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EDITORIAL

GHANA AIRWAYS: LOSS OF FAITH IN GHANA AND GHANAISANS?

AT A TIME when every effort is being made to generate international confidence in Ghana, the Management of the Ghana Airways has chosen to pursue policies which generate anything but confidence in the country.

The cedi is no longer accepted on Ghana Airways flights; the Illyshin-18 personnel have been dismissed; and now Ghanaian top personnel have been replaced with expatriate personnel. The General Manager, the Commercial Manager, the Flight Operations Manager and the Stewardess Instructresses are all expatriates. Two questions may be asked. First, are there not competent Ghanaians to take up these positions of responsibility, or to put it another way, are the expatriate staff indispensable to the country? Secondly, what is the cost to the country of employing these expatriates? The answers to these questions cannot be separated. The (expatriate) General Manager was a former Manager of Eastern Routes (B.O.A.C.). He receives a consolidated salary of £7,500; of this £5,000 is basic and is paid into his account in London in foreign exchange. He is paid £2,500 in cedis. He is on a five-year contract, and in case of a breach of the contract he will be entitled to a compensation of £15,000. He has free accommodation and transport.

The Commercial Manager receives a Consolidated salary of £5,600; not much is known of his antecedents. The Operations Manager is on a salary of £4,500 with allowances totalling £1,600 per annum. The Flight Operations Manager was formerly working with a private charter airline—the Channel Airways. He seems, on the available evidence, to be the best qualified of all the expatriates. It is understood that, on his recommendation, the Ghana Airways has employed four young girls from the Channel Airways and styled them Stewardess Instructresses. These girls were formerly working with the Channel Airways; they are receiving a tax-free salary of £1,000 per annum, payable in London, and an unmarried allowance of £850 per annum!! These girls have free accommodation—they are putting up at the Continental Hotel at the moment, after rejecting the flats offered them at Asylum Down, Accra. These Instructresses are expected to train 18 of our girls recently taken on by the Airways.

It is reliably learnt that the girls from Channel Airways have never worked in an aircraft larger than a Viscount; they are supposed to train our girls to fly in a V.C.10!! The Board of the Ghana Airways has conveniently forgotten about some of the Ghanaian air hostesses who have been with our national airline since its foundation. Some of these girls have done a creditable job, and there is

ANNIVERSARY NOTICE

THIS issue, the twenty-sixth, completes one year of unbroken production since we first came out on the 8th of July, 1966. The next issue, to come out on the 7th of July, will be our "Anniversary Edition"; and, naturally, it will be "special". You will learn about the people who produce the Legon Observer; you will learn about how we have managed to stay in production, about our problems, about our hopes; perhaps you will learn about yourself as a reader! There will be a review of the post-coup period to date; and there will be features you cannot afford not to read. The next issue will be a collector's item, an edition you cannot afford to miss. Book your copy with your local sales agent NOW.

not the slightest reason, except giving "jobs for the girls"—the Flight Operations Manager knew them—to believe that they are better than our girls. Mind you, every Instructress is training roughly about four girls. Such a job could have been done well by just one Instructress.

Now, the General Manager is receiving about the same salary as the Director-General of B.B.C., or the American Secretary of State. He receives certainly more than our Chief Justice, our Vice-Chancellor or any of all our Heads of Departments. The Instructresses are on salaries higher than those of our Senior Assistant Secretaries, Magistrates, Doctors and University Lecturers. What justifies all this? In the public interest the Chairman of the Ghana Airways has to justify these appointments and salaries before the Ghanaian public.

We have extolled to the skies the need to conserve foreign exchange in this country. However, the policies of the Ghana Airways are precisely meant to undermine this national objective. What, for instance, is the programme of the Ghana Airways for training Ghanaians to assume top management posts? It may be noted that the Airways Management consists of seven people, and that of these only three are Ghanaians. What this implies is that in the day-to-day administration of our national airline decisions may be taken which may not necessarily be in our national interest. If ever the concept of "neo-colonialism" (which has now fallen on evil days) was ever apposite, it is clearly so in this context. This is an intolerable situation, and the N.L.C. cannot just adopt a *laissez-faire* attitude and allow the Board of the Ghana Airways to get away all the time with irrational and anti-nationalist policies.

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Politics

(Special Communication)

INSTITUTION-BUILDING IN GHANA AND NIGERIA: A SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

By

K. Bentsi-Enchill

IN EARLY January this year (3rd-7th) a small seminar was held at Fourah Bay College in Freetown for the discussion of problems of institution-building in Africa, with Ghana and Nigeria as actual case studies. The seminar was promoted and chaired by Dr. Kwamena Bentsi-Enchill of Ghana, at present Professor of Law at the University of Zambia in Lusaka.

Some of the conclusions the group arrived at and the suggestions they made have since been vitiated—we hope temporarily—by the developments of the last few months in Nigeria. We publish Prof. Bentsi-Enchill's summary, nevertheless, without alteration or modification, not only because the last word has not been heard in Nigeria but also because the principles offered from the Freetown seminar would be valid even for the individual units of a dismembered Federation in black Africa.

Theories and rationalizations on contemporary African "realities" may evaporate constantly in the heat of the speed with which change is taking place in the Continent today; fundamental and effective principles of organization and management, however, if carefully developed and "processed", will remain true forever and my help us towards a settlement of the African disquiet.

The discussants at the seminar were the following: Dr. Obed Y. Asamoah (Lecturer, Faculty of Law, University of Ghana, Legon), Prof. K. Bentsi-Enchill (Professor of Law, University of Zambia, Lusaka), Mr. K. E. de Graft-Johnson (Senior Lecturer, Acting Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Ghana, Legon), Mr. B. D. G. Folsom (Senior Lecturer, Acting Head of Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon), Mr. Christian Hesse (Lecturer in Political Science, University of Zambia, Lusaka), Dr. Ganiyu Alade Jawando (Reader and Dean of Faculty of Social Science, University of Ife, Ibadan, Nigeria), Prof. K. A. B. Jones-Quartey (Acting Director of Adult Education, University of Ghana, Legon) Mr. Abdul Mumuniy Abiodun Razaq (Legal Practitioner, c/o High Court of Justice, Kaduna, Nigeria), Dr. C. S. Whittaker, Jr. (Observer) (Associate Dean of the Graduate Division and Associate Professor of Political Science, U.C.L.A., California, U.S.A.), Prof. Babatunde A. Williams (Associate Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, University of Lagos).

Professor Bentsi-Enchill's summary now follows in full, except for his introductory notes.

The Problems

TWELVE CRITICAL questions or problems were singled out for discussion, as being among the central issues to which the closest attention must be paid in any attempt to fashion institutions to fit conditions in our two countries. The time available did not permit the meeting to

achieve much more than an extensive discussion and delineation of the issues.

These were (1) the importance of clarifying fundamental objectives, (2) the problem of the harnessing and controlled release of social and political power, (3) the problem of diverse populations and multiple cultures, (4) the need to foster national unity and the use of devolutionary methods of Government, (5) the importance of making use of relevant elements in traditional political ideas, institutions and processes, (6) Economic development, (7) Social and economic justice, (8) the need for legitimizing the authority of new institutions, (9) the problem of political parties and representation, (10) fundamental liberties, (11) the problem of effective communication and the use of media of mass communication, and (12) the assessment of specific institutions and machinery in terms of their appropriateness for use in these countries.

I. Clarification of Basic Objectives

The first among the considerations raised and stressed is a double one. It is the importance (a) of achieving clarity and agreement concerning the general objectives, and (b) of vigilance and skill in ensuring that the institutional arrangements finally established are indeed such as have the maximum likelihood of achieving the said objectives or purposes. A consensus clearly emerged regarding the objective of achieving effective democracy, and of providing—within the framework of democratic institutions and of respect for fundamental liberties—for rapid economic development that is firmly reflected in higher standards of living for the individual citizen.

As will be seen presently, all the other critical problems raised and discussed turned out in retrospect to be but the systematic elaboration of the concerns implicit in this first issue, and of the factors that must be taken squarely into account in attempting to achieve it.

So far as any guiding philosophy of action or underlying ideology is concerned, the suggestion was made and accepted that this might be summed up under the heading of "the experimental state" or "pragmatic socialism," and this, it was suggested, should mean a frank acknowledgement of the limitation of human knowledge and wisdom, the avoidance of dogmatism in the proposal and application of specific measures of social development, the encouragement of general discussion, inquiry and criticism, and a posture of experimental readiness to review procedures, techniques, and plans, in the light of better information and knowledge.

II. The Harnessing and Controlled Release of Social and Political Power.

The second basic issue is the perennial political problem regarding power—its creation, taming, distribution and controlled exercise.

A basic fact requiring explicit recognition is that building a state is not unlike building the dam on the River Volta. It is a means by which power—great power—can be created or generated. The adage "unity is strength" well describes the new force and power that human communities can generate through effective and accepted union. Like the building of the Volta dam at Akosombo, this is achieved through the institution of *binding* arrangements and procedures, institutions that make it possible for them to act in common for certain purposes. This is what was achieved when, for example, with the aid of the legendary genius of Okomfo Anokye the redoubtable Ashanti Union was forged out of a collection of weak and small polities.

But the conditions and arrangements which make it possible to generate such power among human societies also require that the power so generated shall be exercised in a *controlled* and generally *acceptable* manner. For power can always be abused. Its abuse, particularly in a union of many different peoples, sows distrust and tends to weaken rather than to strengthen the union. By weakening the union the secret sources of that power itself are progressively undermined. Conversely, where adequate machinery is devised for the effective control of such power, and such power is exercised in a manner acceptable to the constituent peoples, this tends to strengthen the union; confidence in the reasonable exercise of power is built up, and with it increasing acceptance of the institutions by which the union is maintained and its power exercised.

Thus it must be emphasised that our concern is, in a vital sense, with the creation or generation of social and political power strong enough to enable our constituent and diverse communities to achieve purposes of well-being and development which are beyond their reach as separate units. But the willingness to be united, and thus the strength or power that comes from such unity, is never unqualified. It is affected by the arrangements under which the union is forged, the uses to which united power is put, and the sense of security which the various constituent peoples feel in the exercise and control of such power—whence the equally vital concern with the effective control, channelling, and trustworthy use of power. For failure to organise the effective

control of power may defeat the very purpose of uniting for strength: economic development may be perverted, standards of living may fail to rise, individual liberties may be suppressed, and the sense of security and attachment destroyed.

Ready Agreement

This states the central problem of constitutionalism—the requirements of government with the consent of the people or *peoples* governed, the restraint of abuse of power, the avoidance of the recourse to violence by the containment of the inevitable struggle for power within adequately institutionalised procedures, and the reasonable provision of avenues for protest and criticism.

There was ready agreement, in this connection, regarding the adoption of various protective devices—the entrenchment of guarantees of fundamental liberties and the provision of effective enforcement machinery; a clearer definition of roles to minimise usurpation and abuse; arrangements which prevent the personalisation of power and thus make it more amenable to control; the use of ancillary agencies of invigilation for the checking of official corruption, the investigation of petty and arbitrary uses of power (the Ombudsman); the insulation of disinterested centres of independent thinking and criticism against the government of the day; new thinking about the control of public corporations and other public agencies of economic development; the development of effective and vigorous local government institutions; and the promotion of effective democracy throughout the system, including non-governmental associations such as trade unions, chambers of commerce, farmers organisations, etc. It would be observed that the discussion of specific institutional machinery arose only incidentally here, and that this is a matter that must receive direct scrutiny at a later stage.

III. The Facts of Multiple Traditional Politics, Diverse Peoples and Language Groups.

The creation by colonial powers of arbitrary entities like Nigeria and Ghana has provided a basis for the forging of new unities. True it is that each such state is made up of a chance collection of diverse peoples and traditional states with a babel of languages. But it is also true to say that the situation at the end of the colonial era was one that found among the diverse peoples and polities of each such colonial state a prevailing sentiment, a basic willingness, to continue with and make a success of the state which the colonising power had created and bequeathed.

This willingness, however, was based on a cluster of conditions many of which were fore-

shadowed in the immediate pre- and post-independence periods. As Professor Arthur Lewis puts it in his *Politics in West Africa*, "the fundamental political problem is neither economic policy nor foreign policy, but the creation of nations out of heterogeneous peoples." As to the importance of this problem the meeting was in full agreement.

Quite clearly things must be so arranged that the domination of one ethnic group by another is avoided; that the different peoples who now find themselves locked together within the ex-colonial state are each enabled to feel that common loyalty to the larger unit that springs from a knowledge of being accepted as belonging and of sharing in the fruits of union. This demands arrangements which ensure participation by the different peoples in the formulation of policy and the distribution of benefits.

A substantial divergence of opinion was apparent in the prolonged discussion of one aspect of this acknowledged problem. There were those who considered it necessary that a study be undertaken concerning the nature of ethnic differences and the ways in which these differ from other forms of social differentiation. In their view the causes of such differences must first be identified before appropriate institutions can be forged to reconcile or to cope with them. Others, including the present writer, argued that at the level of institution-building it is sufficient to accept the fact of ethnic difference and to fashion institutions accordingly that provide a framework for containing and enabling the different peoples to live together as one nation. In retrospect the divergence of viewpoint turned out to be closely related to positions later to be taken on the question of party politics, as we shall presently see. Because apart from this all-important problem of political parties, consensus was reached regarding the broad institutional implications of the problematic fact that these states are made up of diverse peoples having specific geographic bases.

Multiple Strategies Needed

This general problem was discussed under the label of "multiple political cultures." The different peoples of each state with their sub-cultures are not always easily harmonised. Indeed it seems doubtful, sometimes, whether the sub-culture of certain peoples can be harmonised at all. Sometimes, as, for example, between Hausas and Ibos, it may be wondered whether basic differences regarding the proper basis and nature of authority do not lead to radically different conceptions of individual rights. It is evident that the fact of

cultural diversity must be accepted and room given for the expression of specific cultures in their various areas. And it is also helpful to recognise that the existence of subcultures within the state may well call for multiple strategies of change, involving an appreciation of the different fears of domination or even extinction of one subculture by another.

These are factors which argue strongly in favour of regional and local devolution of authority. But the concession of significant areas of regional and local autonomy need not mean the total insulation of one subculture against another. Avenues to a meaningful dialogue between them can be kept open through the reach of cross-ethnic and national institutions. This calls for imagination and the systematic promotion of cross-ethnic organisations, such as professional and trade associations, farmers' organisations and trade unions, youth clubs, the public service including the army and the police, and any schemes of national service, not to mention the schools and national universities. In the realm of national political institutions it is clearly important to ensure that in the making of appointments to important public offices due attention is paid to the fact of the existence of a diversity of ethnic groups. And the meeting was agreed that, especially in Nigeria where ethnic disagreements had become a pressing political problem, some agency should be set up to ensure the realisation of ethnic balance in the distribution of public offices.

As to the manner in which this arrangement might be made effective in any particular state—i.e., whether by express inclusion in the constitution, or in specific legislation, or by informal convention—must depend on the views held within particular states regarding the role played by the ethnic factor. But there was agreement that careful attention to this consideration would reinforce the implementation of another agreed principle, namely, that in the allocation of the economic resources of the country close attention has to be paid to the geographic distribution of its different peoples. In this connection preliminary discussion was given to the question of the headship of multi-ethnic states such as Ghana and Nigeria. It was considered desirable to have some collegiate body at the centre representative of the different regions, to provide a consultative and advisory forum for the Head of State or government. A resume of the thinking in this regard is presented later in this summary, under the heading "Specific Institutions," where it received fuller discussion.

Towards Viable Structures

The point was made and accepted at the meeting that instead of lamenting the fact of ethnic diversity in our states, the time has come when we must acknowledge it and even welcome it for the great opportunity which it presents for building a rich and varied national culture. Our countries are microcosms of the world at large with its myriad of diverse peoples and cultures for which a basis of unity in diversity must be found; and our success in devising institutions that enable our diverse peoples to live together in peace and concord could well constitute a major contribution to the pool of human attainment and wisdom.

A glad acceptance of the fact that our states are made up of many different peoples could also help us to discover unsuspected ways in which our very differences could be used to advance our national development by the systematic injection of fruitful competition in the social and political system as a whole. And this is a consideration among many that should incline us to a fresh re-examination of our various traditional polities, with a view to devising ways of enabling them to help solve the problems of modern local government.

(To be continued)

ANNOUNCING

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The Economy

FOUNDATIONS OF ECONOMIC POLICY II: PRIVATE ENTERPRISES

By

G. Kportufe Agama

IN 1965 private enterprises employed 107,000 persons and paid a total wage bill of NQ59 million. The comparative figures for the public sector were 255,000 persons employed and NQ142 million in wage bill. The total number of persons employed in both private and public sectors increased slightly from 350,000 in 1961 to 362,000 in 1965, but the contribution of private enterprises to employment showed a remarkable decline of 31,000 from its 1961 level. Total wages paid by both sectors increased significantly, however, from NQ152 million in 1961 to NQ201 million in 1965, but private enterprises paid NQ7 million less in wages in the latter year. These figures confirm the impression that the contribution of the private sector to production has been on the decline during the period.

Role of Private Enterprise

As government economic policy seems at present to assign a significant role to the private sector in the rehabilitation of the economy, it is useful to examine certain issues relating to the role of private enterprise in the economy. The first issue is the general relationship between the private sector and the government. The most important elements in this relationship are the issues of the boundaries of demarcation between the private and public sectors, and the degree of firmness that the government attaches to these boundaries within a specified period of time.

As private enterprise cannot be defended on the basis of natural rights, it is misleading to assume that a natural boundary exists between the private sector and the public sector. The principles of *laissez-faire* were derived not so much from the doctrine of natural and inalienable rights of private enterprise, although this is sometimes used as a justification, as from practical considerations of achieving maximum material benefit by means of a particular division of labour between government and society under given historical conditions. *Laissez-faire*, was established by the state as a means of attaining definite social goals. It was, in the phrase of Lord Robbins, "an artifact of the state".

One main reason for the importance of the boundary issue is that the economic aims of private and public enterprises tend to be widely divergent. For while private enterprise operates,

in general, under the primary motive of making profits and thereby accumulating capital, public enterprises are potentially (and usually) multi-purpose organizations. The latter, that is to say, can pursue different aims either simultaneously or in sequence. In our present situation, official government view on this issue has been vague if not muddled. While the government carefully lists the main forms of organization for economic activity it desires to operate in the country—state, joint-state, private, and cooperatives—it almost invariably fails, first, to specify the areas in which these organizations will operate, and, secondly, to state the period during which the boundaries of these areas can be regarded as firmly established, and thirdly, to give the conditions under which these boundaries may be revised during the stated period.

General Principle

A general principle which may be adopted to overcome the first failure is that where profitability is the main desired objective, the activity involved should be allocated to the private sector. The period during which the boundaries must remain firm could range from indefinite in a conceivable number of cases to a limited time of say ten to twenty years in other cases. One cannot be dogmatic on this issue and each major activity or industry must be considered on its own merit. When the boundaries are fixed for a period of time, they should be raised in the interval only under clearly stated conditions which can be objectively assessed to involve a threat to the economy. The main result of this clarity is that private entrepreneurs will consider the prospects of the economy under conditions of reduced risk and uncertainty.

Government and Foreign Private Enterprise

A second important issue is the relationship between foreign private enterprise and the government. There are three problem areas in this relationship, first, discriminatory taxation of profits, secondly, restrictions on the repatriation of profits and capital, thirdly, foreign control over and disposition of domestic resources, and fourthly, government concessions involving at times monopoly rights over foreign as well as domestic resources. Acute problems arise in these areas largely because of a prevalent inclination of the government to expect operations of foreign private enterprise to be based on considerations other than profit. Invariably, this expectation is not fulfilled and few reasonable people would be surprised by it being unfulfilled. The first approach to a meaningful and happy relationship is to

recognize not only the primary motive of the foreign entrepreneur as regards profits, but also his right to transfer profits as well as capital whenever he decides to repatriate both profits and capital. In return, he must, and indeed is likely to, acknowledge the government's right to tax both profits (and capital) in the pursuit of its own objectives. The granting of monopoly rights to foreign-enterprises, especially over the disposition of domestic resources, should not prejudice the potential ability of Ghanaians to enter the specified activity during the period when the monopoly operates.

Ghanaian and Foreign Enterprise

This brings us to the third main issue, namely, the relationship between foreign private enterprise and Ghanaian private enterprise. The main problem here is how to increase effectively the share of Ghanaian private activity in the economy, excluding agriculture. It is necessary to exercise caution in formulating a policy to accelerate Ghanaian private enterprise in manufacturing, because a lot of new techniques and novel methods of organization have to be learned, and this takes time. But in the case of retail trading activities, a radical policy has long been overdue. Trading activity adds little value, especially when it is concentrated in imported goods, and where as in Ghana, the distribution involved is limited largely to the big trading centres in the coast. Thus the benefits of foreign participation in this activity to the economy are not likely to be substantial as compared with the trade profits. As the country now operates under a regime of import control, a substantial portion of these profits represent unearned income which appropriately belongs to the government. The repatriation of this unearned income by foreigners aggravates our foreign exchange problems which the import control was imposed to solve or, at least, alleviate. If the share of Ghanaians in this trade is allowed to increase, the potential unearned income will accrue to them, if not taxed by the government, and will involve no foreign exchange cost.

A possible line of solution may be as follows. For each major class of imported commodity, the value of required imports should be allocated exclusively to Ghanaian traders, in a certain proportion. The proportions will vary depending on the nature of the commodities. These proportions should be raised by a definite percentage every year subject to performance in the previous year. The distribution of the import licences among individual Ghanaian importers will take into account in addition to experience, such objective factors as size of establishment in terms of capital,

employment, and turnover. The remaining proportion of each class of commodity should be open to both foreign and Ghanaian importers, the criteria of allocation being experience as well as the other objective factors already stated. There are rooms for detailed improvements upon the basic principles laid down here.

Ghanaian Enterprise and Government

The last issue we wish to raise here is the relationship between Ghanaian private enterprise and the government. The former regime was at first ambivalent and, then openly hostile towards Ghanaian private enterprise. The present regime is certainly keen on establishing beneficial relations with Ghanaian private enterprise, but it appears to be inhibited in its action by the favourable orientation of its economic advisers towards foreign private enterprise. The main complaint of Ghanaian private enterprise against the government is the general tardiness of government officials in responding to applications for approval of an investment project. There is the case of the Kumasi businessman whose investment proposal was held up indefinitely under the former regime because the government itself was interested so he was told, but had not yet made up its mind. Immediately, after February, 1966, he submitted a fresh proposal for the same project, and after months of waiting received the same reply as he had earlier. This does not appear to be an isolated incident, and, in any case, does not reflect lack of capital and entrepreneurship on the part of the Ghanaian, but rather straightforward administrative inefficiency.

Spirit of Capital Investment Act

Besides removing this inefficiency, the government can stimulate the Ghanaian private sector, especially in manufacturing, by granting tax deductions for expenses incurred on feasibility studies, research, and training. These deductions can be designed to promote the use of available domestic resources. The present Capital Investment Act appears to farm foreign private enterprise unduly, and this explains the present rush of Ghanaian businessmen to seek partnership with foreign businessmen in order to reap the benefits under the Act. There is need to take a look at the provisions of this Act again and reverse it to be markedly in favour of increasing the Ghanaian base of the economy. Otherwise, our economy shall for a long time to come continue to remain a mere appendage of the creditor economies.

Africa

NO MAU-MAU IN RHODESIA (PART II, CONCLUDED)

By

A Political Correspondent

M'GABE usefully dubs the next period, contemporary with the initial and misguided optimism over the Central African Federation, the "multi-racial phase." Significantly and more realistically, there was no comparable optimism in nationalist circles in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland over Federal "partnership"—"the rider and the horse" as Lord Malvern once put it. Nevertheless, one suspects a latter day influence of Carmichael in M'gabe's comment, written from New York, that "white liberals moved in suffocating in the embrace of multi-racialism whatever (political) vitality trade unionism had." African leadership was diverted into such organizations as Capricorn Africa, the Inter-racial Association, the National Affairs Association, Moral Rearmament, etc. Nkomo himself joined the Federal Party soon to be led by Roy Welensky. True as early as 1954—and it's only early in the Rhodesian context—George Nyandoro denounced these organizations as "cooling chambers", but few heard him. Many African leaders, Shamuyarira included, express their disillusion at the fall of Prime Minister Garfield Todd who was too liberal for the white electorate. (Smith later ordered his detention.) But this was a man whose paternalism—despite his bonhomie and film shows for Africans—was expressed in such comments as "we are taking the African People by the scruff of the neck and saying 'Come with us into the Twentieth Century'. But they will be glad they came." Superficial cooperation may well have been politically necessary, but what sort of man was such as he for African nationalists to trust and admit to disillusion when the truth which should long have been obvious became palpably so? Doubtless white liberals did not introduce their African friends to the racist majority, but that should not have blinded them to the existence of the latter. To call this a plot is to avoid the blame. In all probability the white liberals themselves had few friends amongst the majority of whites, who saw them not as a bridge but as lost souls who had "crossed over." The sorry tale of Central African deportations reveals that their actions were seen by most government supporters as a betrayal. The issue is not what their suffocating embrace did but why it was allowed to be suffocating.

Demise of Multi-Racialism

"Towards the end of 1957," Shamuyarira has written, "multi-racial organizations began to lose membership and spirit." Surely this happened by 1955 and anyway the real loss to be commented on was the loss of those vital years to Zimbabwe African nationalism, already a late and weak starter. World climate alone was never so favourable as then. The Southern Rhodesian Youth League formed, as a result in Salisbury, was more radical. Unlike the ANC, which was largely Ndebele, it was mainly Shona. M'gabe says it was inspired by the example of Indonesian youth but complains that concepts of clandestine action and infiltration were not understood. He does not explain why not. (Again comparison with the Kikuyu could be significant.) The League successfully organized strikes and protests in the African townships around Salisbury. It was especially strong in Harari and Highfield urban locations and a bus boycott in the former excited great interest. But it was not "Shona wide" as M'gabe claims because the rural areas had seen less political activity even than comparable areas in South Africa.

In 1957, the League's leaders dissolved their organization to revive the ANC at a large conference held in Salisbury on "Occupation Day"—September 12. M'gabe describes the tug of war between the leaders as between trade unions—youth leaguers and the old ANC. This is valid, but it was also markedly Salisbury vs Bulawayo and Shona vs Ndebele. Nkomo emerged as president as a compromise candidate. Strictly speaking, he is not Ndebele, but that is his orientation. He spoke English, never Shona, and his earlier background was trade union, as described above. The party organized demonstration meetings and contested governmental measures in the courts. There seems no evidence that it contemplated any other approach—but it was nonetheless banned in February 1959 at the time of the so-called emergencies in Central Africa. More than 500 of its top officials were arrested. In Nyasaland, public resentment led directly to the attainment of self-government by the Malawi Congress Party under Banda, Chume and Chipembere. But the much talked of "sons of the soil" did not sufficiently understand their role in like circumstances in Rhodesia, and how could they?—They had never been adequately appealed to!

A Dilemma

With most of the leaders detained and with Nkomo in exile (he had been in Accra at the All African Peoples Conference), two alternatives

appeared open. To attempt an underground organization and/or to form a new party. What hope was there that a new purely surface party would not meet the fate of the ANC in the settlers' own time? In retrospect we see there was none. And was an "underground" alternative or wing so impossible? Perhaps the network of informers was such that so it seemed—but that is itself a reflection on the state of political consciousness achieved, quite apart from the fact that history tells of very few conspiracies which were not known previously to the relevant authorities.

Nonetheless, the National Democratic Party was formed in 1960, but before long, certain more radical elements splintered on the above issue and on receiving news that Nkomo was returning to claim the top office. His ostentatious living in independent African capitals old and new caused resentment and often bordered on the ludicrous—he was photographed with a retinue of 4 bare-breasted beauties in Lusaka for example. And time was running out. It was already "wind of change year"—a wind that had but a few years to blow. Zimbabwe had hardly a sail up. Nkomo was an anchor not a helmsman. He held on only because he owned the boat! Party finances were controlled by Nkomo himself aided by a tight group of Karanga from Bulawayo.

The London Conference

Then came the disastrous London Conference. The British Government had discovered (which intelligent observers could have told them from the start) that African opposition to the Central African Federation was, in the words of the Monkton Commission, "almost pathological." There was to be a constitutional review for Southern Rhodesia and a meeting was held in London early in 1961. The nationalists were hopelessly outmanoeuvred. The British gave up their reserved powers; this was a gain for the settlers who, in turn, "conceded" 15 African seats in parliament. Given the British compromising tradition, London, not Salisbury, was the place for Nkomo to posture. However, he accepted.

It is pointless to argue that the offer was inadequate for 94% of the population. Of course it was. But the British could and doubtless did argue that with his foot in the door Nkomo could use the usual methods of negotiation, denunciation, obstruction, walkouts and resultant publicity as a lever for successive betterment, as was done elsewhere in Africa. But the enemy was to be a *settler* and not an *official* government. There is no evidence that the nationalists read the clear warning of the British desire to disengage.

When news reached Rhodesia, African fury at their meagre representation mounted and split the executive. Too late Nkomo recanted. He should have known what he could concede and still carry his party. But given his *volte-face*, what next? He must have known his party was not organized for massive protest. Did he rely on the British? Did he seriously think that after they had abandoned their reserved powers in Southern Rhodesian internal affairs they would call another conference for him?

White Reaction

His postures were ignored in Salisbury by the jubilant settlers. What must they have thought when he called for an African boycott of elections? Clearly Prime Minister Whitehead who had conceded African seats against settler opinion had to have African support to hold on. He had got internal self-government for the settlers and had served his purpose. Nkomo's boycott could only result in an eventual victory for the right wing. Did he know that? Did he want it? If so, why?

Some radical elements decided on organized sabotage. M'gabe declares this was "disclaimed and actively discouraged by the party leadership—there would be no unconstitutional politics." What then was there to be? On whom was Nkomo relying? Meantime Whitehead—no liberal—did his best to stay in office. He banned the N.D.P. Money and cars were confiscated. Leaders were detained—except for Nkomo who was abroad.

A move in predominantly Shona Highfield to replace Nkomo as leader failed. On returning, he moved on to Bulawayo and announced a new party—ZAPU. Money was collected. Cars were replaced but a move by the party executive to get some control over the financial resources was thwarted. Around this time also three important radical leaders died in accidents: Chisiza of Malawi, Parirenyatwa and Mushonga of Rhodesia. The locations hummed with divisive rumours.

Emergence of White Fascism

But ZAPU was banned. Money and cars were again confiscated, and the predominantly settler electorate retired Whitehead and chose Winston Field and his Rhodesian Front — committed to white domination. Subtly all detainees were released. Competition within the nationalist leadership was thus encouraged—but leadership of what? There was a Peoples' Caretaker Council and Nkomo remained in charge as usual by close manipulation of the purse strings. Pressed by radicals in the urban areas while he again forbade paramilitary training abroad, he revealed that he had 'a master plan'. Meanwhile the settler

government quietly tape-recorded all political speeches, raided homes, photographed crowds, stiffened the statute book and further curtailed the mobility of the nationalist leaders, especially in the still almost virgin rural areas. For instance, Nkomo found himself in court after police interrupted a dinner in an African friend's house. But by 1963, Nkomo could only defend himself on the grounds that he had in fact sought permission from the Native Commissioner. Gone were the days when it could be asked—and echoed in Westminster—who it was who dared keep brother from brother at the dinner table.

The leaders' speeches increasingly ran foul of new laws, though their content hardly altered. They were arrested, sometimes acquitted, but usually released on bail. Then Nkomo, who himself spent much time abroad and always favoured the setting up of a government in exile, sent several of ZAPU executives to Dar-es-Salaam. Some broke their bail to go there only to learn there was no master plan. The O.A.U. criticised them for not staying at home to fight. They dismissed Nkomo by 13 votes to 7. However, he dismissed them in return. Thus it was that the Rev. Sithole came to lead a new party, ZANU, but its leaders faced arrest in Rhodesia for breaking bail if they returned. Nkomo appeared to have triumphed by a subterfuge. Yet all this was becoming peripheral to the main issues of Rhodesian politics.

No Black Government

ZANU and ZAPU feuded and continue to feud. Their youth wings fought in the urban locations. Meantime, the settlers prepared for U.D.I. Field was replaced by Smith—"No black government in my lifetime." Nationalist leaders, this time including both Sithole and Nkomo were arrested. Townships were wired in. When the leaders were lost, the masses again hardly reacted. Nor do they yet today. This fact must be recognised.

It is a sorry story. A story of impotence on the part of Britain and Zimbabwe nationalists alike. Theirs was no easy task, but Ghanaians and others who subscribed as generously and who deplore the apparent result have a right—a duty—to question the wisdom of the tactics involved. No sensible men listen to talk of people being "ready for self-government," but that is not the same, either at the level of the mass or at the level of the leadership, as being prepared and *ready for the struggle* for self-government. The Rhodesian story has chapters yet to be written. Would that they might be better reading than those already writ.

**BROADCAST BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL
J. A. ANKRAH, OOV, MC, CHAIRMAN OF
THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL,
AT THE LAUNCHING OF THE CENTRE FOR
CIVIC EDUCATION, ON 7 JUNE 1967**

THE MOST compelling motive which inspired our take-over of the administration from the previous regime, was the desire to recreate in this country an opportunity for establishing a truly democratic society; a society in which every individual, regardless of his position in life will be able to enjoy real freedom and exercise his or her democratic rights, without intimidation or fear of victimization. It should be possible for us all in the new Ghana to hold independent political views without danger to our life or property such as we all experienced in the past.

Background—The Past Political Scene

The National Liberation Council, in fulfilment of its promise to establish in this country a properly organised democratic society in which respect for basic human rights shall be firmly upheld, and where citizens will enjoy the fullest opportunity for a useful and creative life, has already taken the necessary preparatory steps, with which you are all familiar, for the progressive march to civilian rule. In our new society, we are all anxious that the harrowing experiences which resulted from the vile political and ideological regimentation which was imposed upon this country, shall be completely eliminated. We are all living witnesses of the systematic ideological indoctrination of our youth, the degeneration in attitudes and social values, the virtual absence of the spirit of service, the corruption in public organisations and the total disregard for all that we hold dear in our traditional life. Most Ghanaians, out of disgust for this false and empty ideological orientation or for the unwholesome political life, developed deep apathy and distaste for political life as was then dramatised before us in Ghana. We cannot blame them.

All of us are familiar with the flagrant rigging of elections in which, for example, the number of votes cast at elections turned out to exceed the number of registered voters. Whole constituencies, to a man, were reported as voting "yes" in a major national referendum. And so public disillusionment in civil administration and politics grew deeper and deeper under these sad circumstances when we were treated to the most bare-faced cheating and national fraud. The authorities "played such fantastic tricks as made the Heavens weep". I could go on to mention a catalogue of these unhappy episodes in the past

years in Ghana but, perhaps, the less said about them at this time, the better.

What to do?

And now, what are we to do to ensure that this state of affairs does not recur? My fellow countrymen, we must resolve to correct and completely eliminate traces of those dark days from our national life. Politics must be played in a clean and friendly manner as in all decent societies. We must learn now, here in Ghana, that our political opponent is not an adversary in a war: that a political party is not a tribal, religious, regional organisation or group. That the individual is not to be subjected to the whims and caprices of the Government of the day but that, as citizens, we have some basic and inalienable rights before the law and a number of civic responsibilities. This, my fellow countrymen, is a great task ahead of us, if any future civil administration is not to trample upon our rights and we are not to be subjected to any humiliation for our political opinions.

**Political Education of our People—the Centre
for Civic Education**

To be able to achieve the type of society we all look forward to, we need to stimulate public awareness and educate our people to understand and appreciate their civic rights and responsibilities. In this connection, let me reassure you, countrymen, that the National Liberation Council is not insensitive to the current public demand and clamour for the institution of political education and education in civic responsibilities. It is gratifying to note that, already, some public-spirited gentlemen through public lectures, the press, radio and television, have started to give some inspiration in this direction and I take this opportunity to express to them the profound gratitude of the National Liberation Council for this service and we would like to assure them that they have our full support and encouragement.

The National Liberation Council firmly believes that during the transitional period of our Government, a nation-wide campaign for Civic Education is a vital need, to give the average Ghanaian a better opportunity of playing an effective role in the government of this country. The National Liberation Council is also of the opinion that Ghana's success or failure in the next civilian rule will depend largely on how alive we are to our civic rights and responsibilities. We are fully convinced that, with the initiation of a nation-wide Civic Education as the solid bed-rock in our society, we can confidently look forward to a new civilian Government in which elections

will be held in a clean and free atmosphere without any victimization, violence and personal vindictiveness; in which the Government will realise its limitations and in which the rights and privileges of the people shall be guaranteed.

To this end, the National Liberation Council has decided to support the establishment of a CENTRE FOR CIVIC EDUCATION (CCE) in this country which will be an instrument of active citizenship. The main objectives of the centre are to provide education in:

- (a) democratic rights and responsibilities; and
- (b) ideals of public service, integrity, tolerance and belief in those other values which constitute a firm foundation for a free society.

The Centre for Civic Education, of which I am patron, will have as its Board of Trustees, the following distinguished citizens:—

1. Prof. K. A. Busia, Chairman
2. Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, Member of the NLC
3. Mr. A. K. Deku, Member of the NLC and Commissioner of Police (CID)
4. Dr. E. V. C. De Graft-Johnson, Barrister and Solicitor and Chairman of the Board of the Ghana Electricity Corporation.
5. Mr. B. A. Bentum, General Secretary of the TUC and Member of the Political Committee
6. Rev. Prof. C. G. Baeta, Head of the Department of the Study of Religions, Legon, and Member of the Political Committee
7. Mr. Modesto K. Apaloo, Chairman of the Water and Sewerage Corporation and Member of the Political Committee.
8. Mr. Victor Owusu, Attorney-General.
9. Prof. K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, Acting Director of the Institute of Adult Education.
10. Mr. Osei Baidoo, former Organiser of the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies.
11. Mr. Issifu Ali, Accountant, Agriculture and Credit Co-operative Bank.

I do not intend to dwell on the recent tragic event which has caused us all so much grief, but, I cannot help noting that this unfortunate event has deprived this Centre of the service of Lt-Gen. E. K. Kotoka, who was one of the protagonists of its creation and had earlier consented to serve on the Board of Trustees.

Function of the C.C.E.

The Board will lay down policies, oversee the work of the Centre and appoint its own officers and organisers. The Centre will not be a government organisation, but a voluntary institution. This is to ensure that it will have the independence of thought and approach required for its effective operation.

The officers of the Centre will neither be Civil Servants nor Public Officers. Although the Centre for Civic Education will be self-supporting, such is the importance the National Liberation Council attaches to its work that as an encouragement, the Government will provide a subvention, offer accommodation for offices and second suitable personnel to help in the initial task of getting the Centre off to a good start.

On the manner of operation of the Centre, I am happy to announce that the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Busia, will later make a public statement on the details.

Before I conclude, let me appeal to all of you, once more, that the success or failure of this campaign depends upon the response and contribution of each and every citizen. As Patron of the Centre for Civic Education, I also like to appeal to our churches, school teachers and educationists, Trade Unions, housewives and all public-spirited Ghanaians—in towns as well as in the villages—to co-operate with the officers and organisers of the Centre in this vital national cause.

And now, fellow Ghanaians, I have great pleasure in launching the Centre for Civic Education in Ghana. May it prove a worthy exercise in our national efforts. On behalf of my colleagues of the National Liberation Council, I wish the Centre for Civic Education every success.

(Issued by the Ministry of Information).

PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE CENTRE FOR CIVIC EDUCATION HELD AT THE STATE HOUSE ON 9 JUNE, 1967

Introductory statement by Dr. K. A. Busia, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Centre

LAST WEDNESDAY when the Centre for Civic Education was launched by Lt-General J. A. Ankrah, Chairman of the National Liberation Council and Patron of the Centre, he said that I, as Chairman of the Board of Trustees, would make a public statement in which I would give further details about the Centre. This is what I am setting out to do at this Press Conference.

What the Past Did to Us

As the General reminded us, we have been through a very dark period in our nation's history. Our hopes for freedom and happiness were disappointed; instead we got oppression and misery. We were made to fear and suspect and distrust one another. That was a situation in which democracy could not thrive. Many of us appear to be still in the grip of that fear and mistrust and suspicion. Unless we get rid of them, we cannot co-operate effectively; yet more than any other system of government, democracy requires mutual respect and trust and co-operation among citizens. So we must endeavour to break down the barriers erected by fear and mutual suspicion and mistrust. How are we to do this?

And the Answer

The answer, and it is the most obvious one, which the Centre for Civic Education will give and seek to promote is this: "Let us come together to talk, to discuss, to debate. We shall thus understand one another better." Accordingly, the Centre for Civic Education will work through groups, large and small, women's groups, men's groups, as well as mixed groups. We shall open branches of the Centre in all Regions, and in towns and villages to bring people together to talk, to study, to reason together with one another. There are different points of view to every question, and we shall learn to look at them, and examine different opinions without flying at one another's throats.

In this effort, we hope to be helped by many existing organizations like the Institute of Adult Education, the Ministry of Education, the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development, the Trade Union Congress, Churches, Schools and Colleges, Universities, Local Councils, Chiefs and Traditional Councils, and voluntary organizations and associations like the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Boy Scouts, the Boy's Brigade and Literary Clubs.

The C.C.E

The Centre will have a few full-time officers at headquarters in Accra, and in the Regions, to help to start the groups, to co-ordinate their activities, and give such guidance and direction as will be needed. In each Region, we hope to start with two full-time organizers, one man and one woman. But most of the teaching and leadership will have to come from part-time and voluntary helpers. We shall need many volunteers who will lead the groups. We shall help them in various ways, through Seminars, week-end and one-day schools, and conferences, so that they in turn can help others. We hope also to provide lesson notes and literature. In short, in the effort to provide

education in democratic citizenship, the Centre will organize public lectures, set up study groups all over the country, organize seminars and conferences, and make reading material available. But it will depend largely on voluntary workers. Voluntary service—the willingness to give what one can to help others—is essential for democratic life.

The Challenges of Democracy

We hope, in the process of discussion and debate, to inculcate another essential quality of democratic life—tolerance. Democracy rests on the fundamental assumption that all men are fallible; no one knows everything; no one is right all the time; the best of men make mistakes sometimes; hence we have to learn to be tolerant, and to be ready to examine ideas different from our own. I wish to acknowledge that it is my hope that as we discuss our immediate past in order to learn its lessons for the future, we shall not only learn to be more tolerant, but also more willing to admit our past mistakes. We should be able to say more readily, "I am sorry", when we discover we were wrong. As you all know, some people find it very hard to say those simple words, especially when they are in positions of authority. They will rather accuse others, sometimes deliberately and falsely, and even resort to oppression and violence rather than admit that they have been wrong. If someone did something yesterday, and came today to say "I am sorry for what I did yesterday," how would you interpret it? I suggest that one interpretation which is often overlooked is this: That one would be saying, "I am a wiser man or woman today than I was yesterday"—wiser, and bigger.

It is necessary for our democratic life to improve our relations with one another in our public life, and within tribes and families. We must strengthen confidence in one another, so as to co-operate better for our common good. It will be the aim of the Centre for Civic Education to help to inculcate these virtues through its activities.

In our contemporary world, it is generally accepted that the State should be concerned with the total life of the individual from the cradle to the grave: with the care and education of the young, with the training and employment of the adult, with the living standards and social conditions of all, with the use of leisure, and with the care of the handicapped, the sick, and the aged. The Centre for Civic Education will concern itself with all these in its courses.

The success of democracy depends not only on the government, but also on the work which everyone does, in the home, factory, shop, office, market-place or farm, and with how he does it.

Our democratic life depends on the discipline, efficiency, the honesty and courtesy which we show in the discharge of our duties and in our day-to-day relations with one another. All these we must look at and talk about in the various groups of the Centre for Civic Education.

Democracy demands tolerance and freedom of action; but there can be no social order without some restraints on individuals, in the interest of the common good. What democracy aims at is to make the restraints as few as possible; that is why what we must seek to prevent above all is dictatorship. We all know too well from our experience of Nkrumah and his C.P.P. regime how miserable life can be under a dictatorship. Consequently, a democratic society must develop and foster institutions for the taming of power; for subjecting those who rule to responsible criticism and checks; democratic societies have used such institutions as the party system, the organized opposition, the Press, the Rule of Law and an independent Judiciary for this purpose. The Centre for Civic Education will include the discussion and examination of such institutions in its courses.

The Centre will cater not only for the literate members of our society, but also for our fellow citizens who are illiterate; therefore, many of the groups to be established will hold their discussions in their own local languages. We hope also to be able to have the help of radio and television, and cinema vans; we shall make as much use of visual aids as we can.

Behind this venture for Civic Education which the National Liberation Council has encouraged and brought into being lies the faith that we in Ghana are capable of achieving and practising true democracy. Democracy is a way of life, founded on respect for the human being—every human being. It reflects the history, the culture, and the values of a country; it is manifested in the day-to-day life and activities of a community, and in all its social relations, in home or school or public place, between government officials and the public, in the general moral atmosphere of the society, and in the quality of the individual citizen.

We share the faith of the National Liberation Council and those who risked their lives to overthrow the Nkrumah regime on 24th February last year that we can build in Ghana an ordered democratic society in which everyone of us can live a life of dignity in freedom, governed by good and wise laws, illuminated by reason. We have not yet attained this, but let us try to grasp it in our vision; and let it beckon and inspire us to strive to achieve the human values of tolerance,

co-operation, and mutual respect in our political life.

The Role of our Women

I would like to assure our womenfolk that we are aware of their important role in our community. We cannot achieve a democratic society without them. Two women have been invited to serve on the Board of Trustees. The only reason why their names were not included in the list announced by the patron last Wednesday was that we had not obtained their final reply. We shall be happy to welcome them to the Board. We expect the women to take an active part in our civic education. This can be seen from the fact that we have a woman national organizer, and that in every Region we shall start with a woman as well as a man as regional organizer.

Appeal for Co-operation

Let me end by repeating the appeal which the patron of the Centre for Civic Education, Lt.-General Ankrah, made to the country last Wednesday. We implore all our fellow citizens to co-operate to make our venture in civic education for democratic life a success, to our own benefit, and that of posterity.

A few of those who will be full-time officers of the Centre for Civic Education have already been appointed. May I introduce those who are here with me this morning:

Mr. J. D. Abaka Eyison, Principal Welfare Officer of the Ministry of Social Welfare who will be the National Organizer (Men's Section)

Miss Emma M. Jiagge, Programmes officer of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation who will be the National Organizer (Women's Section)

Mr. M. Boye-Anawomah, who read Social Science at Nottingham and later Philosophy, Political Science and Economics at Oxford and was former Secretary for P.E.A., Ashanti Region, will be Director of Programmes.

Mr. J. W. A. Sackeyfo, Senior Education Officer in charge of Information, Publicity and Public Relations in the Ministry of Education who will be General Administrator of the Centre.

Miss Janet Adjei, Welfare Officer of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development who will be a Regional Organizer.

Mr. R. O. Badzire, Community Development Officer, also of the Department of Social Welfare and Community Development who will be a Regional Organizer, and

Mr. T. Y. Kofitse, Higher Executive Officer of the Ministry of Education, who will be Chief Clerk of the Centre.

Finally, may I say thank you to you all.

Observer Notebook

The Middle East: War and Peace

THE war between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries has now ended but its full implications are not yet by any means clear. Israel has certainly won the war with contemptuous ease, though one would hesitate to predict that rather she can equally easily win the peace. The rather short war involved losses, which cannot be over-looked. To Israel, it meant a loss of anything between NC400 and NC600 million; the cost to Egypt, in terms of military equipment alone is estimated at NC600 million; aside from these, one has to take account of losses in territories, human beings and the refugee problem etc. The war has also meant such intangible problems as the loss of prestige of the Soviet Union, the deflation of Arab nationalism, the unnecessary intensification of the cold war, and the accentuated embitterment of the Arabs towards the Israelis.

One would, then wonder whether anyone gained by this war. A few lessons can be appropriately drawn from the recent events in the Middle East. Firstly, the Arab debacle has, if nothing at all, exposed the developing countries which are now clearly found to be wanting in the classic politics of brinkmanship. Slogans are no substitute for actual strength and development. Secondly, it has shown once more the futility of settling certain important world problems by means of war. Thirdly, it has made amply clear that international politics is still governed by the phenomenon of self-interest. The role of the big powers clearly indicated a rejection of ideologies and ideals in favour of downright calculation of national interests. Their neutrality portrays the fact that taking sides would have jeopardised certain vital interests they have in the Middle East. It is therefore incumbent on developing countries to soberly identify their interests and pursue them meticulously. Fourthly, international law—unsupported by physical sanctions—has once more exposed its fickleness.

While some of these problems will be with us for the foreseeable future, some problems in the Middle East need immediate solution. It would be in the interest of both Israel and the Arab countries that Israel should decide to vacate a large proportion of Egyptian and Jordanian territories now occupied; it would also be in the interest of both the Soviet Union and the Arab countries, if the Soviet Union would stop playing politics and get down to concrete and constructive action. It would be appropriate if Israel would show

greater magnanimity in not only helping the refugees but also saving the Egyptian soldiers marooned in the Sinai peninsula.

The United Nations, as well as the original combatants, has a duty to bring peace to the Middle East. Nasser has to be reminded that nationalism and words are not enough, for these must be backed by a sober appreciation of one's strengths and weaknesses. The cost of his recklessness has been too high. Innocent Arabs have suffered and the noisy politicians have got away with it.

Forward to Progress or backward to Obscurantism?

THE Chieftaincy Secretariat has happily announced recently that entoolment and destoolment of Chiefs should be the prerogative of the people. This is a really progressive step. But it is not enough just to announce this. Steps have to be taken to see to it that such decisions are enforced in all parts of the country. In certain parts of the country, especially in Ashanti, certain occupants of stools have just been entooled—thanks to the N.L.C. Decree on Chieftaincy.

However, some of these Chiefs—especially the Paramount Chiefs—use the opportunity of their re-entoolment to settle old scores. A case in point is the interference of the Juaben Paramount Chief in the stool affairs of Juaso, Ashanti. The chief of Juaso customarily swears an oath of allegiance to the Paramount Chief of Juaben, Ashanti. However, this does not mean that the Juabenhene entools the Juasohene. At the moment, the choice of the Juaso people seems to be the Juabenhene's *bete noir*, for it is reliably understood that, prior to both of their being destooled by the fallen regime, their relationship was strained. But if the N.L.C. Decree, which put most of the chiefs destooled by the old regime back on their stools is strictly interpreted, the present choice of the Juaso people has to be on the stool. But the Juabenhene, it is reliably gathered, is putting all sorts of difficulties in his way. The Regional Administrative Officer in Kumasi (who happens to be a native of Juaben) has not enforced the Decree as strictly as he ought to do.

Owing to this all-round indecision there is no one occupying the Juaso stool at the moment, and the whole affair has degenerated into traditional intrigues, litigation and corruption. It is in such cases that a government has to assert itself for chieftaincy disputes have a direct bearing on law and order in the country. There are similar cases all over the country, and the Chieftaincy Secretariat owe it as a duty to settle all such cases

quickly within the democratic and customary framework they themselves have so clearly and admirably defined. The present tide of our history is progress, not obscurantism. Chiefs must swim with the prevailing tide.

Beer Bottles and Conditional Sales

SOME BIG companies appear determined to guarantee their profits by recourse to certain (sharp) practices, and are getting away with whatever they do even though consumers' interests are hurt. The two breweries of Ghana provide an example: they request their customers to deposit empty beer bottles before beer can be taken home.

This practice is objectionable; it is disliked by buying agents as well as beer consumers. But whereas buying agents, i.e. bar-keepers, store-keepers etc., only suffer the inconvenience of finding storage space for the empty bottles which they must collect from their customers, and transporting the bottles to the breweries, the real victim is the consumer, on whom the burden of all costs falls. For, the breweries have paid for the bottle already, and as they have built this into the price of the beer, the consumer has paid it back to the breweries. Therefore, each time the consumer is made to bring in the bottle in order to get a new supply, the breweries are taking from him what he has already paid for. This is done over and over again and it staggers the imagination to estimate the amount of money being thus unfairly collected by the breweries! (Incidentally, in lieu of empty bottles, beer sellers collect anything from 5np to 20np. per bottle!)

The breweries claim that they must do this because there is a shortage of beer bottles. And yet the Glass Manufacturing Corporation at Aboso is equipped to supply more beer bottles than the breweries need.

We make the following recommendation to the breweries and the authorities: *either* (a) the breweries buy the empty bottles from consumers; *or* (b) the Government's Ombudsman Committee should investigate and check this unfair practice of conditional sale of beer. Meanwhile, the two breweries in Ghana must not think that a successful anti-beer-drinking campaign cannot be organized against them, or that their monopoly of the trade cannot be broken.

Motor Accidents (II)

A LLOVER the world, driving at night is more risky than driving in the day-time. In Ghana, however, the risk is considerably greater; one is virtually putting one's life into the hands of a lot of unfriendly, mischievous motorists. We have seen how the abandoned car left without parking lights constitutes a mortal danger to unsuspecting drivers. We now look at the problem of head-lamps on the road.

Every motor code book says that head-lamps must be dipped for on-coming vehicles, and must stay dipped until the two cars have passed each other. But in Ghana, the code book is read, if it is read, only for the driving test, and is promptly forgotten afterwards, so that everybody has his own rules about the use of head-lamps. Some drivers think it is the motorist's way of saying "Good Evening"! So when they see another vehicle coming, they flick high and low several times until the other fellow responds, even if this means he must raise his lights from low to high! In the case of some drivers, it makes no difference whether they dip or not—their lamps are adjusted too high, like the Land Rover, or are so adjusted that when they put on the "high", the left is dim while the right is high, and when they dip to low, the left is high and the right is low. Of course, some people have no "low" at all: they either stay high or have no lights at all. So when you dip yours, they "dip" off their lights, just to show you that they have no low—"you must understand me, brother"—and then they put on the high, full blast! A few people use a search-light or a fog-light, sometimes two, to make sure they can have fun with other motorists. They often boast about having put the strong head-lamps on another motorist. And many drivers will dip low, as they ought to, until they are within a few yards of the on-coming vehicle. Then, suddenly and unexpectedly, they turn on the high beam, thus blinding the other fellow. Some drivers will put the "high" into the mirror of the car they are following; others use the "high" indiscriminately, such as when it is raining: the windscreen disperses the light, and makes it difficult, for other motorists to see the road ahead. And most people use it within town.

Two ways in which the police can help correct the situation: start enforcing the motor rules at night as well as in the day-time; and do some of the driving tests at night and not all of them in the day, as is the practice now.

Finally, all motorists should be literate, and for the good of all, they must read the code book

Letters

The Withdrawal of Scholarships

SIR—I think Mr. Benson (*Legon Observer*, 26 May) and his colleagues would have saved themselves some distress and the trouble of writing if they had read my article properly.

It was clear, I believe, that I was reporting 'suspicions' of, and 'assumptions' made by, the students affected by the Committee's exercise on scholarships and not verified truths. My report was based on conversations that I had had with many students outside the University of London libraries and student parties. The Committee was not in a position to know these things because they did not come within the social milieu of these students. Thus I gave them an opportunity, by reporting my interpretation of these conversations, to attempt to kill the 'suspicions' and 'assumptions' by telling the public how they went about their job. Instead of doing this, they demand 'facts'. What sort of facts?

Nor does it help to drag in my sister's case. I reported it as a case that came within my experience; that Miss Arhin is a sister is purely fortuitous and significant only in so far as I know it well, so that it affects my evaluation of reports by other students. I think that the public is interested in the particular case of Miss Arhin only as an illustration of the Committee's *modus operandi*. Therefore, I limit myself to asking the Committee if they ever verified whether or not the contents of the Registrar of Scholarships' letter of 18 August, 1964 were ever communicated to Miss Arhin by the Education Attache. How do the Committee explain the fact that in spite of this letter, Miss Arhin remained a beneficiary of the scholarship until their own work? And how do they explain the curious anomaly that of the other Nutrition Board girls, none had their scholarships withdrawn though they are doing courses similar to that of Miss Arhin? Would they say that Miss Arhin has not done creditably at her studies? Would they not say that in these circumstances the poor girl would be justified (since she does not know the facts) in imagining what I call 'macabre operations' on their part?

The Committee should know that a criticism of a class of persons is not what the *Legon Observer* or its readers would call a 'personal' attack. For all I know, the particular army officer on the Committee is capable of 'imaginative flexibility', but it is still true to say that this is not a quality that one would expect of the generality of disciplined soldiers. Also, it may be that the foreigner on the Committee may be an excellent fellow but this would not affect the force of the proposition that an experienced Ghanaian official from say, the Ministry of Planning would be more acceptable, or that Ghana must learn to swim, so to speak, like Mao Tse Tung in his old age, by actually taking the plunge.

I think it should be reported as a matter of public concern that the Committee's inability or failure to produce any rational basis for categorizing scholarships to be withdrawn or retained has resulted in a plethora of statements in the British Press which is inconveniencing us all. One is often stopped and asked how one is subsisting these days since, as it is generally believed, the Ghana Government has withdrawn all scholarships.

29a Emmanuel Road,
London S.W. 12, U.K.

Kwame Arhin.

Public Executions

SIR—May I be permitted to use your columns to express my deepest dismay and disappointment with the recent public execution carried out by the NLC.

At a time that Ghana is genuinely trying to restore a sense of values—long debased and distorted by the former regime—spectacles like public executions serve only to remind one of the harshness of military regimes. I wonder whether the NLC would like to explain to the world their reasons for this method of execution.

P.O. Box 20026,
Kampala, Uganda.

Rajat Neogy,
Editor, TRANSITION.

Another Electronic Industry for Ghana?

SIR—In the issue of the *Ghanaian Times* of 22 May, 1967, it was reported that a new electronic factory to assemble TV sets, transistor radios, and record players is to be established at Takoradi at an estimated cost of NC40,000 by a Lebanese cinema proprietor, Mr. Anis Boubarak. Up to the time of writing this letter it has not been possible to get any official connected with either the Ministry of Industries or the Ministry of Economic Affairs to talk about this project.

It would seem all well and good for Ghana in her moment of economic crisis to open her doors to new investments such as this one. But, surely, in view of the duplication in Ghana's electronic industry caused by the existence of the State Electronic Products Corporation and Sanyo, these two virtually saturating the market with similar products, it is not in the best interest of the economy, having regard to the present foreign exchange difficulties, to allow the Princess Enterprises to enter the industry to "produce" the same products. In the article referred to, Mr. Boubarak is said to have claimed that, for a start, he will not require financial assistance from the Investment Bank. Surely, this is not of any importance, the real question being whether the project will consume foreign exchange in importing radio parts—which it must—and whether, therefore Ghana can afford a third electronic enterprise.

Accra. Peter Weiden

"The Minerals Industry"—A Correction

SIR—Thank you for publishing my letter in your issue of 26 May, 1967.

However, I wish to point out that there are two disturbing deviations from the original:

(a) The published text reads: "Members of the Department must draw attention to Geology as a career by giving lectures and film-shows at schools whenever possible."

The word "must" has been added to my text, which reads: "Members of the Department draw attention . . ." etc.

We have been engaged in this lecture/film show exercise for quite some time already and that is precisely what I want to make known.

(b) Further the published text reads: ". . . but one way of attracting capable students to the geological profession could be by offering higher 'popular' professions." This sentence makes nonsense of the (important) point I tried to make. My letter actually reads: ". . . but one way of attracting capable students to the geological profession could be by offering higher salaries than for comparable positions in the more 'popular' professions"

I kindly request you to publish an amendment.

A. F. J. Smit,
Professor of Geology.

Editor's Note: The original letter was published un-edited. These errors are inadvertent and are regretted.

Speed Checks

SIR—Kontopiat's open letter to Mr. Hartley which appeared in the *Legon Observer* (Vol. 11 No. 12) makes very interesting reading, and I would want to comment on the portion of the letter which deals with speed checks, since this touches on points of a rather technical nature.

Perhaps before talking about speed checks, one should ask two important relevant questions namely: (i) What is the purpose of speed zoning? and (ii) What criteria are used for establishing speed zones?

The generally accepted purpose for speed zoning is to restrict traffic speeds within certain areas for safety and public good; having regard to traffic density, accident experience and other physical characteristics of the areas concerned. Thus the parameters used to establish realistic speed limits within any area generally include some or all of the following:

- (a) Traffic volume considerations
- (b) Accident experience
- (c) 85th percentile speed
- (d) Roadside development
- (e) Geometric characteristics. (i.e. alignment, grade, sight distances etc.)
- (f) Trial runs over sections (especially on curves)

Hence a realistic speed limit can only be determined through a complete engineering investigation of the area or section of road concerned.

In Ghana traffic speed regulation appears to be modelled after one clause in the recommendations adopted by the National (U.S.) Committee on uniform traffic laws and ordinances and contained in the Uniform Vehicle Code. The relevant section of the clause states, inter alia, that the maximum lawful speed in any urban district should not exceed 30 m.p.h. This, to my mind, is obsolete and should be revised, in view of recent improvements on some of our highway and street systems. An example of such improved street system is the dual carriageways that have been introduced into the country. There is need for a review of the posted speeds on streets like the dual carriage-ways.

This brings to mind the unusual speed limit of 10 m.p.h. which has been posted at the outskirts of Nkawkaw town. Why the speed limit within Nkawkaw town alone should be 10 m.p.h. I don't know; but this, more than anything else, lends weight to the urgent need for reviewing our speed zoning system.

The other important phase of speed regulation and speed zoning is the method of checking traffic speeds.

There are several devices for ascertaining speeds of moving vehicles. These include:

- 1) Radar speedmeters
- 2) Two way radios
- 3) Mirror boxes
- 4) Lines and watch

The most unreliable of the four devices is the "Lines and Watch" but unfortunately this is what is being employed in the country. This method involves the timing of moving vehicles over a known distance to determine the speed of the moving vehicles. In this particular method in which the observer positions himself at one end of the 'speed trap' and tries to judge when a moving vehicle has passed the other end of the 'trap' it is obvious that several errors would arise.

And it is important to note that an error of even one second in timing would make a difference of nearly 5 m.p.h. in the speed of the vehicle and a fine of NC10.00 (£5) to the unfortunate victim. And as Kontopiat wrote in his letter, any motorist who finds himself at the law court is "almost invariably accused of doing 40 m.p.h." Besides, if the motorist happens to plead not guilty, the case is immediately adjourned. This perhaps explains why some motorists try to avoid being arraigned before court for a speeding offence by offering 'tips' to the men 'usually in smocks who hide in the bush or behind poles'.

Talking of speed checks again reminds me of the case of the speed trap at Koforidua. Probably out of convenience this speed trap has been located just in front of the offices of the Regional Motor Traffic Unit. Unfortunately this section of the road consists of a horizontal curve followed immediately by a vertical curve; so that to set up a speed trap—employing the "Lines and Watch" device on the crest of the vertical curve where an error of parallax is almost bound to occur—betrays a serious lack of understanding of the principles underlying this method of apprehending speed violators.

Radar speedmeters are not all that expensive and they are very easy to operate. We have had enough of these outmoded "handkerchief-waving" ceremonies on our roads.

**Building and Road Research
Institute, P.O. Box 40,
Kumasi.**

S. K. Sarfoh,

Anti-Apartheid Movement in Ghana

SIR—I wish to refer to an error in a letter published in the June 9 (Vol. II No. 12) issue of your influential paper. Writing under the heading "Anti-Apartheid Movement in Ghana", Mr. David R. Mobbs of the Ghana Medical School, who described himself as "former Chairman, Scottish Anti-Apartheid Movement" alleged that the proprietor of State Express 555 which Pioneer Tobacco Company now manufactures in Ghana "is the Rembrandt Tobacco Company of South Africa and the Chairman of this company, Mr. Rupert, is a well-known financial supporter of Verwoerd and Vorster's Nationalist Party". I regret to say that this is incorrect.

Perhaps your correspondent will now check his facts to enable you to print the necessary correction. In the circumstances I am sure you would agree that Pioneer Tobacco Company is entitled to an apology.

As a matter of interest State Express 555 King Size is an International Brand and the Proprietor is the Ardath Tobacco Company Limited, London, who are probably better known on a world-wide basis as "The House of State Express".

**Pioneer Tobacco Co. Ltd.,
Liberty Avenue,
Accra.**

**Isaac Eshun,
Public Relations Manager.**

(PUBLISHED UNEDITED—Ed.)

SIR—I read with interest the letter from Mr. David Mobbs on the subject of Apartheid. I should imagine that none of your readers are pro-Apartheid. It is therefore unfortunate that there should be a number of errors in Mr. Mobbs' letter.

The first is one of fact. He states that the Standard Bank of West Africa is now controlled by the Standard

Bank of South Africa. The merger actually took place in September, 1965, but had, like so many other things, to be kept secret under the Nkrumah regime.

His second error is one of logic. The fact that Kingsway Stores is selling shares in Ghana has nothing to do with Unilever's investments in Rhodesia.

Thirdly, I would suggest that it is not possible to defeat Apartheid by attempting to boycott all organisations which have dealings with South Africa. Apartheid will be defeated when enough people change their ideas and realise that independent African states can be better places to live in than South Africa. Present day Ghana is likely to cause such changes in attitude far more effectively than the old regime.

Dept. of Modern Languages, P. W. C. Marwell.
Legon.

War Clouds in Nigeria

SIR—Though your 'Threatening War Clouds in Nigeria' made a thoughtful and coherent study of the situation now unfortunately seething in that country, I could not help wondering whether it was not by design that the factor of tribalism was assigned the rather dubious role it was.

Any one who has had effective experience of the state of Nigeria and of her peoples cannot fail to have been struck by the weight of tribalism in the most unremarkable everyday affairs. Who never heard this ditty: 'The Hausa man climbs the tree to pluck the fruit; the Ibo man runs to pick up; the Yoruba snatches it from him'? It is common knowledge among African students in Britain that any Nigerian would rather have a Ghanaian for a bosom friend than a fellow Nigerian of another tribe. These attitudes, from all accounts, settle down and harden, instead of wearing away on their home ground; and if this can be said of the educated and enlightened sections, how much more so of the common people!

This is why I believe it is being unrealistic and short-sighted to dismiss tribalism as not being the primary factor; with political power and economic advantage being the catalytic agents of the crisis. "Under these political arrangements (voting organised into regional blocs) power meant capturing power by leaders who remained basically regional . . ." you argued. One only has to follow this with its inescapable extension, these regions are not merely geographical, industrial, political or what have you, but TRIBAL groupings—and one gets closer to the roots of the matter.

It is true that 'therefore any one who seriously wants to eradicate tribalism in Nigeria must seriously address himself to the task of evening out the economic, educational and political inequalities...' However, this involves planning and development on a long term basis which, of necessity depend on the good-will and co-operation of all parties concerned; and meanwhile the situation remains intractable.

The massacres which were the more direct cause of the present crisis were inspired by sheer blind emotionalism as compared with the more radical design of the original (Ibo-inspired) coup which overthrew the Balewa government. This 'emotionalism' could, of course, have been rooted in economic considerations;

but also it could have been psychological, historical or cultural. It would seem the issue of that blind antagonism ought to be settled first, and this can only be done by two major admissions. One, that it does exist, and secondly that it is unreasonable and profitless and therefore ought to be neutralised.

Tribalism has played a conspicuously ignoble role as a drawback on social and political development and on progress as a whole in many parts of Africa. In other parts of the world, other prejudices have had a similar effect. It is equally true that perhaps because of this, African intellectuals and other sympathisers whose reactions, generally speaking, rise above these considerations; tend to underplay or disregard this very illogical and unreasonable factors which, however and very unfortunately, does have a very potent effect on large portions of our African populations as the advocates of African inferiority are also too ready to play up.

Already the Federal government has announced 'Military operations', which is the beginning of the horrors of civil war. All attempts to forestall this or curtail it even as it starts must be aimed at bringing the tribal antagonisms to light and bridging them in a spirit of goodwill and the determination not to let the forces of evil and retrogression triumph. Only after this can the measures you rightly suggest be brought to effect.

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Miscellaneous

THE TRAGIC DEATH OF A NATIONAL HERO, LT.-GENERAL E. K. KOTOKA, AS SEEN FROM THE OCCULT POINT OF VIEW

By

V. O. D. Twum-Barima

LT.-GENERAL E. K. Kotoka, the national hero, who, on 24th February, 1966, saved Ghana from Nkrumah's wicked tyrannical rule and paved the way for her future happiness, was murdered in cold blood in the early hours of 17th April, 1967, in the abortive counter-coup. The whole nation has still not recovered from the great shock it received from his untimely death and there has been "wailing and gnashing of teeth" everywhere—the type of mourning that will continue for a long time to come.

There are certain pertinent questions that we are asking ourselves regarding this death: "Why should Kotoka die at this crucial time?" "And why should he die in such a tragic manner, if he should die at all?", and other similar questions for which we seem to have no definite answers. Such questions will continue to engage our attention for many generations to come, as the name of E. K. Kotoka remains immortalised.

Is there any explanation for such a fateful happening? To the occultist there is one, if he goes back to his masters, the ancients, for this explanation. These ancients, whose motto was, "Man, Know Thyself", made such a special study of the occult side of life that they came to believe strongly that there was a hidden explanation for almost every happening under the sun. The various occult studies, in which the ancients were engaged, convincingly and uncannily explained to them why things happened on earth, thereby giving these men of old a deeper insight into life and we still admire them even today for this. Therefore when things happened in their time, they were not taken by surprise, as we are inclined to be today.

One such study is numerology which is the study of the occult significance of numbers, which, according to the sages of old, "ruled" the affairs of men and nations and still continue to do so today. This study points out that there are only nine figures (1-9), each with its occult significance, and that after the number 9, the count is all a repetition, thus: $10 = 1 + 0 = 1$; $11 = 1 + 1 = 2$; $12 = 1 + 2 = 3$ and so on; all numbers could then be reduced to one figure and then its significance and meaning assessed.

We are told by occult philosophers that when numbers are repeatedly connected with a person, the hidden meaning of such numbers could ex-

plain what happens to him in life. This is strange but true.

Let us examine the life of the late Lt.-General E. K. Kotoka and find out roughly the particular numbers that were closely and repeatedly associated with him in an attempt to explain what finally happened to him. These numbers are 8 and 4—numbers that are mysteriously related. Below are some events in the late General's life with their associated numbers 8 and 4 duly explained:—

1. The number of letters of his signature *E. K. KOTOKA* (the name he was popularly known by) is 8
2. The number of Kotoka's DAY OF BIRTH 26th September (2 plus 6 in 26) is 8
3. The number of the Hero's DATE OF BIRTH 26th September 1926 or 26:9:1926 is 8 (26:9:1926 add up to 35 which finally makes 8 i.e. $3 + 5$).
4. In the late General's military career the year which first brought him into the limelight of fame was 1961, a year in which he exhibited such great personal courage during the Congo operations that he was mentioned in despatches—one of the highest honours in a soldier's life. 1961 add up to 17 and finally to ... 8 ($1 + 9 + 6 + 1$ in 1961 = 17 and $1 + 7 = 8$).
5. After this, the greatest year of his life was 1966 in which he successfully organized the Glorious 24th February Coup to liberate this country. The figures in 1966 add up to 22 and finally to 4
6. The Liberator's Big Promotion in recognition of his services to the nation after the Coup took place on 25th February, 1966 or 25:2:1966 whose figures add up to 31 and finally to 4
7. Kotoka's last promotion that was to the rank of Lt.-General was on 24th February 1967 or 24:2:1967 totalling 31 which finally (like the number of the date of his previous promotion) adds up to 4
8. The NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL, of which Kotoka was a leading member, was formed soon after the Coup, obviously through his instrumentality, with its total membership of ... 8
9. The number of the General's DAY OF DEATH 17th April is 8 (1 and 7 in 17th make 8 which is myste-

riously the same as the number of his DAY OF BIRTH).

10. The number of the Liberator's DATE OF DEATH 17th April 1967 is ... 8 (17th April 1967 or 17:4:1967 has figures totalling 35, in which 3 and 5 add up to 8, also the same as the number of his DATE OF BIRTH).
11. The number of the Hero's fateful HOUR OF CAPTURE LEADING TO HIS DEATH is ... 4 (we are told he was captured by his murderers soon after 4 a.m. i.e. during the hour number 4 of the day).
12. The number of soldiers murdered on that day including the General is... 4 (The General, Capts. Avevor and Bor-kloe and Sgt. Osei Grunshie).
13. Lt.-General E. K. Kotoka died at the age of 40 equivalent to ... 4 (4 and 0 in 40 = 4)
14. We are told he left a wife and six children, making the number of his family including himself while alive ... 8

How strange this recurrence is of the numbers 8 and 4 in the life of this remarkable man! You may say that it was all coincidental and is therefore unimportant; but the occultist regards it all as purposeful and meaningful in God's plan of things.

What then is the occult meaning of these numbers 8 and 4 that were so mysteriously associated with the late Hero? The explanation with particular reference to Kotoka's death from ancient occult sources is this and I quote:—

"All persons who have the number 8 clearly associated with their lives feel they are distinct and different from their fellows. At heart they are lonely; they are misunderstood and they seldom reap the reward for the good they may do while they are living. After their death they are extolled, their works praised, and lasting tributes offered to their memory".

How very true is this of the late Kotoka!! May I further quote this from the same source:—

"If we find that the person is completely dominated by the number 8, always recurring in important events, or if instead of 8, the nearly equally fatalistic number of 4 is continually recurring, we may be sure that we are in the presence of one of those strange playthings of Fate with possibilities that tragedy may be interwoven in their Destiny".

Is there any wonder then that Tragedy finally struck and took away a Hero, so beloved by all, so humble, and so undeserving of such a death, after all the good he had done for this nation?

Kotoka's name is immortalized, as Providence would have it in order that Ghanaians may always be reminded of him and continue the good work he selflessly began for Ghana.

As illustrated above through the ancient study of numerology, the late General's life followed a definite, ordered pattern, "mystic and wonderful". as he served God's purpose destined for him. And such is this life, as clearly seen from the occult point of view and strongly supported by what the Holy Bible (Ecclesiastics Chapter 3) says:—

"To everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven".

Hence the Psalmist in Psalm 90 prays thus to God:—

"So teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom".

Surely Kotoka's death although so premature, so painful, so unwarranted it all seems to us, should in God's plan mean a "universal good" for the Ghana the late General loved so much and died tragically for. We must, therefore, be comforted by this thought, as we look at life generally in the same divinely inspired way as the poet Pope does in the following lines:—

"All nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
All chance, direction which thou can'st not see,
All discord, harmony not understood;
All partial evil, universal good".

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News Summary

(By courtesy of the G.B.C.)

10/6/67

Civic Education Centre

THE Chairman of the N.L.C. has launched a Centre for Civic Education which will provide education in democratic rights and responsibilities. (See Supplement)

Deportation of Soviet Correspondents etc

THREE Soviet and Czech correspondents and one Czech diplomat were declared unwanted persons and ordered deported from Ghana. They are Alexei Kazansev, Novosti correspondent, Valitin Korovikov, Pravda Correspondent, Oldrich Hlavicka, Commercial Attaché of the Czech embassy in Accra, and Jiri, who was out of the country at the time of the order. They were accused of espionage and hostile propaganda activities against the people of Ghana.

"Biafra not recognized"—Government

THE Government of Ghana has issued a statement denying rumours that Ghana had recognized the new state of Biafra (Eastern Nigeria).

Soviet Fishing Trawlers to be sold

THE ten Russian fishing trawlers bought by the old Government are to be sold to private fishing companies and cooperatives.

Army Recruitment suspended

AN announcement from the Ghana Army Headquarters says that enlistment into the Ghana Army has been suspended indefinitely.

Ambassadorial Appointments

PROF. J. C. de Graft-Johnson has been appointed Ghana Ambassador to the Netherlands. Mr. Y. B. Turkson, Ambassador to Brazil, has been assigned concurrently to Argentina.

Anlo Investigations

THE N.L.C. has appointed a three-man Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. G. L. Djabanor, to enquire into the affairs of the Anlo Traditional Area. The Committee is to enquire into the affairs of the Anlo Traditional Area with special references to the exercise, by the Awoame Fia (Togbe Adedza), of his rights, powers and privileges and the carrying out or discharge of his duties and functions and the general administration of the area from the date of his installation.

Bechemhene released

THE N.L.C. has ordered the release from protective custody of Nana Fosu Gyeabour, Bechemhene, on the grounds of ill-health.

Ghana-U.S. Tyre agreement

THE Government of Ghana has signed an agreement with an American company, the Firestone Tyre and Rubber

Company under which the two parties will enter into a joint venture for the purpose of bringing into realization the Ghana Rubber and Tyre Project. It is estimated that about 3800 people will be employed at the initial stages of the project.

18/6/67

Cocoa Report

THE report of the de Graft-Johnson Committee on cocoa has been published with a White Paper by the Government.

Debt repayment—the Netherlands

THE Government of Ghana has reached an agreement with the Government of the Netherlands on the re-scheduling of Ghana's medium term debts owed to Dutch suppliers. The agreement was concluded in Accra after two days of bilateral discussions between a Ghana delegation and a Netherlands delegation led by Dr. Boomstra, Director of External Finance.

Kade Match Factory

THE Government has signed an agreement in Accra with two expatriate firms for a joint participation in the operation of the Kade Match Factory. The companies are the Industrial and Forestry Society for the Manufacture of Matches of France and the Gulf Fisheries Company of Kuwait. Under the agreement Ghana will contribute 220 thousand new cedis of a share capital of 400 thousand new cedis and the companies 180 thousand new cedis in foreign exchange. The companies will also provide new machinery and raw materials for the manufacture of matches, and undertake the training of Ghanaians in all fields of the manufacture of matches.

Batteries

BATTERIES for transistor radios and torch lights are to be produced in Ghana. An announcement from the National Investment Bank says the Bank and the Union Carbide Corporation of New York have agreed for joint participation in the organisation and financing of a new Ghanaian company to be known as Union Carbide Ghana Limited to manufacture batteries and other allied products in Ghana. The announcement says a manufacturing plant will be built in Ghana with an annual production capacity of 30 million Ever-ready batteries.

The Agricultural and Industrial Company Project

THE N.L.C. member responsible for Agriculture, Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo, has addressed a news conference in Accra at which he explained three pertinent subjects relating to the agriculture of the country. These are the two hundred thousand acre agricultural project being undertaken by the Government in agreement with an Anglo-American finance company and the problem of licence to import poultry feed. The other subject is the unfortunate consumption of treated maize by some inhabitants of Akatsi in the Volta Region resulting in deaths. About the agricultural project, Mr. Nunoo explained that in order to obtain increased food production at the shortest possible time mechanised and large-scale farming in modern methods should be undertaken.

This, he said, requires large sums of money involving foreign currency as capital investment. Mr. Nunoo said the Government is providing the land as its contribution to the scheme. He stressed that the land is not being given to foreigners for their exclusive use. The farms will be jointly owned by the Ghana Government and the company furnishing the capital.

Donations from State Enterprises

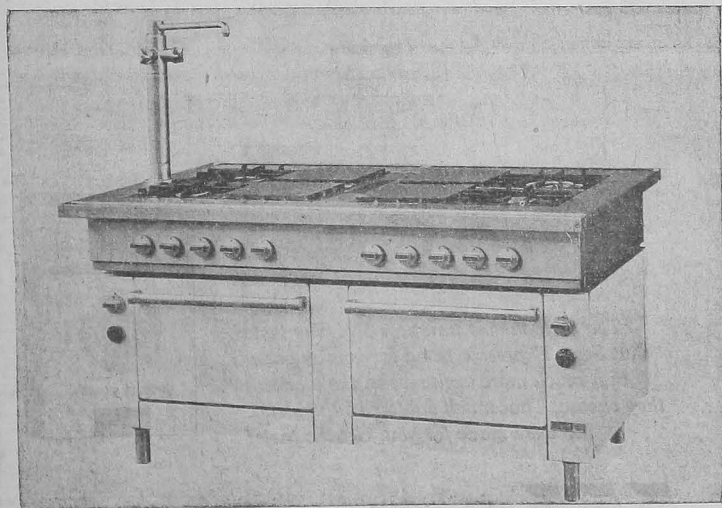
THE N.L.C. member responsible for Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs, Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, has said in Accra that he was going to ask all State Enterprises which have donated public money to Trust Funds without the authority of the Ministry of Finance to refund the money. The Brigadier was speaking at the Ministry of Finance where he received a cheque for 40 thousand new cedis from the State Paints Corporation, as their dividends to the government. The cheque was presented on behalf of the Board of Directors by

Mr. Van Lare, Chairman of the Board. Brigadier Afrifa said, if a state corporation's account shows any surplus or profit, the money should be put into Government chest for the common good. He warned Managing Directors and Chairmen of state-owned enterprises that it is improper to direct the tax payer's money held by them into voluntary trust funds as their donations. All donations, he said, should be made voluntarily by their employees and presented to the trust fund on their behalf by the Managing Directors, Chairmen or representatives of the employees.

Dock Work

A DOCK labour pool of shipping companies is to be introduced into Ghana to ensure the effective handling of goods. The operation, it is said, will be manned by an independent board comprising representatives of Maritime and Dockworkers Union, the government and the shipping companies in the country.

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From

Prof. A. A. Kwapong

(Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana)

It is a pleasure to salute the *Legon Observer* and to wish it well on its first anniversary. The mortality rate of newspapers in this country with any pretensions to serious and responsible journalism has been high in the past. How many people, I wonder, below the age of 25 remember with any clarity papers like the *Gold Coast Observer* or the even more shortlived *Statesman* which, in their prime, were quality weeklies of which any country could be very proud? The *Legon Observer* is in the line of such papers, which were founded by public-spirited professional people or members of the country's 'intelligentsia', whose main aim was to provide a forum for spirited and well-informed public comment and controversy.

Above all, these papers aimed at and attained very high standards in the quality of their writing, the presentation of their material, and in their range and mastery of detail. They were free and fearless organs, vital to the political and social life of the times, and indispensable to the national movement; their influence was out of all proportion to their actual circulation. If they suffered from any faults, these were faults characteristic of such quality papers, especially the tendency to be somewhat on the 'high-brow' or 'egg-head' side. They died through various causes, natural as well as man-made; non-professional or amateurish and part-time management, financial embarrassment, public indifference, growing apathy or hostility, and the counter-attractions of the new 'mass-papers'—the cheese-cake and sensationalism that were inseparable from the political and social development of the early fifties. What actually killed them off was, of course, the regime of political extinction of the various freedoms, including the freedom of the press, of conscience and expression.

The Ghanaian reading public was obviously thirsty for a newspaper like the *Legon Observer*, a paper the need for which may be judged from the spontaneous and warm welcome and support which the reading public of Ghana, and indeed of the outside world, has already accorded this paper.

The body which launched the *Legon Observer* was originally known as the "Legon Committee on National Reconstruction", a name which indicates the hopes and the circumstances in which this paper was born. It may have looked as if, from its original name, this Committee considered that it had the power or the means to bring about (perhaps unaided) national reconstruction. Now the Committee is more appropriately known as the "Legon Society on National Affairs", a name which is more in accord with the realities

of its contribution, and one hopes its critics will bear this change in mind. Although it began as a forum for informal and private discussion on all matters of national concern to members of this University, undoubtedly its greatest contribution to the work of national reconstruction is this organ, and it is of course open to all contributors, both from within and from outside the University.

Perhaps, as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, I may be allowed to remind the public that this is an independent newspaper, run and produced by a group of Ghanaian University lecturers and professors, which is in no way an official organ of this University and which, indeed, has not always spoken and, we hope, will not always speak with the same voice as that of the University.

I have paid tribute on a previous occasion to the high standards of journalism which have already been attained by this paper in its relatively short existence. This achievement has been the result of hard work, dedication and unremitting effort. Perhaps, on this occasion of the first anniversary of the paper, it is pertinent to remark that in the absence of comparable well-informed papers of its kind in the country, the responsibilities of the *Legon Observer* are accordingly greater, and that one should not be satisfied with the standards it has achieved in relation to its objectivity, impartiality or discernment. It is particularly important that in espousing various causes, in seeking to serve as the 'conscience' of the nation, and in acting generally as the mouth-piece of an informed "ginger-group", this paper should continue to improve upon its general standards of competence, discretion, and care in checking on its facts, and in sifting conflicting opinions before going to print. The temptation to vent private grievances or peddle personal interests should be rigorously avoided, and the growing practice whereby individuals write under pseudonyms, should be discontinued. These criticisms, if they are criticisms, are offered by a warm admirer of this journal, which has rapidly established itself as one of the most interesting developments in the intellectual life of Ghana since the Coup.

In the coming months, the continued existence of a free, impartial and fearless newspaper dedicated to public service, information and education will be very vital to the people of this country

I am confident that the *Legon Observer* continue to grow along these lines, and whilst widening its appeal to embrace both high- and the low-brow, it will remain unsh

has been hated and loved; it has been admired and villified; it has been worshipped and cursed; and with what justification it is, I think, rather premature for a certain verdict. It all shows, however, that the *Observer* has been endeavouring.

An outstanding characteristic of the *Observer* is its popularity with all shades and manner of man, the academic as well as the non-academic, the lawyer, the doctor, the businessman, the trader, the workman and above all the inarticulate politician (so statutorily fashionable in our times). It must, however, be confessed that there are times when, as one (without the academic clan) scans through its pages, one is seized with an atmosphere so rarefied, so Himalyan that one almost expects an "abominable snowman" to spring up suddenly from its freezing pages to bestow some enlightenment on the manifestations of so much academic expertise or, which is not the same thing, to question the utility of it all. In such a state of near-frozen bewilderment, however, there is always the consolation that, at least in the world of Ghanaian journalism, the *Observer* has provided relief from the terrible fear in which we have lived fifteen years of our lives; and the hope is, or must be, that the *Observer* will do nothing to engender the very thing feared.

May I wish you many more happy and deserving anniversaries.

From

Mr. Modjaben Dowuona

Commissioner for Education, Member of the National Executive Council)

ONE OF the significant results of the change of regime in Ghana on 24th February, 1966 is open, fearless and vigorous discussion of matters of public interest. Most of the criticisms of past and present policies have been responsible and constructive, and in this respect the *Legon Observer* has played a great part. Within a year it has established a forum for the discussion of, and comment on, public affairs at a high level. On this achievement the founders are to be congratulated.

I wish the *Legon Observer* a happy birthday and many happy returns of the day. May it continue to grow in stature and wisdom, and play an effective and constructive role in our country's affairs.

From

Dr. C. A. Ackah

(Principal, University College of Cape Coast)

MANY DECADES before the grant of independence to this country, numbers of national leaders in their day played their part in speech, in writing and debate, in the struggle for political freedom. hankering after freedom from foreign rule he dominant feature that characterized the

social aspirations of the average educated person, and even of many illiterates in this country. In due course this freedom was gained, and we have all been witnesses—and victims—of what became of it under Nkrumah.

Our experience of this immediate past has today made all and sundry conscious of what really matters to the citizen, namely, his complete awareness of the rights and duties of a citizen, and the establishment of a government of the people, for the people and by the people which guarantees the non-infringement of the rights and secures ready performance of the duties. Almost every adult is now politically minded; he wishes to know what can be described as good government, and is determined to play his or her part in ensuring that never again can another dictator wield power in this country. It is this general attitude of the man or woman in the street that makes so valuable every effort to educate the people in political awareness, and it is in this regard that the role of the *Legon Observer* may be assessed. As an organ which is produced by a non-official organization made up of members of the University of Ghana, and which they describe as "a forum for public discussion of views on issues of national importance", it is remarkable evidence of the concern of Ghana's university men and women for the proper development and growth of the nation.

It is accepted by most scholars that the primary objective of education is to enable the individual to live a full life, physically, mentally and spiritually, and, since human individuals are social beings, one should add, socially. As a matter of fact, the full life cannot be lived in isolation: it must be lived in society; so that the properly educated person must be one who is able to and does contribute to the development of the society in which he lives as a result of the fullness of life which he has attained and which he enjoys.

It is gratifying to observe that the *Legon Observer* represents something of the kind. On the occasion of its first anniversary, therefore, I send the paper and all those responsible for its production my hearty congratulations. May it continue to have the public support and confidence it has already gained during only one year of its existence, and may its contribution to the national interest continue to be valuable and useful.

From

Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye

THERE IS HOPE for Ghana when men are quickened into ACTION, such as the founders of the *Legon Observer*.

Success will continue with your determination.

First Anniversary Messages

ON THE occasion of the first anniversary of the Legon Observer, we have received the following messages congratulating us and wishing us further success in the future: From

Lt.-Gen. J. A. Ankrah, O.O.V., M.C.

(Chairman, National Liberation Council)



ception, provided a medium for discussing national and international affairs in an intelligent and objective way: a refreshing contrast to the controlled, ideological journalism of the past regime.

Although I do not always subscribe to the views expressed in the fervid comments of your journal, I have none-the-less great respect for both their courage and literary excellence. These qualities at once reflect the calibre of its editorial staff and account for the wide interest it has succeeded in arousing among its readers and correspondents.

In recent months many persons in Ghana have drawn attention in lectures and other public utterances to the need for civic awareness of the average citizen, if we are to be able to rebuild a new Ghana in which we shall all be proud and happy to live. This is an endeavour in which your journal can help.

As you enter upon a second year of activity I should like also to leave with you the thought of producing vernacular editions of your paper, so that you can reach new and wider areas in your mission.

Please accept my congratulations on the first anniversary of the *Legon Observer* and good wishes for its future.

From

Mr. J. W. K. Hartley

(Vice-Chairman, National Liberation Council)

THE ADVENT of the *Legon Observer* in the press sector of Ghana was a welcome event. It provided a forum for intelligent and critical analysis and discussion.

It appeared on the scene at a time when

Ghanaians, waking from the long comà in which they lay for over a decade, were eager to find something fresh to read and catch up with the many years lost in lethargy. The *Legon Observer* promised to fulfil this need. Undoubtedly, the *Legon Observer* has had its own teething troubles but it is gratifying that the stature it has already attained justifies the initiative.

True enough, its sometimes provocative articles have won it admirers as well as enemies. Personally I have often wondered why the forthrightness which characterises this paper was denied to the country in a decade when it appeared to be needed most? Whatever one might think, however, the *Legon Observer* has its own unique way of commanding the attention of those who cherish intellectual freedom and discussion.

It is this intellectual freedom and free discussion which form the bulwark of true democracy, that the *Observer* and other media of mass communication in this country are expected to safeguard.



Ghana has seen a number of periodicals in the past, many of them vigorous and exciting. They played a great part in moulding the thoughts of young men and women in this country. But they now belong to the past.

I hope that the *Legon Observer* will be maintained to see many years, through which it shall stand not only to defend the truth and the freedom of our society, but also to educate and guide the youth on whom it should make its greatest impact.

From

Mr. Justice E. Akufu-Addo

(Chief Justice)

ON THE occasion of the first anniversary of the *Legon Observer*, I am happy to be able to say to you: Congratulations for a full year's fruitful achievement.

When the *Observer* first appeared on the 8 July, 1966, it came to most of us like water to a thirsty soul, indeed like light in our darkness.

In the months that have followed, however, the *Observer* has been praised and condemned;

THOSE WHO employ their pens on political subjects, free from party rage and party prejudices, cultivate a science which, of all others, contributes most to public utility, and even to the private satisfaction of those who addict themselves to the study of it.

THIS OPENING passage to David Hume's essay, "Of Civil Liberty" (from his *Political Essays*), would at first glance appear to be proclaiming a great virtue, such as the *Legon Observer*, for instance, would seem to be able to claim for itself. Does not the phrase: "free from party rage and party prejudice" justify such a paper as this in such a claim? In truth it would seem to, but only for so long as the quotation remains out of context or is not subjected to critical examination. For Hume himself issues the *caveat* soon enough in his essay: "I am apt, however, to entertain a suspicion that the world is still too young to fix many general truths in politics which will remain true to the latest posterity."

In like manner, the *Legon Observer* is too young to fix any general truths, either about itself or about the society it has tried to serve during its existence of only one calendar year so far. And that we are free from party rage and party prejudices now is no less true of many responsible persons and organizations in Ghana today, where parties for the time-being remain suppressed. What is incontestable about this paper, however, is its passion for independence and its determination to maintain and protect the same at all cost.

On this, its First Anniversary, therefore, we of the *Observer* welcome with equal gratitude and equal eagerness both the commendations and the criticisms—or at least reservations—expressed in the many anniversary messages that have reached us and some of which we publish today. We hope to be able to continue in service to a community of such paramount interest and importance to all of us who compose it; as time goes on we hope to help Ghana become equally interesting and important to many outside communities also. And from all these quarters we shall continue to expect and to welcome criticism as well as commendation. For both are necessary to achieve balance.

But whether we succeed or fail in these hopes and ambitions in the future will now depend more and more on public support. The *Legon Observer* is not, and cannot be, a commercial venture. We do not use and cannot accept resources that would jeopardise and eventually destroy our independence. After our first token appeals for, and equally token receipts of, financial assistance, our urgent need now is for trade, not aid. In short, the *Legon Observer* must from this point on depend solely on subscriptions from readers, and business from advertisers. We have every belief that both will be forthcoming during the coming years of our existence. Meanwhile, we thank those who have thus far provided us with the bread of life. The breath of life, however, remains uniquely ours.

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The public is informed that as from Thursday, the 6th of July, 1967, Mr. J. K. Donkor, former book-keeper of the *Legon Observer* at the Liberty Press, has ceased to work for the *Legon Observer*.

All our customers are advised not to make any payment whatsoever to Mr. Donkor. Any customer who makes any payment to Mr. Donkor in settlement of accounts with the *Legon Observer* does so at his own risk.

Payments in cheques or Money and Postal Orders should be crossed and endorsed and made direct to the "*Legon Observer*".

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