

The Legon Observer

Fortnightly Organ of the Legon Society on National Affairs
(Established July 1966; Published Every Other Friday)

Vol. IX No. 8

19 April - 2 May 1974

Price: 20p

IN THIS ISSUE

■ THE JURY SYSTEM

■ JOE APPIAH'S PROPOSALS

EDITORIAL	173
To Have or not to Have A Jury	
AGRICULTURE	174
Ghana's Declining Poultry Industry Kwame Vorkeh	
POLITICS	178
Joe Appiah on a Constitution for Ghana — A Review Agyare Koillarbi	
LETTERS	184
The Press, the Government and the People — A Rejoinder. Who Is to do What? Postponing the Inevitable Another Coup in Africa Making Profits or Doing Charity? Let us Now Praise Humorous Men	
MISCELLANEOUS	185
And It Came to Pass... Epistle No. 7 Santrofi	
BOOK REVIEW	190
Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa by J. Ayodele Langley Reviewed by Yaw Twumasi	
POETRY	195
FOR THE RECORD	194

Editorial

23 APR 1974



TO HAVE OR NOT TO HAVE A JURY

AMONG the questions which have been exercising the minds of Ghanaians, especially those in the legal profession, in recent weeks is whether or not we should retain the jury system as we have operated it in the past. Criticisms of the trial by jury system have recently become loud following a judgement in a murder case which the public seemed to find nonsensical and which occasioned an irate newspaper editorial. But criticism of the system has been expressed not only by laymen. The following observation was made of the Ghana Jury by Mr. Justice A.N.E. Amissah at a time in 1963 when he was Director of Public Prosecutions:

"I have never heard a judge describe our jury as the bulwark of our liberties nor as part of our tradition. In fact our tradition is such that, if our present criminal trials were to be based on it, those who assist the judge would not be persons selected at random but persons in a position equivalent to the elders who assisted the chief in trials before our traditional tribunals. These elders were selected usually for some outstanding ability in community and in course of time would acquire, if they did not already have it, a knowledge of the laws and customs of their people. They would be, in a way, experts in their field, and in that respect be in a position to appreciate the issues involved in the cases before them better than the juries that we have.... I have never heard in this country that our jurors are invariably correct as some English judges say of 'theirs, though I have heard of a judge describing a jury as perverse.'"

More recently, our Chief Justice, has called for a debate on whether the jury system should remain a part of our laws, and has pointed out that as long the system remains, perverse judgements will be a possibility.

It is certainly true that there are serious faults in the jury system as found in this country. A juror has to be between 25 and 60 and able to understand English. These two conditions alone exclude more than 60% of our population which is after all predominantly non-literate. A further restriction is imposed by the fact that jurors have been for the most part men—until very recently a woman could only appear as juror in her local District Court. This would leave less than 20% of the population eligible to be jurors, but even this inadequate proportion is further diminished by a long list of exemptions which includes editors of daily newspapers, schoolmasters,

registered pharmacists, doctors and dentists, ministers of religion, certain public officers (other than clerks) and of course persons convicted of treason or felony or any offence involving dishonesty. This is not the full list of exemptions, but it has been found that as a result of these restrictions the men who have been normally called upon to serve as jurors have not often been the best qualified to assist in the administration of justice.

Again, such people tend to be extremely impressionable and it can be argued that lawyers perform differently before lay jurors from the way they plead before "unassisted" judges and magistrates. It is possible therefore that jurors tend to be swayed by the antics of the lawyer and permit the interference in justice of irrelevant emotionalism. The argument is that when a jury is present it is not the law but sentiment which dominates the conduct of a case.

Nor, it can be argued, are these men often capable of following complicated cases, especially since they do not have facilities for taking notes or access to records of the case. And then there is the whole element of delay which the comings and goings and absences of jurors introduce into trials.

Certainly these are serious disadvantages, but it is our view, nevertheless, that the jury system should be retained in principle. Its single most important recommendation is the fact that it allows for lay participation in the processes of justice. It helps dispel the impression that justice is something which is contrived secretly by a cult of lawyers and in which the non-lawyer has no say. It insulates the judges, and indeed all lawyers, from unjustified criticisms in the event of unpopular judgements—i.e., if the judgement has been given by a jury then people cannot point fingers and say, "the lawyers have done their thing again." Also, it can be argued that if interested parties are thinking of perverting justice through bribery and other modes of influence they would find it more cumbersome to get round seven jurors than one judge, even though one has to admit that it may well be more expensive to bribe a single judge than seven men of straw.

However, it is primarily for the first reason cited above, the fact that it enables laymen to participate in the dispensation of justice, that we urge the retention of the jury system. In this way too, lay people get the opportunity to express in court such views as they may have on our laws. We welcome therefore the inclusion of women now on our general list of jurors, and would suggest that the list of exemptions—especially those made on account of employment should be short-

ned. We also suggest that it would help if, before they retired to consider their verdict, jurors were provided with a summary of the facts of the case.

Agriculture

GHANA'S DECLINING POULTRY INDUSTRY

By

Kwame Vorkoh

Just a couple of years ago, commercial poultry farming was an extremely lucrative proposition in Ghana. It attracted a large number of enterprising literate people who took loans from the banks and went into the venture on factory-scale operations. According to Dr. R. E. Larsen of the Faculty of Agriculture, Legon, "During the decade, 1962-1972, poultry production increased sharply. From an estimated 142,300, the poultry population rose to 1,340,000 in 1967 and to 4,657,000 in 1972. This represented an average annual increase of 317%". This spectacular performance has now come to an end. Preliminary estimates indicate that there might actually have been a fall in poultry production last year (1973). The principal reasons are the high cost of feed and the outbreak of disease on many farms in the Ashanti Region.

High Cost of Feed

The main problem with poultry according to Dr. Larsen is that they compete with humans for their feed. On the modern commercial farms 75% of the feed is maize, the remainder 'concentrates'. With the persistent high cost of maize many of the smaller operators are getting out of business. The high cost of feed reflects very forcefully in the cost of broilers and eggs: an average-size fowl now costs ₵4.00 instead of ₵2.50 a year ago. Eggs now sell at ₵1.20 per dozen instead of 70p. a year ago. The remarkable increase in poultry production between 1962 and 1972 was in sharp contrast to the production of cattle, sheep and goats. While poultry registered an average annual increase of 317%, cattle registered 4.4%, sheep 25.4%, and goats 22.1%. It was only pigs which had the same success as poultry, with a 340% annual increase. And this was because modern, factory-scale operations were adopted for raising pigs as they were for poultry. There is a National Pig Breeding Station at Adidome (Volta Region) that supplies the basic stock to farmers.

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GIVE A HELPING HAND

High demand associated with higher incomes gave the first encouragement to the poultry industry in Ghana. The period 1950-60 was one of significant economic growth in the country. Record prices for cocoa had generated substantial capital for industrialisation. Many people could afford increased consumption of meat, eggs and other animal products. Importation of fresh eggs which was virtually nil in 1950 rose steadily in value until it reached ₵121,000 in 1958.

The main types of poultry are fowls, guinea-fowls, pigeons, ducks and turkey. In Ghana the emphasis had always been on the barn-door fowl. By 1952 poultry husbandry had become a serious undertaking at the Pokoase Agricultural Station. Imported day-old chicks were brooded and sold to farmers at eight weeks. The importation of hatching eggs also started at this time.

In 1948 about 66,000 table-birds were imported from Togo, Ivory Coast, U.K., Netherlands and Israel. By 1958 the imports were reduced to half the 1948 figure. The expansion of the local poultry industry began in earnest in 1959 when large consignments of day-old chicks were imported.

Initial Outlay

This form of importation expanded over the years reaching a peak in 1965. About 121,000 day-old chicks were imported in 1959 and 458,000 in 1965. The upward trend was arrested as local production of day-old chicks developed; only 290,000 day-old chicks were imported in 1966. However, the imports of mature turkeys increased from 1,050 in 1962 to 9,300 in 1967. Egg imports similarly decreased as the local poultry industry expanded. Imports of eggs in shell which were about ₵121,000 in 1958 reduced to ₵6,000 by 1967.

By 1958 there were three companies selling poultry concentrates in the country. Though some of the "concentrates" fell below accepted standards they have played a very significant role in supporting the industry to the present time.

The role of capital in the spectacular performance of the poultry industry is evident from the distribution of loans granted by the Agricultural Development Bank. By the end of 1971 the bank alone had invested about ₵1.5 million in poultry, while it gave only about ₵200,000 for cattle production. Poultry production would have developed very slowly if producers had been required to furnish all their own operating capital. Initial outlay in poultry production is very high since considerable capital is required to construct pens, buy the birds and the feed. For egg production, funds are needed to provide feed for the layers for the initial six months before they start

producing. For broilers feed should be provided for the first three months before sales start.

Broiler production is relatively new to the country but has caught on very well apparently because until recently the margin of profit was high, and there is quick turnover of capital. This is the one advantage that the poultry has over the rearing of cattle, sheep, goats and pigs.

Commercial poultry farming is concentrated mainly in the southern half of the country, from Ashanti down to the coast. Day-old chicks are supplied by four principal agents: The Pomadze Poultry Enterprises Ltd. near Winneba, The Ghanachix Farm (Tema), Odorkor State Farms and Overseas Hatcheries. The Overseas Hatcheries import chicks by air, but the others have their own hatcheries locally.

Sheep and Goats

Notwithstanding the great advances made in commercial poultry production the meat situation in the country remains rather tight. One reason is that meat from poultry is relatively expensive. Secondly, for reasons of size and cost of feeding, cattle production offers a cheaper source of meat than poultry. The meat situation will improve in proportion as modern techniques are adopted for cattle production. But this will take some years to show substantial results.

The impasse over poultry has turned official attention to sheep and goats as a quicker source of meeting the country's meat requirements. The drought which has decimated livestock populations in Upper Volta, Mali and Nigeria has made it urgent for Ghana to find alternative sources of meat since she imports over 50% of her requirements from these countries.

The awakened interest in sheep and goats appears to be an attempt to make up for all the past neglect and the many years of giving exclusive attention to poultry. Sheep and goats have one advantage over cattle in that they can utilize cheaper feeds to effect the most remarkable gains. In addition they can be marketed three times as fast as cattle. Sheep and goats furnish about 20% of all meat consumed in Ghana, i.e. 6,600 tons of meat annually, according to estimates published by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1970. The production of sheep and goats could make a greater impact on meat supply in the country but unfortunately it is a small-scale, peasant activity undertaken almost as a hobby.

The two million sheep and goats in the country are reared in small flocks, herded in the village compound. They may be provided with a special

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shelter, but most often they are simply let loose in the village.

As with cattle, breeding is not planned. The males run with their sisters, daughters and dams all the year round. This results in close in-breeding. Lambing and kidding may take place at a time of the year when weather condition is unfavourable for young ones. In a few generations the flock gradually loses vigour and whittles away.

However, some achievement has been made with regard to sheep. A new breed has been developed at the Nungua Research Station of the University of Ghana. The Nungua Blackhead, as it is called, is a cross between the local dwarf sheep and the Blackhead persian sheep of Southern Africa. It is stockier and meatier than the local breeds and weighs about 80 lbs. when mature as compared to 50lbs. for the local breed.

As with the entire food industry in the country, marketing constitutes a serious bottleneck for meat production. A glaring feature of the marketing structure is the high profit margins that marketing agents apparently make.

Marketing agents can be divided into three categories: (i) country buyers or dealers, (ii) wholesalers (unpopularly known as middlemen), (iii) retailers i.e. butchers, chopbar keepers or restaurant keepers.

Retailers' Profits

According to a 1971 study made by an official of the Ministry of Agriculture, a mature sheep/goat cost ₵10 at Bolgatanga while the retail price in Accra was ₵32.60. The total marketing costs (transport etc.) were ₵5.25. Hence the return or profit to the marketing agents was ₵17.35 which is 174 per cent of the producer price in Bolgatanga. Farmer's share of consumer expenditure was only 31 per cent, whereas in the U.S., for example, farmers take 47 per cent of consumer expenditure. Retailers in Ghana take 72 per cent. of total profits, wholesalers 11 per cent and country buyers 17 per cent. The market margin is obviously excessive, and forms the basis of the public strictures against middlemen in the meat business.

But one wonders if all the strictures against middlemen are justified. It is true that the profit margin they make on each animal is apparently excessive, but we must remember that they are small-scale operators. They go to a great deal of trouble scouring the remotest villages to buy livestock. It may take an operator a week or more to assemble 100 sheep and goats or 200 local poultry. After that it may take him another week to find transport to convey them to marketing centres. In the event, his total net income per

month would certainly not amount to a fortune. The solution to the meat problem lies in stepping up production, not in railing against middlemen; because with rising population and income the pressure on meat supply will inevitably increase. Even with poultry all is not lost. What is needed is research to find and develop cheaper sources of feed because the high cost of poultry feed is the main constraint on the industry at present.

Politics

JOE APPIAH ON A CONSTITUTION FOR GHANA — A REVIEW

By
Agyare Koillarbi

SINCE the institution of the Danquah Memorial Lectures six years ago by the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, we have always had the opportunity through the various speakers to reflect on some important events in the life of this country. This year's lectures were unique because they were the first series devoted to the life and role of Danquah in the history of Ghana. However, I wish here to comment only on the last lecture of this year's series, and more particularly, on that very interesting part of the last lecture where the speaker, Mr. Joe Appiah, reflected on a future constitution for Ghana. According to Mr. Joe Appiah Ghana should avoid her previous wholesale importation of parliamentary democracy and try to fashion a system which will be suitable to her own traditions and needs; and that a discussion on this system should precede any return to civilian rule. While appreciating the efforts he has made to stimulate a debate on a future constitution, I should like to point out that the alternative system he would want us to build is full of flaws and is based on wrong propositions and sometimes incorrect observations about the past and present.

The Two Republics

The speaker observed that in all the past Republics "those who won the majority at the Parliamentary elections behaved in such a manner after the elections that their removal from office through the normal constitutional means was impossible". This statement is true only of the first Republic because after the 1956 elections the opposition members were sent packing with the 1958 Preventive Detention Act. The 1960 polls were so blatantly rigged that only a "stranger in Jerusalem" would say it was a clean election. Quite apart from these, in 1964 Ghana officially became a one party state thus a removal of the CPP from power even by way of elections was impossible. But the same cannot be held to be true in the second Republic. Despite the fact that the Progress Party parliamentarians exhibited a certain degree of arrogance and disregard for the constitution as exemplified by the failure of some of them to declare their assets, it cannot be said that they made their removal impossible. Before their overthrow no elections had been held for anybody to conclude that there had been a manipulation of the

electoral process. On the other hand an assumption that the electoral process would have been manipulated simply because of their arrogance would be too premature.

However I share the speaker's opinion that in the "two Republics the rulers abandoned all the unwritten conventions that went with British Parliamentary Democracy". Conventions often arise and are respected only after the system has been tried for a long period and has become part of the traditions of the people. In the absence of a long period of experimentation, only the sheer good will and integrity on the part of those who first try out the experiment can lead to the establishment of respectable conventions. But when the integrity of our politicians is suspect then a constitution can be saved only when the vital clauses are clearly stated with their sanctions in cases of breach. For instance, it was very faulty for the second Republican constitution to have simply stated that parliamentarians were to declare their assets without stipulating such sanctions as should have followed in the event of the Parliamentarians failing to abide by the Constitutional demand.

Leader and his Supporters

Another suggestion the speaker made is that the idea of a central parliament should not be tried again and that instead Regional bodies which would consider legislation should be set up in all the regions. If this idea is accepted it is likely to lead to the balkanisation of Ghana. It is difficult to know the reason behind this idea because throughout the lecture Mr. Joe Appiah in no uncertain terms tried to impress upon the audience the necessity for us to avoid divisive politics. And yet the idea of regional assemblies can divide Ghana more than anything has done in the past. The whole idea is similar to the earlier demands of the United Party in the 1950s that each region should have its own assembly. In fact the 1957 Constitution made provision for such assemblies but Kwame Nkrumah wisely foreseeing the danger involved abolished them after his party had won overwhelming majority in the Regional Assembly elections.

Continuing with his barrage of venom on parliamentary democracy the speaker alleged that the "Prime Minister or leader often yielded to his parliamentary or constituency supporters, against his better judgement, in order to save his own leadership or avoid facing another general election, with all the uncertain hopes of a return to office." With the greatest respect to the speaker I would wish to disagree with this proposition. First of all there is nothing wrong for a leader to consider and yield to the views of his supporters if he feels that they strongly believe in that policy. On the other hand if he disagrees with his supporters but is unable to get his idea accepted and yields to pressure, then he will in fact be destroying his own leadership rather than saving it. Because if those policies prove to be unfruitful he will be castigated by the electorate. But even more, a careful examination of the political history of this country will show that most of the time it is political leaders who have always tried to impose their dubious ideas on their followers.

As for the speaker's assertion that in a Parliamentary Democracy "the leader could always be held to ransom by a parliamentary caucus or by an inner contact conspiracy," it equally holds for other systems of govern-

ment, and in particular military governments. In a military regime the leadership owes its existence to the Officer Corps which controls the movement of troops and so such governments find it difficult to alienate the army. Thus even in times of general economic difficulties the army is exempted from tasting its share of the hardships, for fear that it might rebel. Though an army may rise up even against a civilian government, the frequency of such rebellion is diminished by the fact that non military governments often have a popular base. So rulers who do not have a mandate are more likely to accede quickly to the selfish demands of those who wield the gun.

Mr. Appiah also made some suggestions with regard to the future executive body for Ghana. His first proposal is that the executive head should be called a President instead of a Prime Minister and that such a President after his election shall take his oath of office "in true Ghanaian style at say, the Independence Square, Accra and thereafter in each regional capital, instead of behind close doors as before. It is suggested that all citizens aged 18 and above should be free to join in the election of the common father of the nation. By implication the office of the Prime Minister and the foreign institution of parliaments are being rejected as alien to our way of life". It is however, difficult to see how "President" can be any less alien than "Prime Minister." The matter of oath taking which is after all extraneous to Constitutionalism but even assuming that oath taking is important, Mr. Appiah's suggestion that such oath should be taken in all the regional capitals would be too expensive. Ghana should not waste her scanty money transporting her President and his entourage to all the Regions of Ghana just to take an oath. After all Mr. Appiah has himself been repeatedly condemning frivolous expenditure by our past leaders.

Party Organisation

As to the conduct of elections Mr. Appiah suggests that organised support should be discouraged because of the expenses involved. He also suggested that Radio and T.V. facilities should be provided free of charge and that no leader should have more than three people as part of his entourage. Though the state might consider funding part of the cost involved in electioneering in order to help candidates who might be handicapped by slender financial resources, there should be a limit to how much the state should pay. Supporters should not be denied the right to make financial contribution to the party of their choice, though such contribution might be limited by legislation. As for the candidates having not more than three people around them and doing away with organised support I do not see the necessity for such a regulation because even when a leader refuses to organise his supporters, the supporters, may want to organise themselves in order to cheer him up. Quite apart from this, a close study of the politics of every nation will show that the manner in which leaders organise their party and supporters gives an indication of the kind of leadership they are likely to provide. In short organisations provide a means for the people to assess the qualities of the leader. For instance to know the dynamic and yet authoritarian nature of Kwame Nkrumah one only needed to look at his manner of organising the Convention People's Party and his supporters. On the other hand to know

the parochialism and ethnic consciousness of a man like Busia a look at the political organisations in which he has been involved from the NLM days to the Progress Party days is enough. The behaviour of party supporters and their organisation often reflect the nature and qualities of that party and thus one can make a fair assessment of what kind of leadership a party might provide. To deprive people of this index would be also to deprive them of the means of judging what kind of leaders they are to vote for.

Mr. Appiah also proposes that the President after his election should be given the power to select from among the people, his ministers. This idea is worthy of consideration because an executive leader choosing his cabinet from outside parliament has a wider range of choice than the one who has to choose his ministers from parliament. Secondly, ministers without constituencies are likely to work much better and with less temptation since they will not be subject to unnecessary pressures from any constituency.

Electoral Process

With regard to the composition of the Executive Mr. Appiah proposes that any future cabinet should include representatives from the Army, Police, Chiefs, Universities, and Trade Unions therein. I find this suggestion quite objectionable because it would mean forcing the President, who has a mandate from the whole country, to work with people he may not like despite the fact that he will be the only one to suffer when his policies fail. The last thing that should ever happen in a Constitutional Ghana is that people should ever become Ministers merely because of any particular positions they hold. Any soldier or University lecturer who wants to be a Minister must resign his post and impress upon the President his competence as an administrator. The President must have a free hand to work with whom ever he chooses. Again assuming we begin on the premise that the said representatives Mr. Appiah would want to be included in all Cabinets are thoroughly efficient men, what must not be forgotten is that a workable Cabinet is made up not just of competent administrators but also of men who share the same ideas on policy. What should happen in a situation where a socialist President wishes to implement some socialist policies and he is opposed by some group representatives? The whole idea of group representation is based on a false notion that some groups of people are more suited by their calling to administer a country than others.

Concerning the electoral process Mr. Appiah speaks as follows: "if in the choice of Head of State by the entire nation we must, of necessity, resort to the ballot box idea, we may for local and district council elections consider the use of traditional open methods. Under this the whole village or group of villages assembled in the village square and eligible voters filed behind the man of their heart openly. A lot of money and time is saved by this method and double crossing and corrupt practices eliminated completely". Though he admits that it might not work in the urban areas because of its cosmopolitan nature, it should also be clear to him that it would be almost unworkable in the villages for the reason that it is difficult to get even half of a whole village assemble at any particular time of the day. They, like people in the urban areas have

their various occupations and hardly stay in their homes until evening. The process would also be time consuming because after filing behind a man of their choice, they will have to wait to be counted. But the strongest objection to this proposal is that it would deny people the right to cast their vote secretly. A man who votes secretly is likely to cast his vote according to his conscience than the one who votes by standing in a line in which he will be clearly seen by everybody. Somebody who would not want to offend his kith and kin who are committed to a particular candidate, might be compelled to stand in the "right" line in order not to be rejected by his relations.

Mr. Appiah also dealt with such extra-constitutional issue as discipline in the public services. He says that "for the purpose of claiming maximum efficiency and further involvement by the Armed Forces in the affairs of the state, there shall be attached to every ministry or corporation an officer not below the rank of Second Lieutenant who shall check attendance registers and generally work discipline." One wonders about this because a close look at history indicates that soldiers have no special qualities which make them better administrators than civilians. If by virtue of their profession they were to be better men and rulers then such areas as Latin America which have for more than a century experienced military rule should have been more developed by now. Indeed, in Latin America the constant military intervention in civil life is generally seen as one of its handicaps. In Ghana it is interesting to speculate in this connection why demands to have the NLC administration probed have been resolutely ignored. This is not to say that every group of rulers is likely to be corrupt. All I want to assert is that a man's profession in no way necessarily makes him honest. If however any soldier proves to be honest it will not be because of his profession but rather the consequence of his own character, personal discipline and moral beliefs. If we want to end corruption in the public service the answer does not lie in importing military personnel to keep guard at the ministries. What we have to do is to get rid of those who break the regulations of the service. The so-called military method of drilling only solves the problem temporarily. So far as people found guilty are not reprimanded, the mere presence of soldiers in the Ministries will not effect any permanent change in our public services.

"No Court"

Generally the speaker proved himself able in recounting the tragic story of J.B. Danquah in the first two lectures but when it came to the analytical work of making a comparison between the past Republics and the present era he seemed to fall short of the standard of intellectual objectivity required of him. For instance the speaker vehemently condemned the Preventive Detention Act which was passed by the Nkrumah Administration in 1958 but pretended to be unaware of the fact that certain activities of the present day appear to threaten the basic peace and liberties of the people as the P.D.A. did in earlier times. Take for instance the lawless and cruel behaviour of some members of the Armed Forces who at their own will brutally humiliate civilians.

Mr. Appiah also made brief reference to the notorious "No Court, No Court" outburst of Dr. Busia's

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while ignoring the fact that at present the powers of the High Court have been limited by Decree 191 in a manner which the "No Court, No Court" outburst could not do. Busia's outburst had no legal effect, but the NRC has made it clear in Decree 191 that No Court can question the verdict of any Military Tribunal. What is interesting about this decree is that it was passed immediately after Ofosu-Amaah had tried to challenge the verdict of the Military Tribunal in the High Court.

Another distressing aspect of the lecture was the double standard the speaker adopted in his evaluation of the various governments. He had no hesitation about condemning the rulers of the fallen Republics but when he cites instances of evils like corruption and smuggling going on at present he would want to lay the blame on the people and accuse them of not responding to the leadership of the NRC. Those who

govern cannot blame the population for continuing faults and at the same time claim credit for successes. If the people are responsible for the evils then they and not the leaders must equally take the credit for the good things which exist.

The Academy of Arts and Sciences must be congratulated for organising the lectures but the lesson they need to learn from this year's lectures is that if they want to maintain the high level of interest required of such lectures then they must not invite speakers whose immediate employment makes them incapable of a non partisan appraisal of events. Finally the academy must be reminded that no memorial to commemorate the name of J. B. Danquah would be adequate until his unpublished works like, 'The Elements of Ghana Culture' and 'Sacred Days in Ghana' are retrieved from their obscure resting places and published.



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the competing airline with the most destinations in Africa flies to a few cities more.

Not to mention the Far East, to which Swissair flies but once a day. (Even the exclusive nonstop flights between Geneva and Bombay and between Athens and Bangkok hardly make up

for this.) As you can see, it's no picnic being the airline of a small country; so we won't even talk about our flights to South America.

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Letters

The Press, The People And The Government — A Rejoinder

SIR—I write to congratulate your correspondent S.T.K. Boafo on his good article on the Ghanaian press, and to take issue with him on a couple of points. In the portion of his article dealing with the Press and the NRC, Mr. Boafo quotes part of a speech and an interview by the Head of State, and concludes that “these statements by the Head of State as well as recent remarks of the present Commissioner for Information seem to imply that there is tolerance for free expression of oneself even under a military regime...”

Mr. Editor, I wish to suggest that while it is true that there is indeed a good deal of freedom of expression in Ghana, Mr. Boafo's method of arriving at his conclusion was most inadequate. Official pronouncements have never been the completest way of ascertaining the true state of affairs with regard to certain matters—and the whole question of the people's liberties and freedom is one such matter. Mr. Boafo needed also to have recorded that more than one Editor has been “picked up” for interview or questioning in recent times.

Also, I think that Mr. Boafo should have mentioned to the credit of the NRC that the newspaper Licensing Decree has not been used in the obnoxious manner in which it was feared it might be used—even though of course Mr. Afreh was right in pointing to the potential dangers inherent in it.

P.O. Box 0118
Takoradi

Kofi Kuttin

Who Is To Do What?

SIR—In recent times government officials whose departments are responsible for certain services have been creating the impression that their departments are not functioning efficiently because somebody else is not doing his job. I am thinking especially of the new Chairman of the reconstituted Logistics Committee who is reported recently to have said that his organisation would be prepared to release commodities for distribution only if he was given the assurance that the goods would not be smuggled out of the country. From whom does he want this assurance? And who is responsible for ensuring that smuggling is checked? Is it the ordinary consumer or an organisation with which he has official contact? And why should ordinary citizens be punished because the border guards are either inefficient or corrupt or both?

Just the other day too the Commissioner for Agriculture was reported to have said that the food produced under the OFY programme is not getting to the people because of lack of good feeder roads and adequate transportation facilities. This is very true, and this is not the first time that the Commissioner or other people have drawn attention to the weakness in our food distribution system. But what consolation does this give to the ordinary consumer? As far as I know, the Food Distribution Corporation comes under the Ministry of Agriculture, so why should the Commissioner in charge of the whole outfit create the impression that he is responsible for food production whereas some-

body else should be responsible for its distribution?

I think both the Commissioner for Agriculture and the Chairman of the Logistics Committee are seeking unjustified alibis and passing the buck to some unspecified persons as a way of covering up the inefficiencies of their respective outfits. After all they both work for the same government which should take the blame or credit for what is done efficiently or inefficiently. I am suggesting that it is within the power of these officials to ensure that the citizens are not made to suffer unnecessarily. Perhaps this strengthens the case for integrated and coordinated planning in all sectors of the economy.

Ringway Estate
Accra

B. K. Dankwah

Postponing The Inevitable

SIR—A report in the *Ghanaian Times* of April 2 quotes D.S.P. Mr. J.K. Owuani, Training Chairman of the Greater Accra “Operation Drive Right” as saying that no private vehicles will be allowed to ply the roads of Ghana on the day of the change over—and that only police, military, Fire service and ambulance vehicles will be allowed, but that doctors etc. will be given permits to enable them reach their working places. Since reading that report I have been looking out to see if Mr. Owuani will come to say that he was misreported but I have seen no disclaimer.

But surely if private vehicles are going to ply the roads anyway after August 4, then there is no reason why they should not do so that day itself. In fact August 4 being a Sunday and the following day being a public holiday, most motorists would have had time during those not so busy days to get accustomed to some degree to the right-hand drive conditions, thus reducing the tendency to disaster for the subsequent days.

In any case, I do not think the fact of the change-over is enough reason for restricting the movement of the Ghanaian motorist on August 4. After all, some motorists may have rather urgent affairs to drive to attend to.

North Suntreso
Kumasi

Yaw Brenya

Another Coup in Africa

SIR—I received the news of the recent army coup in Niger with a profound jolt. For a couple of years now there has loomed across Africa's turbulent political periscope, a pleasantly welcome lull. All indications pointed to the assumption that we had reached a stage in our political metamorphosis where the realization had come to dawn on us that Africa's complex headaches could not be assuaged by either a flamboyant display of military chivalry or the ostentatious depiction of power and wealth which characterizes the civilian regimes.

Not surprisingly, the hectic race for political supremacy between the military and civilian factions in most countries of Africa has left in its trail, paralleled in Latin America, the ugly spectre of acrimony, ill-will, asperity, sabotage, persecution—and what have you. Yesterday's falling leaders—immersed in disgrace and bespattered with filth—are today officially exonerated, revered and idealized; yesterday's heroes—doted

upon and floral-bedecked—are today down-trodden, despised as near-villains; forgotten. The cumulative result of these oscillating fortunes has been a freeze on progress. What, with our gaping shortcomings providing in-roads for imperialist penetration.

Africa's problems are uniquely varied and enormous. They are such that no particular segment of the society is capable of providing an effective answer to them. It is only by harnessing the harmonious resources of both the military and civilian segments shall we be capable of offering a panacea to the thickly-buttressed problems of the nations of this long-raped continent. The contemporary African political picture is pregnant with evidence of not-impressive upshots where the solution has been attempted on parochial lines.

For Niger—land-locked, poverty-stricken, the hardest-hit of the Sahelian drought countries—an added political upheaval is definitely not the required magic wand to effect her transformation into an El Dorado. She is at the onset of a long, uncertain twilight.

AB 104 Akuafo Hall
University of Ghana
Legon

E. Nat Andoh

Making Profits or Doing Charity?

SIR—Can anybody explain to me why the government is harassing petty traders accused of selling above the control price? I concede that some of them are unscrupulous, but I wonder whether the harsh sentences imposed on offenders cannot have the effect of deterring them from selling altogether. And in that case what is the alternative for those people who do not live near GNTC or other shops?

Is it reasonable to expect a woman who goes to queue in the sun for hours on end and finally emerges with a few bars of soap or packets of sugar and later takes a taxi home to sell her wares at the same control prices from some unscrupulous petty trader? Or is available in the established shops at control prices, who would be foolish enough to buy them at higher prices from some unscrupulous petty trader? Or is anybody assuming that these petty traders are in business out of charity so that they can be of service to their community neighbours.

Harsh punishment for those selling above control prices does not appear to me to be a lasting solution to our problems. I am convinced that if we stop ordering large quantities of Glenfield Whisky, Aero chocolate, Evian water, baked ham, apples, tinned apricots and other such delicacies we can divert more resources to such necessities as soap, sugar and cutlasses. The fact

that nobody has been charged with selling milk above the control price should indicate that if goods are available in sufficient quantities, embarrassing queues, hoarding and extortion will cease to be problems.

Petty traders are very important in our distribution network. The unscrupulous ones among them should be discouraged through the provision of alternative sources of supply to buyers so that the greedy ones can be put out of business through neglect. Meanwhile, let the goods flow steadily, and they will not get anybody to cheat.

Old Axim Road
Takoradi

Ekua Kwenuah

Let Us Now Praise Humorous Men

SIR—though verily I am more wont to say "Master"—It is to magnify the name of the scribe who sets himself down in your scroll as Santrofi that I take up my pen today.

For I perceive now that the preacher spake the truth when he announced to them of old that to everything there is a season, and a time to every purpose under Heaven. For unto Ghana is come the season and the fullness of time when scribes do courageously set down in truth the affairs of state. Verily, this is good tidings for Ghana, and fortunate too is the humorous demeanour with which this same Santrofi sets down his words. His manner betokeneth that he meaneth offence to no wight and that even the emperor may find relaxation, if he desireth it, in his words. And verily such relaxation were good for the emperor!

Santrofi, thy name be magnified.

Jerusalem Street
Cape Coast

Kweku Blankson

Miscellaneous

AND IT CAME TO PASS...

Epistle No. 7

By

Santrofi

AND it came to pass in those days that the contradictions and paradoxes in the empire continued. All the homilies and exhortations on austerity and sacrifices notwithstanding, a certain prodigality persisted in the land. Even though serious shortages were registered in the supply and distribution of basic commodities, the shops were full of imported liquor and candies and other frivolities which the citizens of average means wanted not. And yet the imperial authorities let it be known that they were more concerned with the fortunes of the average man than with those of the above average citizens, and as was the wont in the land, everybody concurred that this was so.

For, verily, credulity and complacency were two of the many virtues of the subjects in this land whereof I speak. Tolls for the use of roads were exacted from the users of all automotive vehicles, for it had been decreed that vehicle owners had to prove that their engines were of sufficient merit to use the roads, and in order that the merit of the vehicle could be officially attested to, a small fee was charged. Nobody did specifically vow that the dues so collected would be

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employed in the maintenance of the roads whereon the vehicles plied, but it was assumed that if vehicles were to render themselves deserving of the roads and highways and byways, then the roads themselves would have to be made deserving of the meritorious vehicles. But this, almost naturally, was not the case in the land. The roads were not worthy to receive the vehicles that plied on them, but the citizens, in their virtuous complacency, continued to pay the tolls in the fond hope that the imperial authorities, out of the kindness of their heart, might some day deign to make the roads worthy of the vehicles.

Nor was this hope all vain, for it did transpire that from time to time an edict was issued ordering the repair of some roads, usually those leading to privileged zones. Occasionally, as if by mistake, some of the roads were improved upon, but by the normal standards of the workers, the roads got out of the ordeal more tattered than before the operation. But, of course, these orders went out so rarely that the vehicle worthiness of roads in the land was more a matter of faith than that of any objective assessment. And yet the citizens sat back and they murmured not, at least not in the open.

Being of a rather inquisitive nature, I was tempted to make enquiries as to the disparity in the quality of the roads and quality of the vehicles, but on further reflection I held my peace for I did observe that many a vehicle that was on the point of disintegration boldly displayed a certificate purporting to prove that it had been tested and given a clean bill of health. I became naturally curious and wanted to find out how the testing

was done. I therefore accompanied a magisterial acquaintance of mine to the testing place. Upon entering he was asked to pay the testing fee, with which order he promptly complied. Thereafter a form was filled in duplicate, a rosy one was given to him and a label given him to stick on his vehicle. The officer in charge had not so much as sought to see the vehicle on which a certificate of merit had been issued. When I made further efforts to have the whole mystery unravelled to me, my acquaintance whisked me off, explaining to me that since his tyres were too smooth for comfort or safety, any further tarrying might draw attention to them and possibly result in his failing a test which he had passed by default. He further explained that he suspected that the proconsuls were primarily interested in the revenue accruing from the dues paid, but since the previous chieftains had made a gift of those dues to the citizens through the abolition of the Trimestrial Licence, the leaders of now did not want to appear less generous than their predecessors; however, since they needed the money, they thought up this contrivance to convince the citizens that they had great concern for their safety on the roads, and also to prove that they would not do what even their predecessors had undone. Whereupon I concurred that the reigning proconsuls were indeed clever.

The Pursuit of Wealth

And it came to pass in those days that there was a frenzied pursuit of wealth in the land. To some of the citizens all the wealth they sought was that wherewith they could carry out the project of their economic salvation, redemption or survival in those days of inflation, recession, slump, stagnation, stagflation and slumpflation. To many others it meant the acquisition not only of the basics of life with a little margin for luxury, but the appropriation of landed property and many other luxuries besides. It was of course obvious to all in the empire that the normal remunerations could not permit the acquisition of the aforementioned property in good time. There were therefore instituted various mechanisms whereby, chance permitting, wealth could come the way of certain lucky citizens in a short time. And so was it that hebdomadal stakes were instituted by the imperial authorities for the creation of instant wealth. In more sophisticated circles open gambling was sanctioned, and for the not-so-well-to-do, jackpots were provided by some benevolent citizens so that the masses might also find out if fortune would smile at them.

But it came to pass in those selfsame days that not everybody in the land was edified by the encouragement of these mechanisms that generated unearned income to some citizens and deprived the majority of the stakers of the little that they had. Certain divines pontificated on the matter, and it was even reported that a particularly revolutionary and god-fearing provincial governor saddened by all this degeneration, ordered the confiscation of some of those machines that had just arrived in the land from beyond the seas. This action sparked off a long debate in the empire—for the citizens were very loquacious—in which the **Empire Chronicle** and the **Quotidinal Sketch** joined, since the matter affected some of the basic principles of the revolution. For how could revolutionary leaders tolerate such a practice as gambling which only reflected capitalist decadence





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Going to great lengths to please

and bourgeois immorality in the empire? The practice was heartily condemned on both moral and ideological grounds, but this did not prevent one of the chief scribes of the aforementioned gazettes from concluding in his own inimitable logic that the whole gambling apparatus should be taken over by the imperial authorities, so that any profits accruing therefrom would go to the imperial coffers, that is to say, to the citizens. No one bothered, or dared, to find out how an immoral and ideologically unsound practice could become sanctified simply because it was operated by the imperial authorities, for in the empire whereof I speak it is impudent to ask too many questions or to point out inconsequential reasoning and other logical flaws in editorial opinions, it being assumed that the voice of the editor is that of the people just as the voice of the people is the voice of Whom-you-know. Incidentally, the question was never cleared as to what happened to the gambling equipment ordered to be confiscated by the said provincial governor whose name I forget — since frequent changes in portfolios occur in the land — but of course it was a time-honoured custom in the empire that the gazettes never followed up stories. It did come to pass, however, that several lunar cycles later, a proclamation was issued calling upon the pro-

prietors of those infernal machines to pay some tithes, meaning thereby that the operation had been sanctioned as either moral or ideologically sound, or both. The question was of course never resolved, nor even ever asked, whether the said regional governor who had ordered the seizure of the machines had any proper authority so to act, but such impertinent questions were naturally not asked in the empire by reason of the national virtue of complacency aforementioned.

But, happily for the empire and all that dwelt therein, while more contradictions were emerging, other paradoxes were being resolved. For it came to pass that there had been some confusion in the land as to which days were to be regarded as ferial and which as regular days of labour. It had in days gone by been a custom in the empire to observe as a day of repose the anniversary of the day whereon the empire was transformed from a pseudo monarchy theoretically teleguided by an absentee alien princess into a republic under the controversial guidance of an indigenous chieftain. The said chieftain having been eased out of office by certain legionaries desirous of doing things differently, the proclamation of the republic was not commemorated with festivities as had been done of old. These legionaries were succeeded by chieftains in mufti who bore such mortal hatred to the first emperor that they also desisted from the practice of commemorating the republic, even though they did not revert under monarchical tutelage. This last regime was succeeded by yet another which did not appear to know what tradition to follow in this particular matter. It was of course known that the latest governors held the first emperor in great esteem especially since after his demise; they had rehabilitated him and were even planning his secular canonisation. For this reason, it was incomprehensible to many why the latest arrivals on the imperial scene continued to celebrate the fall of the rehabilitated hero of yesteryear. (The paradox of this situation was dilated upon in an earlier epistle).

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And it came to pass, almost as if out of the blue, that while the citizens were pondering over how to resolve the contradiction, an edict was proclaimed wherein it was stated that the fall of the first emperor would no longer be commemorated and that the day whereon the said emperor at his own bidding became consecrated as the sole ruler of the empire would be observed with pomp and pageantry. When this announcement was made, great was the jubilation in the land, for the citizens had been relieved to learn that there was at least some logic left in the land. They also incidentally had now learnt by implication which political traditions they were likely to follow and in what direction they might have been moving. And they were all thankful to the emperor for having made things clear so indirectly.

And so it came to pass that while all these things were going on, the emperor stepped out to survey his wondrous work; he saw the water and communal transport he had provided, the roads he had built or not built and the contradictions he had resolved or not resolved. And once more he did conclude, as was his wont, that his work was good.

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Review

Pan-Africanism and Nationalism in West Africa 1900-1945,

J. Ayodele Langley. Oxford, Clarendon Press 1973 p.373
(excluding Appendices) £6.50

Reviewed by
Yaw Twumasi

This is yet another most welcome addition to the growing literature on Pan-Africanism and nationalism. As is stated rather truthfully and tersely on the dust jacket (blurbs, it has to be remarked, are a powerful advertising technique!) 'This book is the first detailed study not only of the origins of Pan-African politics in West Africa but also of Nationalist ideology and social classes in West Africa during the inter-war period'. The book is written by a West African—in fact a Gambian—who, after a stint as an Assistant Lecturer at the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, (where he wrote a thesis for a Ph.D. which he has now developed into a book), is now serving his country as a top official in the Gambian External Affairs Ministry. These two facts about the book should guarantee it a warm acceptance but there are more solid academic reasons for recommending this most interesting document.

The extant studies on Pan-Africanism usually begin with with a roll call of the famous names of the African Diaspora—Du Bois, Crummel, Delany and Garvey—go on to examine their ideas briefly, and sketchily assess the impact of such ideas on African nationalist leaders, notably Blyden, Casely Hayford and Macaulay, implying in the process the uncritical acceptance of such theories by Africans. Colin Legum, for example, writes in his *Pan-Africanism* (New York, 1965), p.14: 'Pan-Africanism began not in the "homeland" but in the diaspora... It developed through... "a complicated Atlantic triangle of influences" between the New World Europe and Africa. In this early phase—the middle of the nineteenth century up to the turn of the twentieth century—the inhabitants of Africa imbibed these new ideas from their studies mainly in the United State and later in Britain'. Glimpses of this view may be found in the studies by I. Wallerstein and C. Welch, although G. Shepperson's writings constitute a notable exception.

Although the subject matter of the various writers on Pan-Africanism differ widely, they appear to have four common characteristics. First, there is the tendency to treat Pan-Africanism on a continental 'canvas.' Second, not sufficient attention is given to pan-African activities in the inter-war period, and consequently, even though the material is thick on the ground during this period, a serious gap exists in our knowledge of the period between the death of Casely Hayford in 1930 and 1945 when the Manchester pan-Africanist Conference was held. Third, the contribution of French-speaking Africans to political pan-Africanism during the inter-war period has largely been neglected. The vast amount of literature on the history and politics of Pan-Africanism has, according to the author, 'either merely relied on the accounts of Padmore and Du Bois (which do not deal with this aspect in depth) or concentrated on the evolution of the literary doctrine of Negritude developed by Aime Cesaire and President Leopold

Senghor' (pp. 1-2). Finally, little attention is paid, if at all, to the economic and social factors which lay behind the variety of pan-Africanist and nationalist movements in the period of this study. By painstakingly directing scholarly attention to these gaps in our knowledge Dr. Langley has made an immense contribution to African studies.

The main focus of this study is on West Africa but he is careful to relate West African nationalism to pan-Negro consciousness in all its manifold and complex organisational forms. The book is divided into three parts. Part One traces the origins of pan-Negro consciousness in the New World from the time of the Abolition of Slavery to the end of the nineteenth century on the one hand, and examines the impact and reception of these theories in West Africa during the same period on the other. It is this refreshing duality of focus which runs as a thread through the book. The two chapters of this Part seek to provide answers to questions which may be formulated as follows: Why and how did Pan-African ideologies arise in the New World? What climate of intellectual opinion provided the stimulus racism, slavery or 'the white man's burden'? How do pan-African doctrines differ or resemble the ideas of other pan-movements? Was the attention of the West African intelligentsia called to the existence of these racial theories through attraction or repulsion? In answering these questions Langley admirably puts 'New World' and West African Negroes in the context of the intellectual and political history of the West.

The Haitian Example

Langley sees the 'first base for pan-Negro consciousness' in the successful Haitian revolution of 1804 led by Toussaint L'Overture, the epochal significance of which was that former black slaves were able to wrest power from their desire European masters, thus positively demonstrating their for self-government, and emphatically denying prevailing white views of Negro inferiority and incapacity for self-rule. Because the social and political conditions which led to the to the Haitian revolution were a replica of those under which American Negroes lived, a vocal minority of American Blacks took such an interest in this event that they began to advocate emigration to Haiti and Sierra Leone as the only alternative to the intolerable hardships they suffered. It was in this mood of frustration that an emigrationist ideology - stated and restated in flaming editorials and florid protests - emerged among Afro-Americans between 1878 and 1914. With this came the idea of Afro-American identification with Africa during the same period; ideological developments which were opposed by influential and powerful Black assimilationists like T. Thomas Fortune, editor of *New York Age* and *New York World*.

An important index of this racial awakening was the calling of Negro conferences and the organisation of movements which in turn gave a stimulus to growing pan-Negro consciousness. This period saw the convening of the 1900 Pan-African Conference led by the West Indian, H. Sylvester Williams, and the two inter-racial gatherings of 1911 and 1912 - the Universal Races Congress and Booker T. Washington's small-scale pan-African conference. A 'commerce of ideas' - to use G. Shepperson's phrase - between Afro-Americans and Africans may also be dated from this period. In all these activities Africans were not simply mindless retailers of whatever views and doctrines Afro-Americans formulated; on the contrary the former sought to make their own distinctive contribution to the movement and

the ideas. As exemplified in the writings of Blyden, Casely Hayford and his disciple, Sekyi (later to become a maverick) the attitude of pan-Africanists in West Africa was characterised by a profound dualism; while generally welcoming the ideology of race reflected in the resolution of the various conferences, they realistically expressed a preference for the technical and educational development of Africa which the political Tuskegee Conference of 1912 adopted, and rejected utterly the political messianism and missionary spirit of the more militant New World Negroes, whom they believed were disqualified from leading Africa precisely because of the latter's assimilation into American culture. This ideological attitude is best stated by Casely Hayford in his *Ethiopia Unbound: Studies in Race Emancipation*: the Afro-American, 'has lost absolute touch with the past of his race, and is helplessly groping in the dark for affinities that are not natural . . . looking at the matter closely it is not so much Afro-Americans that we want as Africans or Ethiopians'. Casely Hayford—who was in fact more influenced by his fellow 'West African', Edward Blyden—believed that the initiative for African political regeneration must be taken by 'cultured West Africans'.

Chief Alfred Sam

Indeed, an important initiative to implement a major programme of pan-African idealists—African colonization scheme—was taken by a Gold Coast African, Chief Alfred Sam of Akim who, until the publication of a book by W. E. Bittle and G. Geis on him in 1964, was generally regarded as a *petit maitre* of the African movement, and consequently relegated to footnotes in some serious works on the subject. Langley rightly examines the role of Sam in the African movement at some considerable length. On the basis of hitherto unused primary sources he shows clearly that this predecessor of Garvey built a model on which the latter patterned his much better known Back-to-Africa Movement. Sam who was educated at the German Missionary Seminary at Kibi was involved in export-import trade with America by 1911. By 1913 he had bought a vessel of 30,000 tons, and was in the same year invited to Oklahoma, U.S.A., where he outlined his plans to American Negroes who desired to emigrate to Gold Coast. Encouraged by the response to the roseate picture he painted of the conditions in the Gold Coast, he launched the Ethiopian Steamship Line, bought the *Liberia*, and sailed for Saltpond, Gold Coast with about 60 American Negroes, 38 of whom were cooks, farmers, lumbermen and mechanics from Oklahoma. By 1915, Sam accompanied by an 'ideological' partner, Rev. Orishatuke Faduma (a Sierra Leonean, formerly known as James Davies, who studied at London and Yale Universities and taught for seventeen years in Negro schools in America), arrived at Saltpond to be welcomed by the Aborigines Rights Protection Society and Casely Hayford's *Gold Coast Leader*. Even though, owing to haste, the plans for a twentieth century return of the transatlantic exiles went awry, Sam's movement set Marcus Garvey (then working as an 'office' boy on the staff of the *African Times and Orient Review* edited by the half-Egyptian, half-Sudanese nationalist, Duse Mohammed Ali) thinking. This paper had criticised Sam's movement as fraudulent and unrealistic, but Garvey obviously drew his own conclusions. The conditions which led Sam to launch his movement were brought into sharper focus after World War I; the social composition of Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association; the launching of the Black Star Steamship Line, are all reminiscent of Sam's African Movement. The difference between the two was that the intelligent, flam-

boyant and messianistic Garvey publicized with greater élan at the end of World War I what Sam had begun before the war. Both movements were examples of the economic dimension of Pan-Africanism though Garvey more than Sam linked the 'political' and 'economic' closely. He preached the liberation of Africa and connected it with the struggle of Blacks in America arguing that the condition of a strong and united Pan-Negro movement lay in the economic strength and self-sufficiency of the black man. Garvey is as a result of this reasoning seen as a pan-African 'capitalist' in contradistinction to the 'socialist' Du Bois; Langley, however, believes that this distinction drawn between Garvey and the less charismatic Du Bois is a good deal more tenuous. If there was any difference at all, it is convincingly argued, this lay less in ideological orientation than in political styles. Du Bois's pan-Africanism was more intellectual but rather ineffective, and the majority of the West African nationalist intelligentsia tended to be more favourably disposed to the militant and economic objectives of Garvey than to the Du Bois movement. Nkrumah, for example, admits to the immense influence on him of Garvey's philosophy in his *Autobiography*. The value of this part of the book is that all these movements are related to the incipient nationalism in West Africa.

It was not only in this that Nkrumah was following in the wake of the early West African nationalists; in the early decades of this century the West African nationalist intelligentsia began to grope towards a warmer conception of pan-Africanism, a concept which found institutional expression in the National Congress of British West Africa. In Part 2 of this book the origins of the Congress movement are examined in depth, as also the various territorial Committees of the Congress. The value of the two main chapters devoted to this aspect seems to me to be a revisionist one; it also illuminates the social basis of the leadership which despite numerous defects, first attempted to organise Pan-Africanism on a regional basis in Africa. This regional movement which came into formal existence in 1920 had Casely Hayford as its moving spirit, although the active support of the Freetown intelligentsia was indispensable for its success. It is significant that the Sierra Leone section of the NCBWA was active in politics even in the 1950's having survived by about two decades the leader (Casely Hayford) who more than any West African made the conference possible.

West African Bias

The congress movement, it is convincingly demonstrated, owed more to Blydenist ideas than to any doctrines of 'New World' intellectuals. One reason for this distinctive approach of the early West African nationalists was that they were hard-headed realists who sought, despite their platform rhetoric, to reconcile prevailing pan-Africanist ideas with their social and economic interests, a fact shown quite clearly with demands they made on the colonial administration (which they did not seek to upturn but rather to reform). The evidence that the idea of West African unity took firm root among nationalist circles in English-speaking West Africa may be seen in the fact that for more than three decades *haute politique* in this area consisted largely in making the right noises about West African nationhood. Dr. J. W. de Graft Johnson entitled his book published in 1928, *Towards West African Nationhood* (later *Times of West Africa*); Dr. Azikiwe founded the *West African Pilot* in 1937; J. K.

Ayew and Ashie Nikoe, after the 1937-38 cocoa hold-up rechristened the farmers' union they led, The Farmers Committee of British West Africa, and in the 1950's Dr. Nanka Bruce, Brakatu Ateko, Danquah and Bankole Awonor Renner sought to revive the Congress. After the 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress Nkrumah saw no incongruity in forming the West African National Secretariat in 1946 for the sole purpose of coordinating the activities of political bodies for a United West African Independence. For those familiar with the proceedings of the Watson Commission of 1948, the idea of territorial independence for Ghana was accepted by Nkrumah when he became a member of the U.G.C.C. in 1947, just as the idea of continental unity became with him a consuming passion only after Ghana's independence. On this as in much else he was following a trail blazed by the earlier nationalists of West Africa.

Economic Factors

The final chapter of this section discusses a most important, but rather neglected, aspect of nationalist and protest movements in Africa i.e. the relationship between a colonial economy and nationalism as well as the impact of economic forces on colonial territories and the significance of the intelligentsia's responses for the development of nationalism. Various grumblings spawned by economic crises between 1919 and 1939 are examined, and Langley's conclusion seems to be that 'Bourgeois nationalism...never succeeded in penetrating the core of the problems...to make more explicit the fundamental opposition between alien rule and economic interests of the colonized' (p. 238.) This judgement is as true of those who led the Youth Movements of the late 1930's like Danquah, Azikiwe and Wallace Johnson as well as of the post-1945 nationalists like Nkrumah who, in a typical anti-Marxist fashion, assigned primacy to politics — 'See ye first the political Kingdom'. One good quality of this book is that the author keeps closely to the facts; this seems to be jettisoned in this chapter in favour of preconceptions. Any close study of the papers of the leaders of these governments will show the extent to which some of the leaders were aware of the 'fundamental opposition'. Unlike the other chapters this one on "colonial economics 1918-1939" relies far too heavily on secondary sources, hence rather than on such important events as the various cocoa hold-ups. Any close scrutiny will reveal the important role by the nationalist elite and even chiefs in economic movements for reform.

In Part Three of the book the author turns to a discussion of the activities of the NCBWA in London; Francophone pan-Negroism between 1924-1936; the impetus the Italo-Ethiopian crisis gave to Pan-African thought and nationalist activity between 1935-1939; and the attempts made by Wallace Johnson, Makonnen and Nkrumah and others to revive the pan-West African idea. The quality of the four chapters of this section seems to me to be uneven. With a lot of painstaking documentation the London activities of the NCBWA are scrutinised, but the main achievement of this chapter seems to me to be a historiographical one; the fundamental question — whether the 'agitation of the (NCBWA) had any direct bearing on the granting of elective representation' (p. 265) is raised — for the first time in a serious way. In answering this question Langley discusses at some length the relative import-

ance and value to be attached, in a study of this kind, to official documents, private papers of nationalist leaders and the psychological states of mind of top colonial officials. To him there is nothing conclusive about official documents, and those who rely solely on official documents betray 'a naivete which is incompatible with responsible and objective scholarship' (p. 284). He urges, rather fittingly, the acceptance of papers of nationalist leaders as 'relevant papers' by historians. If this latter view is in any way veridical, on the logic of his arguments, it appears safe to conclude that the granting of elective representation to the Gold Coast, Nigeria and Sierra Leone in the 1920's was mainly in response to the demands of the Congress, even if Sir Hugh Clifford (the Governor of Nigeria at the time), for example, failed to admit congress influence in his numerous despatches to the Colonial Office. From my own work in two archives — London and Accra — Gold Coast's Guggisberg was less devious in his despatches than Clifford. The former openly advocated for elective representation for Accra, Cape Coast and Sekondi — 'the homes of the intelligentsia', as he put it. On this reading of the matter it would appear that we should be hesitant in writing off the Congress movement as an 'itinerant seminar of the West African bourgeoisie...or to picture its leaders as outmoded nationalists preaching doctrines inherited from mid-Victorian anti-imperialism and advocating a liberal democracy of which a chastened Europe was becoming sceptical', (p. 283); for on such considerations as above a certain *eclat* attended their activities.

Nationalists with British Names

One incidental point which forcibly strikes the reader needs to be mentioned. It looks rather paradoxical that such ardent pan-Africanists as are discussed in the pages of this study should bear such obviously very foreign names as Mills, Wood, Williams, Sam, Macaulay, Small, Sampson, Benjamin, Abraham, Hutchinson and White. *The Journal of the African Society* of 1920-21, while commenting sympathetically on the aims and problems of the Congress, made a most apposite remark *apropos* of charocal black Africans who sought to 'whiten' their African names:

'The inauguration of the British West African Congress tends to show that West Africa should no longer be regarded as composed as separate colours...There are some respects in which the West African might with advantage express his new sense of racial consciousness. At present the educated West African is too ready to Europeanise himself...It is a pity that West Africans have so freely adopted European names. If the Aga Khan writes to the *Times* on behalf of his fellow Muhammedans, the most ignorant Englishman who reads the letter realises from the signature that the Aga Khan presumably knows what he is talking about. But those who read in the newspapers to-day that Mr. Casely Hayford and Mr. Hutton Mills advocate changes in the West African constitution...Englishman show their bad taste in their customs, and many West Africans show that they too, have a bad taste in copying it...Now that West Africa is demanding a voice in its own affairs might it not with advantage device a culture of its own, a culture...in which English patronymics should have no place'. (p. 243)

IT MUST BE **Gulder** THE BEER THAT TASTES RIGHT



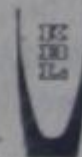
Drink a glass of **Gulder**, the new lager beer.
Roll it round on your tongue,
swallow slowly, then ask yourself.....
be honest.....

Did any beer in all your life, taste so very, very right?

The **Gulder** taste tells you that everything's right
about **Gulder**, like no other beer before.



KUMASI BREWERY LIMITED



LINTAS 2-89-8411

English patronymics are still with us in Ghana — in Cape Coast, and to some extent, in Accra!

Chapter VIII demonstrates quite clearly, and for the first time in a book — J. S. Spiegler's interesting study of nationalist thought among French-speaking West Africans between the inter-war period is still an Oxford D.Phil dissertation — that: (a) French African participation in political pan-Africanism far from being negligible after 1921 was on the contrary, active, and such pan-African groups as existed among French West Africans, closely followed the activities of Pan-Negro groups in America, North Africa and Indo-China; (b) there existed several Negro political organisations in Paris between 1924 and 1926; (c) there existed in the 1920's and 1930's a radical group of French Negro West Indian and African intellectuals and ex-service men from whose ranks the radical organisations recruited their leaders, and these organisations rejected assimilation and sought therefore to replace the African deputies in France; (d) this latter group accepted current pan-African visions establishing a Negro State in Africa as the only solution to the racial and political problems of Negroes. This bit is very well-researched and fills an important gap in our knowledge. The chapter on 'Radicalism and Protest 1935-1939' is rather thin, and this is partly because the reliance on newspaper sources is too heavy. One would have liked to know more about the grassroots organisation of Wallace-Johnson in the Gold Coast. Much the same point may be made about the attempts to revive the Congress idea of West African Unity, though it is refreshing to note that by '1945 African Unity had not... assumed continental proportions for Nkrumah's approach to Pan-Africanism up to August 1962 was regional'.

Criticisms

Two closely related criticisms may be made of this well-written book. On West African unity the author does not appear to confront the question as to whether the West African intelligentsia seriously believed in West African nationhood or whether they simply united to have an increase in their resources in the confrontation with the Colonial Office for increased participation in politics. It would have been interesting if the author had addressed himself to this question which is of contemporary relevance in Africa where the issue of African unity still engages the attention of political leaders.

Secondly, nationalists of the period are labelled as 'bourgeois', presumably because they failed to make more explicit the fundamental opposition between colonial rule and the economic interests of the colonized. Because they failed to do this some social scientists argue that they were simply pursuing their 'class interests', and a simple model of rational and enlightened self-interest is all that is needed to explain their activities and demands. The question then is: should the pre-1945 intelligentsia be described as 'nationalists', as I believe and as others like Hodgkin think? The nationalists model may be legitimately and fruitfully used to explain their activities. The author assumes without satisfactory intellectual reasons why the activities he examined should be seen as 'nationalist' activities. His reasons are needed in a study of nature.

Despite these criticisms this is a solid piece of research, and with its publication the treatment of Pan-Africanism has been raised from the banal level one is

used to in some popular accounts. The important conclusion of this study is that there was not a single Pan-African movement; on the contrary there was a series of movements, assuming different characteristics under different leaderships, but that all were loosely united by an ideology of race, colour and by a burning sense of injustice and inferiority, a feeling which was to be found among English-speaking no less than among French-speaking West Africans. By disentangling the complex interrelations and linking them to the growing nationalist movement of West Africa, Dr. Langley has made a significant contribution to scholarship.

For The Record

Friday, April 5

Pharmaceutical Factory Opened

A \$2 million pharmaceutical factory was opened at Koforidua in the Eastern region today by Col I. K. Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C. The factory, Intravenous Infusions Limited, will produce various kinds of physiological solutions for hospitals in the country. It is jointly owned by a Swiss company, the National Investment Bank and Messrs S. C. Appenteng, K. Appenteng and E. K. Osei.

Monday, April 8

Ghana's Republic Day

GHANA'S Republic Day which falls on July 1 will now be celebrated as a holiday, according to the Public Holidays (Amendment) (No. 2) Decree, 1974, published in Accra today. The Decree also said that with effect from next year, the first Monday in August will no longer be a holiday.

Thursday, April 11

Ghanaian Gets UNEF Post

THE Commander of the Ghana Army, Brigadier E. A. Erskine, was today appointed Chief of Staff at the U.N. Emergency Force (UNEF) Headquarters for the Middle East. He will take up his new appointment in Cairo shortly after the Easter holidays. The UNEF Headquarters in Cairo, headed by General Ensio si Ilasvuo of Finland, administers a force of about 7,000 including a 500-man Ghanaian contingent, serving in the Middle East peace-keeping operations.

A release from the Ghana Armed Forces said Brigadier F. W. K. Akuffo, Commander of the Border Guard, has been appointed to succeed Brigadier Erskine as Commander of Ghana Army.

Taylor Submits Report

MR. J. N. K. Taylor, Chairman of the Taylor Assets Committee, today submitted the first and second parts of volume one of the Committee's report to Col. I. K. Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the NRC at the Osu Castle.

The first part of volume one of the report covers Dr. K. A. Busia and his wife; Mr. R. R. Amponsah and his wife and Mr. S. D. Dombo and his wives. The

second part covers Mr. G.D. Ampaw and his wife; Dr. W.G. Bruce-Konuah and his wife; Mr. Jatoo Kaleo and his wives and Mr. J.K. Lamprey and his wife.

The Committee was appointed in 1972 to investigate, among other things, the existence, nature, extent and method of acquisition and disposal of the assets of specified person in the Busia Government and the assets of their wives.

Saturday, April 13

Ghana Calls for Probe

GHANA today called for a U.N. probe into the activities of oil companies to find out whether the energy crisis resulted from their refusal to reduce profits. The call was made by Maj. Kwame Baah, Ghana's Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, when he addressed the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on raw materials and development in New York. Maj. Baah said it could be that the world is facing an energy crisis merely because the oil companies refuse to accept a cutback in their profits by absorbing the increase in oil prices. He also called for consultation between the developed and developing countries in solving the world's economic and political problems.

Tuesday, April 16

Major Asante Resigns

MAJOR Kwame Asante, Commissioner for Transport and Communications, has resigned from the Government for personal reasons. According to an official statement, Major Asante's resignation has been accepted by the Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C. who thanked the Commissioner for his diligence and hard work.

Government Makes Changes

COL. P.K. Agyekum, Northern Regional Commissioner, has been appointed Commissioner for Transport and Communications, according to an official statement issued today in Accra. He replaces Major Kwame Asante who has resigned.

The statement also said that Lt.-Col. F.F. Addae, Press Secretary to the N.R.C. has been appointed Northern Regional Commissioner. The appointments take immediate effect.

Also, Commander Joy K. Amedume, Central Regional Commissioner, has been reassigned to the Ashanti Region to replace Lt.-Col. E.A. Baidoo, who has been transferred to the Central Region as Commissioner. The two reassignments take effect from May 16, 1974.

Govt. Commutes Death Sentences

THE National Redemption Council has commuted to life imprisonment the death sentences imposed by two Military Tribunals on Alhaji Imoru Ayarna, Kojo Botsio, John Tettegah and John Alex Hamah. Ayarna, Botsio and Tettegah were found guilty of conspiracy to commit subversion, subversion and concealment of subversion, while Alex Hamah was in a separate trial, convicted of plotting to overthrow the Government by unlawful means.

FOUR N.R.C. MEMBERS PROMOTED

FOUR members of the National Redemption Council have, on the recommendation of the Armed Forces Council, been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. They are Major Kwame Baah, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs; Major K.B. Agbo, Commissioner

for Labour, Social Welfare and Co-operatives; Major R.J.A. Felli, Commissioner for Economic Planning and Major A.H. Selormey, Commissioner for Health. According to an official announcement, the promotions take immediate effect.

Poetry

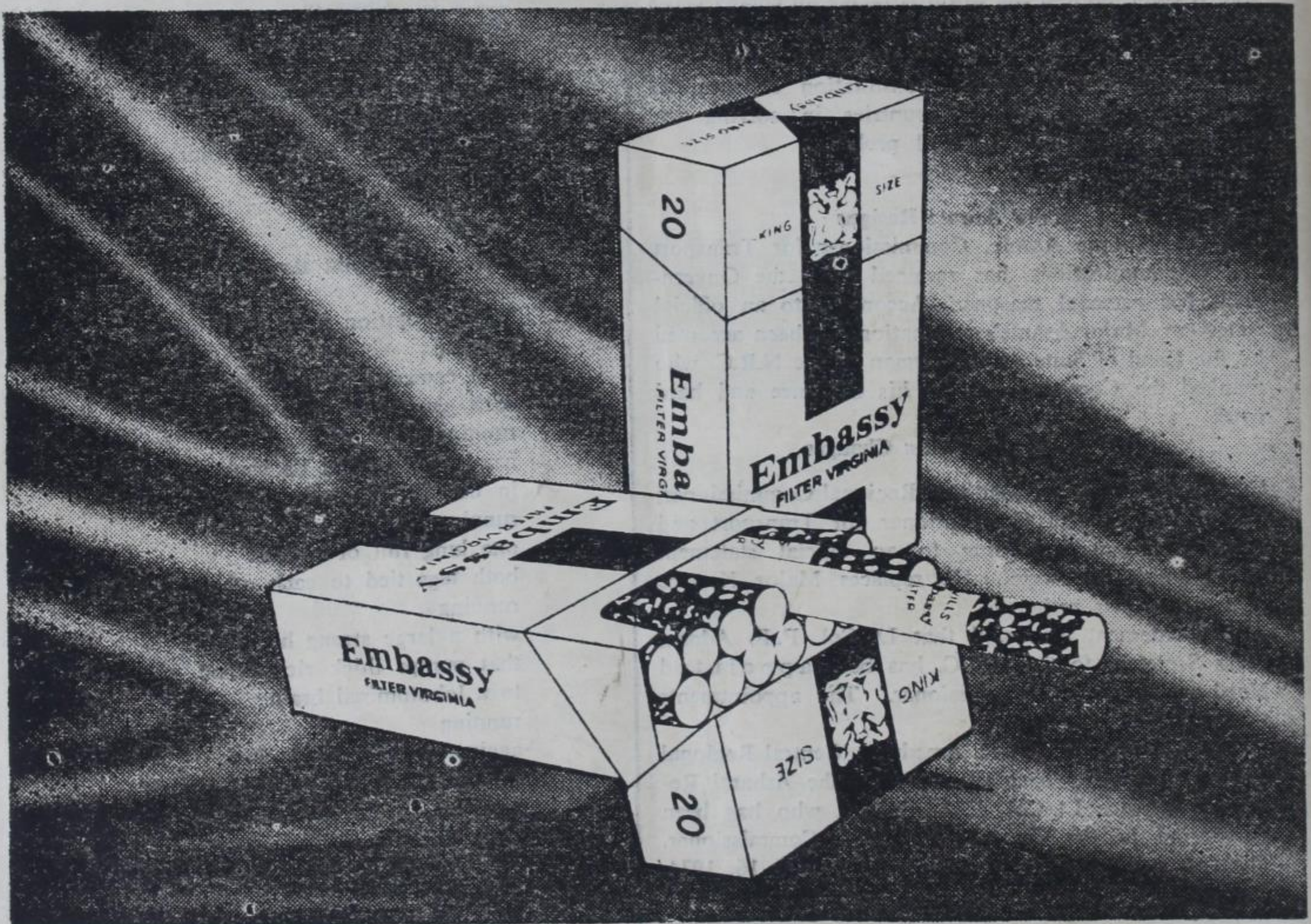
3 REVOLUTIONS

By

Nii K. Bentsi-Enchill

1. If I told you that
the things you are eating
are really
finely cut slices of
stagnant ditch water
dried bright green in the sun,
would you believe me enough
to stop looking at pictures
and glance at the end of your
silver fork?
and then
would you even
believe what you saw?
2. The Revolution is coming!
running
with cement blocks on its feet
dark glasses over its eyes
running
hands tied behind its back
in complicity, palms upward
running
one lung full of alcohol
both legs tied to each other, cramped
running
with a large strong heart
that pumps thick rich blood
to a lobotomised brain
running
against a magnetised clock
in a labyrinth of material objects
ignorant as the lurking beast
Yes
The Revolution is coming
Running!
3. Tell the truth to your people
but don't throw it out
from the back door
let it grow in the sun
let it sweat
and maybe crack
but keep it in the open
under the sun
where everybody can see
who is trying
to bury it;
at least, if you
tell the truth to your people,
while venal men
try to stab their eyes
their ears
are always open.

The trend is to **Embassy** the milder, smoother cigarette



To-day more and more go-ahead people are changing to Embassy. Embassy cigarettes are preferred because they are milder and smoother, with a pleasant aroma.

Embassy are the popular choice because they give smoking satisfaction. A growing number of discerning smokers go for Embassy. DO YOU?

Embassy the milder, smoother cigarette