year 1960-1. He made no secret of the fact that he wanted to be promoted to a professorship, and promised to help those who would tow the party line to rise to similar heights. The Principal, who had promised to stand by the staff, decided suddenly to tender his resignation when he heard that he was going to be dismissed. And so what could have been a united front crumbled before the determined assaults of the "mass-man". The pattern was set for future confrontations between the Government of Ghana and the University, and the Government could be reasonably sure that there would be no united front among the academic staff on such occasions, and no Ghanaian would ever dream of resigning because of such "minor" incidents.

The Law and O'Brien

The Acts which established the two Univerversities are very interesting documents. The aims of the Universities are set out, and include "(a) that in determining the subjects to be taught emphasis should be placed on those which are of special relevance to the needs and aspirations of Ghanaians, including the furtherance of African unity". The Act also takes away academic freedom by making the Chancellor, who was Nkrumah, one of the Principal Officers of the University and giving him the right to appoint the Chairman of the University Council. The Chairman of the University College Council had been elected annually by the Council itself, but now he is to act for the Chancellor, who was a member of the Council! Later on I failed to understand Conor Cruise O'Brien's contention that the University Act as it stood guaranteed academic freedom. Now he has changed his mind, and would not like a Chancellor of the type guaranteed by the Act, or an appointed Chairman. Although the Act states that the Vice-Chancellor shall be appointed by the University Council with the approval of the Chancellor, it was Nkrumah who invited O'Brien to be Vice-Chancellor, thus breaking the law. This is significant, because later on when Nkrumah wanted to appoint Professors, O'Brien quoted the statutes at him, forgetting that the Act had been broken in his own appointment as the "academic and administrative head" of the University. The appointment of the Registrar is the prerogative of the Council. But here too, in both Legon and Kumasi, it was from Flagstaff House that the appointments came, to be approved later by the Council. So from 1961-62 the principle that Universities should be free to appoint their staff was thrown overboard. Apart from the unnecessary appointment of honorary professors which the Government introduced, there were the Presidential Professorships. The White Paper on the Report of the University Commission had stated that the Government intended to appoint *foreign scholars distinguished* in some field of learning as Presidential Professors. But when in December 1961 Nkrumah ordered that Mr. A. C. Kumah should be appointed to an Associate Professorship, Professor Wright, the trusted friend of the Government, resisted, and it was suggested by the academics that a Presidential Professorship would be a better substitute! If the academic members had thought over the matter seriously, they would not have given Nkrumah this opportunity of making academic appointments. For call it what you may, the Presidential Professorships are academic appointments, and Mr. Kumah was made a member of the University Council. Further, if morality is necessary in academic affairs, then the background of at least two of the appointees did not do any credit to the University.

Although the Act was passed into law on the 22 August, 1961, the Interim Council consisting of Cabinet Ministers continued throughout the academic year 1961-62 and determined appointments and promotions and most matters which should be properly left to the Academic Board. After the appointment of O'Brien, a new Council was formed which excluded Cabinet Ministers but had Mr. Ayeh-Kumi on it. Later Kojo Addison took Ayeh-Kumi's place. The interference in academic matters continued. The Government was then planning to abolish the compulsory English

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at the Schol Certificate Examination, and the Chairman of the Council for Higher Education, Mr. Botsio, asked the Vice-Chancellor to admit certain students who had not got the English qualification. This was done after a special test had been given to them. A further request was made for the abolition of the English requirement for entry into the University, and O'Brien wrote to tell the Academic Board that he would favour the abolition for science students! He was mercilessly attacked and had to change his mind. It was not until 1963 that the three year honours courses could be restored in the University.

Political Influence

One effective means of maintaining academic freedom is for the nationals on the staff to be united in the fight. This situation did not exist at Legon. For after Professor Kumah had left, the mantle fell on William Abraham, and he played the role of Nkrumah's watchdog admirably. The worst thing that has happened to academic freedom and education in this country, however, was the appointment of Kwaku Boateng as Chairman, first of the Kumasi University Council, and then of the Councils at Legon and Cape Coast; and finally as Minister for Higher Education and Science. He is the only man I have heard of who insists on correcting the minutes of meetings of which he was not a member ! He was appointed to rule the Universities according to the mad designs of the Government, and in his period Presidential Orders were transmitted to the Universities and carried out. It was very painful attending meetings with him. One peculiar feature of the period 1961-66 was the naive assumption that you could move departments and faculties around and get the staff to follow. There was also the naive assumption that Ghanaians should not resign, and exit permits were used to threaten those who wanted to resign.

The University's Commission did make some good recommendations which the Government did not accept. The National Council for Higher Education, though sound in principle, was dangerous under Nkrumah. For, apart from playing the role of the Universities Grants Committee, it became the source of directives to higher educational institutions. The one person on the Commission who foresaw this was Dr. Laura Bornholzt, the American lady. Any new set-up should make the National Council play the role of an intermediary for the Universities which would deal with finance, opening of new faculties, salaries and academic progress. It should order enquiries within the universities when things are not going well, and on no account should a Minister of State be a member or a Chairman. It should be manned entirely by men conversant with university theory and practice. One recommendation by the Commission which, if adopted, will improve efficiency, is the appointment of a rotating Chairman of a Department instead of a permanent head. This will have the effect of relieving some people who combine three headships, but cannot carry on efficiently, of some of their duties, and give the other members of staff some experience in administration. In this way there will be more people to choose from for posts of Registrar and Academic Registrar, and the present method of accepting civil servants can be stopped.

Suggested Remedies

The experience of the past eighteen years shows that the membership of university councils should be seriously thought out. We should have no Ministers or representatives of Parliament on any University Council. The Chancellor should be a ceremonial head elected by the graduates, and the Chairman of the Council should be elected annually from the lay members of the Council. Care should be taken that that office goes round, since we need more men of experience in such duties. We must also have on each Council a representative of the graduates of the University, and the members of the Council should be chosen because of their knowledge and ability to undertake the task, and not because they hold high positions in the state. Where Civil Servants are appointed to represent Ministries, they should identify themselves with the interest of the University and not regard themselves as mere mouthpieces of authority. If we establish such a practice, it will be difficult to turn any of our universities into ideological institutes in the future. Above all, the press should take a reasoned interest in academic affairs, and should comment on the Annual Reports and the Reports of the National Council for the Universities which should be laid before Parliament annually. We can learn from history. I hope we will learn.

Concluded

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Politics

CHIEFTAINCY IN CRISIS

By

I. Ackom–Mensah

MR. GYANDOH IS to be congratulated for spotlighting in a very objective manner some of the problems created, perhaps unwittingly, by the N.L.C. decree on Chieftaincy.

Like Mr. Gyandoh I admire the moral courage and the unflinching dedication to principles displayed by the eight wing chiefs of Mampongteng in Ashanti. These chiefs have not only "protested against what they consider to be an imposition upon them of an unwanted chief" but, what is more important, they have dramatised in a telling manner their belief in and attachment to *what* is right, and not *who* is right.

Charity and candour demand that we should not impute improper motives to the N.L.C. I am satisfied that it was an honest attempt to correct certain ills which afflict the institution of chieftaincy. An operation had to be performed but it has left too conspicuous and too embarrassing a scar in many places. In certain areas it has created problems which unless attended to with specialist care and with expertise may result in a permanent deformity of our cultural heritage.

As summarised by Mr. Gyandoh the decree set out to:

(1) demote certain chiefs who were upgraded in contravention to customary law and practice;

(2) withdraw recognition from all (C.P.P.) government-imposed chiefs; and

(3) reinstate the immediate predecessors of the Chiefs now destooled by virtue of the statutory withdrawal of government recognition.

Granted the underlying assumption that the specified chiefs were elevated in error and imposed on the people, one would have little to quarrel with the measures adopted under (1) and (2) above. Even so, since customary rites were performed on the elevation or enstoolment of the chiefs affected, the fundamentalist or traditionalist might argue that it would have been better if customary procedure had been adopted to correct the situation instead of action via the Gazette. Since historically the institution of chieftaincy existed long before the establishment, development and growth of central government in this country, it is sad that we continue to make the institution of chieftaincy ultimately derive its legitimacy and acceptance from Government recognition.

Unrealistic Assumption

The decree assumes that all the so-called imposed chiefs were unacceptable to their people up to the date of the decree's publication. This is a bit unreasonable. Somehow the authorities and their advisers seem to have forgotten or ignored the possibility of something illegal acquiring legitimacy through circumstances or over time. Come to think of it, a coup d'etat is an illegal act. It is the popular acclaim and the universal acceptance of it by the people of the country affected and also by the outside world that legitimises it and the Government resulting therefrom. The possibility that a supposedly imposed chief, so endeared himself to his people by his conduct and the measure of his service as to win legitimacy through popular acceptance and veneration was not specifically taken into account in passing the decree. Such a chief must suffer the disgrace of destoolment and engage in an expensive in-fighting before possibly becoming re-enstooled and re-recognized. It appears the legal draughtsmen carried their streamlining exercise too far. As pointed out by Mr. Gyandoh, Chieftaincy is so delicate an institution and involves so intricate a web of inter-personal relationships that its problems are better handled through "more flexible procedures, such as conciliation, arbitration and informal quasi-judicial proceedings" instead of through the cold impersonal and often ambiguous channel of legislative directives.

Desecration of Stools

There have been instances where either because of the inexperience of the administrative officers or their abysmal ignorance of local customs and practices, the Stools have been desecrated. Stools have been handed over to non-recognized elders. Customarily it is the Tufuhene's duty to convene a "State" Council for the purpose of performing necessary rites—pouring of libation and the slaughtering of (unfortunate) sheep etc. before the ex-Chief (the one to be re-instated) is welcomed back to the Stool.

According to tradition, before a Chief leaves his domain even for a short period, certain customary rites are performed. A similar exercise takes place when the Chief returns. Even assuming that the Chief had not legally been destooled, the fact of his extended absence from the Stool has to be recognized and rectified by the performance of appropriate customary rites before his re-occupancy of the sacred Stool. The decree's automatic prescription paid no attention to this and as a result ex-Chiefs have just gone back to the Stool without ceremony and without the respect of the people. It is not surprising then

that a number of the ex-Chiefs are in certain places being looked upon as "N.L.C. imposed" Chiefs.

It is a well-known fact that certain physical disabilities disqualify a person for the position of a Chief. Under Akan customary practice circumcision, for instance, is a taboo; the circumcised cannot be enstooled as a Chief.

Now take the case of Mr. X who was destooled as a result of national political influence. Away from the Stool and its attendant restrictions for some years, Mr. X becomes circumcised in order to win the hand of a beautiful damsel. He has thus preferred love to the Stool. Then comes Decree 112 making Mr. X's return to the Stool automatic. This is what I call "statutory desecration of sacred Stools". The Chieftaincy decree unfortunately fails to provide for such cases.

In many Akan communities it is against custom for the same person to ascend the Stool on three occasions. Take the case of Mr. Z who was enstooled and later destooled for just cause. Having made his peace with the kingmakers, chiefs and elders, he is re-enstooled as an "*Ababio*". After a few years, he slides back into his old crooked ways and habits not befitting his high position. Faced with the prospect of destoolment he abdicates and a new Chief is enstooled who is specified in the second schedule to Decree 112 in 1966.

By the automatic rule Mr. Z, in spite of his abdication may return to the Stool if he is still alive as "Ababio-bio". The fact that his return offends the community's constitutional prohibition against a person becoming a Chief thrice, is completely ignored by the decree.

It may be argued that the decree made provision for objections and protests to be made in cases of dissatisfaction. That is all very well but it should have occurred to the draughtsmen that while the petitions were being drafted and sent to the Chieftaincy Secretariat and these were being processed—a time-consuming affair—there would be an impasse in the Traditional Area to the disadvantage of the Community.

The Way Out

Thanks to the wisdom and foresight of our forebears the institution of Chieftaincy has been so designed that there is never a vacuum or a void. In the absence of the Paramount Chief, the Tufuhene automatically takes up the reins of administration. In the latter's absence the Adontenhene jumps into his shoes and so on. Maximum advantage should have been taken of this convenient arrangement. To obviate possible error the *automatic rule* should have been deleted from the provisions of the decree. This would have enabled the normal functioning of the traditional authority under the second-in-command, namely, the Tufuhene, whilst the position was being sorted out with a view to filling the vacancy. It is not too late to resort to this device in the case of areas where disagreement or opposition has been registered. This will enable the Traditional Areas concerned to satisfy local customs pertaining to the enstoolment and destoolment of Chiefs. What is more important it will restore the people's right of choice; they can then choose between the ex-Chief, the "C.P.P." Chief and any other qualified candidate for the Stool. This procedure will help to erase the taint of "Chieftaincy by Gazette".

The Chieftaincy Decree and Local Government set up

It is perhaps relevant to mention that the Chieftaincy decree coupled with the rather premature and *enforced* amalgamation of local councils is causing beautiful confusion in certain parts of the country. In this respect the inexperience of the district administrative officers and their ignorance of the intricacies of the institution of chieftaincy and customs connected therewith has added considerably to the confusion.

To take one example. "The decree commands that chiefs demoted . . . should revert to their former allegiance." One such chief is the Abremhene who before his elevation to paramountcy was a wing chief serving the Oguaa Stool. By Decree 112, Abrem reverts to its original subordinate status and its fortunes become linked with that of the Oguaa Traditional Area.

However under the Local Council's reorganisation exercise being carried out (without adequate public debate) by the Ministry of Local Government, Abrem, like other areas, is forced to team up with Elmina, Eguafo and Komenda in an enlarged Local Government. We therefore have the unhappy situation of divided loyalty:

a) traditional loyalty to Cape Coast (Oguaa) and

b) administrative loyalty to Elmina.

That, in my view, is tantamount to asking too much of a people. It is bound to cause discontent, litigation, enmity and disillusionment in the long run.

Since the future of chieftaincy and the place of local government are matters relevant to the work of the Constitution and the Electoral Commissions, one cannot help feeling that the whole amalgamation exercise is rather premature. It amounts to anticipating the outcome of the two Commissions—a sort of putting the cart before the horse.

I don't think it is too late to take corrective action before the situation gets out of hand. Undue delay may compound the ills and create more headaches for the country as a whole.

Observer Notebook

State Enterprise in Ghana: The S.E.P.C.

OUR EXPERIENCE with state enterprise in Ghana has been so disappointing that it is not out of place to pay tribute to the few which not only have done well, but also continue to show growth and progress. Our success story today is the State Electronic Products Corporation (S.E.P.C.), which has already earned praise from the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Evening News*.

The S.E.P.C. produces the popular single-wave-band "Akasanoma" radio. It started manufacturing operations in June 1965. With 30 young Ghanaians specially trained (locally) by the Corporation, it turns out from its assembly "belt" 250 of these transistor sets a day, or about 50,000 a year. And it is expanding phenomenally: it is now adding five new lines to its production activities.

Within the next few weeks, it will be putting on the market another version of the single-wave-band transistor set, a new 3-wave-band transistor set, T.V. sets, and electric fixtures (flourescent tubes, etc.)—all of them assembled locally. In addition, it is going to manufacture basic electronic components to feed its own assembly operations and also to supply other users of electronic components—a most commendable development. These new developments are expected to raise its total employment four-fold (from 92 to about 400).

According to reports, the Corporation has been declaring growing profits since its operations started; and it is learnt that it has even been able to buy treasury bills to the tune of some £130,000, thus helping Government to finance other projects. Further, trade inquiries for its products at the recent Trade Fair promise a bright export market in the near future. (The present "Akasanoma" set is already selling in a neighbouring country for £29; local price: £13 10s.)

Of course, like all state enterprises, the Corporation did get its share of political interference and pressure in the pre-coup days, which threatened its operation. We trust that such unnecessary and commercially harmful intervention has been ended by the coup for ever. The importance of a national electronic industry cannot be over-emphasized. In serious-minded countries where the National Electronic Industries play their proper role, they are vital in the nation's telecommunication and security systems. We trust that the Government will give the Corporation every encouragement and assistance to grow and perform these vital tasks which only Ghanaians can be entrusted to do for their country.

Our congratulations to the Board of Directors, the factory hands, and the supporting staff. We commend their industry to other state enterprises.

The N.L.C. Committee on the Academy

SINCE THE COUP of last year the belief has persisted among certain members of the Academy of Sciences that the University of Ghana's fondest desire is to destroy or annex the Academy. This belief is the natural result of the Academy's own attitude towards the Universities of Ghana in general, and Legon in particular, in the pre-coup days when, with the political backing of the ousted dictator, the Academy sought to undermine the Universities in every conceivable way; when, for example, the Academy saw it as its exclusive and absolute prerogative to control and vet the research activities of at least certain faculties of the Universities.

While the *Legon Observer* is not in a position to speak for the University, as individuals we know that this belief is nothing but pure fiction; and it is precisely for this reason that some of us are a little unhappy about the composition of the Committee charged to review all appointments in the Academy. For, except for the secretary, who is a civil servant, all the members are from Legon—Prof. Jones-Quartey (Chairman), Mr. Ackom-Mensah, Mr. Gyandoh, and Mr. Hyndman. All of them are capable men, and we share their pride at having been called to serve the nation with their special skills. But in order that their work may not only be fair, but may also *seem* fair to everybody, it is suggested that two or three people from say, Kumasi (U.S.T.), and one person from the Civil Service, be added. Indeed, judging from the number of people employed by the Academy, the review is likely to be an extensive job, well justifying a larger Committee. It is not too late to use the opportunity to correct the imbalance.

Misuse of Government Dwelling Houses

FOR DECADES now, a major problem that has taunted the country is how to provide decent dwelling houses for personnel employed by the necessarily numerous agencies of government. Yet, in the midst of this scarcity of accommodation, several dwelling houses, spread all over the country, are wasting away, either for lack of proper use or for other reasons of highly dubious propriety. Here is a true story which can only be described as a scandalous waste of public resources: Some years ago, the G.N.C.C. (now the State Construction Corporation) rented some modern housing units from the Tema Development Corporation (T.D.C.). Two adjacent houses of these units were

rented at £48 a month and £52 a month respectively. A top-ranking official of the S.C.C. (then G.N.C.C.) decided to keep the £52 a month bungalow for his clandestine activities. The adjacent house was kept empty, presumably to insulate the other house against the inquistive, prying eyes of next-door neighbours. The net result was that for several months, the tax-payer was contributing £100 (or N₵200) a month towards the concupiscent propensities of a single man, himself well-provided for at the taxpayer's expense in terms of accommodation. The house that was kept empty has been occupied for the last six months, but the £52 a month bungalow remains unoccupied.

How much longer can this country afford to allow such scandalous waste to go unchecked ? Isn't there some government agency responsible for seeing to the proper utilisation of public property ? Would it be too much to require all heads of government departments and agencies to submit quarterly or half-yearly reports of the state of the housing units under their control ?

Enquiry into the P.D.A.

THE APPOINTMENT by the Government of a Committee to study the passing and the operation of the P.D.A. is most welcome. There is no doubt that the Preventive Detention Act was the main weapon which Nkrumah used to climb to political supremacy and dictatorship; to bend the Judiciary, the Army and the Police to his crazy will; to cow the entire nation. It was mainly in fear of the P.D.A. that hundreds of exceedingly capable, enlightened and experienced politicians, civil servants, scholars and farmers went into voluntary exile. It was the chief impediment in the way of hundreds of Ghanaians who had completed their studies and were anxious to return home to serve their dear country. But a great deal of mystery surrounds that pernicious Act which needs to be solved. Several questions come to mind which must be answered.

What were the real circumstances that led to the introduction of the P.D.A. ? Who were its victims, and why ? How were the victims selected and arrested ? Who provided the information that led to their arrest and what motivated such informants ? What sort of treatment did the unfortunate victims receive during their confinement ? How many detainees died in prison and under what circumstances did they die ? What effect did their detention have on their families, dependants, and their property? What effects—political, social, and psychological—did the operation of this Act have on the people of Ghana as a whole ?

These are only some of the puzzles that surround this notorious Act, and there are good reasons why these puzzles must be solved. *First*, this will enable us to know exactly what happened. *Secondly*, it will enable us to determine the extent of the abuse of power by some individuals, and thus be able to punish the guilty ones accordingly, *Finally*, and most importantly, the publication of the findings of this Committee will (we hope) ensure that neither we, nor our sons and grandsons, will ever again fall victim to any such Act in future.

It is an unfortunate truth that man's memory is short, so that it is necessary for him to be constantly reminded of the inhumanities, the follies, and excesses of past regimes in order to keep him on the alert. It is our belief that only a well-documented, authoritative account of the operation of the P.D.A. can accomplish this exceedingly important objective. We earnestly appeal to the public to give the two-man Committee every assistance and co-operation.

The CIA and Western Intellectuals

PRESIDENT Johnson has taken the first decisive step to clear up the deplorable CIA mess that has recently collected around many hapless organizations and individuals. He has accepted a report, and has issued orders that will make support of legitimate pro-Western intellectualism a matter of open, visible policy. Up to now the CIA affair has been an otherwise distasteful, unnecessary, and unfair handicap against those it has so shamefully victimized.

The story is said to go back to the time of John Foster Dulles and his turbulent tenure as Secretary of State. Eisenhower was President then, and the Cold War was never hotter. The Eastern countries, led by Everybody-Knows-Who, were scoring aces all over the card-table against the West—namely the United States (if you need the reminder). Moscow was spending huge sums, sponsoring students and scholars, books and exhibitions, symphony orchestras and acrobats, around the world; displaying themselves to great advantage and, by default on the part of their rivals, showing up the Americans. "*Que faire*?", asked the latter of themselves.

Britain, meanwhile, for their part were doing their share for the side, and in time developed the British Council, which openly projected the British personality and Anglo-Saxon culture, and gave others a chance to enjoy some of its advantages. "Others" meant developing countries as well as "unfortunates" behind the "Curtain".

What, then, about America ? Try as Dulles would, he couldn't get any money out of Congress

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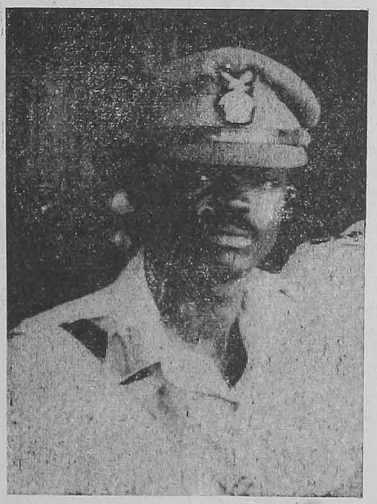

Col. A. A. Afrifa.

"1966 BEFORE AND AFTER"

Public lecture delivered by Col. A. A. Afrifa at the State House, Accra on Monday, the 20TH of March, 1967.

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THROUGHOUT the past thirteen months, I have always felt that all of us in this country, as well as our friends abroad, have been united in our understanding of the means open to us to achieve our **freedom** and the path we have selected to reach our goal. There are a few occasions, however, when I feel that certain events and happenings might cause us to deviate from our course. On such occasions, I believe that a little, but perhaps a timely reminder, becomes necessary; this is one such occasion and it pleases me that the opportunity has been offered me to share with you some of my thoughts and ideas concerning our dear country.

The years before the agitations for self-government were uneventful, and the Gold Coast, as our country was then called, went through a period of calm and quiet. Then internal self government was achieved and the Gold Coast started on a new life which was later to become, literally, a prison for the peace loving members of our community.

The constitution left by the British Government incorporated all the ingredients of parliamentary democracy, the rule of law, the rights of the individual, and above all, the freedom of thoughts and expression. In the true tradition of British parliamentary democracy, the role of an Opposition Party was well recognised both in Parliament and outside Parliament. This was the 1957 Constitution.

Then came the 1960 Constitution, which conferred Republican status on this country. We appeared then to be following in the footsteps of India except that in our constitution of 1960 there existed, but at that time unobserved by many, the first steps planned by Nkrumah to subvert the conscience of the people and calculated at the mass betrayal of the trust reposed in him by the people of this country. It was within the frame of this constitution that the mock Referendum of 1960 was held, and when all of us, as if hypnotised marched forth unsuspectingly to cast our votes for the election of the first President of the Republic. This, I may refresh your memories, was the last referendum in which something resembling a democratic election took place in this country and in which Dr. J. B. Danquah of blessed memory, lost very gallantly.

Beginning of The End

Again in 1964, under the cloak of the 1960 referendum and a few subsequent amendments to it, the good voters of this country walked like tame and hypnotised men to cast their votes for a one party system and for the election of the second President of Ghana who happened to be the same person elected as first President. While the good people of Ghana cast their votes to hand over their freedom to a tyrant, there were still a few who observed, like impotent witnesses, what was the beginning of the end to our Freedom.

Those who supported the one party system produced numerous arguments in its support. The familiar one was that a one party system facilitated the concentration of efforts for rapid development instead of the dissipation of efforts in unnecessary refinements of ideologies and political conflict. In this thinking, a one party system was equated to political stability.

But we must ask ourselves how Nkrumah succeeded in these years in his tricks of mass hypnotism. This is my analysis of the situation. When Nkrumah left the U.G.C.C. to form the C.P.P. he became an outcast of the decent people of this country. Those who rallied to his side were the people who, as individuals, were the less competent and less honourable. It was out of these people that he selected his men and trained them in his own image to do his wishes. To put it in the words of one of his faithful disciples, The Right Honourable Mr. Kwaku Boateng most of these people became "gaping sycophants". Nkrumah also permitted himself to recruit from the poor whom he permitted to develop corrupt habits and thereby rapidly got rich. Such people were continually blackmailed to fulfil his orders and to worship him perpetually. He also recruited from the group of left wing fanatics who were so ideologically indoctrinated that they accepted, without question, the decisions of their messiah. The phrase "His Messianic Dedication" with which the readers of the **Evening News** are familiar, was among the many creations of these lunatics.

To those people I have just described, the one party system was not different from the system of chieftaincy which is very familiar in this country. What they failed to realize, and quite appropriately and conveniently too, was that a chief always had the benefit of good counsel from a good quality of men who performed as elders and advisers in the household. What they also forgot was that the system of chieftaincy provided for the removal of a chief by constitutional means when he lost the confidence of his people. The one party system, as was practised in Ghana before 1966, did not make it easy for the removal of the President, not even when he became mentally deranged as this one was.

Propagating the gospel

Surrounded by a mass of semi-lunatics, it was not surprising that Nkrumah saw in himself the Messiah that they pronounced him to be; the Father Divine and Africa's man of destiny. But beneath the surface of this confusion was the real cowardly lunatic who for his crimes sought refuge behind the high walls of Flagstaff House, and hid behind the guns of his security guards and sought for safety under the exalted but phoney title of Supreme Commander of the Ghana Armed Forces.

With a perfectly effective propaganda machinery, these followers of Nkrumah propagated the gospel of their Messiah. Having built up a great reputation as the leader who liberated this country from her colonial yoke, he was already in very high esteem, and which he truly deserved. Nkrumah placed between himself and the people of this country these carefully selected followers whose interpretation of the leader was what the common in the street was to believe. Eventually, this scheme was to be his failure. Because, in their anxiety to please their leader, his followers often were not able to convey the correct sentiments of the people and, often, certain serious mistakes were committed in apparent ignorance of the reactions of our people. So isolated were the ruling classes from the rest of the people that the wealth of Flagstaff House was in complete contrast with the abject poverty of the people who had to queue at the Sports Stadium for milk and sugar. And so incorrect was the leader's

assessment of the wealth of the nation that in his last journey from our midst he took with him all the remaining money that the country had. The story has it that his representatives went from bank to bank collecting the remaining travellers cheques and foreign cash.

Politicians and Civil Servants

Now Ladies and gentlemen, this was the image of the ruling party. Is it difficult, therefore, to see why the country went rapidly into economic ruin and indebtedness? In the space of a decade, an inordinately ambitious and dynamic leader, backed by the mass of political misfits and ignorant men of the type we had, could have ruined the affairs of any country. Ghana's ability to make the rapid recovery that she has achieved in the space of one year is an indication of the very solid human qualities and resources that abound in this country and which are very rare these days in developing countries. In the short space of ten years there emerged a proliferation of Government agencies and departments. Some Ministries gave birth to numerous smaller ministries and agencies that would have surprised the creator himself. Government expenditure rose from a figure of £50 million to £190 million a year during this period and the pace of development, and the complex problems it posed, could have overstrained the best of civil servants in any developed country. In Ghana, the good public servants and those who found it difficult to become "yesmen" to their illiterate political overlords were not encouraged; there were disagreements and the lowering of morale due to the inefficient administration by Nkrumah's tools. Those civil servants who were amenable to the wishes of the regime became victims of contamination by politicians. Some of these persons lost themselves in the ideologies of the party and in the movement that was called the NASSO. Those who lost their hearts left the country to work with foreign governments and institutions. Gradually the calibre of the civil service became very diluted, and when known politicians were appointed to civil service positions the situation became a desperate one. The end was in sight when civil servants were asked to enroll in the politically orientated T.U.C. and when they were permitted to enter Parliament.

Thus, the independence of the Civil Service, one of the well-disciplined institutions left by British democracy, became absorbed into politics. The aims of the former regime were completely achieved when the Judiciary also became the tool of the illustrious leader. And yet to this day, it surprises me that the rest of the honourable gentlemen of the Bench did not resign en bloc when the late Sir Arku Korsah and his two honourable colleagues were dismissed.

When they did not, I began from the remote corner of the country where I was, to formulate ideas about a change of government, even though before then and I am not ashamed to admit, I was one of the ardent executors of the wishes of my Supreme Commander; I always recall to memory the zealous manner in which I carried out my part in the operation to find the bomb in 1962, the bomb which my uncle eventually found at Bukom square.

Development Programmes

With a demoralised Civil Service and a confused Public Service dictated to and dominated by politicians, and above which was superimposed in a vertical fashion ignorant and corrupt politicians working as the tools of a power drunk maniac, it was difficult to see how co-ordination of development was possible. It is not surprising that economic planning was a shamble. Looking back now at the state of affairs at the time we took over, and the information we have now gathered about the economy, I wonder how it was hoped that a country in that confused and disorganised state could produce and implement the gigantic development programmes that were so nicely prepared. We do not have any evidence that the development programmes were followed through in any systematic way. We do not have any evidence that the individual projects embarked upon, be it a school, a road or a factory, were properly appraised before implementation. The information we have in abundance is that money changed hands in the award of contracts, or that money was lost in the implementation of a project, or that the instruction came from above for the signing of a contract. All through the country, the landmarks of what was called development, show conspicuous evidence of imbalance and lack of consistency. There are expensive roads that still remain unutilised, whereas in the food producing areas of the country even cheap feeder roads are absent. Absolutely unutilised, is this large building in which we sit tonight, while people overcrowd in the urban centres and some even sleep in the streets. There are large tracts of arable lands lying fallow while the country begs for corn from the Americans. There are large edifices supposed to be factory buildings standing while the country finds defficult in supplying them with raw materials. I can spend the whole of this evening recounting to you the many inconsistencies in our development, and perhaps I shall only succeed in spoiling your sleep tonight. The facts are too familiar to all of us to warrant over-elaboration.

The Inconsistencies in the Programmes

Truly, the intention was honourable. It was the implementation that was unholy. There were too many areas in the economy where arrears of development was thought to warrant government participation as a means of quick development. We have no quarrel against this. But tell me, does this suggest that there should be any loss to the country? My understanding of the situation is that in furtherance of the socialist objectives of the former regime, the government planned that the principal means of production, both in agriculture and industry, should be centralised in the hands of the state. We have ample evidence of this. In Agriculture, the numerous overlapping institutions, namely the State Farms, the U.G.F.C.C. and the Young Farmers League provide sufficient evidence. The Cocoa Processing Factories, the Fibre Bag Factory, the Steel Mill, the Textile Factories and a host of others are eloquent testimony of the move by the former government to oust private enterprise and replace it with state control. What the system lacked was competent personnel to handle these exceedingly complex institutions. There were too few of the socialists who could command the business resources required for the efficient running of such large enterprises.

The former government's programme aimed at making the economy self-sufficient was also laudable. I am not an economist but my little experience tells me that it makes better sense to talk of self sufficiency in the very large countries like America and Russia. In our little Ghana, with our small population talking about

building factories to supply every need would be nonsense **because of what is called economics of large scale.** Of course, if there is talk of self-sufficiency in agriculture I agree.

A Reappraisal

Mr. Chairman, let us ask ourselves what we got from all this. There was a large increase in employment. But this employment was unproductive. Today, we are being criticised for creating unemployment because we are seeking to make labour more productive. The management of state enterprises on which most of the national investment was spent was low grade to an appalling degree. The combined effect of all these factors was that we progressed rather too slowly compared with the unprecedented high rate of investment in the country. So, briefly, this was the state of affairs that prompted us to **risk our lives** against the better equipped security guards of the deposed President. Before we did so we did not consult the people of Ghana for their opinion. We knew that the truth about the country was known to all of you and we could count on your support, and we did get it.

Now let us recount what we have been able to do since February 1966.

1. By the Proclamation for the Constitution of the National Liberation Council as was subsequently amended by the N.L.C. Decree Number 1, we replaced a one man government with a council of eight men.
2. We placed some of the former opposition leaders into positions that would give the country the benefit of judging their approach to good government
3. We tried to recreate the independence of the Civil Service.
4. We sought to restore in the press and radio their lost freedom of expression.
5. We have tried to bring to the suface the numerous crimes perpetrated by the former politicians and their associates against the State.
6. We have restored academic freedom in the universities.
7. Above all, we have in the course of the year steered our economy out of the mess that we inherited. We have won back confidence abroad. We have qualified for large loans from international financial organisations and have even earned a place in this year's Financial Times Lombard Awards as the best of the developing countries.

It is easy to recount these achievements, but let us reappraise them one by one.

The N.L.C. and Administration

The Proclamation appointing us members of the National Liberation Council, conferred the status of equality on all members of the Council. It conferred on us also indivisibility. What this means is that no one member of the Council can claim precedence over the other.

It means also that the Council is collectively responsible for decisions and also collectively responsible for the action of any one or group of members. This state of affairs reminds me of a familiar quotation attributed to Napoleon and which appears in our Military Studies, which reads "One bad commander is better than two good commanders." In the context of this quotation, it might have been interesting to examine the efficiency of the body of eight men, acting together if it could be done, without revealing secrets. It may be sufficient to pose a few questions for you to ponder over in your spare moments. Would a smaller number of members have made for greater efficiency of the Council? Could greater emphasis not be placed on the importance of a leader amongst the members of the Council? Would it not be useful to confer on such a leader the title of a Head of State and to grant him a greater measure of executive powers? Has the diversity of the views of the members not delayed decisions? I would not venture to supply answers to these questions. What I would say is that, the greater the power that becomes concentrated in one person, the more it will be expected of this person to approach infallibility.

It will suffice if we, as Members of the National Liberation Council, can claim that during the period of our administration in the past 13 months, we have been able to plan the affairs of the nation to the maximum advantage and happiness of our people. To be able to say this, we have to convince ourselves that we have done everything required of a good government. We have to convince the people that our actions make for stable government. We have also to prove to the people that we have maintained a good standard of self-discipline and have avoided wrong associations. You are the best judges of our performance, ladies and gentlemen, not ourselves.

Present role of Nkrumah's rivals

Now let us turn to the role of former opposition politicians and the other respectable gentlemen who were ignored by the former regime. Has their performances in the work of salvaging the country from ruin been commendable, or have they merely taken advantage of their new and exalted role to victimise their former adversaries? A number of these honourable gentlemen have been placed in positions of trust. Most of them serve on the Political Committee. It is my belief that these gentlemen have throughout the year helped tremendously in reshaping the country and have utilized the opportunity offered them to preach to the people the principles of good government that they had hoped to establish had they been able to replace the former regime by constitutional means. Since they were not able to force the government out constitutionally, I would like to remind them that this is not their government. I would like to make it clear to them, and to every one in this country, that the coup d'etat of 1966 was not inspired by the detainees and that they have no superior claim to position than any other person. No Ghanaian is to persecute his fellow Ghanaian. Those among the disbanded Convention People's Party and others in public positions who have wronged the state will be dealt with according to the laws of this land. What I wish to emphasise is that in the course of the past year, we have not been able to bind ourselves solidly together.

It is true that a great deal of suspicion still exists among the various sections of the people, but I wish to appeal to all Ghanaians no matter their former affiliations to come together and stand solidly together to rebuild this nation. It is only in unity of purpose that we shall derive the strength we require for this gigantic task.

The Civil Service

Turning to the civil service, can we say that in the course of the year we have been able to erase

cowardice, and replace it with confidence, efficiency and the spirit of independence? Are those public servants who left the country now desirous to return? Are students abroad who have finished their courses now willing to return to take up appointments in the public services? Or are we still dictating to civil servants and forcing them to implement decisions against their will? Perhaps we have gone to the extreme in trying to rebuild the civil service too quickly. Perhaps, we have involved some of them in policy decisions that are beyond the scope of the civil servant. We remember the criticism that met the decision to allow Principal Secretaries to perform the functions of Ministers. I think that the confidence we have built up in the civil service can be measured from the membership of public servants in the advisory committees of the National Liberation Council. We have done what we can, it is left for you as public officers to assume your rightful role in the machinery of Government.

The Mettle of the Press

Mr. Chairman, let us examine how the press and radio have reacted to their newly found freedom. Shortly after the coup, it was difficult to observe any change in the attitude of the Press and Radio to public figures. I was so worried about the state of affairs that I wrote to one of the dailies in protest. All one had to do was to replace the letters N.L.C. by C.P.P. and the **Evening News** of the 26th of February, 1966 would have been identical to the issue that appeared on the 23rd of February. Incidentally, I have been wondering as to what happened to the **Ghanaian Times** and the **Graphic** that were published on the 24th of February, 1966. I think that our Press has not shown sufficient courage, neither has it been very constructive in its role as the medium of public education. I do not say that the Press should criticise where there is no room for advice or comment. But if I am talking nonsense tonight I see no reason why the inky gentlemen should not tell me so tomorrow morning. I think that as a free Press there is a great role that you can play. Remember that the National Liberation Council has constituted itself into a totalitarian government. We have no organised opposition; until we hand over power to a civilian government, we would rely on the timely warning of the Press when we begin to go wrong. We have a fine press. We have in them, a great number of good writers. We want these men and women to use their great talent in writing wisely for the benefit of their dear country for which we are ever prepared to die. We want them also to become an effective medium for the views of those among us who have important and useful comments for public knowledge. So long as I remain alive, I will fight against any move to subject the Press to the desires of a ruling government. Even while I serve on the National Liberation Council, I give full assurance that I would always seek the protection of the Press because I believe that it is only through the freedom of the Press that the freedom of the individual can be given full expression.

Cleaning our Stables

During the year, we have had the opportunity to enquire into a number of irregularities in the performance of the duties of public officers and other private individuals. A number of important commissions of enquiry have been set up. We have received reports from some of them and there are others still sitting. I must say that a lot is learned, daily about the nefarious practices that the former regime indulged in, and a lot is still yet to be learned. We have learned of corruption in which the nation lost far more than the unscrupulous citizens ever gained. We have learned of the millions that single individuals managed to put away in the short space of a few years. All of us are living witnesses of what has happened and the anguish of those who are guilty of these acts and of their families and relations. And yet can we say that corruption has left our midst? There are still public servants who go out of their way to ask contractors to "do something." There are still many who continue in shady association with discredited men who were great benefactors to prominent people in the old regime. Some of these characters have maintained their ground with surprising success and some have even ventured to infiltrate the camps of some distinguished personalities of the society. To those honourable citizens, who have fallen victims to these people in an era such as this one, I issue stern warning. To those bribe givers who still hope to achieve success in this administration, I give a last and final warning. Let it be known that they are all under observation and no offence that will be perpetrated against the state will escape detection. Let it be known that I and my colleagues who went through fire on the morning of 24th of February, 1966 will not watch you passively while you undo what we have achieved. Let it be known that so long as I remain a member of the National Liberation Council and in charge of my portfolios, no success will be achieved by any person who tries to use foul means to steal the wealth of this country. Hitherto the givers of bribes have escaped punishment. I wish it to be known that as from today any trader, contractor, industrialist or any other businessman found indulging in any practice that is aimed at influencing any officers in any of the three ministries that come under my administration, namely Trade, Finance and Economic Affairs, in the efficient performance of their duties will cease to have any future business relations with my ministries. If the person is a trader or an industrialist seeking to corrupt persons in the Ministry of Trade, his name or that of his company will be struck out of the list of registered importers. If he is a contractor seeking favourable treatment from members of the tender Board, his licence as contractor will be revoked and he will no longer be eligible for consideration in any future government contracts. This is my last warning.

Consultations and Academic Freedom

Shortly after the coup, one of our ardent desires was to promote the immediate return of academic freedom. We sought to bring some of the distinguished personalities from the Universities close to us so that we would get the benefit of their good counsel. In recent months, these gentlemen from Legon appear to have got fed up with our company and have decided to withdraw into their abodes at Legon. They claim that consultations are not necessary and that we should wield arbitrary power. I regard this as academic freedom and so I have no quarrel. My humble suggestion is that these gentlemen should come down from the dizzy heights of Legon hill and sit back with us and tell us how to implement our authoritarian decisions.

Perhaps, it would be necessary to make it clear to

all, that our objective is to educate the Ghanaian while we are in office so that he may feel that he is not to be governed eternally in the fashion of a dictator. We would like to be certain that when we hand power back to a civilian administration, enough public confidence has been built up as the basis of a free democratic government. What is needed in Ghana now is the right political education of the people to know their rights as citizens.

Economic Reconstruction

I have said earlier that our economic recovery has been the most spectacular. It is fair to say that at the time of the coup our economic condition was the most deplorable. We look to the success of our economic endeavours as the important single indicator of our success. However, it is necessary to remind ourselves that the coming year will be very critical. It has been easy to win the sympathy of friendly countries during the first year of the revolution. Our own good intentions have also made it possible for us to obtain the right financial aid from friendly sources. We have been able to obtain some relief from the numerous debts piled up by the old regime; gradually, however, our appeal to these friendly countries will wear off and we shall soon be left to support ourselves. It is my belief that this country has the natural resources for sustained real growth. I am convinced that we have the human resources to man realistic development programmes. I am sure that we have the unity of purpose and the determination that go to make a great people, and with these qualities I know we cannot fail. Let us emulate the examples of Japan and Germany who after being completely devastated by war, fought a great battle to reconstruct their crippled economies, and who today rank among the most prosperous countries in the world. Our economy was crumpled, and our country devastated by an enemy more deadly than a bomb. Ours was a machine that had been overstretched in a running-in period, our problem is not one of stagnation but of development. Our resources, therefore, are still basically intact. We feel therefore that given the will, it will not be long before we pull ourselves out of our ruins and re-establish ourselves as one of the leading countries on this continent.

Our Future

I know that many of you would like to know my ideas as to where we go from here. After what seems like a successful year's operation it is fair to enquire about the future. There are many aspects of the future that could be discussed, but I do not wish to spend the whole night with you. I think that the vital question concerns the future of the National Liberation Council. There has been a great deal of speculation in this country and abroad on this subject. My colleagues and I on the Council have said on a number of occasions that it is our hope to hand over in the not too distant future. We came on the scene because there was no civilian alternative that could successfully replace the former discredited administration. Our desire, therefore, is not to stay in power one day longer than it is necessary. Nevertheless, it is only fair that we should be realistic about the state of affairs in the country. We should ask ourselves whether there is the possibility of finding in the immediate future a capable civilian government that will be acceptable to the people. Firstly, this country has been governed in a dictatorial fashion for so long a period that it will take a considerable time to re-educate the masses of the people on their political rights. Until the people are sufficiently educated to respect their rights and insist on getting them and to stop hero worshipping, they will fall victim to another tyrant in a short space of time. Secondly, it may be necessary to let the people get used to their newly won freedom and to familiarise themselves with the qualities that they require from potential leaders before they are called upon to go to the polls. Thirdly, it is necessary to ensure that the image of the former party is completely destroyed so that from amongst its ranks some dormant group does not spring up to perpetuate the evils of their dishonourable past. Finally, and perhaps the most important, it is necessary for the National Liberation Council to ensure that the immediate factors that led to the coup are completely removed. This means that we would like to ensure that there is enough economic recovery. It also means that we should ensure that the administration is free from all remnants of indifference, and the other facts that it has developed over the past years. Much as we would like to leave the scene as soon as possible, we would wish to complete our task. We cannot risk the lives of innocent soldiers in another revolution, we therefore want to be certain that the conditions are satisfactory for a civilian administration before we hand over power. It is for these reasons that many military governments become permanent, or try to govern in association with civlians. In fact if we do succeed in handing over power to a civilian government in the very near future, which is our desire, ours would have been one of the very rare instances in history. However, it will be good to assure you that it is our earnest desire that all of us cooperate to shorten the life of our military rule.

Unity of Purpose

Mr. Chairman, fellow Ghanaians, let us reassure ourselves that we are one united people, bound together by the common desire to free ourselves from any form of tyranny now and in the future. Let us avoid discrimination and victimization even against those who were previously ardent supporters of the old regime. Let us forget our past differences and instil in ourselves the spirit of brotherhood which alone will make it possible for us to destroy those who try to sow the seeds of a subversion in our midst. Let any one who is not guilty of any crime feel happy that he is fully acceptable in our society and let him come and take up his place in the task to rebuild our great nation. It is through unity that we shall derive the strength to accomplish the heavy task ahead of all of us.

I have tried tonight to let you know the truth for which I stand and for which a year ago I would have died. With this truth we can together turn our country into a paradise. However, if we are foolish and knowing this truth, we allow greed and avarice to eat into us we shall only succeed in destroying ourselves.

EDITOR'S NOTE

As we go to press the chairman of the Political Committee of the National Liberation Council, Dr. K. A. Busia, is scheduled to speak on the return to civilian rule. In our next issue we shall bring our readers an analysis of the emerging political scene based on Colonel A. A. Afrifa's and Dr. K. A. Busia's speeches.

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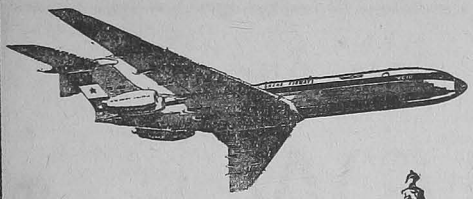

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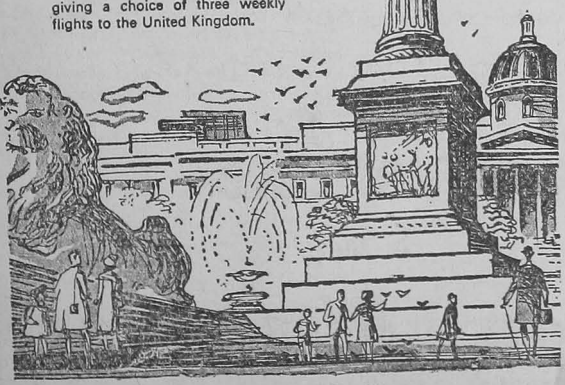

Ghana Airways

to counter Eastern propaganda. Then, by an inspiration, he, or somebody, hit upon an idea: Why not take money for these purposes from the C.I.A., where Dulles's brother, Allan, was the all-powerful director ?. . . So it was that this super-supra-organization started to provide the funds for American image building and repair. But because of the C.I.A.'s necessarily hush-hush approach to life, its largesse to intellectualism and cultural propaganda had also to be given in secret.

Three or four years ago the Americans themselves suddenly got to know about the CIA, and also got alarmed, through a number of newspaper and book exposes, of the power and methods of the Agency, which they described as America's "Hidden Government". In time the restless and irreverent U.S. Press got hold of other facts about CIA operations, notably the money it gave out secretly and indirectly to organizations and causes around the Western intellectual world. And because of the (by-then) dreaded or despised reputation of this organization, every name that was mentioned in association with it became blighted.

These included too, ironically enough, some of the most radical, most respected foundations and scholars in the world. Several of the finest of small foundations promoting intellectualism and democratic liberalism in the Western and Non-Aligned world were only recently threatening themselves with liquidation, rather than face the obloquy of having received CIA money—without knowing it but being accused of secret and sinister dealings against innocents abroad. African students, scholars, and organizations have also decided to stop accepting doubtful American foundation funds, where they are only too happy to be granted the same kind of assistance by the British Council or the Goethe Institute.

It is fervently to be hoped by aid-hungry African and Asian intellectuals, students, colleges, and others, that the President's actions will succeed in the immediate unshackling of American liberalism from the Central Intelligence Agency.

Banda Betrays Africa

POWER DRUNKENNESS manifests itself in absurd policies and Dr. Kamuzu Banda is a case in point. He has decided to build himself a new capital with the help of South African firms. Being a dictator, he is quite unconcerned about this senseless waste and no Malawian dares question him. One can say that this is a problem for the Malawians and for nobody else. But the same cannot be said of his latest adventure—a trade pact with South Africa.

This trade pact is of extreme importance to Africa and the world. Its compatibility with the moral and legal obligations devolving upon Malawi as a result of her membership of the O.A.U. and the U.N. is seriously in doubt. It is an obstacle to the realization of African aspirations and it dramatises the need for us all to re-examine the senseless race amongst the developing countries for economic advantage.

Dr. Kamuzu Banda has shown himself to be a friend of the arch-enemies of Africa—Voster and Salazar. He has betrayed the freedom struggle in Southern Africa aimed at restoring not only freedom to the people of that area but the dignity of the African in general. Let those who are misled by flattery from their imperialist friends and who are tempted to see the struggle in Southern Africa as remote and of no concern to us in Ghana remember that the indignities meted out to Africans in Southern Africa reflect the white man's view of the place of the African in the world community. Victory for Southern Africa and for the black man everywhere means dignity for us here. Dr. Kamuzu Banda has revealed his contempt for this struggle for dignity and freedom. He cannot be expected to uphold his pledge under the O.A.U. Charter to help liberate colonial Africa. If at all, he is likely to reveal plans being made by African States within and outside the O.A.U. to combat colonialism and racism. In the circumstances Malawi should be expelled from the O.A.U. Such a step will serve to underline Africa's determination not to come to terms with racism and colonialism—a determination which is now seriously in doubt.

Dr. Kamuzu Banda poses a problem not only for the O.A.U. but for the U.N. which has been promoting a trade boycott of South Africa. Even though the resolutions adopted for that purpose are not binding, they reflect the spirit of the U.N. Charter and they require enforcement. If many states in the U.N. saw it fit to question the World Bank for giving financial assistance to Portugal and South Africa contrary to the recommendation of the U.N. General Assembly, they cannot ignore Dr. Kamuzu Banda's effrontery.

The trade pact further raises a problem which many African leaders do not seem to be aware of. In the competition for economic advantage, we are in danger of selling ourselves into bondage. The virtues of foreign investment which in reality comes only in a trickle are extolled loudly, and there is a frantic race to outdo each other on the grant of concessions to foreign investors with the result that the advantages to be derived from such investment are more that offset by the concessions given. Then there is also the stampede to

join the European Economic Community in spite of the obvious advantages of inter-African economic co-operation. These things are possible because there are people amongst us who regard the kind of conduct showm by Dr. Kamuzu Banda as realistic. They do not appreciate that the dividing line between realism and opportunism is very thin. Dr. Kamuzu Banda's conduct is sheer opportunism of the most unrealistic kind. Few will mourn his downfall but many will actively encourage it.

"An Honourable Murder"

A VERY interesting film is now showing at the Rex Cinema. It is called "An Honourable Murder".

The story is exactly that of Julius Caesar—in a modern setting. All the principal characters bear the appropriate Roman names—Julius C., Brutus, Cassius, Mark Antony, and so on. They wear modern Western clothes instead of *togas;* and they ride in cars—Rolls-Royces—instead of chariots. But the theme is the same—the betrayal of their leader and friend.

The state is here a petroleum company; the Senate is the Board of Directors, of which our Caesar is the chairman; and the citizens are the shareholders of the company. Caesar is betrayed on the 15th of March (the Ides of March) . . .

Housing the Police

ONE OF the most serious problems facing those who choose to serve Ghana as policemen is the housing problem. This particular problem, like many others, including official operational difficulties, never engaged the serious attention of the old Government.

The standard accommodation given the policeman is a single room with one door and one window, just large enough for a medium-sized bedstead and a trunk. This is all; there is not even space for a wardrobe. And yet this is where the man has to live with a wife and children. The family shares facilities (e.g. kitchen, bath and toilet) with other families in the barracks.

This is bad for the policeman, and it is worse for his children. There is absolutely no reason why a Ghana policeman should not start his career in a normal, decent house. Again, there is no reason why Ghana should not be able to provide her policemen with the sort of accommodation that Kwame Nkrumah built for his security boys around Flagstaff House, or at least the simple type of self-contained houses that the Housing Corporation has been building for "workers".

Let the Government pay serious attention to this problem NOW, or else admit the likelihood that when economic conditions improve, there might be an exodus from the Service as young men seek better opportunities elsewhere.

Teachers' Salaries

MOST PRIMARY and middle school teachers in many parts of the country are gradually, but reluctantly and painfully, resigning themselves to the fact that they have to receive their salaries well after the end of the month. In January this year, some of them received their salaries ten full days after the end of the month. In February, it was pretty much the same story. They have no reason to expect March to bring them any comfort. An appeal to Mr. C. K. Penrose, the Teachers' National Secretary, hardly improved the situation.

The harrowing thing about these frequent delays with regard to the prompt payment of salaries is that the teachers are completely ignorant about the causes of the delay. Needless to say, such delays bring untold hardships to the teachers—most have heavy monthly financial commitments, and a failure to pay promptly makes most of them fall on borrowed money with all that this means in exorbitant rates of interest.

Furthermore, such delays lead to low morale in the teaching profession. Such a situation should not be allowed to develop among a profession which is responsible for training the children of this country. This is a really serious situation and the Ministry of Education should let the country know whether it needs more hands on "pay-days", or whether it is sheer incompetence which is creating such a serious situation.

Teachers, like other workers, have a right to be paid at the end of every month. If for any reasons —and the reasons must be publicised—it is proving difficult to pay promptly, the whole country must know of them, for teachers in primary schools are far too important to fall victims to either administrative inertia, incompetence or laziness. Mr. Penrose should concentrate his energies right now on correcting this intolerable anomaly, instead of touring the country to tell teachers to work hard. To paraphrase Napoleon, teachers, like armies, "march" on contented "bellies" and an assurance of a constant, regular source of income is the prerequisite of contentment.

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Letters

Col. Afrifa's Speech

SIR—In his speech at the State House on 20 March, 1967, Col. Afrifa delivered himself of the following passage:

> "Shortly after the coup, one of our ardent desires was to promote the immediate return of academic freedom. We sought to bring some of the distinguished personalities from the Universities close to us so that we would get the benefit of their good counsel. In recent months, these gentlemen from Legon appear to have got fed up with our company and have decided to withdraw into their abodes at Legon. They claim that consultations are not necessary and that we should wield arbitrary power. I regard this as academic freedom and so I have no quarrel. My humble suggestion is that these gentlemen should come down from the dizzy heights of Legon hill and sit back with us and tell us how to implement our authoritarian decisions".

No doubt Col. Afrifa was referring to a speech I delivered at the University College of Cape Coast on the 23 February in the presence of Major-General Ocran which was grossly misreported in the **Daily Graphic** of 27 February, 1967. Although the **Daily Graphic** published a correction on the 28 of February, nobody seems to have noticed the correction since it was published in a rather obscure corner of the paper. Consequently, much misunderstanding seems to have been engendered by the original report in the **Daily Graphic.** The following is, substantially the letter that I wrote to the Editor of the **Daily Graphic** which was published on the 28 February.

> "I am reported to have said at a symposium at the University College of Cape Coast that the N.L.C. 'should govern on the principle of authoritarianism, disregard the views of the various sections of the community, stop consultations before taking decisions, refuse to compromise and if any people made trouble, use the instruments of violence more liberally'. What I did say was in fact the direct opposite of what was reported.
>
> I am also reported to have said that the Political Committee should be abolished because it was trying to create 'some confusion in the whole set up' What I suggested was that some trusted civilians should be introduced into the N.L.C. itself and that **once this was done the Political Committee might even be dissolved.**
>
> Further, I am reported to have advocated the ownership of newspapers by the Government because 'the newspapers would distort the activities of the Government if they were privately owned'. My suggestion was that one of the two Government newspapers should be retained by the Government so that future Governments of the country could not claim that newspapers were distorting their activities and use that as an excuse to trample down on the free press".

Political Science Dept. **B. D. G. Folson**
Legon

University Accounts

SIR—Your editorial on The Auditor-General and the University of Ghana leaves out one important point, namely, the part that the University Council played during 1961-65 in the drama that is unfolding.

The University of Ghana Act, 1961 Sections 13 and 14 read as follows:

13. The University Council shall cause accounts of the University to be **drawn up, audited and published annually** at such times and in such manner as the Minister responsible for finance may direct.
14. Within six months after the end of each academic year the University Council shall cause a report of the activities of the University during that year to be drawn up and made available to the public.

The University of Ghana Annual Report and Accounts for 1961-62 was published in 1964, but it does not appear that any further reports have been published. Any Commission of Enquiry must establish the responsibility of two of the three Principal officers of the University—the Chairman of the Council and the Vice-Chancellor—for breaking the law and the constitution, and of the other University officers—the Pro-Vice-Chancellor—and the Registrar. For surely disciplinary action could have been taken against the responsible officer concerned during the period under review. Academic freedom can only be maintained by a scrupulous regard for the law and the constitution by both sides. Finally, what did the lay members of the Council, two of whom were judges, do about this state of affairs up till the time of the coup?

Encyclopaedia Africana, **L. H. Ofosu-Appiah**
Ghana Academy of Sciences,
Accra.

Nigerian Crisis

SIR—Permit me to add a little more to my all-too-brief comment on the Nigerian situation in the last **Observer** (Vol. II, No. 6). My aim here is to strengthen the analysis at one or two points and so bring out more clearly the significance of subsequent developments.

First of all we ought to give full value to the framework of differentiated relationships now operating in Nigeria: (a) between Lt.-Col. Gowon and Lt.-Col. Ojukwu, as rival personalities and rival leaders, (b) between Colonel Gowon with his Federal apparatus and Colonel Ojukwu with his Eastern Regional Government, (c) between the Northerners and the Ibos, as blood-feudists from the results of the two coups of last year, and, finally and significantly, (d) between Colonel Gowon (as Supreme Military Ruler of the Federation on the one hand and a Northerner on the other) and his people of the North.

In any attempt to assess the position in Nigeria, these separate and distinct relationships are crucial, and should be kept in hand. Take (d) above, for instance. I said in my article under mention (page 6 of **Observer** II, 6, last sentence), that "the departure of the East would almost certainly be the signal for the other breakaway moves then to be expected, with the Northerners being thhe most likely to take their place next in line for the 'Secession Stakes', regardless of what the Centre thinks." Now the Centre is the Central Government, the Federation. There Colonel Gowon is strenuously engaged in trying to weld together the Regional authorities of the Federation—except the East—in aid of the retention of the federal structure, if necessary by the use of force.

Yet this threat, which suits exactly the traditional

mood of dan Fodio's warlike, religion-bound descendants and devotees, is also precisely what galls the East into their current do-or-die resistance of Gowon; and Gowon represents both the Central drive for Federal coherence and the Northern passion for conquest of and domination over the South, particularly the Ibos. Gowon's choice has thus been a choice between the rock of Scylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis: between, that is, a compromise which, if it didn't palliate the fixed Northern **jihad** temper, may lead to the rejection of Gowon by his people (who, **without Gowon,** may then resume their "interrupted" 1804 charge to the sea); and a decision to employ "force now" against Ojukwu and his Ibos, eddying perhaps even faster to the same result: the utter catastrophe of civil war.

That has been the Federal Military Governor's dilemma of terror. His only alternative would still seem to me to be the devising of a confederate arrangement offering a fair distribution of political powers as well as of economic perquisites. In this he may be able to capture the imagination and heartwhole co-operation of what would now seem to me to be the conflict-ridden drives of the leaders of the West and the Mid-West; to say nothing of the Rivers people the (Northern) Tiv enclave, and all the other potential sub-separatists. Indeed the position of Lt.-Col. Ejoor (Mid-West and Lt.-Col. Adebayo, of the West, is both delicate and vital in the extreme. Witness not only their sympathy with Col. Gowon's anxieties and planning so far, but also the private meetings between them and Col. Ojukwu.

Finally, Mr. Editor, I wish to modify my previous vision of an "Ibo state (set in an) economic wilderness". It was induced by the cumulative pressure of my argument as a whole, and by the fact that at that point I was also unwarily seduced by one kind of oil away from another. The Rivers area certainly produces practically all the **vegetable** oils of the East, but Iboland now boasts an upward trend of **mineral**-oil discovery. An Ibo state without the Oil-Rivers province would therefore not be automatically uneconomical to that extent. Only when we consider together all the tremendous problems of economic means and technical facilities can we rightly anticipate a generation or more of hardship for an exclusively Ibo state. But then, look at the rest of us—even some of the naturally luckiest!

Institute of Adult Education **K. A. B. Jones-Quartey**
Legon. **Ag. Director**

Americans in Ghana

SIR—At the recent highly successful Trade Fair held in Accra, I noticed that the Showpiece of the American stand was a section called "Ghana in the U.S." or something of that nature. This was, I am sure, highly flattering. Ghanaian papers, the United States Information Services and certain individuals seemed to have launched a campaign designed to make us "pat ourselves on the back" at the thought that there were businessmen in the States who used our wood to decorate their offices; there were also American housewives who had dining room tables made from our wood. Doubtless, ours is a noble achievement.

However 'Ghana in America' does not concern me quite as much as 'America in Ghana'.

I notice, with increasing distress, the infiltration of the American into our country. This infiltration is not

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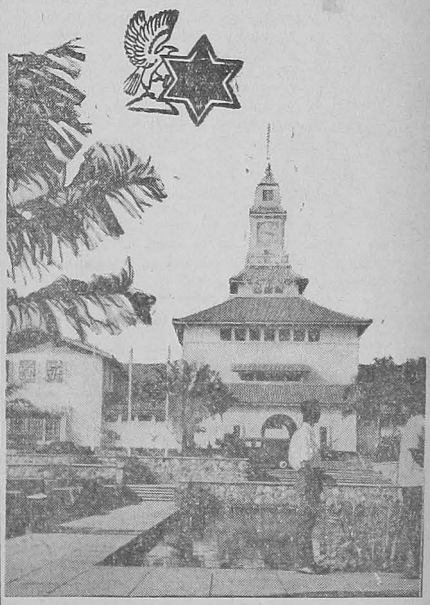

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solely in the economic field. An example of this was an incident I witnessed during the celebrations marking the anniversary of the coup. Were it not so depressing the episode would have been most amusing.

I found myself sitting near a young man who was attempting to imitate the American accent in an excrutiatingly painful manner. Anyway, I leant over and asked him what his nationality was; "Ghana-American", he said. I suspect that I am an unreasonable fellow for I went on to ask him, if his country was not good enough for him. I don't think I was lucid enough, for he went on sublimely to tell me that although his real name was something like Kojo 'Aponkye' his 'nice' name was Ricky Dee. Sad in itself, but much more worrying is the fact that I have noticed this sickness spreading among the undergraduates at Legon, the future leaders of Ghana.

There is also the American gentleman who is taking a very fatherly interest in our culture; he wants us to set up a theatre movement, under Ghanaian leadership of course, but with the money certainly and the last word possibly being American.

One has seen the effect of American investment in South and Latin America. Complete control of a country's economy can be achieved and American troops can be used to protect American financial investment. Happy thoughts of American marines landing on Labadi beach to be welcomed by Lebanese ice-cream salesmen and an economy controlled by an external force make me just a little wary of the "Coca-Cola" Company, the C.I.A. and such generous offers of American financing of Ghanaian-American Companies.

I realize that American aid is sorely needed—not even arch-imperialist Britain can do without it—but surely, is it necessary to open our brotherly arms quite as widely as they are being opened? Would it also not be a good idea to keep the knees high, just in case?

P.O. Box 3287, Otanka Obetsebi-Lamptey,
Accra.

The New Cedi

SIR—In the three weeks that the new currency has been with us, it has given rise to a lot of confusion. Added to that is the deliberate attempt on the part of some to profit from the change. When quoting prices it appears that it is just sufficient for the dealer to put 'new' before the old price. It is particularly so when the conversion results in a half-penny. It almost looks as if the half-penny is like a commemmorative stamp just issued to mark an occasion. We can understand a trader doing so, but when a government department does it, it must be censured.

The Air letter used to cost 10p. On conversion it came to 8½ np. What the post office has done is to make it 9 n.p. but since 9np equals 11p, they have raised the rate. It has also been publicised that rates between 4 and 6np are being charged for inland postage. One post office has even gone to the length of putting up a notice that old currency will not be accepted. Can you beat that? A Government department practising illegality! It is time the Director of Posts and Telecommunications stepped in to put matters right.

History Dept., Legon. C. N. Wadia

Entertainment

SIR—As of entertainment in the country was not costly already (a correspondent complained bitterly in the last issue) Oxford Cinema House in Accra decided last week to raise its rates. The young men in that area quickly consulted together; the result was that there were no customers to be entertained that night. If the boycott were sustained Oxford Cinema House would probably have to close down. It would be an unfortunate but a deserving fate, and one which awaits greed in all its manifestations.

But need people resort to boycotts at all? It is indeed odd, very odd, that the Government does not seem to think that entertainment houses ought to be prevented from making immoral profits. The way things go now, if a cinema house should decide to charge five new cedis for any ordinary Western, one does not see that there would be any objection, yet if a pedlar should charge a penny more for a box of matches, he would almost immediately be arraigned before a magistrate. It is not in the national interest to give the impression that people can get away with immoral profits provided they do it in a big way and we suggest the following to remove this impression:

i. those whose business it is to censor films should also determine the maximum which may be charged for any film. Somebody in this country surely has information on the cost of importation of films and other factors to be taken into account; they should liase with him;

ii. the percentage which dance halls pay as tax should rise with the rates. It ought to be possible for the Commissioner of Income Tax to take about ninety pesewas in the cedi in certain situations.

We are aware that there are more pressing national problems, but some time might be taken off certain really trivial things in order to attend to this particular matter.

Academic Section, G. F. Daniel
Registry, Legon.

Open Letter to Testing Officers

SIR—Colonel Afrifa has rightly told you what most people in Ghana think about you. You cannot properly imagine the great calamity you cause in poor homes of victims in lorry accidents. In many cases these accidents are caused by inexperienced drivers who "bought" their driving licences from some of you—unscrupulous, greedy and avaricious lot. Few minutes after I had read Colonel Afrifa's indictment in the 'Graphic' I nearly hit a taxi in the Seventh Avenue Extension. It was being driven by one whose face was symmetrically pock-marked, (perhaps he is one who has also 'bought' his license) looking strange and unconcerned when I pointed out his fault in trying to reverse in a dangerous curve.

I think the National Liberation Council should seriously consider organizing a re-examination of drivers who appear before the courts for motor offences.

P.O. Box 2846, Accra J. M. Nukpe

Ghana's External Relations

SIR—I do not want Mr. Nyamikeh nor the entire country to emulate the politics of George Orwell's Animal Farm. I believe such a prescription will not do any one any good in this country.

However, I would very much like Mr. Nyamikeh to refer once more to the concluding sentence of my original article which appeared in the **Legon Observer** (Vol.II, No.4)—"And one of the serious blunders we have committed in our foreign policy is that we have told the world that Ghana is in serious economic and financial difficulties".

In diplomacy, financial and economic matters are regarded as secret. This becomes much more so for the new nations that are engaged in nation-building. The ability for a state to play an active role in international politics depends primarily on its military capabilities, economic might and the influence it can exert. World-wide influence depends on military and economic potential

With the common fear of thermo-nuclear warfare, governments have come to rely more on their economic might as a manifestation of their political power. It is, therefore, not considered wise in diplomatic practice to let other countries know of your economic difficulties.

I do agree with Mr. Nyamikeh that our creditors knew of our bankruptcy. Why do you tell the whole world about it then? The consequence of such an admission is that we shall always be at the mercy of creditor countries and all those who wish to do business with us. These people are more likely to come in on their own terms. Perhaps Mr. Nyamikeh believes that by admitting our weaknesses other people are more likely to sympathise with us. Rather, they are likely to take advantage of our economic difficulties and get a better deal from us.

Institute of Adult Education, Legon. **K. A. Karikari**

Postmen and Mosquitoes

SIR—As a native of a former British colony I find it hard to understand why British policy here was so different. I allude to the fact that people here still receive their mail through Post Office boxes even in the two largest cities. I find it even harder to understand why postmen were not introduced after independence was attained; think of how this would help to alleviate the unemployment problem!

Another thing, what is being done to eradicate malaria in this country? Are we going to have to bring our children up on anti-malarial drugs, the long term effect of which we are not sure? What is needed is a vigorous campaign in which the public is educated and sanitary or health inspectors are given every assistance to enforce the law, if necessary by fining offenders. Malaria has been eradicated or at least controlled in countries much bigger than Ghana, there is no reason why the same cannot be done here.

c/o Dr. T. Agble, Central Hospital, Kumasi **Yolande Marilyne Agble.**

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Commentary

WITHDRAWAL OF SCHOLARSHIPS

By
Kwame Arhin

102 PARK STREET houses the offices of the Student Unit of the Ghana High Commission in London and was the scene of the N.L.C. Committee which investigated the scholarships and grants-in-aid held by Ghanaian students in London. Recently the scholarships of some of them have been withdrawn.

After the coup, the N.L.C. announced to the relief of Ghanaians that these scholarships and grants would be reviewed for three reasons among others. *First*, there was no money; *second*, it was doubted whether some courses were related to future Ghana manpower needs, and therefore whether these should be allowed to worsen our foreign exchange crisis; *third*, anybody who has been to London knows that a laudable plan to aid needy, *bona fide* students had degenerated into an extension of Party patronage: it was said that all sorts of favourites, not to mention scores of elderly party hacks, were maintained in the United Kingdom at the tax-payer's expense by the fiction that they were students. The announcement to review these grants was therefore welcome, though it was feared that it would be difficult to separate the grain from the chaff in view of the bizarre filing system at 102 Park Street. For, these 'students' fell into three classes: those sent to U.K. to do courses like nutrition and accountancy; those who had held Cocoa Marketing Board grants for years and had not made any head-way in their studies; and countless private students who worked and paid their way as part-time students and to whom 102 Park Street gave grants. Of these classes, the first required very careful treatment, the second little consideration and the third very careful sifting; some in the third category will never make good in their studies. It appears now that the committee lost sight of these classes, lumped them all together and gave them all summary treatment, forgetting that the government was normally, so to speak, in contract with the first category. The result of the committee's operations has brought untold suffering to scores of students indiscriminately deprived of their grants.

Tactical Mistakes

With the benefit of hindsight it seems that the N.L.C. made from the beginning three tactical mistakes. *First*, in view of the cloud of suspicion that had thereto enveloped the staff of 102 Park Street, the entire staff should have been cleared before the committee started its operations so that deprived students would be convinced of fair play and impartiality. The regular staff at 102 Park Street have always been suspected of favouring some students. *Second*, the choice of a soldier for the exercise was not a happy one. The most admirable characteristic of the soldier which enables him to accomplish feats beyond the average person is his sense of discipline. But this worthy accomplishment is not calculated to produce the imaginative flexibility required to implement N.L.C. policy in this matter. An elderly and retired civil servant who knows Ghana's civil manpower needs should have been chosen to deal with the problem. *Third*, most of the students wonder at the presence of a foreigner who did most of the talking at the interviews: they resent the idea that a foreigner should determine the fate of those whose fathers are the taxpayers.

Misery

As it happens, by all accounts, the committee has left in its wake increasing misery and discontent; since most people are incapable of distinguishing between political errors and administrative blunders, the N.L.C. has become the target of that discontent. Student meetings are dominated by complaints. The most recurrent complaint is that the committee was too arbitrary and inhuman in its approach to the problem. This is illustrated by a typical story. A group of deprived students were asked to an interview with the committee at 9.15 a.m. They got there before the time and were told to fill certain forms which should, in the first place, have accompanied the invitation. At 10.15 a.m., they were told that the committee was due to go elsewhere and that if they chose they should reappear on another, unspecified day. Naturally they hesitated and later they received letters announcing the withdrawal of their grants.

Secondly, the students argue, and I think rightly, that it was never clear which criteria the committee applied in the exercise. Some were told that Ghana has no money; others that their courses were not related to Ghana's needs, or that in view of Ghana's shortage of foreign money, they would best, both in their own and Ghana's interests, continue their courses at home. The crucial point is that students falling into the same categories were given different reasons for the withdrawal of their scholarships or grants. It would have been simple to circulate to the students concerned cyclostyled information on the categories of those to be affected so that students would know even before they went to the interview where they stood. Instead, the absence of clear-cut criteria and the application of different criteria

to students of the same group have combined to produce the now normal Ghanaian explanation of apparently bizarre goings-on: the assumption of macabre operations at 102 Park Street and that those without connections in high places were victimized.

Genuine Cases

I know one or two cases, typical of many, that should be considered unfortunate: a Ph.D. student in law, who for the past two years has been on Ghana Government Scholarship has had his grant withdrawn though he is due to submit his thesis in June. The two years' fees would appear to have been poured down the drain. A girl who joined the Nutrition Board in 1964 and was brought here to do a course in nutrition has been deprived of her grant on the ground that she changed her course, though her fees have been paid up to the end of the current academic year; she is due to finish in 1968, and her present course, hotel management, clearly subsumes nutritional studies. Pointing out that she changed her course with the consent and knowledge of a course officer at 102 Park Street, has been of no avail. All that she has been told is that she will be provided with a free ticket to Ghana. How about the two and a half years' maintenance expense, the three years' fees, and the two-way flight ticket ?

All this amounts to considerable anguish in the breasts of those who had hoped for so much from the coup. To them, injustice has not diminished with the ousting of the old regime.

The deed appears now to have been done and there appears to be no hope that those who have suffered injustice will be put to rights; criticising now is like bolting the stable-door after the horses have left. But it may not be too late for the N.L.C. to announce that it will review genuine cases of those about to finish their courses and those brought here specifically for courses. There must also be a forward-looking policy with regard to the man-power needs of Ghana; having a lot of discontented, unemployed young men and women at home in Ghana is a terrifying political prospect.

The author is at the moment resident in London

—Ed.

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Poem

THE CHILD

Around the ninth month I'm begotten
To dwell with mortal living beings;
But whence I come,
Or how the vital spark is given,
Nature's secret still remains.

And as I lie on the coarse "baha",
With my conscience as clear as nakedness,
And my hands as clean as innocence,
My infant lips, stainless of gossip,
Let fall a cry:

Why? Why?? Why???

Before me lies a distance confined,
Whose course, much like my bearers',
Cannot be defined;
My language tutors though they be,
Power of speech they do not give.

Guidance and counsel my bearers supply,
But fool-proof sign-posts they cannot provide;
Where my lone span leads,
No foot-prints have ever seen.

Though versed in the science of living beings,
Incapable they are of creating beings,
For the art of making breath
Nature's secret unto death remains.

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News Summary

19/3/67

Aluminium Production in Ghana

GHANA has now joined aluminium producing nations. Her first consignment entered the world market last Sunday when the first shipment of 250 tons of ingot produced by the Volta Aluminium Company, VALCO, left Tema for Britain. The production of aluminium began last November, when Valco started operating six reduction pots to train workers, Additional pots were brought into production in January and February. Up to date, fifty pots have begun to produce aluminium at Tema. A report from the company says the first potline consisting of 100 pots will be in production before the end of April and two other lines will be started before the end of this year, more than one year ahead of schedule. With the three potlines in production, Valco will produce 103 thousand tons of aluminium a year.

Ghana-Yugoslavia Trade Agreement

GHANA has signed a new trade agreement with Yugoslavia. The agreement provides for an exchange of goods between the two countries to the value of about NC9m. A payment agreement which has been in operation between the two countries since 1961 was also reviewed and amended.

Ghana to expand trade with Senegal

A GHANA economic delegation went to Dakar at the invitation of the Senegalese Government to negotiate and conclude trade agreements between the two countries.

P.D.A. Committee

THE NLC has appointed a two-man committee to investigate and report on certain aspects of the Prevention Detention Act under which Ghanaians were thrown into prison in large numbers under the former regime. The Act was repealed by the NLC last year. The Committee will investigate the circumstances and the reasons which led to the introduction of the Preventive Detention Act; the reasons for, and the mode of arrest; the detention and treatment given to detainees; the political, social and psychological consequences of the operations of the Act on the people of Ghana. The Committee will make recommendations for dealing with the problems which led to the introduction of the Act. Members of the Committ are Dr. A. Adu Boahene of the History Department of the University of Ghana and Mr. K. E. De Graft-Johnson of the Sociology Department of the same University. The Committee will tour regions and prisons and the public are requested to give the Committee, every co-operation and assistance.

Mr. Harlley gets more responsibilities

THE Inspector-General of Police, Mr. J. W. K. Harlley, Vice-Chairman of the National Liberation Council, has been assigned the responsibility for the Ministry of External Affairs in addition of his duties. Mr. Harlley is also responsible for the Ministries of the Interior and Information.

The Nima Affair before Court

SIX SOLDIERS of the Ghana Army appeared before a Circuit Court in Accra on Thursday charged with causing harm with offensive weapons to two Nigerians. The soldiers are Ebenezer Kwawukume, A. Atandoh, Markwei Tetteh, Paul Kpedjando, Ali Grunshie and A. Armah. They pleaded not guilty and were remanded in military custody to re-appear next Thursday. The Prosecution stated that on the 5th of this month, a scuffle ensued at Nima, an Accra suburb, when Kwawukume demanded drinks from some Eastern Nigerians who had gathered to observe funeral rites. The prosecution said another soldier who passed by and saw the scuffle rushed to a nearby army garrison and informed the corporal in charge that some soldiers were being beaten up at Nima. The prosecution alleged that the Corporal took the other soldiers to Nima and they beat up the two brothers. One of them, Patrick Ekam, who sustained injuries on the chest and scalp, died on the way to hospital.

Adomako on the Economy

26/3/67

THE Governor of the Bank of Ghana, Mr. Albert Adomako, has announced that there has been an improvement in the country's external payments position. Mr. Adomako who was addressing the Ghana Centre of the Institute of Bankers at its annual dinner in Accra said this has been possible following stabilization measures implemented by the Government early last year. Mr. Adomako said the trade deficit decreased from 89 million new cedis to 29 million new cedis and the net deficit on current account declined from 159 million new cedis to 93 million new cedis.. He hoped by the middle of 1968 the economy would be functioning in a sufficiently normal manner.

National Standards Board

A NATIONAL Standards Board of Ghana has been inaugurated at a ceremony at the Hall of the State House in Accra. In his speech at the ceremony Mr. B. A. Yakubu, NLC member responsible for Industries, Mines and Mineral Resources called for an effective machinery to ensure a high level quality of products made in Ghana. He said this will enhance the prospects of trade, improve industrial productivity and obtain the much-needed foreign exchange for the country. Members of the Board, with Mr. Yakubu as Chairman, are, Mr. C. C. K. Baah, representing the Ghana Chamber of Commerce, Dr. K. M. Sapey of the Ghana Academy of Sciences, Dr. P. M. J. Philips of the Ministry of Health, and Mr. K. K. Anti of the Ministry of Industries

External Aid for Education

THE Lebanese Ambassador in Ghana, Mr. Said El Hibri, has presented five thousand exercise books to the Ministry of Education in Accra in appreciation of what the Government of Ghana has done for the people of Lebanon. He said the exercise books should be distributed to all schools in the country.

The United Nations Children Fund (UNICEF) has also presented 11 sewing machines to the Ministry for Middle Schools with housecraft facilities in the Volta Region. Ten of the machines have been distributed to centres at Kete-Krachi, Agbosume, Avenui, Adidome, Peki-Dzake, Peki-Avetile, Sogakofe, Anyako, Abor and Anloga.

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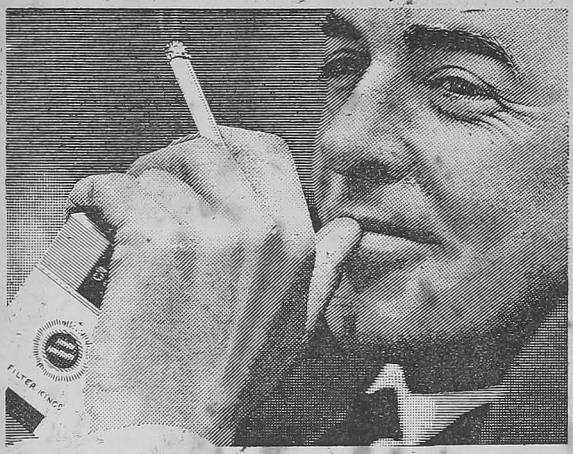

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