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Editorial

ONE YEAR OF THE N.R.C.

THE government of the National Redemption Council, headed by Colonel I. K. Acheampong, has been in power for just one day short of a year. A year is a short period during which one can expect spectacular results from any government, and yet it is sufficiently long to permit an evaluation of the general direction it has been following, and to assess the impact it has made or is likely to make during the years ahead.

The problems which faced the new government on its assumption of office were formidable. Agricultural production was low, and it had become necessary to import large quantities of food. In 1971, over ₵90 million was spent on the importation of food and agricultural raw materials. The country was facing balance of payments difficulties, which meant that we could be threatened with serious food shortages, unless something drastic was done to arrest the situation. It was for this, and other economic reasons like our external debt, that the Busia government resorted to the massive devaluation of December 1971, which can be considered as the immediate cause of the military take-over.

Since assuming power, the military government has, within the past year, adopted certain policy measures aimed at restoring the economy to a healthy position. It has reduced the magnitude of devaluation, repudiated some debts and declared a unilateral moratorium on others, instituted strict import controls and succeeded in obtaining a handsome surplus on our external trade balance.

But by far the most important hallmark by which this government will be always remembered is the impetus it has given to agriculture. It has not only talked about agriculture, as previous governments have done, but it has sought in every way possible to give concrete encouragement and direction. Realising that it makes no sense for an agricultural country like ours to import enormous quantities of food, the government has tried through its pronouncements and campaigns to educate the public in this direction and to stimulate interest in farming at the national and personal level. It has undertaken a psychological campaign to impress upon Ghanaians the necessity for relying basically on our own productive capacity. The government's view is that containing our imports within reasonable limits would be a great step forward. This problem was seen by previous governments but what they do not appear to have realized was that properly educating the public mind as well as organizing for implementation was an important factor in economic planning. This type of education the present government has undertaken with a view to getting us to

place great reliance on our local food items. The government's achievement in this direction may not have been as spectacular as it may have envisaged; people have not changed their tastes, but there is a greater awareness of the need for self-reliance. One of the important measures taken has been to create a machinery for monitoring field operations which seems to be working satisfactorily.

In line with this general policy, certain food items, originally labelled "essential commodities" and later redesignated "foreign foods and commodities" were made the direct responsibility of government agencies in their importation and distribution, and received government subsidies. The distribution of these food items is still a major source of frustration: there are constant shortages which have been variously attributed to inadequate supplies, hoarding or smuggling. Whatever the reason, the supply and distribution of these commodities are rather unsatisfactory, and it is hoped that the government will address itself to this issue as a matter of urgency.

The central point in the N.R.C.'s economic policy is the production of local food. The government's determination on this point was reflected in the granting of 42% of the allocation for the economic sector to agriculture in the last budget. The production targets set for staple foods like maize and yam represented an increase of about 27% over the previous year's levels. Claims have been made in the various regions about these targets having been exceeded, but it is only when the evidence has been assembled that the accuracy of the claims, and their impact on the economy can be fully assessed. It is, however, a fact that people have responded to the "Operation Feed Yourself" campaign, and there is evidence that a greater acreage has been cultivated than ever before; the spirit behind the campaign is very sound and its psychological impact, which has been significant, needs to be pursued.

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It is difficult to evaluate how significant an impact the O.F.Y. campaign has made on food production and cost, judging from market prices. Prices of local food items have not gone down; on the contrary, some of them have gone up, but if the O.F.Y. campaign enables us to reduce our import bill on food, then it will have been an exercise worth pursuing. If the present rates of increased cultivation continue, it will not take us too long to witness some downward trends in our food bills.

A question closely related to that of food production is that of storage. In the preservation and storage of both fish and agricultural products, it would seem that the past year did not show any significant breakthrough. It is, however, encouraging to note that it has become a question of national concern, that the government is very conscious of this, and is taking steps towards finding a solution.

Another major area of weakness in our agricultural programme is cattle production. At the moment we are heavily dependent on outside sources for the bulk of our supplies. The last budget did not address itself to this question, but subsequent government statements have mentioned the need for properly planning and undertaking livestock production. Evidently, during its first year in office, the government could not be expected to take all agricultural problems together in its stride. We believe that the enthusiasm and vigour which have gone into the Operation Feed Yourself campaign in agricultural production, can be directed towards livestock production during the second phase of the campaign.

The next phase of the campaign should involve the pursuit of policies that will ensure that the momentum of the O.F.Y. in the first phase will be carried forward. These include more lasting solutions to the question of land tenure, access to credit, marketing, transportation and general distribution, including the important problem of processing and storage, already mentioned above, and the reorganisation for more effective functioning of the Ministry of Agriculture. On some of these, we are aware that the Commissioner for Agriculture has been actively engaged. For example, it has been recommended that a national committee on land tenure be established to make proposals to the government on easier access to, and a more rational use of, the nation's farm land. For the first time, more funds than ever before have been made available to farmers in the form of loans and other supporting services. But very little progress seems to have been made on the marketing front. This is particularly unsatisfactory, especially when it is known that even at our current level of under-production, a substantial portion of what has been produced goes to waste on the farms, or by the way side, and in the distribution system. On the question of reorganisation, it is known that the Ministry is being re-orientated more effectively towards its essential task of supporting development. It is hoped that the idea of divisional restructuring, greater regional and district involvement in decision-making and operation, the expansion of technical staff and complementary resources, will be pursued more vigorously and systematically.

In this review, we have concentrated only on

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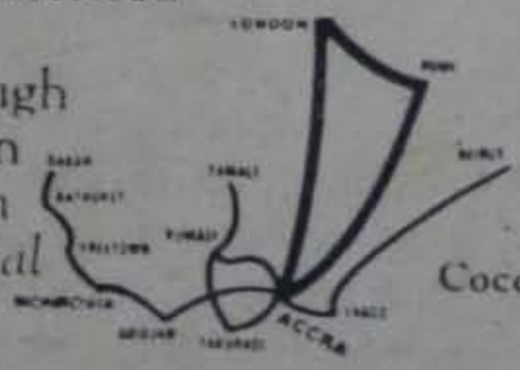
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the area in which the government has possibly achieved its major success, or at least made a very significant impact on our national awareness. Since the O.F.Y. campaign was launched, we have had only one major planting and harvesting season, and for this reason it is difficult to speak in terms of concrete results, especially in the absence of figures. Nevertheless, in comparison with previous governments, it is quite clear that the present government has got its priorities right, and furthermore, that it has gone beyond mere pronouncements to concrete action in the field.

As the government enters its second year, it is crucial to the success of the whole agricultural programme that every nerve be strained to consolidate and expand what has been achieved so far through sustained effort.

The Economy

THE YEAR'S ECONOMIC REVIEW

By

Kwabena Manu.

WE have just passed through the first phase of a second military rule in less than a decade in the short but exciting history since independence in 1957. Those who staged the second **coup d'etat** in January 1972 have told us repeatedly that they were genuinely motivated to overthrow the civilian administration on two main economic grounds: first, their desire to save the country from the economic and financial chaos into which it had been plunged, and second, their desire to see a vigorous transformation of the economy through our own hard work to relieve the broad masses of Ghanaians from massive hunger and the anxieties of life. These are indeed noble motives which most Ghanaians would appreciate. It is true that most of us do not understand the complexities of economic problems and therefore cannot offer any intelligent analysis to solve these problems, but we were all painfully aware by December 1971 that the economy was still fragile and weak. The civilian government's answer to the endemic problem was to devalue the cedi in a bid to attack the root causes of the factors which have plagued the economy for more than a decade. This measure proved fatal and in less than a month the government was toppled.

Following the accusations against the P.P. regime of economic mismanagement, the N.R.C. adopted several measures which in their view were aimed at resuscitating the economy. First, the cedi was revalued by 42% and in order to keep prices within the pockets of the average Ghanaian, seven "essential" commodities were subsidised. Amid fanfare and pageantry, typical of Ghana, the Operation Feed Yourself campaign was launched to provide sufficient food to feed the nation as well as to provide raw materials for our industries. In order to boost morale in the Civil Service, which had allegedly sunk to low levels by the provisions of the 1971/72 budget, the N.R.C. abolished the Special Development Levy, re-introduced the car maintenance allowance, and restored a number of fringe benefits to public servants.

But by far the boldest action taken by the N.R.C. which has endeared it to the hearts of many Ghanaians was the repudiation of the medium-term debts which were known to have been vitiated by malpractices and also the unilateral moratorium of ten years on other debts. If one considers the fact that the solution to the external debt had eluded previous governments, the step taken by the N.R.C. was seen by many Ghanaians as providing a fresh start in nation building. All Open General Licences were revoked and import licensing was re-introduced to ease the pressure on the balance of payments.

In addition, the N.R.C. enumerated its objectives, policies and strategies, the underlying philosophy being "self-reliance." In attempting to evaluate how far these aims have been achieved it will be grossly unfair to expect the N.R.C. to provide the panacea to all our economic ills within the relatively short time of one year; we can only analyse a few of the policies adopted so far to see if they will provide the basis for sustained economic growth. Our economy has such varied problems that no single approach can be best suited for all; yet they are all related.

The N.R.C's economic philosophy has been one of self-reliance, "a firm belief that Ghana must make full use of its total human and material resources and should not depend upon external assistance for its survival". This principle is reflected in the increased state control of the economy and the acquisition of majority shares in some mining and timber industries. We must be cautious, though, of the extent to which the government can efficiently apply extensive controls in the economy; excessive government control of the economy through direct participation may tax the manpower capacities of the nation. The administrative and managerial capacity of the government is at the moment not adequate to the task of absorbing many investment efforts in a reasonably productive and efficient way, so that increased control at too rapid a pace may actually prove counter-productive.

If we are going to rely on ourselves to save the economy from stagnation, it is essential that government revenue grows much faster than government expenditure. This means not only widening the tax net to include more people, especially those who are self-employed, but also bringing about efficiency in tax collection. One of the objectives of the government is to reduce the large budget deficits which have been characteristic of previous budgets; and to achieve this it may be necessary to introduce new taxes and/or increase the rates of existing ones unless the machinery for tax collection can be improved upon. Malpractices in a number of enterprises should be checked. It is generally known for instance that there is a great deal of under-invoicing by timber exporters, as well as actual misrepresentation of the species exported, which determines the prices paid. To maximise the revenue from the timber industry, the government should reorganise the industry and make the Ghana Timber Marketing Board the sole body responsible for the buying and overseas selling of timber and its allied products. In this way the government can ensure maximum benefit from the industry.

Balance of Payments

Economic development is a complex undertaking and requires a national leadership willing and able to provide strong impetus to the development effort and to ensure its continuity. The N.R.C. appears to have scored high marks in providing this leadership. What is not so clear is whether this mass enthusiasm is apparent or real. Can it be sustained? No doubt time will temper the blanket condemnation of everything the P.P. government did; it seems that those who are loudest in their condemnation of the P.P. government have done so purely from their selfish point of view. It is for all of us to recognise the problems of economic development and help to design policies, both on the national and individuals levels, to surmount the obstacles that stand in the way of carrying out national and potentially effective development programmes.

On the balance of payments front, the N.R.C. appears to have contained the problem with a trade surplus of ₵133.6 million in the first nine months of 1972. A lot of comments have been made on this apparent success, but a careful analysis will show that this is nothing to be unduly proud of. The trade surplus has been achieved mainly by widespread, indiscriminate and strict administrative control of imports and also by a favourable world price of cocoa. Granted that there are certain imports which we can dispense with, we cannot starve our factories by denying them the raw materials which they require for production. It is a contradiction to grant 30% Export Bonus and at the same time deny such exporters the necessary inputs of raw materials, spare parts etc. with which to increase their production for export. Given that the foreign exchange situation is not going to improve substantially in the next few years, policy measures must be directed towards a more rational allocation of the scarce foreign exchange among the competing claims. Specifically, the government should allocate the use of foreign exchange in such a way as to prevent the widespread under-utilization of capacity prevalent in the economy. To raise export earnings speedily, especially of manufactured goods, the input position of the manufacturing sector needs to be improved. In any case we can only accumulate reserves overseas up to a certain safe level without a heavy cost to the economy, having regard to our import requirements, but beyond this safe level it is almost a crime for a developing country like Ghana to lock up scarce foreign exchange in foreign banks when there are urgent development projects to be undertaken at home.

The Export Drive

In my view, the trade surplus may not ensure a healthy balance of payments for the country; traditionally the problem with the balance of payments has always been with the invisible items in the current account and unless efforts are made to cut down expenditures on these items, we will find that the balance of payments is still in the red at the end of the year. An alternative to administrative cuts in essential imports needed to raise domestic output is to intensify the efforts that have already been made to increase Ghana's exports and to economise on non-essential imports, both by developing import-replacing industries, and also by increasing the efficiency of existing home producers. The present situation where some industries are forced to close down or cut back production for lack of essential inputs is wasteful and uneconomic.

Although primary industry should be encouraged to increase its output and export, it would be wise to place greater emphasis in future on the development of manufacturing exports. Ghanaian manufacturers are probably more conscious of the need for increasing exports than at any time in the past; and they have been

given valuable financial inducements (30% Export Bonus) to develop this side of their business. There is reason to believe that a number of Ghanaian subsidiaries of overseas companies are prevented from engaging in the export drive by decisions of their parent organizations. This is a matter into which a full enquiry should be made, and on which the government should exercise the maximum pressure in order to ensure that all Ghanaian-domiciled concerns play their full part in the export drive. This assertion is made on the simple fact that most foreign subsidiaries in Ghana also operate in other parts of Africa producing basically the same homogeneous products, and it is very unlikely that products from the Ghana plants will be allowed to compete with similar products in other parts of Africa even when Ghana has a cost advantage. Such concerns are not interested in engaging in export drive; they are content to serve the domestic market behind a highly protected tariff wall.

Smuggling and Hoarding

In one area the N.R.C. has failed to bring about much needed change—smuggling and hoarding-although the blame is not wholly the government's. The government is spending over twenty million cedis to subsidise prices of foreign foods and commodities, yet few Ghanaians get these commodities. They are either smuggled out to neighbouring countries or hoarded by unscrupulous traders and sold at fantastic prices. There is no longer any economic justification to keep on subsidi sing these commodities. The army personnel who now guard our borders have not made any impact either on the volume or the rate of smuggling, despite the amount of resources poured into combating it; the constant checks in the markets for hoarded goods have not in any way reduced traders' propensity to hoard; the only solution to these malpractices is to remove the subsidy. Prices of these commodities will naturally go up, narrowing the price differential in Ghana and, say, Togo which will make smuggling an unprofitable venture. This is the only way to stop traders from making enormous profits out of the government.

The only difficulty we envisage are the social and political implications of removing the subsidy. After all the noise made about these foreign foods and commodities in the initial phase of the "revolution", the setting up of the Logistics Committee to guarantee a fair share of these basic commodities to all Ghanaians, measures aimed at achieving mass support, it may prove politically unwise to withdraw the subsidy now. But there is a way out for the government, since Ghanaians have abused the privilege of buying subsidised milk, sugar, corned beef, etc. the government can remove the subsidy. The government can then declare that the ₵23 million subsidy will now be used on some specific designated projects in the country, or better still the government could give the money to the National Trust Fund which will no doubt find a more worthy service to use the money for. The present situation where the taxpayer's money is being used to feed people in other countries, however charitable we may be, is becoming intolerable and we urge the government to withdraw the subsidy.

Standard of Living

The N.R.C's cardinal aim is to bring about a rise in our living standards. In real terms Ghanaians are now poorer than they were in 1960. Between 1960 and 1969 gross domestic product grew in real terms by 2.5% per annum and given the rate of growth of population of about 3% per annum, this resulted in a sharp decline in real living standards. Consumption per capita, which is used as an index of living standards, fell over the same period; the level of national savings as well as investment declined sharply. The cost of living has increased and shows no signs of abatement, despite the resources poured into O.F.Y.; in effect, the overall performance of the economy has been rather poor, and we urgently need radical changes in our economic policy to avoid further deterioration in the levels of income and living standards. This calls for hard work, sacrifice and a better sense of civic responsibility than has hitherto been shown by Ghanaians. The government must be seen to be genuinely aware of the problems and to take concrete and more meaningful policies to husband all resources so as to maximise the growth rate. Mere exhortations to hard work on the part of government officials will be of no avail if they are not backed by the necessary inputs and concrete examples. As a famous economist has put it, "austerity is an explosive idea. There is every evidence that people will undergo hardships to achieve ends where they see the results, but they are justifiably suspicious of general phrases and promises."

ADVERTISE IN THE
LEGON OBSERVER

THE AVAILABILITY AND NON AVAILABILITY OF GOODS AND SERVICES — THE PROBLEM OF SHORTAGES—PART 2

By

Emmanuel Treve

IN the first part of this article (**L.O.** VII/25) I examined some of the reasons for the shortage of goods and services in Ghana, the apportionment of blame for the shortages and the inability of the present system of economic, political and social organization to cope with the shortages. In this second part I propose to examine a few other ancillary questions and to propose a solution.

It was suggested in the first part of this article that almost everything is in short supply in Ghana; this is probably an exaggeration if one is interested in the total basket of goods and services which a Ghanaian might wish to buy at a particular moment; in other words, it is unlikely that at a given moment in time sugar, margarine, milk, toilet soap, meat, detergents, the various types of baby milk, cement, and a number of other items would be off the market all at once. Some angry would-be buyers would say that the non-availability of all or many goods is in fact the true picture of the situation. And they may be right; for if you go to the G.N.T.C. shop at Labone and you cannot find any of the goods you went out to buy how far wrong are you in saying that there is a shortage of "everything"; after all it was not your intention to buy just anything that is on the shelves. Anyone who is sympathetic to the government's position on the question of shortages may counter the so-called exaggerated view held by the angry buyer by saying that even though one may not find all the goods on his shopping list in any given shop one can still find them if one shopped around. But the question is: How far afield and to what lengths can the consumer be expected to go in search of a packet of sugar or half a dozen tins of milk? It is too much to have the consumer queue or walk the streets (often in vain) for hours for a packet of sugar. In such a situation people are likely to ask themselves: why should it become so difficult to spend (even when one is willing to spend) hard-earned money!

A catalogue of goods and services which are not regularly or readily available would include sugar, milk, meat, rice, detergents, toilet soap, sardines, toilet paper, toothpaste, spare parts for plant, machinery and equipment, beer, cigarettes and cement, It is probably true to argue that no single item in the above catalogue is indispensable in the budget of any individual Ghanaian. But it is not legitimate to argue, via a head-count, that only 500,000 or so Ghanaians have become dependent on commodities such as those listed above for this is the way it should be; otherwise the only goods and services which would be readily available would be those which every Ghanaian or at least the majority of Ghanaians want. It is granted that the country cannot make available everything that any Ghanaian wants but that is not to say that all Ghanaians must, for example, put on the same material, colour, and style of clothes. In sum, we do not have to have every Ghanaian use toilet paper before we put it on the market.

Luxury Goods

Another twist to the question of what goods and services should be made available finds its answer in an attack on those segments of Ghanaian society which consume goods such as milk, corned beef, margarine and toilet paper. As I argued in the first part of this article, it is wrong for Ghanaians and particularly for foreigners to suggest or advise that the commodities mentioned above should not be made available in Ghana. (Foreigners in Ghana would be the first to be hit by a ban on importation or domestic production of say, adult and baby milk). It is surprising that there has not been a similar advocacy of a ban on cigarettes; is this so because more Ghanaians consume cigarettes than buy milk or because the country can better afford cigarettes than milk! The attack on the higher income groups in Ghana for their demand for so-called luxury goods and services can be supported on grounds of income distribution; the solution for the inequality of income can be found in an effective wages and incomes policy. Such a policy would seek to raise the standard of living of the lower income groups in both paid and self-employed occupations, and would ensure that the so-called luxury goods (milk, margarine, corned beef etc.) which are now selectively available to the rich can come progressively within the budget of the average Ghanaian.

There is need to qualify the position taken earlier in this article that almost everything is in short supply in Ghana. That view is in line with the reaction of the consumer who cannot find sugar on the market; the fact that some consumer can buy sugar does not soften his paranoid view of the situation; that in fact makes him more angry. The shortage of goods and services **which are basic** to the needs of individuals and businesses is what has blown the problem out of proportion. If Ghanaians cannot find substitutes for sugar, if they cannot do without sugar, if they have become dependent on beer psychologically (for blowing

off steam, for taking flight from their wordly problems, and for satisfying some of their food needs), then a shortage of that basic item could not be compensated for by the availability of other goods. Looked at in this light one can say that there is need to examine the list of commodities that are on the market and determine which ones can be given lower priority or completely phased out. There is room for this kind of exercise because there are some goods in the shops which hardly get noticed by the consumer; one example would be cookies, a trivial example at that. On another level Christmas decorations and toys could be phased out. It should not matter even if these items are produced in Ghana.

Price Controls

It is true that there is always some quantity of, say, sugar in Ghana. Some people have argued that in the absence of hoarding with the intention to smuggle there would be no shortage of sugar. One cannot easily agree with this assessment of the situation. Smuggling cannot be on such large scale as to create the severe shortage of sugar that we are experiencing. If smuggling were in fact a major source of the shortage of sugar, then the goods would have to be carted out of the country in convoys of truck loads, not head-loads, and the smugglers would need more roads out of the country than are presently available and open to them. It can therefore be seriously argued that the principal cause of the shortage is that there is not an adequate supply of sugar on the market as would make it possible for a Ghanaian to walk regularly into a shop and buy it.

If then the true position is that there is no adequate supply of sugar, milk etc., does the government have to concern itself with the question of who gets what, where, how and at what prices? The persistence of control prices is an indication that successive governments have been reluctant to leave Ghanaians free to fight the shortages. Any government which chooses to oversee the distribution of goods must ask the following questions and seek to provide answers to them: To whom are the goods available? Why are they not available to some Ghanaians? One would have thought that the goods would be available to those who have the means to buy them. That is in fact only partly the case; for obviously more Ghanaians have the means to buy sugar than there is sugar available; demand exceeds supply by a wide margin. And so it is that in addition to having the means (which almost everybody has) one needs to have the influence and connections to be able to buy sugar, at the very low control price of twenty-nine pesewas per packet (for Accra). The goods are unavailable to other Ghanaians at th. control price simply because they do not have the necessary contacts. Nor can they buy even at higher prices because many sellers have become exceedingly fearful about selling above the control price to people they do not know. But it is likely that much of that fear is unjustified; for many Ghanaians are so desperate for sugar and an established source of its supply that they are grateful to anyone who would sell to them, even if it is above the control price.

One particularly outrageous result of the manner in which the commodities in short supply reach buyers is that the people with more money (with which come the influence and the contacts) buy these commodities at the subsidized prices while the relatively poorer people who are unknown pay three or four times more than the control price. This, in my view, is the basic argument for the removal of the subsidy. What kind of a society are we running if we subsidize the rich **and** tax the poor! Price control in its present form is unworkable and subsidizing commodities which are in short supply is not likely to make the commodities any more readily available. It must have become clear by now that the subsidies are going to the wrong people or at least that they are not equitably distributed. The consumer may not be able to afford sugar at any price, however high, but he is equally badly off if sugar is not available, no matter how low the control price may be. Ghanaians may once have been alarmed at the high price of sugar but the mood may be changing in the sense that they are now more concerned about the availability of sugar than about its price.

Scrapping Subsidy

The suggestion then is to make **more** sugar available at a **higher** control price. The argument that it would be politically unwise to remove the subsidy and raise the price of sugar cannot be grounded in the reality of the changed situation. On the contrary it is politically unwise to maintain the subsidy (which has outlived its usefulness). Perpetuation of that subsidy of over ₵20m. which could be used to put more of the basic commodities on the market is likely to become a perpetuation of the shortages which is the real political monster. It might be mentioned in this context that the talk of a rising trade surplus would only settle well in our ears if it can be **seen** that part of that surplus is being used to relieve Ghanaians of some of the shortages.

Even if the whole of the trade surplus is used to "flood" the market with the basic goods and

Committees are going about their business normally? The members of Management Committees are better qualified and have a deeper knowledge of problems in their areas. In any case, the device of Management Committees is cheaper. While the local authorities do not pay any allowances to the government officials serving on the Management Committees, the first thing the chiefs will ask for on arriving at the Council Halls will be their travelling and sitting allowances. The argument that the Management Committees are distant from the people is neither here nor there. We are in a military regime and democratic niceties are not yet the chief of our concerns. In any case, who can meaningfully conceive of local government without conceding popular elections?

Position of Chiefs

But it is the government's privilege to decide when to legislate on any subject, including local government. Granted that, one's expectation was that an N.R.C. decree on local government would be radically different from Busia's. It is true that both the Act by Busia and the N.R.C. decree concern the same Ghanaians. The essential difference is that Busia and Acheampong are governed by different ideologies, and this basic difference should have been adequately reflected in NRCD 138. It is not enough to allow the members of the Local and District Councils to elect their own Chairmen, (denied by Busia) whilst maintaining other objectionable provisions, like the position of chiefs on the Councils. The danger about commenting on the role of chiefs in local government is that it is easy to confuse personalities with the institution.

A few chiefs in Ghana are qualified and competent by any professional standard. They are capable of serving on any public body, including Local Councils. But these are painfully few. Moreover, the institution of chieftaincy is such that it hamstrings even the most revolutionary chief. Our view is that chiefly representation on local government bodies is undemocratic and counter-revolutionary. They are bound to transfer the litigation over stools and skins to local council affairs, thereby creating factions where one needs a concerted front for local development. Our fear is that chieftaincy is a declining institution and the chiefs would mainly use their presence on the councils to maintain their untenable position.

With chieftaincy representation disallowed, the N.R.C. is free to appoint all the members of the local government councils. Nothing prevents them from appointing individual chiefs where competent ones are available. It gives the N.R.C. total control over development in Ghana until such time that civilian administration returns. I am dismissing the claim that in certain areas, very little can be done without the co-operation of the local chiefs. If this is really so, it is very unfortunate, both politically and administratively and we must work towards destroying this indispensability, deliberately.

Perhaps, the main revolutionary aspect of the Local Administration (Amendment) Decree is the provision that local government staff shall be appointed by the Public Services Commission. This is a very welcome decision indeed because with the merger of the Local Government Service with the Public Services, the insecurity of tenure and lack of prospects for the local government staff will come to an end. The workers of the local authorities should become sufficiently motivated to contribute effectively to national growth.

Education

EDUCATION UNDER THE N.R.C.— THE FIRST YEAR

By
E. A. Haizel

EDUCATIONAL policy is normally determined in three major ways:

i) by direct policy statement;
ii) by financial controls and
iii) by administrative decisions and procedures.

A government could decide to use all the three methods or concentrate on one or two. The general public, however, gets to know more of direct policy statements because these are deliberately made public, receive front page coverage in the papers and are publicised by the broadcasting media. Financial controls appears first in budgetary statements and are made effective by the way monies are released—either on time, or in adequate amounts. All administrators, however, prefer using administrative decisions and procedures because, it seems, this is more congenial and does not provoke immediate public reaction.

This situation poses a problem for any person wishing to run a commentary on current policy, not only because some information will not be available—especially where committees have not reported or reports are not published—but also because there is the question of educational practice to consider. Educational practice is determined largely by the reaction of administrators, teacher

FACULTIES OF ARTS and SOCIAL STUDIES

(ARTS)

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS

Applications are invited for the post of

LECTURER

Candidates should have post-graduate qualifications and experience. Preference will be given to candidates with special interest in Greek and Latin Literature.

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

Applications are invited for the post of

LECTURER

Candidates should have post-graduate qualifications and experience. Preference will be given to candidates with qualifications in linguistics and literature of one or more Ghanaian languages.

(SOCIAL STUDIES)

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Applications are invited for

SENIOR LECTURESHIP

or

LECTURESHIP

Candidates should have post-graduate qualifications with teaching or research experience in African Archaeology and with interest in teaching African and Regional Archaeology as well as in Field Methodology.

DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY STUDIES

Applications are invited for

LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should possess post-graduate qualifications in Library Studies with varied library experience and teaching experience at University level.

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICAL, SOCIAL & ECONOMIC RESEARCH

Applications are invited for the posts of:

(1) SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW (Statistics)
(2) SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW (Sociology)

Candidates should have post-graduate qualifications and considerable research experience, preferably in a developing country, in either Economics, Agricultural Economics, Sociology or Statistics.

(3) SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW (Manpower Studies)
Applicants should have post-graduate qualifications in Economics and Statistics with special reference to labour and manpower; and experience in organising manpower surveys, preferably in a developing country.

(4) RESEARCH FELLOW (Demography)

Applicants should have post-graduate qualifications in Statistics or Economics with special reference to technical demography, and preferably must have specialised in demography of the developing countries.

(5) ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

Candidates should have a good degree in Economics or Statistics and considerable administrative experience in academic or other comparable areas of public administration. The successful candidate will be responsible to the Director of the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research for the general administration of the Institute.

SALARY SCALES

SENIOR LECTURER/SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW
¢5,200.00 x 200.00—¢6,400.00 per annum

LECTURER
¢3,400.00 x 120.00—¢4,360.00 x 180.00—c5,620.00 per annum

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
¢2,720.00 x 120.00—¢3,560.00 x 180.00—c4,640.00; ¢4,800.00 (under review).

For posts in the Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research there are arrangements for supplementing salaries in appropriate cases.

Appointments normally—four or six years in the first instance but shorter periods of secondment will be considered.

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained either from the Registrar, University of Ghana, P.O. Box 25, Legon, Ghana, or the Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London WC1H OAG, with whom application (EIGHT COPIES) should be lodged not later than **28th February, 1973.**

FACULTIES OF SCIENCE and AGRICULTURE

(SCIENCE)

DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY

Applications are invited for the post of:

LECTURER

Candidates should have post-graduate qualifications in one or more of the following fields:— Petrology, Economic Geology, Mining Geology, Hydrogeology, Geophysics, Geochemistry. Knowledge of and interest in applied aspects of these areas of specialisation will be an advantage.

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY

Applications are invited for the post of:

TWO LECTURERS
ONE RESEARCH FELLOW

Preference will be given to candidates with post-graduate qualifications and experience in one or more of these fields:—

Marine Biology, Entomology and Animal Behaviour. The successful candidate for the post of Research Fellow will be required to work in the field of cocoa entomology.

DEPARTMENT OF BIOCHEMISTRY

Applications are invited for the following posts:—

(1) LECTURER with a background in Physical Biochemistry.

(2) LECTURER with experience in Lipid/Steroid Biochemistry.

(3) LECTURER with experience in Microbial Biochemistry.

Candidates should have good post-graduate qualifications and experience in university teaching and in research.

(AGRICULTURE)

DEPARTMENT OF HOME SCIENCE

Applications are invited for

LECTURESHIP

Preference will be given to candidates with post-graduate qualification in one or more of the following fields:—
(a) Human Development and Child Studies
(b) Home Management and Housing
and
(c) Home Science Extension.

SALARY SCALES

¢3,400.00 x 120.00—¢4,360.00 x 180.00—c5,620.00
per annum.

Appointments normally four or six years in the first instance but shorter periods of secondment will be considered.

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained either from the Registrar, University of Ghana, P.O. Box 25, Legon, Ghana, or the Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square London WC1H OAG, with whom applications (EIGHT COPIES) should be lodged not later than **28th February, 1973.**

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION

Applications are invited for
LECTURER/SENIOR LECTURER

in BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCE. Candidates should possess a good post-graduate degree in Psychology or Sociology or a post-graduate degree in Business Administration with emphasis in Behavioural Science.

BALME LBRARY

Applications are invited from professionally qualified graduates or Fellows of the Library Association with considerable experience in Library Administration for the following posts:

Librarianship/Sub-Librarianship

Candidates should have considerable administrative experience in a University or Special Library.

(2) Assistant Librarianship

Candidates should have post-graduate experience appropriate for work in a University.

SALARY SCALES

LIBRARIAN
¢6,400.00 per annum (under review)

SUB-LIBRARIAN
¢4,500.00 x 180.00—¢5,580.00 per annum (under review)

SENIOR LECTURER
¢5,200.00 x 200.00—¢6,400.00 per annum

LECTURER
¢3,400.00 x 120.00—¢4,360.00 x 180.00—c5,620.00
per annum.

Appointments normally four or six years in the first instance but shorter periods of secondment will be considerd

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained either from the Registrar, University of Ghana, P.O. Box 25, Legon, Ghana, or the Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London WC1H OAG, with whom applications (EIGHT COPIES) should be lodged not later than **28th February, 1973.**

and students to policy statements. This reaction could be wholesale acceptance of policy, in which case concurrence is perfect, sullen acquiescence, or hostility shown by apathy, whereby the "status quo" is maintained, although outwardly there is apparent conformity with new decisions.

However, with the best in the world, there is always a lag between policy and practice. will always lag behind policy because time is required to provide the material and human resources to effect the changes required by policy. It is obvious, therefore, that in a period of one year one cannot expect to see much of change in our education-system, control, administration or teaching. Indeed one will expect to see a period of some confusion, instability and reaction as the attempt is made to forge a new system. The greatest evidence of this stage of affairs is the number of words exchanged in debates, public as well as private.

In such circumstances, the only way to get any coherent appraisal is to look at policy which, in the final analysis, provides the stem.

On direct policy statement we have had the following which invite comment:

a) the pronouncement on the proposed new educational structure. The main novelty in the proposed system is the component of pre-school education, the six year primary school course and the continuation schools. There has been a lot of debate on this component. On the whole, there has been public agreement on the idea behind the scheme—moving away from grammar school type education but sharp differences in the means of attaining this goal. But it is a fact that nothing has been done about the primary school scheme and pretty little about continuation schools. What there is of continuation schools is limited to a few experiments running parallel with the old system. It is expected, however, that these are being closely studied for the empirical data so necessary for future policy decisions.
b) one thing which came to fruition in 1972 was that the University College of Cape Coast did become the University of Cape Coast. This was, of course, in the offing but the records will always show 1972 as the year. The Head of State was present and he did announce that military training would be introduced into higher institutions. This idea is splendid but it requires clarification and extension. All those who enter the universities are marked out as leaders, and they should know those they are going to lead and how they live. Military training alone is not enough for this. It is "national service" that is more urgently required. One could argue that "national service" should be made a condition for entry into the university. But this would be to assume that all prospective students into the university fit a single classification. If we revert to the January-December school year for second level education and retain the October-July year for higher education, it would be possible for sixth formers to have some time of "national service" before they enter university. They could still have military training whilst at university. And one expects that when the details of the military training are worked out, they would entail a little more than marching and counter-marching. One would expect that the military training would take on an aspect of the work camps, akin to help the national army has given in times of emergency, building bridges and helping in the evacuation of cocoa.

Budgetary allocations to education are made under the following sub-heads:

i) Pre-University Education (General Administration, General Education, Bureau of Ghana Languages)
ii) Technical Education and Vocational Training.
iii*a*) Higher Education
iii*b*) Research (Ghana Academy of Sciences/ C.S.I.R.)
iv) Scholarships Secretariat
v) National Archives
vi) Art and Culture.

For the period 1966/67 to 1972/73, the figures rounded off in millions of cedis, are as follows:

TOTAL EDUCATIONAL SECTOR

	ORIGINAL ESTIMATES			ACTUAL EXPENDITURE			
Year	Recurrent	Development	Total	Recurrent	Development	Total	+
1966/67	57.68	12.36	70.04	65.25	7.61	72.86	+
1967/68	74.82	9.85	84.67	68.07	7.24	75.31	—
1968/69	78.20	11.48	89.68	74.97	5.01	79.98	—
1969/70	80.97	12.85	93.82	85.51	6.40	91.91	—
1970/71	88.93	14.53	103.46	95.67	11.08	106.75	+
1971/72	87.85	18.97	106.82	—	—	—	
1972/73	99.59	6.91	106.50	—	—	—	—

The Road Safety Campaign

FOR a long time now the merry-making during Christmas has tended to have horrific consequences for some motorists as well as some unoffending pedestrains. Drivers who have had a few drinks too many have wantonly injured or killed themselves, often injuring or killing others in the process. In the past, our attitude to the high rate of motor accidents during Christmas has been one of concern, but we had tended to think there was nothing much anybody could do about it, apart from sounding a few weak cautions.

During the last two Christmas seasons, however, we have seen attempts to deal with the problem in a more far-reaching way. At Christmas 1971, the Junior Chamber of Commerce launched a campaign for road safety consisting mainly of cautionary posters placed at salient points along roadways. The effort was greatly appreciated. This last Christmas, the campaign was taken over by a Committee set up by the Department of Social Welfare and including officials from the Police. It was a more extensive campaign than the previous year's reaching out of Accra into the regions.

Certainly both the Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Department of Social Welfare deserve congratulations for making this positive attempt to grapple with a rather grave problem. Indeed the general belief, held even among Police circles, is that this year's campaign in particular was very successful and has brought about an appreciable decline in road fatality. In actual fact, the police statistics indicate that there was a reduction by about 15% in road deaths occuring from 1st December, 1972 to 6th January 1973 as compared with deaths occuring in the same period during the previous season. So indeed there is some reason for feeling good.

Nevertheless the comprehensive figures would indicate that our success, though real, has been fairly limited. Below are **some** of the figures issued by the Police for the periods 1st December, 197—6th January, 1972 and 1st December, 1972—6th January, 1973.

	Accidents		Persons Injured		Deaths	
	Xmas'71	Xmas '72	Xmas '71	Xmas '72	Xmas'71	Xmas'72
Accra	237	239	107	155	13	5
Ashanti	146	129	60	134	16	24
Western	16	21	3	52	31	5
Northern	7	14	25	21	3	4
Volta	21	10	45	41	6	6
	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total for all Ghana	571	532	612	685	82	67

Even though these figures do not tell us what happened in the crucial period between say December 22nd and January 3rd, yet they do reveal that if we have achieved a country-wide reduction in the number of accidents and deaths, yet the number of injured has gone up by about the same proportion. Nevertheless, the effort was worthy.

O.A.U. Liberation Committee

THIS week, Ghana recalls her revolutionary days of the recent past by playing host to the twenty-first session of the Liberation Committee of the Organisation of African Unity. The session is convening under good auspices, since Accra has had a long and distinguished association with the birth and nurturing of people's liberation movements in some countries that are now politically free and others which are still under the colonial and racialist yoke.

Some recent developments are also noteworthy. The Rabat session barely seven months ago marked a decisive step forward in its proclamation that the enemies of African freedom understand nothing other than the language of force. There has been ample demonstration of this, especially now that our people are making the subtle distinction between empty political independence which does nothing to affect the colonialist's strangle-hold over the economy of African countries, and genuine independence.

The enlargement of the Committee from 11 to 17 which led to the inclusion of Ghana and five other African countries is in itself a vote of confidence in Colonel Acheampong's regime. We recall with chagrin the embarrassment that the ousted Busia regime caused us all by pursuing the defeatist policy of dialogue with South Africa.

This session of the Liberation Committee, then, will be addressing itself to ways in which concrete advances may be made within the shortest possible time. We hope that the session will take both a comprehensive look at the arenas of struggle, as well as set up a scale of priorities. There is no reason why Guinea-Bissau, for instance, should not be liberated this year, to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the O.A.U. As the gallant leader of the PAIGC, Amilcar Cabral, has said, the whole of the rural areas are in the hands of the nationalist and democratic force. All that is needed is a final shove in the urban centres, and Portugal will crash face down.

We would like to call attention to one particular area that has tended to be ignored. These are the twin islands of Sao Tome and Principe in the Gulf of Guinea. Endowed with a supremely strategic location and with considerable natural resources, these islands naturally presented themselves to Portugal as a luscious plum. Though small in population, the islands afford Portugal such a deadly stepping-stone to a host of independent African countries in the region that they cannot afford to ignore them.

That is what we mean by a comprehensive prescription. However small a territory, it ought to be taken into account. But at the same time, a set of priorities needs to be drawn up.

In wishing the session resounding success, we would like to remind participants that their deliberations should be of a quality that would do honour to all the martyrs of African freedom, not least of whom is Kwame Nkrumah to whom glowing tribute was paid by speaker after speaker at the opening session.

Zambia vrs. Rhodesia & Co.—Deeds, Not Words

WHILE the O.A.U. Liberation Committee was in session here in Accra, disturbing news came from Zambia to the effect that the illegal regime of Ian Smith had closed its border with Zambia "for security reasons". This action is undoubtedly a reprisal against the action of the Zimbabwe freedom fighters in blowing up a bridge near Mount Darwin, in Rhodesia, last Monday. Rhodesian government sources indicate that the border will be re-opened only if and when the Lusaka Government gives assurances that Zimbabwe freedom fighters will no longer receive asylum in Zambia or use that territory as an operational base.

As could be expected, Portugal has joined in the black-mail by denying port facilities to Zambia through the Port of Beira in Mozambique. Big brother Vorster has also entered the fray, and is giving active encouragement and support to Ian Smith. Zambia has already started feeling the full effects of its landlocked position, and the racist regimes are doing all in their power to squeeze Zambia further so as to wrench concessions that will thwart the efforts of nationalist fighters in that part of Africa. Ian Smith is said to be under right-wing pressure at home to go still further in squeezing Zambia.

The fact that all this is happening while the O.A.U. Liberation Committee is meeting should impress upon the delegates the need for realistic and effective action. The aggression of the racist regimes is now being directed at an independent state. It is reported that our government and the Committee have sent a message of solidarity to Zambia. This is certainly not enough, for Zambia now needs much more than moral support.

It will be recalled that opening the current 21st session of the Liberation Committee meeting in Accra last Monday, the Chairman of the N.R.C. called for an armed revolution as the only means of totally liberating Africa. He added that it is time to pass into effective **action** instead of merely passing resolutions. The Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Major Kwame Baah, told the Conference the following day that 1973 should be considered as a year of decision to make the liberation struggle a **reality.**

Now, whether by accident or by design, by a cruel irony of history, a challenge has been thrown in a peculiar form to all the verbiage. The members of the Liberation Committee are here assembled. Are they going to content themselves with messages of solidarity to Presidn Kaunda, or are they going to take effective measures to ensure that at least one country that is already free is not re-enslaved or otherwise emasculated? The seriousness of purpose of the O.A.U. is being put to the test. We are all observing to see whether this present session of the Liberation Committee is going to be just another performance of the periodic ritual of shouting slogans and blowing hot air, or whether it is a purposeful meeting of serious minds to plan and undertake the necessary **action** for the liberation and defence of Africa.

Letters

The University and Society—A Rejoinder

SIR—When your anonymous correspondent (**L.O.** VII/26) says that academic freedom is "utopian", does he mean that it is desirable but impossible? For it has been practised in some western countries for hundreds of years.

No university wishes to become a state within a state, for a state is an organization prepared to kill if need be, which universities do not do. They want to be free to find out knowledge and to teach young people to judge, to read both sides before judging, to weigh evidence. They have halls of residence not only for practical convenience but so that students should get to know each other, talk to each other, and think. As for serving the community, they can do that better if they have learnt to use their brains than if they have not. As for being an elite, nobody can avoid an elite of some sort if they are to come out of the Stone Age. As for

who should decide on academic standards, it had better be the people who passed examinations than the ones who failed. If outsiders criticize, it should be for something non-academic, like racial discrimination or the way German University students, years ago, used to fight horrid duels with each other.

Let us take two examples from history, Athens and Sparta. In Athens education was free, and the right of free association was guaranteed by the law. One philosophical school, run by an alien, was nearly closed for unpatriotism, but that was only what they nearly did. In Sparta, all education was under the State from the cradle to the grave. The Spartan system had some fine results, discipline and self-sacrifice, but Athens and her wisdom have meant far more to us. Academic freedom is a precious thing.

Accra-North **Daphne Hereward**

Protecting the Consumer—A Rejoinder

SIR—I refer to the letter by Mrs. Y. M. Agble, published in your issue (**L.O.** VII/25).

Unfortunately none of the clerks in any of our branches can recollect Mrs. Agble's visit so we do not know what cloth it is or which of our suppliers made it. Would Mrs. Agble please send us the details stamped on the face plait of the cloth? I mention in passing that we ourselves do not manufacture, but of course we accept that we have a responsibility for goods bearing our name or trade marks.

Mrs. Agble's report of three parts to a piece is most extraordinary and it is very doubtful that the cloth left the factory or our wholesale in that condition. The parts being "all cleverly hidden" supports this suggestion as cloth is lapped by machines and the operatives have neither the time nor incentive to be clever in this way. Human error is, of course, always possible.

A proportion of textiles piece-goods is in cut-pieces of two parts. Although the proportion is generally small, it has always existed, in imported as well as local piece-goods, and has been accepted as a feature of the trade. We had thought that this was well-known and that it was one of the reasons for inspecting cloth before purchase. Our customers certainly exercise their right of choice and examine the cloth in our wholesales, selecting or rejecting for a variety of reasons.

We are investigating the matter as it may have grown beyond the irreducible minimum, in which case we shall do what we can to correct it. We can regulate our own conduct. we can influence our suppliers, but we have very little control over market retailing. The market type of trade have advantages for the consumer but it demands a degree of self-reliance.

G.B. Ollivant (Ghana) Ltd. **H. C. Lane**
Group Textiles Division **Marketing Manager**
P O. Box 177
Accra

"The Future of Our Mines"—A Rejoinder

SIR—I refer to your editorial entitled "The Future of Our Mines", published in **L.O.** VII/25.

In that article it is stated inter alia . . . "For example, a university Department of Geology should expand its syllabus to take in subjects like Geochemistry, Geophysics, Mining Geology and Economic Geology".

As your observation creates the impression that at present those subjects are not taught in this university I would like to draw your attention to the syllabus in force in the Geology Department at Legon. You will find that the aspect of geology mentioned by you (and other applied aspects also) are incorporated in the curriculum of the second, third and fourth years of the B.Sc. General and Honours degrees.

Taking into account that several of the "basic" geology courses which necessarily consume a good deal of time, such as structural geology, mineralogy and petrology etc. are essential and, in fact, indispensable in the training of a would-be mining geologist, it can be said that this Department is certainly not neglecting the geological aspects of mining. Several of our graduates are actually employed in this field.

This is not the place to elaborate on the more technical problems of the training of geologists, but the undersigned and his staff shall be pleased to give you any further information on what the Geology Department at Legon is teaching or not (yet) teaching and why. Perhaps this may prevent any further publication that may lead to misinterpretation by your readers.

Department of Geology **A. F. J. Smit**
P.O. Box 58 **Professor, Head of Dept.**
Legon

Moral Turpitude in Public Hospitals—A Rejoinder

SIR—This Hospital has noticed the article which appeared in the **L.O.** VII/24 dated 1-14 December, 1972.

In this article it was alleged that an incident occurred at the Children's Block at the hospital.

My office has been in contact with the Children's Block, but has been unable to go further into this particular matter because the writer of the article did not say when the alleged incident happened. Moreover the authorities in the Children's Block have not received any complaint from any parent in the past few weeks, and there is no information anywhere in the Department concerning the incident.

We shall be grateful to hear from your correspondent.

Korle Bu Hospital **Dr. V. E. O. Portuphy-Lamptey**
P.O. Box 77 & 78 **Medical Administrator**
Korle Bu

"New University Institute of Journalism"—A Rejoinder

SIR—Kindly allow me some space in your journal to put in a rejoinder on your Notebook entry entitled "New University Institute of Journalism" (**L.O.** VII/25, page 598).

Sweeping statements—effects of which more often than not transcend national boundaries—are threatening to become stereotype in materials of case-study whose limits are more transparently Ghanaian. This, at best, suggests misplacement or even uncertainty of one's facts and, at worst, underscores unawareness of situations relative to case in point outside one's country of domicile.

It is against this background that the last but one paragraph of p. 598 **Legon Observer** Vol. VII, No. 25 treating above-mentioned subject can be better appreciated.

The argument in question would be rather symmetric if restricted to the Ghanaian circumstance . . . of medium-range manpower problems in her only daily

newspapers—**Graphic, Times** and **Pioneer;** in addition to a few other weeklies—relative to what professional training her existing School of Journalism could provide.

Which makes that sole offending paragraph more important and graphic is its reference to West Africa which includes, say, Nigeria which publishes 15 or more dailies with a greater number of weeklies and bi-weeklies. Moreover, she runs five Schools of Journalism —at Universities of Nsukka, Lagos, and Zaria respectively in addition to the Nigerian Institute of Journalism and Daily Times Training Institute (all in Lagos)—with the first three awarding Degrees and post-graduate Diploma.

Worth mentioning, too, is the aversive reference to the present Institute of Journalism that suggests its redundancy with effective operation of the Legon School. Yet, what is wrong with having Legon restrict itself to post-graduate curriculum or even duplicate with the under-graduate dimension? It only offers the young Ghanaian aspirant to journalism a scope of choice.

It is said indeed to observe that no Ghanaian write-up is ever considered complete without reference—however oblique—outside her frontiers that often ends up, like this example, in inadvertent but plain contradiction.

Institute of Journalism **Noel Okereke**
P.O. Box 667
Accra

EDITOR'S NOTE: Published unedited

M.A. Courses in Journalism

SIR—It has been reported in some of our local dailies that a one-year diploma course in journalism is being instituted at Legon next year. It was further reported that non-graduates who pass some qualifying examination and excel in the diploma course would be allowed one year more to read for an M.A, degree.

This is a very disturbing piece of news that should raise quite a few eyebrows in academic circles. For it appears quite strange to allow a non-graduate, however brilliant he may be, to read for a Master's degree in just one year, after only a year's diploma training. This may be considered quite a preposterous idea in some "reasonable" universities, especially where the Master's degree is properly considered as a post-graduate qualification that may be attempted only after obtaining the first and fundamental Bachelor's degree.

It is patently and painfully obvious that journalism in this country—especially where our local dailies are concerned—needs quite a dose of intellectual and academic injection. But solutions to this pathetic affair must not compromise academic standards. From the way things have been proposed, with a little bit of luck, it might be possible for the journalist without even any formal secondary education (and there are quite a few hanging around) to obtain a Master's degree in a much shorter time and perhaps with only the effort and determination needed for a diploma course. Whatever prompted the authorities concerned to jump from an idea of a diploma course to one of a post-graduate course must be quite strange.

It appears what our journalists need most is a background general education to at least the Bachelor's level. This should provide them not only with the intellectual discipline acquired from formal university training and also with enough confidence to be able to write sensibly and effectively in various technical areas.

In any case, if it should not be possible to provide journalists with basic first degree training before putting them on ambitious post-graduate courses, academic authorities in this country must consider the "evils" associated with offering Master's degree courses to non-graduate students. This is not an entirely improbable idea, but at least we could ponder over it in the light of how we want the Ghanaian degree and our educational system to be respected.

Name and Address Supplied—Editor

Gardiner on Intellectuals in Politics

SIR—Because politics is dangerous, African intellectuals should restrict themselves to efforts directed at solving the economic problems of their countries. In politics there is not much opportunity to do anything to solve the economic problems of one's country; one can only deal with political problems which are simpler than economic problems and are not in any urgent need of solution.

Political decision making—making laws, approving the award of big contracts, giving final approval to the allocation of scarce resources—such things should be left exclusively to non-intellectuals. Therefore Senghor, Kenyatta, Nkrumah, Azikiwe, Kaunda, Nyerere were all wrong in dabbling in politics. According to reports this is broadly what Mr. Robert Gardiner said to a U.N. International Conference for students held in Accra recently.

But in 1968 the Ghana Constitutional Commission quoted Plato at the beginning of its proposals, thus: "The punishment which the wise suffer who refuse to take part in the government, is to live under the government of worse men". Thus we are torn between Plato and Gardiner. Of course, intellectuals are not necessarily the wisest men in society, nor is it the non-intellectuals who are wisest. But who is an intellectual? One hopes Mr. Gardiner was mis-reported.

P.O. Box 14 **Emmanuel Vorkeh**
Achimota

Self-Reliance and Trade Surplus

SIR—It is difficult to understand people who attribute the recent trade surplus on Ghana's foreign trade to the policy of self-reliance initiated by the government.

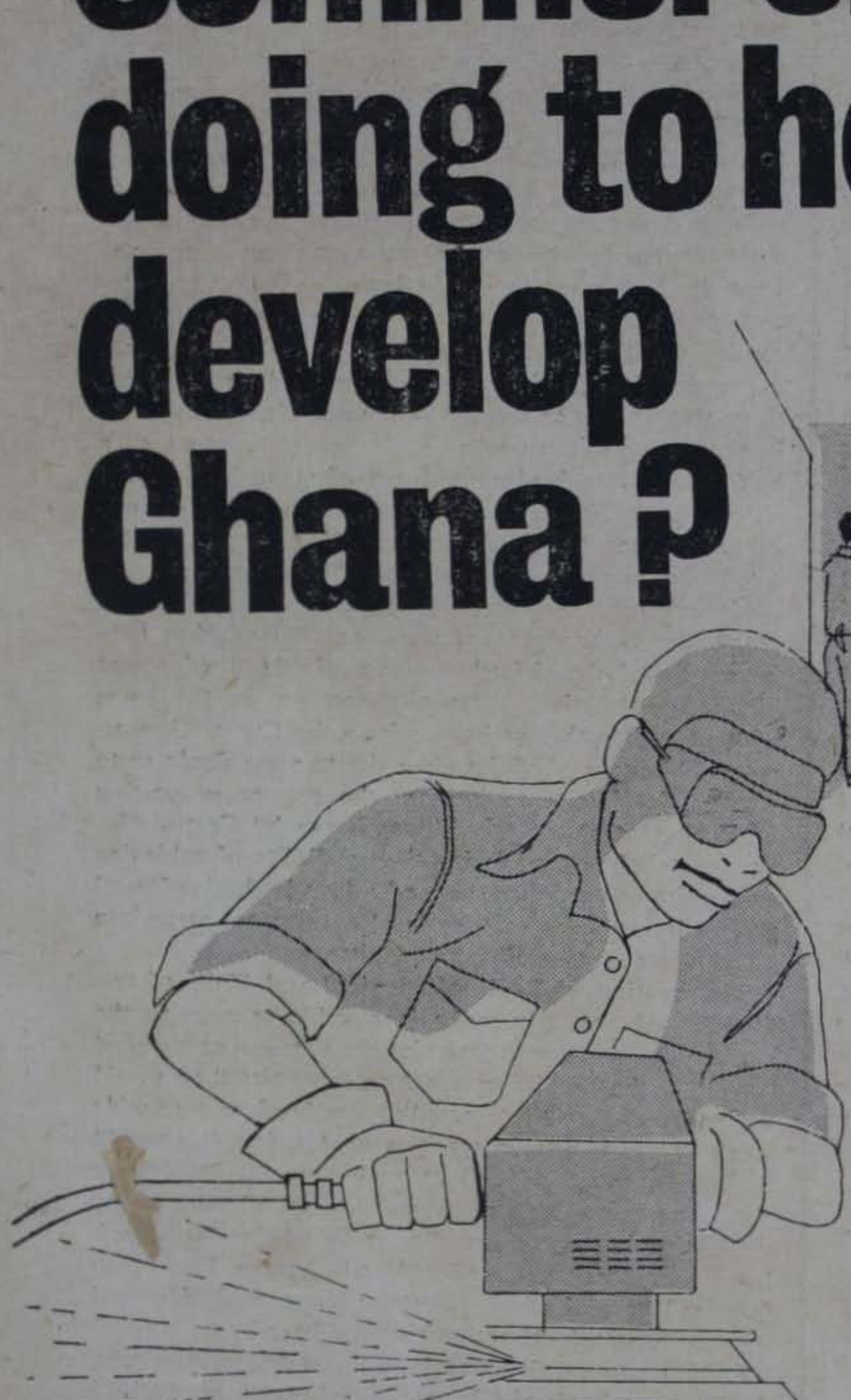
It is not clear on what evidence they base this assertion. For all we know, the surplus is due more to the increase in value of exports than to the cuts in imports. We know that cocoa and gold which form about 70% of the total foreign exchange earnings of this country have had favourable prices.

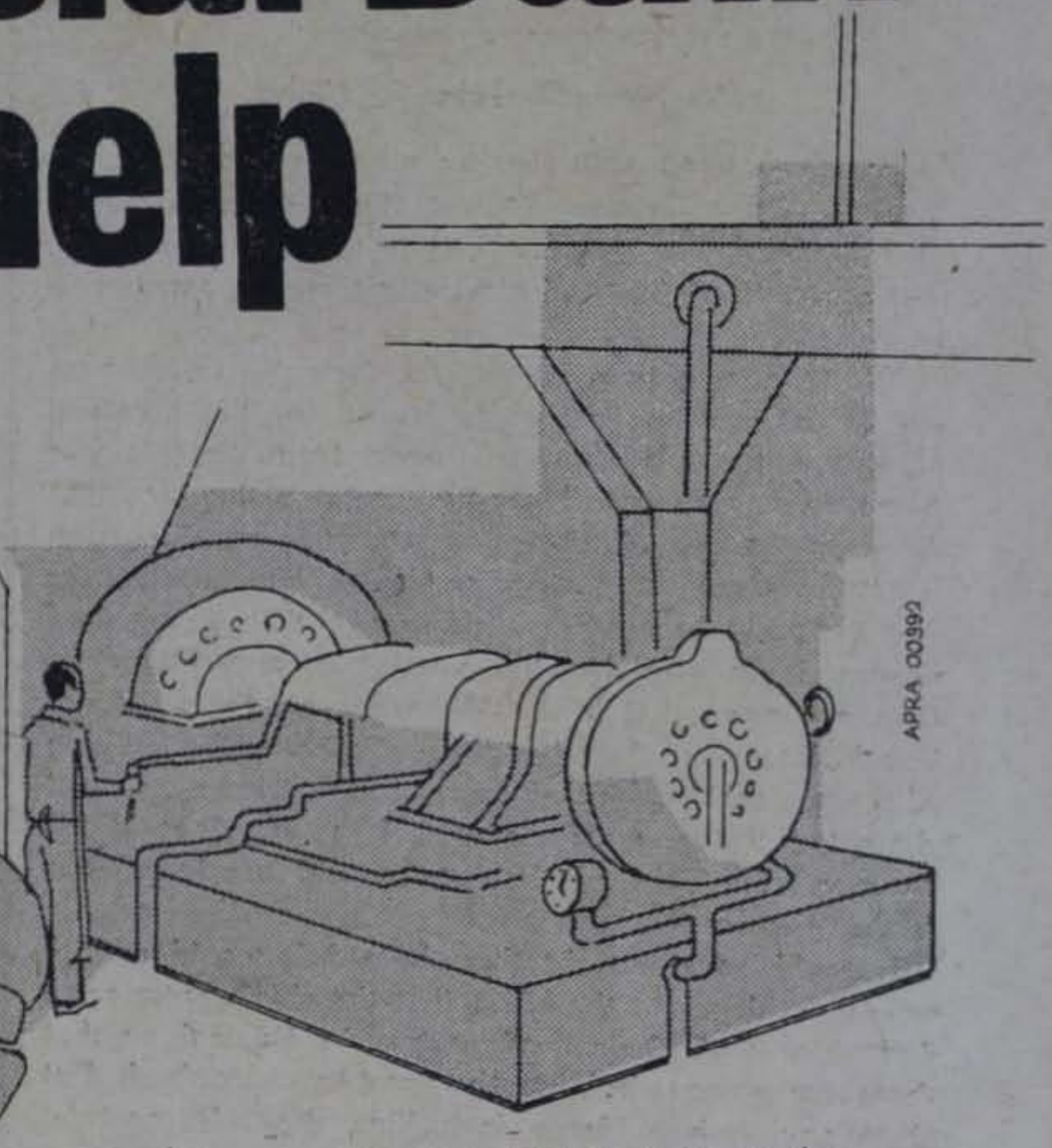
It is doubtful, Mr. Editor, that even the most 'liberal' definition of self-reliance can be employed to account for the trade surplus made, for the increases in the prices of the items mentioned were not due to the effort of government and/or her people. We cannot talk of increased productivity now.

In the case of imports, there has not been much substitution: the cuts in imports have brought about shortages, as is evident on the market—drugs, medicines, 'foreign foods', spare parts are in very short supply.

The study of the history of cocoa prices reveals a considerable amount of instability even within a particular year, and great fluctuations in successive years.

What is the Ghana Commercial Bank doing to help develop Ghana?





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The 'Ghana Commercial Bank is at the head of Ghana's financing business. We actually control over 60 per cent of Ghana's overall banking business. Our short and medium-term loans have been, and still are, the primary source of finance to industry, for factory expansion or modernisation, purchase of additional plant, new equipment and new working capital directly linked with development.

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Since most of our foreign exchange earnings accrue from cocoa and fluctuations affect development projects and goods on the market, linking trade surpluses to the self-reliance exercise will only result in loss of sympathy from the people in times of adverse prices of our main exports.

S.30 Legon Hall **J. D. Asante Offei**

'The National House of Chiefs'

SIR—I have read with dismay the recent call by the Western Region House of Chiefs that the headquarters of the National House of Chiefs should be removed from Kumasi to Accra (Vide **Daily Graphic,** January 3, 1973).

The surprising thing about this dramatic call is that the chiefs gave no compelling reason for the necessity of removing the headquarters, apart from the fact that Accra is our capital. Nobody questions the fact that Accra is the capital town; but what one may question is the wisdom of having particular headquarters in Accra simply because it happens to be the capital of Ghana. I am sure that the creating of a capital town does not mean that it should possess all things of national status, nor does it necessarily imply the robbing of the regional capitals of everything that has a national character. If that were the case, I am sure, the Naval Base and the Takoradi Harbour would not have been in the Western Region.

I would have thought that the chiefs would adduce enough evidence to the effect that the chiefs meet some difficulties with their headquarters in Kumasi or that there are some administrative problems involved. But since any such evidence is lacking the call must be treated with well-deserved contempt.

If the present headquarters is serving its purposes then one wonders what useful purpose its removal will serve. The problems facing Ghana now are economic, social and moral; and it is in these fields that we expect our chiefs to take the initiative in suggesting reasonable and lasting solutions: they should not merely engage in fruitless discussions that produce nothing but baseless and meaningless requests that merely attract the front pages of the national dailies.

Commonwealth Hall **Kwame Frimpong**
University of Ghana
Legon

Recording Nkrumah's Ideas—A Rejoinder

SIR—I wish to comment on a letter in **L.O.** VII/25, page 602. It is both ridiculous and strange that Kwame Karikari feels the ideas and works of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the C.P.P. and its adherents in the Ghanaian and African context are the only ones worth preserving for the benefit of posterity.

It is high time in this period of national reconciliation and unity to beware of such partisan thinkers. It must be emphasised that the works of other giants like John Mensah Sarbah, Casely Hayford, J. B. Danquah and indeed host of other numerous Ghanaians are of equal literary, political and cultural benefit to generations yet to be born and as such stand in need of national preservation.

P.O. Box 13 **Augustine Sekyire**
Bawku

Local Government and the Economy in Post Coup Ghana

SIR—The normal method of financing the locally administered community services is by local rates and loans, assisted by grant-in-aid from the Central Government.

Owing to the great variation in economic conditions in different parts of the country and the burdensome character of local taxes, especially in areas which have been impoverished by trade depression, the financing of community services by means of local rates is far from satisfactory. The low rateable value of many local authorities also affects their borrowing capacity and their ability to meet the services of such loans as they are able to raise. Without a considerable amount of additional financial assistance from the Central Government during the present depression the community services in certain areas would have broken down altogether. The proportion of local government expenditure on the social services convered by Central Government grants has increased very considerably during the last five years, chiefly as a result of the non-viability of most local government councils in the country. More than half the net rate fund expenditure of many local authorities is now covered by Central Government grants, and in some areas (where agricultural land is entirely derated) the proportion is more than 80 per centum.

Nevertheless, the financial position of many local authorities in the depressed areas is so difficult that there is very little hope of further progress in the development of the constructive community services in the areas without still further assistance from the Cenral Government. This state of affairs gives rise to some doubt as to whether it is wise to increase the present proportion of local government expenditure borne by Central Government before considering the possibility of achieving economies in administration and a broader basis of local finance by grouping existing local government areas into large viable Regional/District Units.

The creation of Regional/District/Local Units of this kind would not only make it possible to provide the constructive community service in a more economical way than the present arrangements permit: they would also make it possible to equalise rate burdens over wide areas in which great disparities exist today. But would it not be more self-reliant and economically viable according to available resources in terms of the growing population in some areas of councils to give them bank loans to embark upon agricultural ventures like "crop farming" etc. and other projects as a source of additional revenue for the local authorities in Ghana?

Some commercial banks in the country, particularly the Barclays Bank of Ghana Limited, are now involved in our economic war, more especially in the agricultural sector. It is learnt with much satisfaction that it has a special section which undertakes feasibility studies of farm projects and offers necessary assistance with soft loans and technical advice. If individual co-operatives can enjoy this service, why should local government councils in the country established by an Act of Parliament be neglected, and why should the N.R.C. not ensure that this venture be a compulsory commercial enterprise for all Local Government Councils?

By so doing, many of these councils will help Ghana achieve two of the top priority aims of the revolution—more employment to the rural community and financial viability without reliance on Central Government grants.

P.O. Box 17 **Andrews T. K. Nanor**
Dodowa

Road Safety and Word Games

SIR—The people who mounted the road safety campaign last Christmas (and indeed the previous Christmas) thought it better to make their warnings sound humorous rather than solemn—even though road safety is a very serious matter. So that instead of a possible solemn caution like "THINK OF YOUR WIFE AND CHILDREN BEFORE YOU TAKE ONE FOR THE ROAD" we got warnings like "LET YOUR LICENCE EXPIRE BEFORE YOU DO" which is humorous on account of the play on the word **expire**. Personally, I prefer humour to solemnity—the latter can be quite irritating: after all, who are they to remind me of my family?

Nevertheless, sometimes the particular type of humour adopted in the campaign assumed a greater degree of literacy in the Ghanaian driver than is perhaps the case. How is a provincial haulage-truck driver supposed to react to such a notice as "Retire your worn out tyres before they retire you". Surely the play on the words **retire** and **tyre** is much too intricate and likely to be lost on some drivers. Because of the likelihood that the humour might not be felt, I thought that a more straight forward poster like "One for the road may be one for the grave" was possibly more appreciated in our situation, even though it was rather gloomy.

The other point is that the driver who enjoys word games was so engrossed by the notices that his attention was constantly being drawn off the road, as he looked to see if the next warning was as funny as the last one.

Two things emerge. If road safety is to be enjoyed then the notices need to be even bolder than they were last Christmas so that they will be less distracting. Secondly there ought be greater variety in content than there is now—so that all drivers will get their share.

P.O. Box 0118 **Kofi Kuttin-Mensah**
Takoradi

For The Record

Tuesday, January 2

Government Participates in Timber Industry

THE Government of Ghana has acquired majority shares in four foreign timber companies, namely, Messrs Gliksten (West Africa) Ltd., African Timber and Plywood (Ghana) Ltd., Takoradi Veneer and Lumber Company Ltd., and the timber division of R. T. Briscoe (Ghana) Ltd.

A decree, The Timber Operations (Government Participation) Decree, published in Accra today makes it an offence for anybody to obstruct directly or indirectly the implementation of the participation of the Government in the four companies.

Wednesday, January 3

Churches to Merge

SEVEN of the churches in Ghana are to unite to form one church, and accordingly, a 30-member committee has been appointed to work out the details and suggest a name for the new church.

The churches are Anglican, Evangelical Presbyterian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Mennonite, and the African Methodist Episcopal (AME).

The Reverend Professor C. G. Baeta, chairman of the 30 member committee who announced the proposed merger said, "We want to break the artificial bars in the Christian worship in Ghana".

Saturday, January 6

Burnt Bricks for Low-cost Houses

BURNT brick plants are to be installed in all the regions to produce cheap burnt brick on a large scale to enable people to build houses at low cost.

As part of the project, personnel drawn from the various regions are undergoing training at the Brick and Tile Factory of GIHOC in Accra.

Technicians from Hungary have already examined the condition of 15 burnt brick plants ordered during the Nkrumah regime and a final report is expected from them concerning the installation of the plants which may start at the end of this month. Already, one of the plants which was found to be in reasonable condition has been assembled at Kibi and another is being installed in Sunyani.

Monday, January 8

OAU Liberation Committee Meets in Accra

DELEGATES from all the 17-member nations of the OAU Liberation Committee have arrived in Accra for the 21st session of the committee. Among those who have arrived are Mr. Nzo Ekangaki, Secretary General of the OAU, his deputy Mr. Peter Onu, and Mr. John Malecela ,the Tanzanian Foreign Minister.

Opening the session, the Ghanaian Head of State, Colonel I K. Acheampong called for armed revolutions as the only means of liberating South Africa. "We are duty bound", continued Colonel Acheampong, "in the name of all that is decent and humane to defeat the enemy and thereby set free our people".

He pledged that Ghana which was now in the front ranks of the liberation struggle would never again retreat from that eminent position.

Wednesday, January 10

Lt.-Col. C. D. Benni in New Position

THE office of the N.R.C. announced today that Lt.-Col. C. D. Benni has been appointed Commissioner for Information. He was, until his new appointment, Commissioner for N.R.C. Affairs.

N.R.C. Issues Charter

THE National Redemption Council today published its Charter setting out the aims and principles that will determine its action and the fate of the nation. Introducing the Charter at a press conference at the Castle, Osu, today, the Chairman of the N.R.C. said that it was the historic mission of Ghanaians to be first rate Africans and this would be achieved by the present revolution.

The 19-page Charter has "Unity and Self-reliance" as its motto and has the following chapter headings: One nation, one people, one destiny; Total Manpower Development; Revolutionary Discipline; Self-reliance; Service to the People; Patriotism and International Brotherhood; Mobilisation of Spiritual, Intellectual and Will power.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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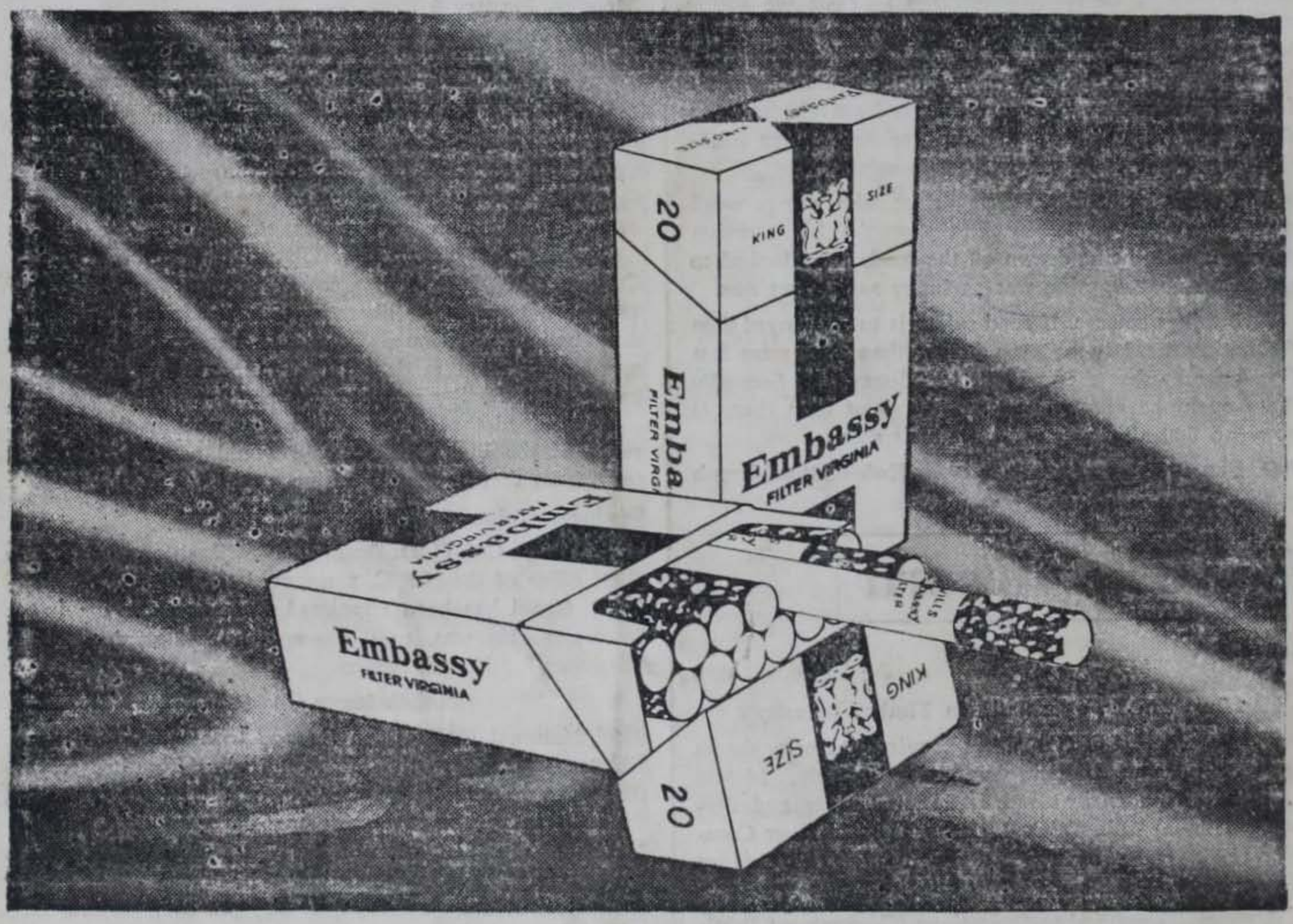
S. A. NKRUMAH—Lecturer, School of Administration, Legon.

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The trend is to Embassy the milder, smoother cigarette

6 JAN 1973



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NOTICE

Our readers, contributors, subscribers etc. and the general public are kindly requested to address all future communications to the Editor in his official capacity and not in person.

Editorial

AGRICULTURE: CHANGING OF THE GUARD

AFTER one year as Commissioner for Agriculture, Major-General D. K. Addo has resigned on the grounds of ill-health. The success of the Operation Feed Yourself campaign, limited though it is, owes a lot to the energy and vigour which the outgoing commissioner put into the project. He quickly saw the basic problems facing agriculture in the country, and spared no effort in giving the necessary leadership for finding appropriate solutions. The general stimulation given to agriculture through a greater awareness for its necessity in our programme of economic recovery, we hope, will not be weakened with the departure of the Commissioner so closely associated with the campaign.

The major areas of our agricultural problems have been identified and what is needed now is the implementation of the plans that have not yet been implemented, as well as a consolidation of the foundation laid. To do this, we need energetic and dedicated leadership, and this is what the country can be assured of in the person of Major-General Addo's successor, Colonel F.G. Bernasko. During his tenure of office as the Central Regional Commissioner, Colonel Bernasko gave evidence of dedicated leadership and tireless energy, qualities that will stand him in good stead in his new challenging office; and we trust that he will bring his energies to bear on our agricultural problems.

As Colonel Bernasko prepares to assume office, we should like to draw his attention to another aspect of our agricultural problems which his predecessor mentioned on numerous occasions as part of the second phase of the O.F.Y. campaign, but which still remains to be tackled, namely, the reorganisation of the Ministry of Agriculture at both the regional and national levels.

First of all, there is the long-felt need to make a clear distinction between the administrative and professional classes in the ministry. This professional section will be headed by a Director and his deputies, and they will actually run the ministry, leaving the purely administrative functions to the Principal Secretary and his staff. With the functions clearly demarcated, the professional people in the ministry can direct all their energies towards technical problems while the administrators concern themselves with the purely administrative matters such as relations with other government agencies.

Secondly, the powers of Regional Agricultural Officers should be consolidated. As of now, the Regional Agricultural

Officers have no over-all control of agricultural activities in their regions. The heads of the various divisions within the ministry, instead of reporting to him as the regional chief, report to the divisional heads in Accra, with the result that the regional agricultural officer is not always abreast with the developments in the various sections of the ministry under his care. The purpose of the proposed change is to let the regional bosses know all that is happening in the region.

Thirdly, it was planned that effective use should be made of the various wings of the Ministry, particularly the Research Institutes such as those of Crop, Animal and Soil Research which constituted the scientific services in the ministry. The aim of establishing this section of scientific services was to bring research activities and findings within the immediate reach of the ministry, and thence of the farmers through Extension Services. These institutes were supposed to deal with more immediate problems, leaving the long-term ones to the universities and other organs. It has become clear that since these institutes were detached from the parent ministry, they have not made as much impact as was originally hoped. The purpose in proposing to bring them back under the immediate supervision of the ministry is to ensure that the researches can be directed towards areas requiring immediate attention, and that the results can be collated and monitored.

Lastly, the outgoing commissioner was giving serious thought to improving the service conditions as a way of attracting and retaining the services of qualified people in the ministry. We are informed that he actually proposed new salary scales and incentives which showed considerable improvement on the existing emoluments. This is a very important matter to which we call on the new commissioner to address his early attention. The efforts being made to improve our agriculture will not be particularly rewarding if the personnel to implement and supervise the programmes feel so dissatisfied and frustrated that they leave for more remunerative positions just at the time when they have accumulated enough experience to be of greater service to the community.

We have addressed ourselves to the question of agriculture in successive issues to underscore the important role that this activity should play in our economic revival. We trust that Colonel Bernasko will shoulder his new responsibilities which, in a sense, are more challenging than his previous ones, with his usual zeal, dedication and energy.

To Major-General Addo we say: Well done; and to Colonel Bernasko: good luck.

Politics

OUR PRESENT SITUATION AND THE FUTURE

By

J. E. Wiredu

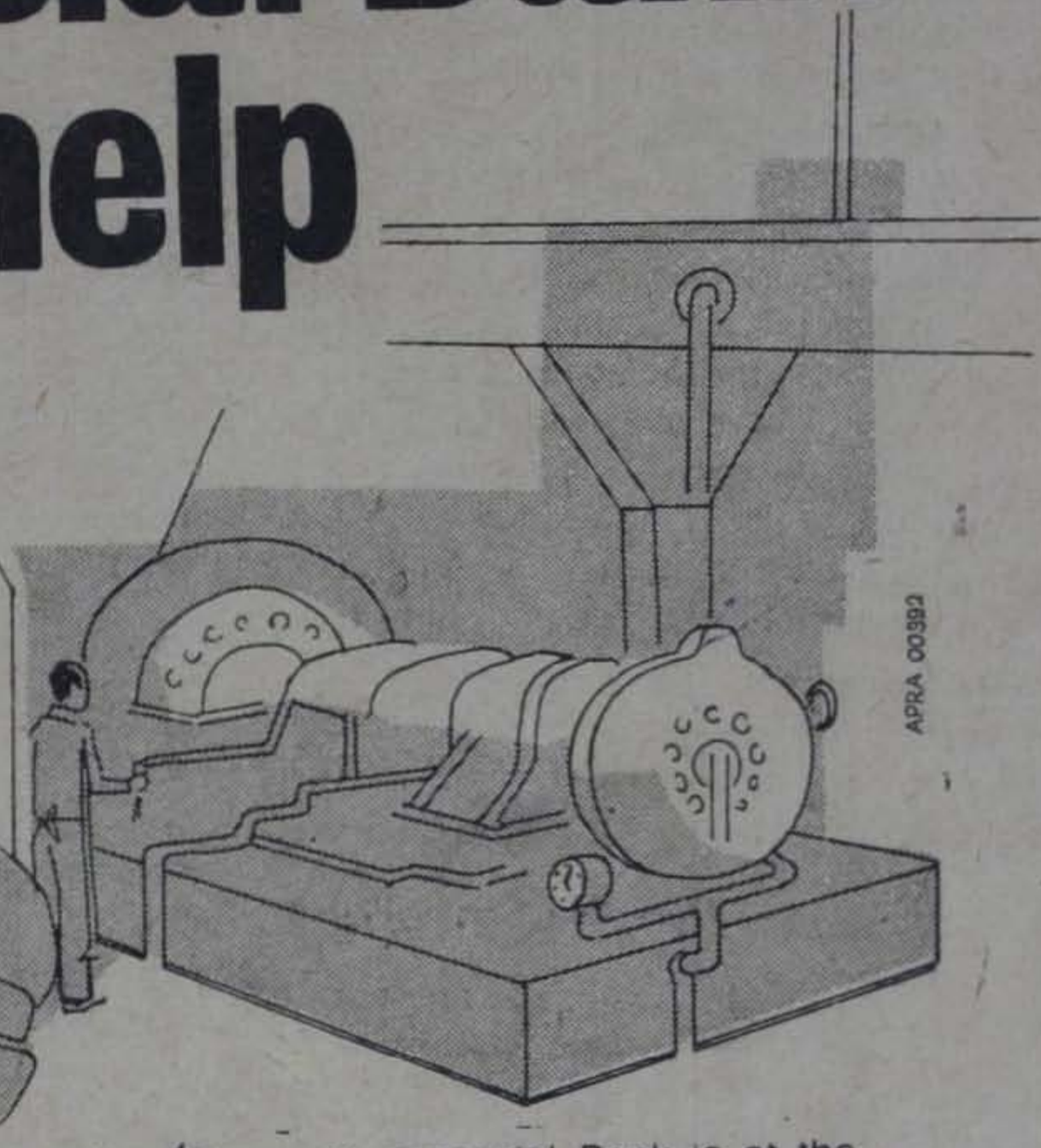
IT was certainly a remarkable development when inside ten short months the N.R.C. government was able to secure a foreign trade surplus much in excess of a hundred million cedis. I doubt very much if any party-based civilian government could have brought this about. At least any foreign trade position remotedly resembling this eluded the last civilian government (with, as it turned out, fateful decisiveness). The question now is: Can this favourable foreign trade position be attributed to superior political and economic wisdom on the part of the N.R.C.? Undoubtedly to suppose so would be a pleasant thought to the N.R.C. but that would be somewhat precipitous at this stage.

There is, for instance, the elementary point that the full economic significance of the present trade position will not be known to us ordinary citizens until we are favoured with the detailed breakdown of the trade figures, and until certain crucial facts about the general performance of the economy have become available to us. But one thing is clear beyond peradventure: no civilian government based on a political party with an opposition to think about could have risked the level and spread of shortages which the import policies of the N.R.C. have occasioned in the country. It might, therefore, be wise to temper exultation over the arithmetic of our foreign trade with the thought that if, haply, the apparent gains have been made at the expense of national production, then we may be burying our heads in sand, ostrich style.

So, then, the present government has the advantage over the previous one that they have no election promises to **redeem** or any opposition **spokesman** to worry about; their continuance in power depends not upon consent but (in principle) upon force. And so long as they have the power and the courage they can impose any privation upon the populace for the sake of "a better tomorrow". Besides, they have the privilege that they can make mistakes without too much political retribution, if any. Truth to say, they have already made quite a number of mistakes, some clearly avoidable. Why, for example, did it not occur to them in the first place

What is the Ghana Commercial Bank doing to help develop Ghana?





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that a rent reduction order could have legal implications?

Then, there is the question of state intervention in semantics. To begin with the previous government was faulted on its handling of certain goods designated "essential" by the present regime. Soon on obscure psychological grounds it was commanded that they should no longer, at least officially, be called "essential", but rather "foreign". Meanwhile every school boy knew that some at least of the goods were essential. Apparently to reinforce the philosophy behind the new name the government banned all queueing for the goods in question—an otherwise unheard of manoeuvre. Not surprisingly, soldiers were subsequently to be seen helping to keep order at the proscribed queues. Col. Acheampong has now volunteered the information that, this semantical revolution notwithstanding, his government has actually imported 12 million cedis worth more of those same goods than was imported by the last government for a comparable period.

Operation Reconciliation

Incidentally, with so much increase in the importation of these essential/foreign goods it might appear plausible to postulate a **decrease** in the efficiency and ingenuity with which they are being distributed to account at least partially for the present shortages of these same goods. Moreover, one cannot in this connexion suppress the anxiety that perhaps the import restrictions introduced by the government have been made to affect industrially essential foreign goods more drastically than one might initially have suspected.

This is not an essay on what is going wrong, though such an essay might have its place. The foregoing remarks are merely intended to discourage any premature sense of the imminence of national salvation. In spite of the Ghanaian habit of idolising their rulers — a habit which, on present evidence, the uninspiring performance of past governments have done nothing to weaken, it must be acknowledged that our present rulers, not unlike the previous ones, are ordinary human beings trying to grapple with some rather intractable problems. If one considers that up to a point human fallibility tends to rise in proportion to the magnitude of the pressures to which men are subjected, it should not be surprising that the government has not been immune to various kinds of mistakes. Colonel Acheampong must now, surely, be the last to belittle the demands which the task of ruling Ghana can make on the mental and moral capabilities of any mortal.

There are, of course, positive elements in the present situation. One is not here particularly thinking of the Operation Feed Yourself campaign which though conducted with unprecedented vigour in its first phase, clearly needs the benefit of overall rational planning. One is thinking here most of all of the apparent realisation of the need for national reconciliation at the highest level of our present leadership. Certainly, Operation Reconciliation has not yet gone past the level of unanalysed exhortation. Col. Acheampong has to ask himself which are the antagonistic groups that he seeks to reconcile. The following observations are obviously relevant to this question as far as the political sphere is concerned.

The N.R.C. came into power in the wake of the failure of the Progress Party just as the N.L.C. followed in the wake of the failure of the Convention Peoples' Party. Both parties have been proscribed, but nobody has performed the magic of conjuring their membership out of existence. It must be obvious by now to anybody but the most unobservant that political fanaticism is a trait very deeply embedded in the Ghanaian character. The members of the two obsolescent parties still retain their basic emotional sympathies and aversions, and anybody who would reconcile them must find a way to teach them to work together.

Steps to be Taken

How may this be done? An obvious way is to appoint people of diverse political backgrounds to work on the same committees and in other public positions. If the populace can see former C.P.P. personalities working together with people formerly of the P.P., the chances are that the rigidities of their political thinking might be loosened. Moreover, the persons involved themselves would be likely to gain valuable practice in the sinking of (now anachronistic) political differences.

At the moment the civilian personnel set-up in the N.R.C. is weighed in favour of the former C.P.P. group. There is a certain residual sense in this. Having forcibly displaced the P.P. administration, it was natural for the present leaders to feel more at ease with the bitter critics of the P.P. (Incidentally former adherents of the National Alliance of Liberals fit into the current situation simply as pragmatic allies of the ex-C.P.P. group.) However, one cannot make a permanent virtue of this circumstance. It will never be competent reasoning to suppose that if a man's failure occurred several years ago, then he is for that reason a more promising agent of success than another who failed not so long ago, other

things being equal. Sooner or later **all** the P.P. men under compulsory protection must be released. And then all those who come through the grilling at the commissions uncompromised will have to be considered material that can be pressed into service in national development. Otherwise all talk of national reconciliation must be suspended.

Meanwhile, national reconciliation is more urgent now than ever before. During the era of the N.L.C. only one of the historical parties had failed, and there was some logic in the expectation that some alternative party might be able to deliver the goods, as the phrase goes. Naturally national **political** reconciliation was not felt to be one of the most pressing priorities. In the event the hope has not been realised. It is now time to go beyond personal explanations of the political inadequacies of the past. The fault may lie not principally in the persons but in their institutional frameworks. Given the Ghanaian proneness to political fanaticism, it may well be that the party system, one or many, is not suited to our situation. From this point of view, one of the greatest things the N.R.C. can do for this country is to prepare the way for a non-party civilian government when the time comes for a hand-over.

N.R.C. and Ideology

Col. Acheampong has said that any talk of politics is premature at this time. So be it. But it can never be premature for rational beings to think about the shape of things to come. The N.L.C. also used to talk in a similar vein: we will not hand over power until we are satisfied that the economy has been put on a sound footing; which was fine except that when the time came for the hand-over it became plain that not enough thinking had gone into devising the mechanics of the change and the institutions to match. The problem of thinking out in detail the implications of the notion of a non-party government is infinitely more difficult than the previous one of writing a constitution for an orthodox multi-party system of government. The earlier the problem is taken seriously the better.

Abstractly, there are other alternatives. For example, the N.R.C. can form a political party of their own and declare it to be the only legal political party of the nation. This alternative has wisely been ruled out by Col. Acheampong's pledge to hand over to a civilian government at some future date. Alternatively they can wait till near the time of the hand-over and lift the ban on politics, supervise the formation of political parties, conduct general elections and hand over power to one party or another "on a silver platter" or otherwise. Whereupon history will, of course, repeat itself. One can only hope that people will learn from experience.

One aspect of the present situation which augurs well for national reconciliation is the studied refusal of the N.R.C. to be enticed into making a **doctrinaire** ideological commitment. In this regard the N.R.C. deserve the congratulations of the entire nation for the charter which they have recently offered. The single most fortunate fact about the charter is that it is almost entirely a series of platitudes. While the platitudes will not specially enlighten anybody they will not sow the seeds of dissension either; and if the N.R.C. thought that they had to produce a charter by all means, then the present one is about the most prudent in the circumstances. Another feather in their cap is that they have consistently avoided giving doctrinaire ideological justifications for their participation in certain private enterprises. While commonsense reasons seem available, it would be gratuitous to invoke grand doctrines about society.

This is not to deprecate ideology. I yield ground to none in the recognition of the central role of ideology in social development. But ideology is a personal matter, first and foremost, and its spread ought only to be through persuasion. I myself adhere to a kind of socialism in comparison to which Marxist socialism is nothing short of a right-wing doctrine, but I cannot pretend that I have any right to impose it on others. I, in turn, deny that anybody, in power or not, has a mission to impose his own ideology on me. The same goes for every one. The N.R.C. are, therefore, absolutely right to make the national charter as uncontroversial as possible.

The signs, then, are to a certain extent propitious for national reconciliation. It remains to see whether the N.R.C. can take concrete steps towards this noble aim.

BE ABREAST WITH THE

TIMES, READ THE

LEGON OBSERVER

THE PATTERN OF N.R.C. ADMINISTRATION

By
A Correspondent

IT is a platitude that rulers of any kind of description who intend to govern well must have a tolerably clear idea of what constitutes the public good as a whole. Failing that they can only condemn themselves to the hand-to-mouth pragmatism of the political psychopath: that is, hopping from crisis to crisis without any clearly thought-out plans to forestall these crises.

Ghana, it cannot be denied, has for far too long suffered the ravages of crises upon crises mainly because the majority of her past political leaders had been too much preoccupied with the techniniques of acquiring and maintaining political power rather than with the good uses to which such power can and should be put. The National Redemption Council (N.R.C.), since it's forcible assumption of political power, has firmly promised to make a clean break with this past practice; so far it has shown by some of its policies and actions that it can do precisely that. There is, however, a vital problem of our public life which, even as of now, we should seriously begin to consider, if the public good is to be eventually maximised. And this is the nature of the structure of government and administration under the N.R.C.

Truly enough, we are now engaged in an economic war of a grave nature: we are fighting for our very economic survival as a nation. For this reason alone it has been repeatedly urged upon us that politics is otiose. This claim is false: what has, in our present situation, been decreed out of existence is organised party political activity, and not politics as such. For politics, considered as the fairly orderly resolution of the diverse, competing interests and claims of individuals and groups of a community, can never be decreed out of existence; nor can it be divorced from economics. If this is granted, then we must seriously begin to think out aloud what type of civil-military relations is best suited to Ghana. The public good demands that this be done. In what follows, the present writer makes no attempt at offering a definitive formula; his major concern is to initiate a debate on the issue by trying to raise, he hopes, some relevant questions.

Now, the most striking point to note about the N.R.C. administration so far, is not so much the fact that there are only one civilian and one police officer serving on the N.R.C. as the policy of installing military personnel in strategic positions in practically every civilian public institution. Such a policy is in sharp contrast to that of the National Liberation Council (N.L.C.) which ruled Ghana from February 1966 to September 1969.

It is true that the N.L.C. was itself wholly composed of military and police officers; but the several committees which the N.L.C. set up, notably the Political Committee (later the National Advisory Committee), comprised civilians only. (Incidentally, the N.R.C. has also set up a number of committees some of which comprise both civilians and military personnel.) In 1967 the N.L.C. went to the extent of bringing some civilians effectively into the government by appointing them as Commissioners and including them in the National Executive Council. On the whole in terms of personnel one would describe government and administration under the N.L.C. as preponderantly civilian with a token but powerful military and police presence.

In contrast the N.R.C., although it has one civilian (the Attorney-General) as a member, has so far not found it necessary to appoint a sizeable minority of civilians to the Executive Council which it also has established. Besides, as already noted, it would seem that it is the N.R.C's policy to have almost every civilian public institution permeated by military personnel.

The Task of N.R.C.

How does one explain this contrast? It will be recalled that the N.L.C. made it plain right from the beginning of its rule that it would hand over power to civilians in the very foreseeable future. Even if the N.L.C. had not made an open declaration of intent on this issue, it could not have possibly ignored the power of the large number of civilians who were in opposition to the Nkrumah regime. Somehow, then, as many of such civilians as possible had to be brought into the administration—even if in certain cases in an advisory capacity only.

It is important to note, though, that in the circumstances in which it found itself, the N.L.C. as a whole saw its task as essentially temporary. There was no imperative need, then, to detail military personnel to serve on purely civilian public institutions. For these and many other possible reasons, the military and the police under the N.L.C. severely restricted themselves to administering the affairs of the country at only the highest level.

On the other hand, the National Redemption Council, as already noted, has adopted a different policy, with the result that army officers are serving on such bodies as the Sports Council and the Ghana Co-operative Marketing Association. One

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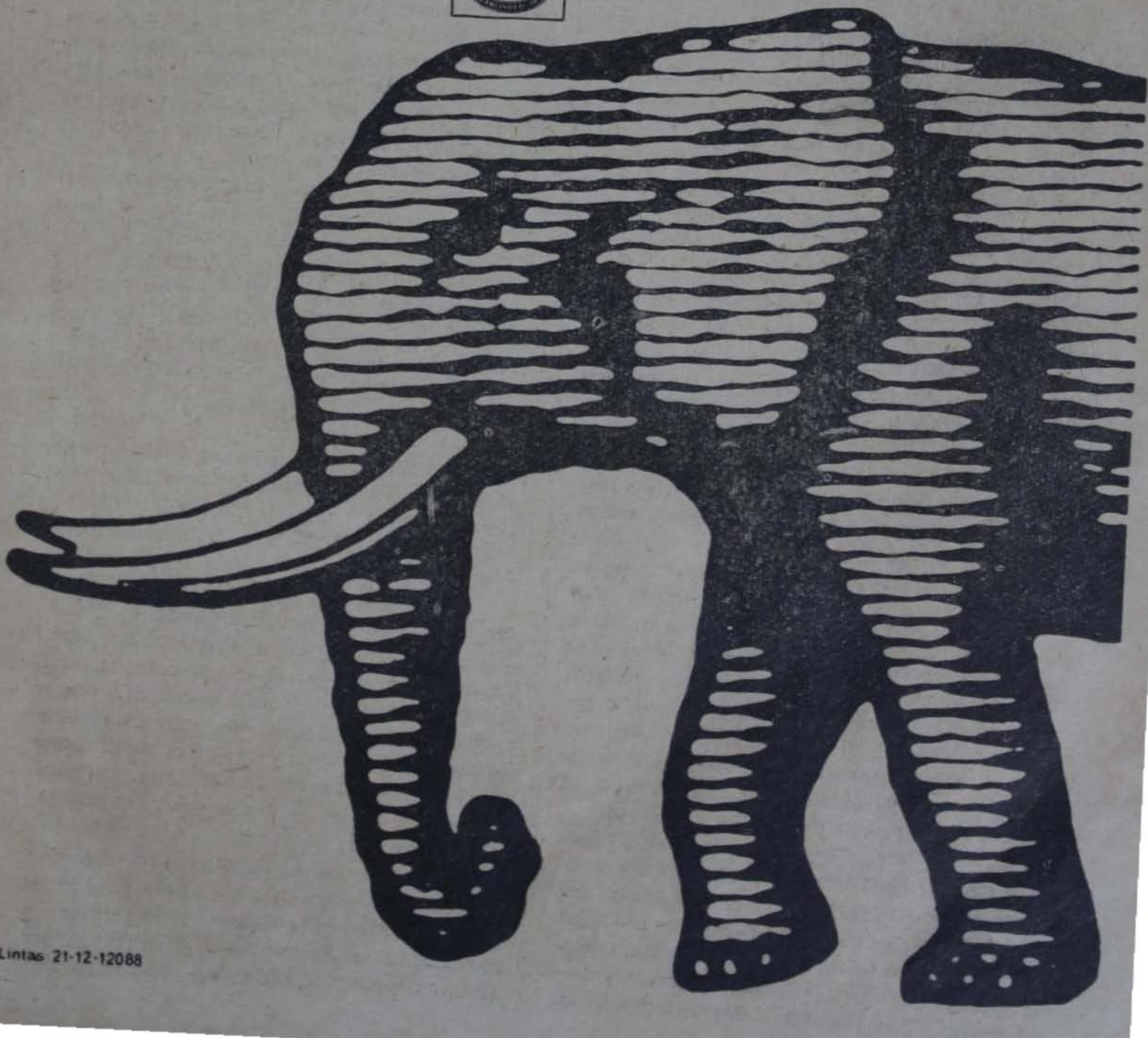
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of the reasons given for the impregnation of as many public institutions as possible with the military presence is the need to instil discipline into the civilians, particularly the public servants. And how better can this be done than by placing military personnel in strategic positions (or is it the "commanding heights"?) of the public services, including the public corporations!

Above all, it is arguable that the N.R.C. has adopted such a policy only because it has so far not felt constrained to hold out to the public any hope of a return to civilian rule in the very foreseeable future. Indeed, the head of state and chairman of the N.R.C., Col. Acheampong, is on record as having said that there would be a return to civilian rule only if and when the structural imbalances in the body economic and social have been **completely** rectified. Put another way, the N.R.C. must solve once and for all the "neocolonial problem", the "Nkrumah problem", and the "Busia problem." A tall order, and a task of considerable magnitude, this would certainly take a very long time to achieve.

Implications of Policy

One or two implications of the N.R.C's policy may be noted—for what they are worth. First, if the N.R.C's efforts are to be crowned with success, then its forces must be disposed in the most efficient manner. As far as this writer is aware, almost all the military officers now serving on civilian institutions still retain their positions within the command structure of the military establishment. In these circumstances, how efficient and effective can such officers be as policy-makers, disciplinarians and watchdogs in the civilian institutions to which they have been posted. . .? The question is pertinent simply because it is the military themselves who have created the impression that they are the paragons of efficiency and effectiveness.

All this, however, leads to the crucial question, which, to repeat, we would do well to begin to discuss seriously: namely, is military intervention in our politics coupled with the now widespread practice of engaging the services of military personnel in almost all purely civilian public institutions partly explained by the necessity of making the military establishment more economically and socially relevant? If the answer is "yes", then what is the best way of attaining this?

Whatever the answer to the latter question may be, it would seem that the militarisation of civilian institutions will eventually result in the politicisation of the military; hence the military as a whole may find themselves unable or unwilling to disengage themselves from political administration. The final question, then, is: what type of political system do Ghanaians want? The present writer is in no doubt whatsoever that in the context of Ghana the militarisation of civilian institutions is not necessarily the best practical solution to the problem of forging an autochthonous type of political system.

Agriculture

AGRICULTURE UNDER THE N.R.C.

By

K. G. Dadze

THE fundamental problem of economic development in this country is how to raise agricultural productivity. It has also proved to be the most difficult problem, and the one in which least progress has been made. The many plans, programmes, projects and slogans of the last two decades have failed to make any significant impact on the rate of growth of agriculture; and it is undeniable that agricultural stagnation has inhibited economic expansion and reconstruction through chronic shortages of food and raw materials, and through high prices. In the last twelve months, however, there has been a general feeling that at last the agricultural problem is being tackled with unusual seriousness and vigour. Soon after seizing power, the N.R.C declared 1972 to 1974 as "agricultural years" during which agriculture would be accorded first priority and every effort made to achieve a break-through, and launched its programme of "Operation Feed Yourself" (O.F.Y.). The object of this article is to examine this programme and its future prospects.

The agricultural problem may be summarized as follows: **first** in aggregate terms, Ghana's agriculture simply does not produce enough; and **secondly,** the structure of production, which has been static (except in very minor directions) over the past several decades, is seriously out of line with changing demand. These are the implications of the rising trend as well as the structure of our agricultural imports over the last 22 years. In terms of volume and value, our agricultural imports have risen more than four times since 1950. The composition of the import bill also suggests that there has been a steady shift in demand towards higher-value foods and raw materials. The under-functioning of our agriculture-based industries, most of which have had to operate

well below capacity while others have had to close down altogether for lack of raw materials, is additional evidence of the two problems stated above, namely, under-production and structural imbalance in production. There is a **third** and paradoxical problem—defective distribution and inefficient marketing—which results in substantial loss and waste of produce and material resources in the marketing process, and a pricing system which does not encourage maximum production.

It follows that the task of agricultural policy is to raise output generally, to alter the structure of production by emphasizing certain commodities, and to improve the distribution system in the interest of both producers and consumers. What does O.F.Y. seek to do, and how does it set about these problems?

The immediate aim of O.F.Y. according to the first memo. of the programme, was "to grow more food crops as a matter of urgency in the 1972 planting season", so as to attain self-sufficiency within the year. The specific objectives were to eliminate net agricultural imports within the year, to produce enough to support processing industries, and for export. What measures were taken to attain these objectives? **First,** a number of crops were selected for concentrated promotional effort in designated areas. **Second,** production targets, representing significant increases over the previous year's estimated output, were set in these crops, as the table below shows:

Crop	Planned Increases 1972 over 1971
Maize	36%
Rice	44%
Yam	24%
Plantain	9%
Cassava	17%
Millet	24%
Groundnuts	15%
Vegetables	8%

An equally ambitious increased rate of catch was also planned for the fishery industry.

Thirdly, it was proposed to rely initially on state-controlled organs in direct production to achieve a significant proportion of the targets and generally "to provide an impetus for the total production effort". These organs are the State Farms Corporation (S.F.C.), the Food Production Corporation, the Settlement Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, and the State Fishing Corporation. Private and other non-state farmers, such as schools and colleges, were to be encouraged and stimulated through guaranteed minimum prices, easier credit, improved supplies of material inputs (e.g. fertilizers and cutlasses), improved feeder roads, and the like.

The **fourth** step was to devise a machinery for implementation and monitoring of the programme. The machinery, which complements and yet operates within the Ministry of Agriculture, comprises (a) the National Operations Control (N.OP.C) at the apex, (b) the Programmes Control Executive (PROCONEX) through which N.OP.C. operates and (c) Regional Agricultural Committees (RACOM), headed by the Regional Commissioners. There is also a Commodity Price Committee (COPACE).

This step is very important: it recognizes a basic factor underlying the failure of past policies—lack of implementation effort and monitoring of activities and progress of plans. It recognizes also that the Ministry, as it exists, is not organized for the kind of emergency action contemplated, but wisely avoids the hasty and demoralizing reorganization it underwent in, say, 1962, when the socialization of agriculture was launched.

Some comment on the other steps is called for. First: the selection of key crops for promotion. This is basically correct, as it seeks to tackle the problem of structural imbalance mentioned earlier. But it does not go far enough, as the structure of agricultural imports would reveal. For example, the important item of meat and meat preparations, or livestock, is omitted; but this is probably only being realistic. Less realistic, however, are the targets set for the various commodities. The reliability of the figures used in the setting of targets and calculation of increases over 1971 is open to some doubt, as may be illustrated in the table below:

Crop	Area cultivated 1970	Area cultivated 1971	Target 1972
	(in thousand acres)		
Maize	1,118	953	1,279
Rice	136	136	201.2
Yam	431	429	538
Plantain	1,421	1,421	1,553
Cassava	886	657	760
Millet	615	615	502
Groundnuts	247	250	232
Vegetables	?	42	45.5

(The sources of these figures are the Ministry of Agriculture's own publications: the 1970 figures are from the **Ghana Sample Census of Agriculture, 1970,** while the 1971 and 1972 figures are from O.F.Y. bulletins).

According to these figures, the 1971 acreages of the crops now under promotion were in some cases less than, and in others at most equal to, the previous year's (i.e. 1970) acreages. Obviously, something is wrong here. Either somebody re-repeated the 1970 figures for 1971, with arbitrary and random reductions here and there or one of the sets of data (1970 and 1971) is unreliable. In either case, a question mark is raised against the projected increases implied, and set out in the first table. In the case of vegetables, which in the O.F.Y. comprise okro, tomato, pepper and onions, the figure is ridiculously inaccurate: in 1970, the first three alone accounted for 184,000 acres! Even if it is presumed that in 1971, it fell to 42,000, why is the projected increase only 3,500 acres? And why are the 1972 planned acreages for millet and groundnuts less than the 1971 figures, even if in actual production (i.e. yield) increases of 24% and 15% could be attained? Somebody in PROCONEX appears to be having his own Operation **Fool** Yourself, as will be further illustrated later.

Facts and Figures

We come now to the intended initial emphasis of, and reliance on, state-controlled organs as a means of achieving the projected rapid increases. It is hard to agree with this approach, for these organs, even at their biggest size, in 1965, when they also included the U.G.F.C. co-operatives, constituted not more than 2% of the producing sector; and they may well now be less than 1%, by whatever criteria measured—land cultivated, manpower, or output. Within the "agricultural years", it simply is not possible to expand them rapidly enough, or increase their productivity rapidly enough, to make any impact on aggregate production. Fortunately, in practice, the government seems not to have given them as much emphasis as originally proposed, and in fact it is to be commended for turning them away from over-dependence on the budget and more towards economic standards of performance.

What can one say of the record of the O.F.Y. programme so far? There is a general consensus that it has been a tremendous success. As the 1972/73 **Financial Statement** puts it: "It is obvious that the first season of the 'operation' has been a great success for which we have to be thankful to God. Fish catch has been luxuriant and the earth has given us bumper crops." The latest official figures released by the Ministry of Agriculture do show that except in rice and plantain, all the targets have been over-fulfilled, at least **for the main season**: maize by 8%; yam by 4%; cassava by 33%; groundnuts by 25%; millet by 14% and vegetables by 32%. Rice fell short by 8%, but in relation to the planned increase of 44% over 1971, this would be an excellent record. If these figures were true, they would represent unparalleled achievement. But the figures—the data on acreage and yield are not reproduced here—are not completely reliable, and this writer cannot agree with that portion of the text accompanying the record of O.F.Y. in the December 1972 issue of the **Agriculture Newsletter** (page 1) which states (sic): "Figures . . . are symbols of approximate situations. And the more approximate they are, the more reliably we can depend on them." I think it is possible to be a little more cautious, a little more accurate, and hence a little more reliable.

Achievements of O. F. Y.

If the targets had in fact been over-fulfilled to the extent claimed, it should have been reflected in current food supplies and prices, as well as in the functioning of our agriculture-based industries. In all these respects, however, the situation is grim. Tomatoes are now selling for about 70p. per pound; sugar, which is now locally produced, is scarce all over, as also is fish. And if it is true that, out of concern for the welfare of the people this government in 1972 allocated more money for food imports than the previous government did in 1971, then, surely, the problem of under-production is still with us.

All this is not to imply that O.F.Y. has failed. On the contrary, it **has** been a great success, but not in quantitative terms—yet. Some notable achievements have been made which should stimulate investment on agriculture. For example, import duties on agricultural machinery have been waived; interest rates on credit have been reduced from between 8% and 11% to 6%, while more loanable funds are being made available for agriculture; and the government's budget is beginning to accord a higher and genuine priority to agriculture. But by far the greatest achievement of the O.F.Y. is the impact it has made on the Ghanaian's attitude to agriculture, the awareness it has generated of the necessity and feasibility of moving domestic agriculture to meet domestic demand, and the ground it has prepared for productive effort in agricultural development. The task in the second year of the programme is to capitalize on these propitious but intangible gains.

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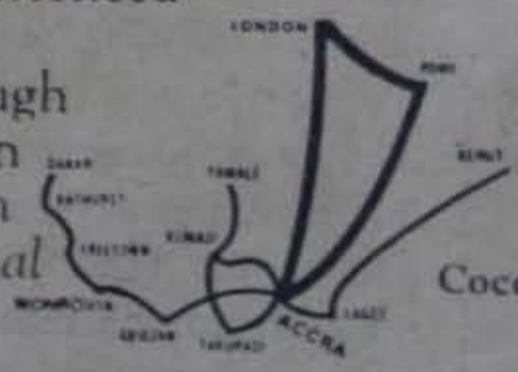
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How is this to be done? First on the list is the distribution system: the problems of storage, transport (vehicles), prices, and marketing, which have hampered the efficient movement of produce to places where it is needed or its distribution over time, and resulted in product loss and prices that have provided no incentive for the producer or relief for the final consumer. Indeed, if this economy had been under a real war situation the problem of distribution should have been accorded the first priority, or tackled with **at least** as much vigour as the promotional effort expended on production. Next on the list is improvement in the supply of improved inputs, such as seeds, stock, fertilizer as well as credit to acquire these and extension to make their use effective. Finally, institutional problems such as land tenure and research support, which are more difficult to tackle and whose importance is generally less keenly appreciated, will need close examination.

The task ahead is not going to be easy; but there is no reason to believe that the leadership in agriculture, such as we have known it over the past year, is not equal to it.

Africa

A DECADE OF THE O.A.U. LIBERATION COMMITEE

By

S. K. B. Asante

THE Accra meeting of the 21st regular session of the African Liberation Committee barely a fortnight ago ended nearly a decade of the existence of this all-engaging Liberation instrument of the O.A.U. The importance of this Committee cannot be over-emphasized. Since the early sixties all the African leaders have shared the belief that collective struggle against colonialism represented an essential ingredient of African Unity and their individual national security. They have been justifiably distressed by the fact that Africa is the only continent where the phenomenon of international colonization has survived into the "civilised" world. Even when the African states split into rival Casablanca and Monrovia groups, they remained united in their opposition to colonialism and racism. The Charter of the OAU adopted in May 1963 is essentially a charter of Liberation.

Despite the significance of the Liberation Committee as the linch-pin in the entire liberation known. Until the June 1972 OAU Rabat Summit which revitalised interest and support for the liberation struggle in Africa, African leaders had themselves given very scant attention to the work of the Committee. Some have even been overtly hostile to it, while others have brazenly exhibited a noticeable lack of enthusiasm in its structure and activity. Since the African continent continues to be a hot-bed of the liberation struggle, it is essential that we attempt a brief review of the role of the Liberation Committee in this struggle, its progress and setbacks during the ten years of its existence.

Structure and Objectives

Administered by an Executive Secretariat, the Liberation Committee, which was formally established at the inaugural meeting of the OAU in 1963, operates from headquarters in Dar es Salaam. The location of the headquarters of the agency in Dar es Salaam reflects the importance that the African states gave to the use of the Committee for the realization of their goals in Southern Africa. Dar es Salaam, because of its location at the border of Southern Africa, has become a sanctuary and a launching station for most of the liberation movements in the area.

The OAU gave the Liberation Committee two specific objectives: first, the establishment of a liberation budget to finance the struggle for African freedom; and second, the co-ordination of the struggle on a territorial and interterritorial basis, beginning with the elimination of rival parties and the formation of united fronts. The Committee in its ordinary sessions meets twice a year. Under it are three standing committees — General Policy and Information, Defence, and Administration and Finance — charged with specific and clearly defined responsibilities.

The Executive Secretariat is the central organ of the Liberation Committee. It co-ordinates the work among the standing committees and the liberation movements and executes the functions assigned to it from time to time by both the Liberation Committee and the Secretary – General of the OAU. The Liberation Committee is on the whole supposed to be the directing centre of operations aimed at the overthrow of the white minority regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, and at the total liberation of the African continent from the remnants of colonialism, in particular as practised by Portugal. The competence of the Committee covers action and administration

Until quite recently, the activities of the Liberation Committee have occasioned somewhat sharp criticisms and generated intense controversies among the member states of the OAU. For instance, Ghana and Tanzania violently clashed over the Committee at the Cairo Summit in 1964. This was followed by a conflict between Malawi and Tanzania concerning the Committee at the Accra OAU Conference in 1965. The controversies have ranged over a number of issues such as the Committee's high administration costs, the lack of agreement on what movementsshould be recognised, where arms should be bought and the general strategy to be applied,and the reluctance of some African states, particularly those which are not members of the Committee, to pay their assessments.

The resounding success of the recent Rabat Summit happily put an end to these squabbles, controversies and conflicts which had hitherto threatened to paralyse the Liberation Committee. The "spirit of Rabat" brought about a clear change of attitude on the part of African leaders towards the too often neglected liberation movements and the Liberation Committee. For the first time, there was unanimity of opinion on the urgency of the liberation struggle. This new mood helped bring about a series of successes in the field of the African Liberation struggle.

Successes in the Struggle

For instance, African pressure on the Rhodesian participation in the 1972 Munich Olympics ended in African victory. Furthermore, the African Group at the UN scored two other remarkable victories. First, representatives of the liberation movements were for the first time admitted as observers in the Fourth Committee as authentic African leaders in their own right. Secondly, the Comoro Islands have been enlisted among countries still under foreign domination. The results of last month's elections in the Comoros amply indicate that self-determination and independence are just around the corner. The new turn of events is equally underlined by the increase of membership of the Liberation Committee from eleven to seventeen and the reconciliation of the two rival liberation movements in Angola, MPLA and FNLA.

Despite the gloomy impression prevalent in many quarters of the world press, there is great progress in the struggle for liberation in Africa. The liberation movements, especially in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, have scored great successes in their struggle. They have been able to control large areas where they have established nationalist administration with the enthusiastic support of the population.

The Accra Declaration of the Liberation Committee took note of these successes which have been made in several theatres of war by the liberation movements, and laid down a new strategy for the total liberation of Africa. Some aspects of this new strategy might however require further examination. The Committee has decided to grant the largest part of its assistance to the liberation movements in the territories under Portuguese domination since the armed struggle in the other territories is either in the phase of establishment or in the embryonic stage of underground activities and mass mobilisation.

Strategy of the Movement

It is understandable, as some observers have argued, that within the tight limits of the meagre funds currently put at the disposal of the liberation movements, priority should be given to those areas where immediate returns are expected from investments made. It also stands to reason that in so extensive a conflict as the Committee is facing in Southern Africa, it is good tactics to concentrate on "limited objectives", with the aim of first liberating those areas where the enemy appears weakest. But in order to make any serious or sustained dent in any part of that region, we must be prepared, as essential diversionary tactics, to step up appreciably the activity of the liberation movements within the South African territory itself. Because of the entrenched position of the regime there, thought must be given quickly to providing the necessary assistance to the movements to wage more sophisticated campaigns through methods other than those traditionally used by African guerrilla organisations. As long as all continues to be calm within South Africa for so long will Pretoria enjoy the psychological composure to plan and improve her aid to the authorities in Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies. The present massive support being given by South Africa to the racist regime of Ian Smith in its current diabolical economic blockade against Zambia is a case in point.

Besides, the need for widespread and continuous publicity of the activity of the Liberation Committee and the Executive Secretariat is almost a **sinequanon** in the present stage of African Liberation struggle. Securing victory in Africa depends upon more than technology and advanced weaponry. Not that the freedom fighters cannot put to good use an abundant supply of arms and munitions. Victory depends upon winning

in an immediate political, economic and social sense, and moral in the highest sense in directing man's efforts to give his existence dignity. The African liberation struggle is indeed a profoundly moral struggle. The co-operation and assistance of every competent national and international non-governmental organisation should be sought to build up world public opinion against the evils of colonialism in all its manifestations and to bring about the effective and complete isolation of those regimes which continue to pursue colonial and racist policies.

Finally, we must emphasize **ad nauseam** that the greatest aim of the African revolution is to liberate the African. This liberation is not sent from heaven, it is achieved by combating exploitation, injustice and colonialism. Nor is liberation brought by specialists or experts. We who are being humiliated, exploited and oppressed are the experts of this liberation. There is no nation in the world which can teach the Africans how to liberate themselves. The duty of liberating ourselves lies with us, and the necessary expertise will be obtained during the struggle itself. Africans, it is true, are not without friends, but one need not be a Maoist to believe that the wisest counsel is probably that which urges self-reliance. This is the first virtue of successful revolutionary struggle. And it is this which must guide the Liberation Committee in its second decade.

Observer Notebook

Regional Development Corporations

IT IS generally agreed that the pattern of past economic development in this country has tended to ignore regional disparities in incomes and employment opportunities; this in effect arises mainly from the fact that there has been a complete absence of a national policy towards regional development. A few statistics will show the lopsided nature of development and the gross disparities in the provision of social welfare amenities. In 1970, the Greater Accra area comprised 9.9% of the entire population, but this region was easily the best served with water, 85.9% of its total population being served from public supply systems as against the Upper Region which with 10% of the population was the least served, only 13.4% of its inhabitants being served with water. The bulk of manufacturing employment is in the Greater Accra region (46.1%) and the three regions of Accra/Tema, Ashanti and Western The Volta region in 1968 had not a single manufacturing industry.

It is against this background that the establishment of Regional Development Corporations must be welcomed if they are meant to provide the framework within which regional disparities in incomes can be rectified. The objects of the Regional Corporations as stated by the Decree are to carry on any business of an industrial, commercial and agricultural nature. Although not specifically stated, the objects must be interpreted to mean that in formulating plans the regions must have regard to the best use of the region's resources.

We should like to sound a note of warning: planning within each region should not be considered in isolation from what happens in adjacent regions or from national growth priorities. The primary purpose of the Regional Corporations should be to ensure that each region makes its maximum contribution to national prosperity. The problems of regional imbalance — in the distribution of industries and social welfare amenities — need supra-regional solutions and the Regional Corporations can only participate as agents of the central government. Ignoring the objectives of adjacent or even competing regions and without regard to national economic planning will only result in wasteful resource utilization. Above all, the regions should avoid indulging in selfish bids for the undivided attention of the government. Furthermore, the regions should refrain from vying with one another for the establishment of agricultural and industrial projects without regard to the national objectives and policies; it is essential that all projects undertaken be based strictly on the availability of regional raw materials to avoid the mushrooming of white elephants.

"Popular Consultations"

THE N.R.C. is a military government; but the head of state and chairman of the N.R.C., Colonel Acheampong, did once express the need for "popular consultation". In a speech to representatives of students at "Parliament House" on 16th June, 1972, he said ". . . I abhor hypocrisy, and I could not stand the pretence at democratic rule when all the evidence pointed at the erosion of every democratic principle (i.e. during P.P. rule). Let me say with all firmness that we did not take up arms to overthrow democracy. . . I believe that no matter how power is taken, those who wield it have a primary duty to be at one with the people and with their hopes and aspirations. Being at one with them means understanding them, and

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views. One way of doing this is by a system of popular consultations with the people, not only with their representatives but with peoples of all walks of life and of all manner of persuasions who can be brought together to hear and exchange ideas. I can hear the cynics cry: 'Anarchy, the rule of the mob!' I answer them and say: We shall prove you wrong."

Colonel Acheampong is yet regrettably to say, to prove the cynics wrong — if there were any. When he made that statement many people may have heaved a tremendous sigh of relief: now Ghanaians would not be treated to knock-about rhetoric; now all Ghanaians would be genuinely involved in the decision-making process — even under a military regime. But since the statement was made, it is no exaggeration to say that there have been only half-hearted attempts at "popular consultations".

The chairman, it is true, has met and talked to students, manufacturers, market women, Kwahu traders, businessmen and a few others. But the questions are: How representative have these people been of the community as a whole? Even if they have been, how seriously were their views taken? If they were, how would the public as a whole know? These questions have been raised because so far it would seem, the mechanisms of "popular consultations" have not been properly worked out. And yet Colonel Acheampong was right: even a military regime is ultimately responsible not to the guns but to the community over whom it bears rule. It is suggested, then, that a more workable way must be found out to elicit the views and confidence of all Ghanaians in the present circumstances.

In Memoriam

DR. AMILCAR CABRAL: THE AFRICAN LIBERATOR

By

A Correspondent

THE announcement in Conakry on Saturday, 20th January 1973 of the brutal assassination of Dr. Amilcar Cabral, the General-Secretary of the African Independence Party for Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), has profoundly shocked the freedom loving world and struck a shattering blow to the O.A.U. and the African Liberation struggle. Cabral, the revolutionary intellectual, has died at a time when the country to whose liberation he dedicated his whole life is at the threshold of independence. Certainly, Amilcar should "have died hereafter, there would have been a time for such a word".

Cabral, whose political thought has guided the African response to Portuguese rule for more than a decade, was born in 1920, of parents who had remigrated from Cape Verde to Bafata. As a Cape Verdean, he had early access to education, graduating from the Gil Eares High School in Sao Vicente. From there he went to Lisbon where he obtained 'high marks' and in 1950, after five years of study, received an engineering degree in agronomy from the **Instituto Superior de Agronomia.** Cabral's real political education began at Lisbon's **Casa dos Estudantes do Imperio** and the Centro de **Estudos Africanos,** where, among other African students, he met Agostinho Neto and Mario de Andrade of Angola. Not only did they encourage his 're-Africanisation', they equally stimulated his clandestine studies of Marxist-Leninist classics.

Immediately after graduation in 1950, Cabral began working as a trained agronomist in the employ of the colonial administration. His most important work was carried out from 1952 to 1954, when he travelled throughout Guinea (Bissau), conducting the agricultural census that gave him detailed acquaintance with traditional life and customs. It was during this period that he discovered means of mobilizing traditional African societies for a People's War. The experience that he gained provided the basis of the PAIGC's revolutionary strategy.

Cognisant of the African's dilemma in a colonial situation, Cabral was apparently active in early attempts to organise a nationalist movement. The opportunity came in September 1956 when the PAIGC, an underground organisation, was formed. Headed by Cabral, the PAIGC directed its attention to the mobilisation of artisans and urban workers. He was however convinced that the main force in the struggle for national liberation should be the peasant masses. He firmly believed that only a rural-based struggle could defeat the Portuguese.

The movement reached a decisive turning-point, and a strategy was called for, after the massacre at Pijiguiti of fifty African striking workers by Portuguese police on 3rd August, 1959. Cabral drastically revised the Party's plan of action, and re-affirmed its commitment to the liberation of Guinea (Bissau) from Portuguese rule 'by all positive means, including war'. He announced that the PAIGC would shift from political to direct military action and sabotage. On 13th October 1961, Cabral personally appealed to the Portuguese government urging the Salazar regime to 'follow the decolonizing example of other colonial powers in Africa'. Fearlessly, he warned that if the Portuguese persisted in refusing to negotiate independence 'nothing will stop our Party from accomplishing its historic mission: the mission of developing our struggle for national liberation, of replying by violence to the violence of the Portuguese colonialist forces'.

Two years of careful planning, indoctrination and preparation preceded the launching of the armed struggle in the closing months of 1962. By then, the PAIGC had secured significant international support in independent black Africa and, more important, from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European socialist countries, and China. Funds, arms, and world-wide propaganda were made available to the PAIGC.

By the end of 1967, Cabral's PAIGC controlled well over half of Guinea (Bissau). The PAIGC is now effectively administering over two-thirds of the territory.

and self-determination and independence is just a matter of time.

Cabral believed that revolutionary warfare has substantially increased the political awareness of African masses and intensified the feeling of unity among all Africans. He constantly advocated that man be liberated from his depressing state of colonial exploitation. His political theory was based on four principal objectives: the assimilation of traditional elements into a cohesive unit, the abolition of imperialism and colonialism, the militant revolutionary struggle, and structural development after independence. He unrelentlessly and stubbornly pursued these objectives with agility and consummate skill. Nothing could have prevented him from realising these four objectives.

Such, then, is the brief life of Amilcar Cabral, a succesful nationalist leader and militant revolutionary, who devoted all his life and all his strength to the finest cause in the world—the liberation of mankind.

Letters

The Returning Exiles

SIR—Whilst we welcome our "prodigal" brothers who have just had the opportunity to return from Guinea and elsewhere on the death of Kwame Nkrumah of blessed memory, the N.R.C. might want to investigate to find out if some of these persons have assets which might need at least a bit of very polite probing. Rumours have it that in Cape Coast and in Sekondi, two of these excursionists have issued some kind of ultimatum to the tenants living in buildings of which they still claim ownership.

Some of these activists escaped the 1966 assets probing due to their absence from Ghana. Furthermore, virtually all of them found themselves on that fateful Hanoi trip by reason of their prominent positions in the C.P.P. hierarchy. Experience has shown that there is a direct correlation between one's political status and the "massiveness" of assets one acquires—legally and illegally. So that if the assets of these recent C.P.P. arrivals were to be probed, the state coffers might stand a chance of benefitting somewhat. In any case, it would just be fair to the other C.P.P. elements whose assets were probed after the 1966 coup to probe the assets of these newly arrived C.P.P. chaps.

One Year of the N.R.C.—A Rejoinder

SIR—I refer to your editorial "One Year of the N.R.C." which appeared in **L.O.** VIII/1. I agree that you were not giving a panorama of all what the government has done or failed to do, but I think one cannot speak of the government's performance in food production without mentioning its dismal failure in the provision and distribution of meat. You rightly pointed out that in terms of cattle production the government has not done much. What you failed to note is that a lot of noise has been made about the provision of meat, wherever it may have come from.

Somebody in authority ordered that beef should sell for 55p. bone-in and 65p. boneless. This order was respected in a few areas for about a month at the most. Even at the time your editorial came out, beef was selling for at least 80p. a pound, bone-in. The butchers add a lot of fat and spare bones before weighing, and if you dare question this, they refuse to sell. Their impudence is based on the fact that all other butchers behave in the same way, so that going from one to the other does not help. The fact is that meat is in as short supply as other "foreign foods and commodities".

What is more annoying is that despite the government's inability to provide the cattle, it goes on issuing orders as to how much meat should be sold for, and butchers who manage to get some by their own means and sell it at their own price are harassed by the police and soldiers or price control officers. Either the government makes solid arrangements for meat to be sold at its own price, or it should leave people to fend for themselves, so that at least we can get the meat even if at high prices. This, at least, will make everybody see that the food situation in the country, even with respect to essential commodities and basic food items is not as rosy as official propaganda and your editorial would have us believe.

L.A. Middle School **Anthony K. Sarpong**
Koforidua

More Action and Less Rhetoric Needed

SIR—We have noted with concern the subtle war of attrition being waged by the racist regimes against the Republic of Zambia after the killing of two South African policemen by the freedom fighters. Notwithstanding the massacre of thousands of Africans and the deprivations of Africans living in these racist areas, the racist regime in Zimbabwe reacted to this incident by closing the border with Zambia.

The closure of this border has far reaching effects on the economy of Zambia, since it is a land-locked republic with most of her exports and imports passing through Zimbabwe. The closure of the border is an attempt on the part of the racist regime in Zimbabwe to force Zambia onto her knees and submit to their wish of sacking the freedom fighters from the areas of operation in Zambia. It is also interesting to note that the racist regime in Zimbabwe is not pursuing this dastardly exercise alone. The hated regimes in South Africa and Mozambique are backing their friend to the hilt. The South African government has ordered the cancellation of imports and exports to and from Zambia while the latter has sealed the border between Zambia and Mozambique. The actions of these racist governments go to prove how serious they are determined to entrench themselves on our continent.

The question that comes to mind is: what sort of opposition is being offered by the African states and governments to counter these provocative actions by these racist regimes? With the closure of the border beween Zambia and Zimbabwe by Ian Smith and his clique, reports are pouring in about African leaders affirming support for Zambia and issuing verbose resolutions. At the recent African Liberation Committee meeting in Accra, we were witnesses to the usual rhetoric and polemics that were uttered by the delegates. But we must honestly ask ourselves whether these pronouncements are likely to yield any dividends to counter the massive opposition being offered by the forces we are fighting to overthrow. Perhaps it is too early to know.

In any case I do not think we have done enough and it is my conviction that the earlier African States come together to think seriously of dislodging these obnoxious

regimes from the continent, the better for us; for it seems that for each day we waste these racist regimes bolster up their efforts to entrench their racist policies firmly on the continent. In fact the Head of State, Col. I. K. Acheampong sounded the right note when he declared at the opening of the African Liberation Committee meeting that armed revolution is the only means of liberating southern Africa. But alas, it is only at this crucial point of acting to liberate our continent that African states are found wanting. The racist governments will surely remain on the continent for a long time to come if the African states pursue the outmoded course of only dishing out a few thousands of cedis to our freedom fighters and remaining in our various countries, issuing the usual polemical pronouncements and verbose resolutions.

African states should surely change this course of action and pursue vigorously the policy of armed revolution. I do not mean that such armed revolution should be left only to the people fighting in those areas. The armed revolution should involve all the African states. It is a healthy sign that the continent is clustered with dynamic and revolutionary military regimes from north to south and east to west. Therefore, in the absence of the African High Command, these military leaders should come together to formulate plans to send between 1,000 and 3,000 soldiers from each state to the battle fronts in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia, Zimbabwe and other areas to fight alongside our brothers. There should be no major problem of bases from where these soldiers would operate, since we often hear about certain liberated areas.

It is only when we are sure that the battle is joined and victory is in sight that we could start training cadres to help administer those areas. There should be no question of putting the cart before the horse.

Prices & Income Board **Fred Opong Nkansah**
P.O. Box M.263
Accra

Spirit of Tolerance—A Rejoinder

SIR—It is very unfortunate that Mrs. Ayikailey Borquaye was not well informed about the article written by a lady student in Volta Hall concerning special allowances to students from Northern and Upper Regions in our universities.

It is very heartbreaking for Mrs. Borquaye to claim that this lady was "savaged verbally" (whatever that is supposed to mean) by ladies from Northern and Upper Regions resident in Volta Hall (**L.O.** VII/25). I believe anybody reading that letter by Mrs. Borquaye makes his or her own picture of the incident which of course will differ from person to person.

Mrs. Borquaye should have known that the article by that lady was both unfair to the majority of northern students in the universities and also very insulting to particular ethnic groupings. It is a fact that no first or second year Northern student in any of our universities has got a pesewa of the allowances in question. Also if Mrs. Borquaye had taken the trouble to read the article by that 'very concerned' lady, she would have come across a statement to the effect that Northerners working down south should get 'packing back home'—I hope after they are gone, the Ewes, the Akans and all others will do the same and we shall surely live in a **united Ghana!**

I was very saddened to realise that Mrs. Borquaye contributed her part of the insults by labelling the reaction of the northern ladies in Volta Hall as 'primitive and bush' and 'illiterate and uncouth'. (Very tolerant indeed, isn't she?)

Mrs. Borquaye should take her time next time to be more precise and careful in what she accuses others of. Such hasty statements as hers are the main sources of malicious rumours.

Legon Hall **Saa Ditto**
Legon

A Question of Vocabulary

SIR—Please allow me to use the courtesy of your columns to ask two questions about current political vocabulary in this country. In a recent statement, the Chairman of the N.R.C. said that politics is not allowed, and that his government will not tolerate anybody indulging in politics. Now, when we were young, we were told that politics is the art and act of governing. I do not know how this word has evolved semantically since we left school, but I would like to know what anybody thinks Col. Acheampong and his colleagues are doing if not politics. Or is it because they are in military uniform that people want us to believe that they are not doing politics, even though they are practising the art and act of government?

Secondly, why should sugar and milk be labelled "foreign" foods and commodities when fresh milk is produced at the University Farm at Nungua, and sugar at both Komenda and Asutsuare? Or does the term "foreign" apply only to the imported variety of these items? It will be interesting to know.

(Name and Address Supplied—Editor)

Let's Mind Our Own Problems

SIR—The Ghanaian dailies and weeklies have been writing in their editorial columns comments on such matters as "The Bombing of North Vietnam, the Arab-Israeli War, the Recognition of East Germany or China" and other matters of world importance or interest.

My worry is why our newspapers and journals do not want to sing into the ears of our top men that sugar should not sell at a cube for one-half pesewa and also that sugar is no more a luxury, as it possibly was some decades back, but a **necessity.**

A Ghanaian newspaper cannot prevent Nixon from bombing the whole of Indo-China, neither can it convince Taiwan's Chiang that the Communist Party in Mao's China did come to power legally. But at least it can let our leaders know how people are faring here.

Advanced Teacher Training Col. **S. A. Bukari**
P.O. Box 129
Winneba.

The Yendi Skin Probe

SIR—I am not sure if it would have been cheaper, more convenient for the majority, and generally sounder for the Yendi Skin Commission to have sat somewhere in the Northern Region rather than in Accra. I am not suggesting that the members of the Commission find Accra more cosy, but I am worried about the lots of people who have had to travel all the way from the North to attend the commission in Accra.

I believe since the seat of controversy is in the Northern Region, it would not have been out of place for the commission to have sat in that region; I believe the commission would have had the opportunity of hearing many more witnesses and having a more ready access to all sources of evidence. I shudder to think of how all those many contestants who travelled all the way from the North are faring in Accra by way of accommodation and other living expenses. I am however hoping that they are not being put to too much inconvenience.

(Name and Address Supplied—Editor)

S.O.S.—Matchets!

SIR—The Government is to be congratulated on its achievements so far. It deserves praise especially for launching the "Operation Feed Yourself" programme. In the past there was much talk about Ghana being an agricultural country, but nothing was done to increase production; but in less than a year after the launching of OFY, much has been achieved already.

However for the whole exercise to succeed much depends on a number of factors, irrigation and mechanisation for example. But these two are long term programmes. At the moment the success of OFY depends on the availability of one thing: cutlass. But this commodity is very scarce at present, and those who had the "foresight" to hoard the cutlasses are making a hell of profit from them. Now one cutlass costs as much as ¢2.70, and in any case not less than ¢1.20, instead of the official price of 65p. Fancy paying ¢2.70 for only one cutlass; and even then one cannot get any to buy. One just does not see them. This scarcity will decrease productivity and increase the price of foodstuffs.

We are now in the major farming season which is also the second phase of OFY—and we have to work fast before the rainy season sets in. I am therefore appealing to the Commissioner for Agriculture to come to the aid of us farmers. We need cutlasses to be able to feed ourselves and others.

SOS—Give us Matchets!

Peki Secondary School **Kwadwo Opare**
Peki

"Fires Next Time"?

SIR—In the last eight weeks or so there have been destructive fires in various regions of the country which make one wonder whether Ghana's enemies have not changed their strategy from one of bomb throwing to 'burn, burn, burn'! We have known their bomb throwings in past years so well that they would not want to be identified too easily. It is not impossible therefore that they have decided on "fires next time" at the nation's economy.

During the period under consideration, there have been fires at G.N.T.C., Ho; Market, Sekondi-Takoradi; Pioneer Shoe Factory, Derby Avenue, Accra; Rice Farm, Northern Region; Plastic Goods Factory, Kotobabi, Accra; Tema Textiles, Tema; and now there is news of yet another fire at Tamale Abuabo Market! Surely, these are too consistent to be accidental and the nation's security agents must be up and doing before matters get out of hand.

c/o P.O. Box 5823 **Kwadwo Ofori**
Accra

Matters Arising

MEDICAL EDUCATION IN THE U.S.S.R.— A REJOINDER

By

G. A. Vartanian

I HOPE you will allow me some space in your journal to offer my comments on an article by Dr. J. O. M. Pobee entitled "The Russia-trained Ghanaian Doctors—A Controversy or Misunderstanding?" which appeared in **L.O.** VII/23.

The article in question attempts to persuade the reader that there exists a kind of misunderstanding about the quality of training of Ghanaian students (and even broader still—of the students coming from the third world) in the U.S.S.R. The author states: "The argument has never been that Soviet medical training **per se** is bad; the argument has been about whether the type of training given to the Ghanaians and perhaps other people from the third world, leaves much to be desired". In trying to support this statement he intentionally or unintentionally throws doubts on the quality of the training of physicians for the third world in the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately the article fails to substantiate with convincing facts this and other assertions which imply that the Soviet Medical Institutions for the sake of quantity or for some other unknown reason lower the requirements for the students from the third world and for Ghanaian students in particular. Being familiar with the Soviet medical education, I should like to supply a few facts and to correct some erroneous statements contained in the article which might help the reader to form a more balanced view of the actual position as regards medical qualification obtained by Ghanaians in the U.S.S.R.

The article in question reflects an evident dislike of its author for the Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University which is of course a matter of personal opinion. The facts, however, are that teaching in this University is conducted in conformity with curricula approved for the other corresponding higher educational institutions in the U.S.S.R. and supplemented by some topics and courses having a direct bearing on the specific features of African, Asian or Latin American countries. All academic and methodological activities of the University are controlled by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Higher Education whose representative is a member of the University Council. Thus the level of general education and professional knowledge acquired by the graduates of this University is equal to that of graduates of other Soviet institutions of higher learning. And in any case only a small percentage of Ghanaian doctors graduated from this university, so that even a biased author cannot use his doubts about this university for evaluation of the majority of Soviet-trained Ghanaian doctors.

The author asks emphatically: ". . . did the Russian authority think that the quality of doctors must be sacrificed for quantity? This is what some people suspect". To those who may have such suspicions I would like to give some additional information. The Soviet Union has 86 Medical Institutions and University Medi-

cal Faculties. Some of them produce from 300 to 600 doctors a year. Therefore, an addition of a few hundred students from abroad wouldn't be too much of a burden for the teaching staff to account for the lowering of standards of training, in as much as the foreign students constitute only a small fraction of the class. For example one of the classes in Odessa Medical Institute had only nine Ghanaian students out of a total of 300. What possible reason could there be for the lowering of standards?

The other problem is the exemption of Ghanaian students from the entrance examination. This is not quite so. Before taking the pre-university course the students are examined and grouped according to their knowledge. An examination is given again at the end of the pre-university year, **and those who successfully pass** it are admitted to the Medical Institute without any further examinations.

It may be of interest to mention here the admission requirements in different Medical Schools in Africa. Five-French-speaking Medical Schools admit students with the "Baccalauréat" or equivalent **without** any entrance examination. In three out of nine English-speaking countries students in possession of G.C.E. "O" level with passes in certain subjects are admitted. True, in the other six, G.C.E. "A" level is required, but **no entrance examination is set (Physicians and Medical education in the African region,** Regional Office for Africa, WHO, Brazzaville, 1972). One must also not forget that many of the Soviet-trained doctors had "A" level certificates.

Let us also look more closely at the "intensive one year pre-university study course". It is an erroneous statement that "in that same year this Ghanaian without School Certificate, without knowledge of science subjects at G.C.E. ordinary level will be reading Russian language, Zoology (Anatomy and Physiology), Chemistry (inorganic and organic), Physics, Elementary Mathematics, Additional Mathematics and Political Economy". First, Political Economy is not taught to foreigners in the U.S.S.R. Secondly, most of the courses mentioned are taught to the students in the first medical year after completion of their pre-university year when they were instructed in the Russian language and Science subjects, thus giving the opportunity for those who had not studied these subjects in the secondary school to make up.

Clearly it would appear the author does not see any controversy or misunderstanding about the content of medical training in the U.S.S.R. Its relevance to the needs of the country is stressed. However, the author is displeased that the Ghanaian graduates did not work in the Soviet Union before coming home. First of all, some of them did their house jobs in the U.S.S.R. before returning to Ghana, since (as the author mentions himself) four years ago a one year period of internship (the seventh year) was introduced in the Soviet medical institutions. Secondly, it would be more sensible for Ghanaian graduates to do their internship (housemanship) in Ghana rather than in the Soviet Union, because the type of morbidity, epidemiological patterns and many aspects of medical care differ in the U.S.S.R. from those of Ghana. This will give the Soviet-trained Ghanaian graduates time to adapt to local conditions and requirements and the year of housemanship in Ghana will come as an additional experience to their practical knowledge obtained during the sixth year of their training in the Soviet Union when they specialize in three major medical subjects, medicine, surgery and obstetrics —gynaecology (the so-called **subordinatura**). This may be of great importance because one of the main reasons for the non-return of African medical graduates from abroad is considered to be "the unsuitability of the training received abroad" **(Physicians and medical education in the African Region,** Regional Office for Africa, WHO, Brazzaville). For example, out of 55 Ghanaian students who graduated in British Medical Schools in 1963-66 only 21 left Britain and 34 remained there (Gish, O., 1971. **Brit. J. of Medical Educ.** 5, 22-29).

The other important (in the author's view) problem is the problem of diploma and the use of the abbreviation M.D. (USSR). A lot of arguments (including citations from Shakespeare) have been used to cast some doubt on the validity of this abbreviation and applicability of the M.D. abbreviation to Soviet-trained physicians.

The word "Doctor" is applied not only to designate a physician. This is the basis of the misunderstanding. In the Soviet Union physicians continue to be called doctors, although officially they receive at graduation the diploma of Physician. (By the way, this can be abbreviated if one wishes, as Ph.D.—Physician Diploma). But let us examine some publications of the World Health Organisation (WHO) and find the definition of the word "Doctor" as used in the U.S.S.R.: "Strictly, a medical practitioner holding the degree of Doctor of Medical Sciences, the senior medical qualification obtained after defending a doctoral thesis. . . . . however, the term is used in a broader sense and refers to all medical practitioners, regardless of their level of post-graduate training" **(Post-graduate Education for Medical Personnel in the U.S.S.R.,** WHO, Geneva, 1970). The word "physician" is widely used as equivalent to M.D. in many other publications of WHO. One may say that in the English-speaking world "physician" means a specialist in internal medicine and a special post-graduate training is necessary to obtain this title. However in the Webster's Dictionary one can find the following definition of this word: "a doctor of medicine", which is usually abbreviated as M.D.

To become a physician in the U.S.S.R. one has to study in a Medical Institution or a University Medical Faculty for seven years (including internship). This training is obviously equivalent to any other type of medical training in other countries leading either to M.D. degree (U.S.A., West Germany) or M.B., Ch.B. degree (England and Ghana). And is it so important to argue about this problem, when different medical schools award different degrees to their graduates after more or less the same number of years of training? For example, University Centre for Health Sciences, Yaounde, Cameroon; Faculté de Médecine, Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire; Faculté de Médecine du Rwanda, Butare, Rwanda; Faculté Mixte de Médecine et de Pharmacie, Université de Dakar, Sénégal, and some others, after six to seven years of medical training give the Degree of "Docteur en Médecine" (Doctor of Medicine). Dogliotti College of Medicine, Monrovia, Liberia, after 6 years of training gives the diploma of "Medical Doctor"; Ecole de Méd. et de Pharmacie, Befelantana, Tananarive, Madagascar, gives "Diplôme de Médecine" and Faculty of Medicine, University of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, after 7 years of training confers "Licence en Méd." Most of the Medical Schools in English-speaking countries award to their graduates after the same duration of training, M.B., Ch.B. (or M.B., B.S.) degree. **Is it necessary to argue whether they give to the graduates the right to work as equal medical practitioners (physicians) or not?** Probably



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the author over-estimates the role of these abbreviations which a doctor (physician) attaches to his name. Using his own words: "The possession of medical diploma or for that matter any diploma is in itself not important." Of course, the performance of the physician is what is important and not the letters after his name.

It is worthwhile to quote one more statement in the article: "This anomalous situation of vaguely writing M.D. (USSR) is at worst dubious and at best highly irregular". I would like to give more detailed information on the process of awarding diploma in the U.S.S.R.

The Final State Examinations are given to the students by The State Examination Commission (something like a group of internal and external examiners). The Chairman of such commission is a representative of another Medical Institute or Medical Faculty appointed by the Ministry. This is done in an attempt to make uniform the requirements for the graduating students from various Institutions. The decision to award the diploma is taken by the State Examination Commission and the first signature on the diploma is that of the Chairman of the Commission. The second signature is of the Rector of the Institute. Under such arrangements it is quite justifiable to put M.D. (USSR).

Anyhow, it seems that Soviet authorities have given a good explanation of the situation by giving to each external student a copy of the diploma in the relevant language where it is stated that the graduates of Soviet Medical Institutions are awarded the M.D. degree, and it is not of predominant importance whether a Soviet-trained doctor will write after his signature M.D. (USSR) or M.D. (City), all the more so because in many cities of the U.S.S.R. there are more than one University or Medical Institution.

I would agree the "M.D. (country)" may appear very unusual or even funny in this part of the world. But in that case the simplest thing to do is to advise those doctors who use this type of abbreviation to put after M.D. the name of the institution where they have been trained as many of Soviet-trained Ghanaian doctors do.

So, there is really no controversy, not only about Soviet Medical education but also about the quality of the education given to Ghanaian students; it is of full value. No doubt, as in all other professions, there are good physicians, outstanding and mediocre, no matter where they have been educated. But those who qualified (whether in Ghana, England, U.S.A. or U.S.S.R.) must be judged only by their performance.

I hope that the facts contained in this letter will show to the unbiased reader that any misunderstanding about the quality of training given to Ghanaians in the U.S.S.R. has been created artificially.

DR. J. O. M. POBEE REPLIES

THANK you, Mr. Editor, for giving me the opportunity to comment on Prof. Vartanian's article in reply to my own original one.

Patrice Lumumba University—There is nothing I said that would suggest even remotedly my "evident dislike" for that Institution. I did say that the Lumumba University "may have suffered from the setbacks that any university that is hurriedly set up would have" . . . including . . . "lowish standards". But I also said if it did, the defficiency would have been corrected by now. What is the evidence for my dislike about that?

Quantity for Quality—I meant whether some of the non-national diplomates were just nodded through so that their countries would have many more doctors than if they had been subjected to the full rigours of selection and assessment of Soviet University standards.

Requirements—The point was not about entrance examination as such. The University of Ghana Medical School does not have an entrance examination. The point was that our nationals were not subjected to the one and the same examination as Soviet citizens. I only wondered how they would have fared.

I wish Prof. Vartanian would refrain from loose statements. He accuses me of not being factual. Yet he says: Many of the Soviet-trained doctors had "A level certificates". That is **fiction.** Let him get in touch with the secretary of the Soviet-trained doctors who says that "most of the Soviet-trained doctors entered the Soviet Union with either the School Certificate or the G.C.E. at Ordinary level" (**Graphic,** 25th September, 1972). Let him check his facts again and he will be surprised if he can be surprised.

One Year Pre-University Study—I still don't believe that some of the Ghanaians without School Certificate and some without any science knowledge to an appreciable degree could be taught science subjects **in a foreign language** in one year to the standard of the Higher School Certificate which we know is that reached by Soviet citizens before they enter university. I appreciate his point that the pre-university course is continued into the first year in the Medical School but I remain unimpressed by not a few of the products of that intensive course.

Housemanship in Russia — If Prof. Vartanian does not appreciate it I'll have him know that the period of housemanship does so much for the self-confidence of the doctor that it is a wonder that in spite of the fact that there was no housemanship at the time, the Russian authorities did not realise this simple fact, thus exposing the Ghanaian doctors to the rigours and demands of medical practice in Ghana. It was an error of judgement which with hindsight I am sure the Russian authorities will now appreciate. It would not have brought on the explosive event of 1967.

M.D.—To whom is the question of M.D. important? The Soviet-trained Ghanaian doctors, or Prof. Vartanian, or the Russian Authorities, or me. Clearly it is not this writer. I spent three paragraphs of about 300 words and he spends seven out of twenty paragraphs of about 800 words on it, and he thinks it is important to me! He takes a simplistic view and says: "But in that case the simplest thing to do is to advise those doctors to put after M.D. the name of the Institution". It is not so simple, Sir. It is not a question of expediency. This is the whole point of argument and Prof. Vartanian forcibly reinforces it.

The diploma is a legal document. Either you have M.D. (Cracow) or M.D. (Leningrad) or M.D. (Heidelberg) or M.B. Ch.B. (Edingburgh) or you have not. That is the point about Mr. Shakespeare and Miss Rose.

Has Prof. Vartanian himself ever used or for that matter any Russian used M.D.? If not, why not? And again, if not, why should our boys and girls use it?

Prof. Vartanian makes the point, insinuatory of course, about the fact that he is familiar with the Soviet Medical Education and I am not. If I may say so I am familiar with the products of that Medical education and in all modesty must know about the practising doc-

tor (and that is what all this is about) than he knows.

I shall rest my case by inviting him to read again my article and the paragraph headlined "A Sign of Promise". He will find that I wrote that article with the best of intentions and it is in the nature of things that the truth should hurt sometimes. It is also in the nature of things that you cannot defend the indefensible. That is what he has done and it makes me sad. His effort has, as the Americans say, been non-contributory to the debate.

For The Record

Thursday, January 11

Government Acquires Shares in Banks

IN a document published in Accra outlining its investment policy the N.R.C. today announced its decision to acquire 40 per cent equity shares in all foreign banks and 50 per cent shares in beer brewing.

The Government also intends to begin negotiations within three months to participate in a wide range of commercial and industrial enterprises including service industries.

Foreign Foods—New Distribution Strategy

A NEW system of allocating foreign foods and commodities in the country started as from January 1. Under the system, all the regions, except Greater Accra, will have their regional bulk supply direct from the Logistics Committee.

This was announced by Major D. G. Weir, Chairman of the Committee, who explained that Regional Commissioners would now be responsible for the distribution of the commodities to Hospitals, Ministries, government Departments and public corporations only.

The Committee will continue to distribute the goods direct to merchant houses, supermarkets, educational institutions, industries and distributors in all the regions.

In Greater Accra, the Committee will be directly responsible for the distribution of the commodities to the Ministries, government departments and public corporations.

Saturday, January 13

65 Detainees Released

AS part of the festivities held on the occasion of the 1st Anniversary of the assumption of power by the N.R.C. , 65 persons were today released from protective custody. Those released include Mr. K. G. Osei-Bonsu, Minister of State in the Busia regime, Mr. Alfred Kpodonu former Volta Regional Chief Executive, and Mr. Joseph Yaw Manu.

Tuesday, January 16

Government Orders Rent Cuts

THE Government has ordered that private house rents in certain towns and cities in the country must be reduced as from February 1, 1973.

Announcing this at a press conference in Accra yesterday, Colonel Victor Coker-Appiah, Commissioner for Works and Housing said that with exception of houses built by the Tema Development Corporation and the Housing Corporation "whose rents are already subsidised", rents on most sizes of room would be reduced.

Wednesday, January 17

Chiefs Give Land for Cattle Ranching

THE chiefs and people of Prampram and Great Ningo Traditional Areas have voluntarily released a vast tract of land to the Government for the establishment of cattle ranches.

This was disclosed by Nene Annor Kwei II, Paramount Chief of Prampram during a meeting with Col. C. O. Acquaye-Nortey, the Greater Accra Regional Commissioner.

The Bank of Ghana is already developing into a cattle ranch, a 13,230 acre portion of land previously released by the chiefs of the area.

Foreign Foods Rushed to Kumasi

A LARGE quantity of foreign foods was today rushed to Kumasi by air and rail to avert an acute shortage of the commodities in Ashanti.

The items included about 334 cartons of Ideal Milk, 500 tons of rice, and several cases of sardines, mackerel, toothpaste and soap.

The 334 cartons of milk were airlifted by two military aircraft and a Ghana Airways plane while the other items were conveyed by rail.

Wednesday 24

New Appointments

COLONEL F. G. Bernasko, Regional Commissioner for the Central Region, has been appointed as a member of the Executive Council and Commissioner for Agriculture. He succeeds Major-General D. K. Addo, who has resigned on grounds of ill-health.

Commander J. K. Amedume, former Acting Navy Commander, has been appointed as the Regional Commissioner for the Central Region.

These two appointments take effect from 31st January, 1973.

Colonel L. A. Okai, has been appointed as a Member of the Executive Council and Commissioner for National Redemption Council Affairs. His appointment takes immediate effect.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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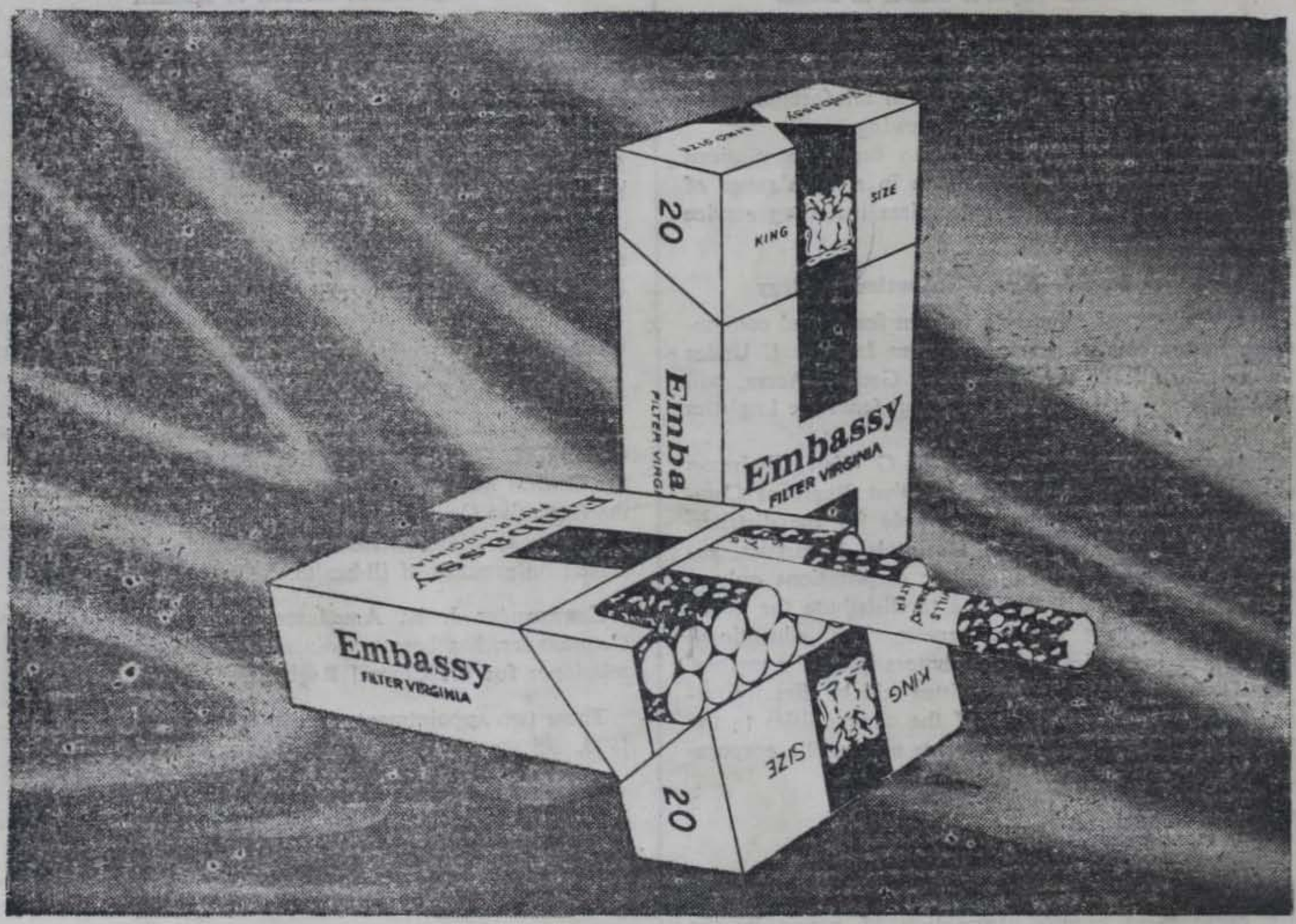
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J. O. M. POBEE—Physician, Senior Lecturer, Dept. of Medicine and Therapeutics, Medical School, Korle Bu.

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Editorial

16 FEB 1973

THE REMOVAL OF THE SUBSIDY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

At long last the government has boldly decided to remove the subsidy on certain foreign foods and commodities. To us of the **Observer,** the surprising thing is not that the decision has been finally taken, but rather that it was not done much earlier. Virtually every newspaper in the country, including this one, had urged the N.R.C. to take this step. As a government that has shown some sensitivity to public opinion, most of us could just not understand the persistent refusal of the N.R.C. to respond to this particular pressure.

It will be recalled that when Colonel Acheampong, Chairman of the N.R.C., addressed the nation on radio and television on the 12th of January, he declared that the subsidy was going to continue, even though the facts, figures and arguments he adduced should have led to the contrary conclusion, since it had become clear that the whole exercise was futile, its purpose having been frustrated in diverse ways. One cannot understand why barely three weeks later, the government has decided to yield to economic commonsense and realism. Is it because it now feels politically so secure that it can afford to offer the country the bitter pill of economic truth, instead of postponing it any further? Or is it because after a year in office, the government has realized that given the greed and unscrupulous nature of some Ghanaians, it is more rewarding to take effective economic measures rather than resort to exhortations and just hope that things will sort themselves out in due course? Whatever the reason, we welcome the government action, belated though it is.

Even after the removal of the subsidy, it is a fact that the prices of the goods involved are still much lower here than in the neighbouring countries to which the goods are said to be smuggled. If our new prices are substantially realistic, it will be most unwise to increase them further, simply as an easier means of discouraging and reducing smuggling. What ought to be done is to recognise smuggling as a major problem and use every available resources to curb it. In this context we note with regret that despite the placing of the Border Guards under the Army, their performance has been most uninspiring and disappointing. The Army is eminently well placed and equipped to deal with the problem of smuggling, and we hope that with greater assistance from them, especially from the Military Intelligence, the Border Guards will be helped to improve upon their performance which has been pretty appalling so far, and thus enhance the general reputation

of the security services of the country. In addition to these measures, every effort should be made to canvas the effective co-operation of the authorities in our neighbouring countries. If such co-operation is not forthcoming, more drastic methods will need to be instituted to check the situation.

One disquietingly quaint feature about the recent government measure is the selection of items on which subsidies have been retained or removed. By what criterion did the N.R.C. decide to retain the subsidy on baby foods and milk but remove that on matchets? What percentage of the babies in this country—in both the rural and urban areas—are fed on these? Or is the addition of baby foods to the list just symptomatic of an elitist urban-orientated mentality? And how does the N.R.C. reconcile the withdrawal of the subsidy on matchets with its policy of encouraging the production of more food locally? One would have thought that since matchets are more relevant to the policy of self-realiance, they deserve to be subsidized more heavily than any consumables. We hope that this was an oversight, and that the preposterous error of judgment will be rectified without delay.

On learning that baby foods were to be subsidized and not matchets, we could not help feeling that the N.R.C. seemed to be unaware of the agonising, inhuman and indefensible gap between the standard of living in the rural areas and that in the urban areas. We were however relieved to note that in the course of Major Felli's speech announcing the removal of the subsidies, he stressed what could have been done for the rural populations and the urban unemployed if ₵30 million cedis had not been used to subsidise foreign foods. The Commissioner's statement constituted a tacit admission that the government has not been fair by the rural populations, and that in terms of rural development, its priorities have not been without serious flaws. It is gratifying to note that some admission of this weakness has been made, and we urge that corrective action be taken in the name of social justice.

Social justice does not only consist of increasing the salaries and wages of certain categories of workers; it should also mean bridging the vast gap between the urban and rural areas, and any action that removes subsidies from matchets and retains them on milk and baby foods cannot be a move in that direction. After "Operation Feed Yourself", "Operation Social Justice" will be a most refreshing campaign to undertake.

Like all the national papers, we do welcome the decision, however belated, to do away with the subsidies. We only hope that the ₵30 million cedis thus saved will in fact be used in bringing about social justice in this country. This to us means the provision of the rural people, who after all constitute the vast majority of our population, with good schools staffed with qualified teachers, good roads, good drinking water, adequate health facilities, and even cheap cutlasses!

International

"ASSOCIATION" WITH THE E. E. C.—RELATIONSHIP OF JUNIOR PARTNERSHIP AND EXPLOITATION

By
Kofi Edjah

APPARENTLY Britain would like her former colonial countries especially her former West African colonies, to swallow the idea that their association with the European Economic Community (EEC)—which incidentally includes most of their major trade "partners"—will be most beneficial to their economic well-being; association with the E.E.C. will provide just the type of trade conditions—aid, preferential trade relations and markets—all of which they (the former colonies) need for their economic development. There is no time to waste then; the Yaounde Convention is due to expire soon and unless a quick and early decision is taken, they, the non-associated former colonial countries, will miss a "golden" opportunity for participating in the discussions for a new "gainful" Convention.

All this sounds fine. But the point is that for the non-associated former British colonial countries (and indeed for those states already associated with the E.E.C.) the question as to whether or not to be associated with the E.E.C. is not merely a problem of wanting large markets which offer preferential (reciprocal, anyway) treatment; it is not merely a problem of wanting aid; nor is it merely a problem of wanting trade to be liberalised. The non-associated countries also want to be sure that they are not running into an "association" which seeks in a rather cunning and subtle manner to perpetuate their weaknesses: imperially initiated specialisation which is filted towards sectors with a low growth in demand nationally and internationally, small inter-relation and impact between sectors, low rates of increase in productivity, and little contribution to the development of technology and skill.

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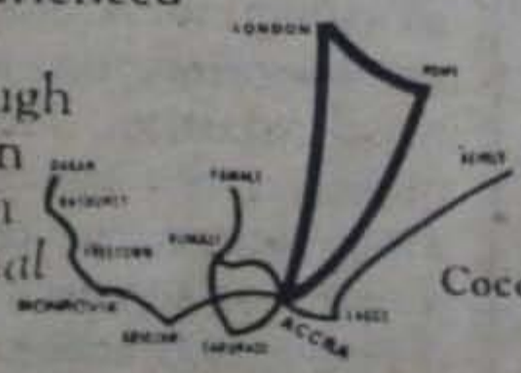
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These are crucial issues which the present practice of the "association" with the imperially organised community does not meet. Despite the claim that the E.E.C. provides a good outlet for African products, and better prices for their raw material exports, the "associated" African states are faced with an increasing gap between the prices of their exports and their imports from the E.E.C., and are at the same time having to struggle to maintain their markets in the E.E.C. The Camerounian case is significant. The exchange value of a ton of cocoa exported in 1960 from Cameroun was sufficient to import into that country 1,200 kilos of cement or 2,700 metres of unbleached material. By 1965, that is, barely a year after she had become associated with the E.E.C., the same quantity of cocoa could import only 450 kilos of cement or 800 metres of cloth. More significant still, from 1963 to 1965 the E.E.C. imports from the "associated" African countries rose by 66 percent (i.e. from 6,197,879 tons in 1963 to 10,289,300 tons in 1965) but their value rose by only 17 percent (i.e. from 833 million dollars in 1963 to 973 million dollars in 1965).

High Tariffs

Although the prices of their exports to the E.E.C. have tended to fall, the associated states do not find it easy to secure entry for their goods in Western European Markets in the face of deliberate discriminatory taxes against the sale of their commodities. These taxes did include 180 percent tax on green coffee in West Germany, and 148% tax on cocoa in Italy. Some of the taxes even reached 250%.

Under the Yaounde Convention, the associated states were able to obtain some tariff reductions but the details of the rates are interesting. Duty on cocoa beans, for example, came to 5.4 percent, on powdered cocoa the duty is 22 per cent while for chocolate it is 30 per cent. Peanuts and palmnuts are duty free whereas on peanut oil and palm-oil the duty is between 9 and 15 per cent. Natural cotton may be exported without duty, but on cotton fabrics there is a 20 per cent duty. In other words, the associated African states are being given better preferential treatment to remain as producers of basic agricultural raw materials for the factories in the E.E.C. countries. If they, the associated states, should engage even in elementary processing which could secure them better prices and incidentally compete with products of the factories in the E.E.C. countries the story is different; the E.E.C. market immediately becomes less open; higher discriminatory taxes are imposed.

It would, in fact, be naive to suppose that the community desires a fundamental change in the production structure of the 'associated' states which would be really beneficial to them. Formally speaking, the Rome Treaty allows the associated states to put up protective tarrifs to safeguard their industries. The real position, however, is that measures of this kind have to be sanctioned by the Common Market Commission which, significantly enough, is composed of the very European Common Market powers busily engaged in trying to expand the export of their manufactures and capital goods into the 'associated' states.

European Development Fund

Ostensibly the European Development Fund set up by the European Common Market is to assist the economic growth of the associated African states. But again the control of it is in the hands of the Common Market powers themselves, and as one would expect, most of the money is sanctioned for infra-structural and agricultural development and not for basic industrial development. The European Development Fund, Balance Sheet 1958-1965, clearly confirms this. In July 1962 the percentage of the Fund of $283,140,000 allocated to Transport and Communications alone was 40%. This percentage rose in 1965 to 45% of the total allocation of $560,000,000. Agriculture took 17 per cent of the 1962 total allocation and 22 per cent of the 1965 allocation. The percentage allocation to industry (other than processing) was zero for both 1962 and 1965. The Upper Volta experience further confirms this bias. When she suggested utilising a portion of the Funds for piping oil and natural gas from the Sahara fields to West Africa, in order to assist African industrial development, the answer from the E.E.C. powers was out-right rejection. The same fate has met almost every other proposal put forward by the associated states. By January 1, 1962 of the 200 projects submitted by the African states more than half had been rejected outright and work had begun on only six, totalling about £600,000.

Apologists of the E.E.C.-cum-"Associates" organisation stress other aspects of the aid programme which they claim are beneficial to the associated states. The argument runs like this: in order to allow the associated countries to adapt their system of production and marketing, a special arrangement of aid is provided under the Yaounde Convention. This aid serves to finance the structural improvement of the exporting sectors so as to render them competitive. Since such an

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improvement can only bear fruit progressively over several years it is supplemented by decreasing subsidies designed to fill the gap between the cost and that price eventually realised within each exporting economy. In this way, it is expected that the export revenue of the associated countries will not be reduced as a consequence of adaptation to the conditions of world competition.

It is added that the aid to the existing export production of the associated countries supplemented by credits, in the form of grants and loans, are designed specifically to finance the initiation or development of new products so as to diversify the economies of the associated countries and to make them, in this way, less vulnerable to the fluctuation in revenue gained from a small range of principal exports.

Export of Primary Products

The Yaounde Convention also provides for a special type of aid to meet the evil effects that sudden price fluctuations bring to bear on the financial equilibrium of the associated countries: the European Development Fund is empowered to make advances to their stabilisation funds.

The important points to note here are that firstly, "diversification and production" development aspects of the aid refer to the primary good exporting sector and not industry. Secondly, the system of financial compensation which is designed to maintain the export revenue of the associated states at the level normally desired cannot be said to have long-term validity since only a relatively short-lived disequilibrium can be adjusted in this manner without the system ending in quasi-permanent subsidies for certain exports.

The push being given by the E.E.C. to primary product exports is not bad by itself to the extent that primary product exports are the only major immediate source of foreign exchange for the developing countries, but the problem is that it is this very bias in the economy which makes economic development and growth of the associated countries difficult; it is this bias towards production of primary raw materials for export which has failed to provide a focus around which integrated national economies of the developing countries can develop. The raw material export-oriented economy does not contribute much to the technical knowledge and the training of skilled labour needed for rapid economic development; at the same time it lacks the flexibility to adjust to new market situations and fails to offer higher rate of ncrease in earnings.

The infra-structural projects which the aid programme is used to finance are not entirely useless, but the lessons of colonialism have been well-learnt; the construction of the lines of communication is without its military or strategic purposes for the E.E.C. countries, and the new facilities make possible a more speedy and large scale export of the raw materials from the associated states to the E.E.C. countries.

At first sight the fact that about 80 percent and over of the Development Funds for allocation are handed out in the form of grants is very generous but the aim of these funds is much more significant. A statement of the Economic and Social Committee of the E.E.C. published in the April 1966 Bulletin of the European Economic Community makes this quite clear: "In view of the importance of private capital investment for undustrialising associated countries and of the difficulty of an exact assessment of the political risks incurred in investing capital in those countries, the committee considers it necessary to offer a security restricted exclusively to political risk . . . Moreover non-repayable grants should largely be used for the infrastructure so as to attract private capital".

Controlling Power

Too much is made of what the Development Fund can in fact do for the "associated" states. In the first five years, 1958-62, for instance, the £200 million allocated to the fund comes to half-penny a head per day when spread over the then 15 million people in the then associated states. This per capita per day figure is even less when one considers that the actual amount spent by the end of the period was 63 per cent of the total of £200 million This kind of money is indeed just enough to keep the associated states generally "friendly" for the present towards the E.E.C. If they do not remain friendly, they have been warned what to expect by the Common Market Council of Ministers who declared on the 18th of December 1962: "Should any of the associated countries take measures designed to menace the friendly relations between that country and the E.E.C. or any of their member states, the Council of Ministers will consider the situation and decide what measures should be adopted under the Convention".

There should in fact not be any mistake about the controlling powers in the E. E. C.-"Associated" countries relationship. Theoretically the associated states and the states of the E.E.C. have equal representation in decisions affecting

the Associates" but this is a provision much more formal than real. What in fact does one expect when the 'associated' countries are dependent on the E.E.C. states for markets, capital aid, private investment and personnel, while they provide fairly peripheral markets and investment outlets for the E.E.C. countries? The overall development stategy of the associated states is determined in Brussels and Paris. Development plans and their components may be proposed in the associated states, but they are disposed of in Europe.

The non-associated countries obviously need not rush into such an organisation, if they must at all. Africa needs a deal much better than merely being encouraged to unite to allow the perpetuation of her former colonial ties.

Politics

NOT BY BREAD ALONE . . .

By

A Correspondent

ON Wednesday, 31st January 1973, Major R.J.A. Felli, Commissioner for Trade and Tourism announced that the government had decided to withdraw the subsidy of ₵30 million on certain foreign foods and commodities. (Until this announcement, the figure had been given officially as ₵23 million). He added that the withdrawal of the subsidy was "another corrective measure" introduced "in the interest of the economy and the well-being of the people of this country". This may well be so, but the question one would like to ask is how long it has taken the government to become conscious of the welfare of the people of this country in this particular matter. The answer to this question will be most revealing and instructive, because less than three weeks earlier, that is, on the 12th of January, the Chairman of the N.R.C. had declared publicly in his broadcast to the nation that all difficulties notwithstanding and in spite of the numerous calls in the press, the subsidies would not be removed. One would like to know what happened between the 12th and the 31st of January to warrant this flagrant reversal of policy. It is this type of inconsistency that makes a government forfeit its claim to credibility, and it is to be hoped that people in authority who make public declarations of policy will henceforward do so with all circumspection.

However, the question of credibility apart, the recent government decision raises a number of fundamental issues which deserve some examination. The high cost of living occasioned by the devaluation of December 1971 was one of the principal and immediate causes of the overthrow of the Busia government in January 1972. Despite the partial revaluation by the N.R.C. a month later which reduced the hardships people would otherwise have suffered, the government still found it necessary to subsidise certain imported commodities, designated for the occasion as "essential commodities", without any indication, explicit or implied, that the subsidy was a short-term measure, as it is being now pretended. Even though the measure did not make much economic sense, and nobody had asked for it, the subsidy was granted as evidence of the new government's sympathy for the suffering of the over-worked and underpaid Ghanaian. One would like to know whether the government has lost its sympathy for the Ghanaian, or whether the latter's condition has improved appreciably since the time of the coup. The Commissioner for Trade and Tourism claims that as a result of several measures taken by the government, such as the increase in the producer price of cocoa, the restitution of certain allowances to public servants, increases of up to 33 1/3% in salaries and wages of certain categories of workers (actually introduced by the previous government), vigorous price controls etc., people are generally much better off, and will be able to do without the subsidies any longer. One would like to believe that such is the case, but there is not much evidence available to sustain the claim of a better living standard for the majority of Ghanaians.

Inefficient Border Guards

One of the reasons assigned for the removal of the subsidy is that the intensive activities of smugglers and hoarders frustrated the purpose of the subsidy, so that the beneficiaries were not the people of Ghana as a whole, but a few heartless and unscrupulous economic saboteurs and consumers in neighbouring countries to which the goods were presumably smuggled. The extent of hoarding and smuggling must have been very huge, considering the government's claim that in addition to the subsidy, it actually exceeded the import bill of the Busia government, as far as foreign foods were concerned, by about 25%. One cannot understand how the government can reconcile its policy of self-reliance and the "eat local food" campaign with the increased importation of foreign foods, but this is one of the many paradoxes and contradictions of modern times.

The shortages have been blamed on smuggling, and the Chairman of the Logistics Committee was most profuse in his strictures on the border guards in a television interview a few months ago. He said that the goods that were smuggled into Togo were in such quantities that they could only go in truck loads, that is to say, past the border guards. The military authorities who are now responsible for the border guards must or should have known about this. If the facts are as presented to the public, then that section of our security deserves the most exemplary punishment for bungling ineptitude or crass irresponsibility. Now the question which arises is: if a military government with its arsenal of human resources and equipment can allow itself to be defeated by smugglers, how much more can one expect of a non-military government? And if the Armed Forces, or a section under their control, cannot effectively handle a problem akin to that for which they are trained and equipped, what is the basis of their claim to competence in matters that are not so obviously their cup of tea? Perhaps it might ultimately be more charitable to assume that there has been less smuggling than we have been led to believe, for it would be particularly damaging if it were established as a fact that a wing of the army showed such inefficiency in the discharge of its normal duties that a military government was forced to reverse a policy which constituted a basic **raison d'etre** of its existence.

Whatever the reasons for the shortages, whether they are attributable to smuggling, hoarding, poor distribution or inadequate supplies, the government cannot escape its share of the blame. Whatever the source of the difficulty, it is the duty of anybody who takes it upon himself, by whatever means, to govern any country, to ensure that the welfare of the people is guaranteed. This means that all obstacles to the achievement of the minimum welfare should be removed. It is for this reason that governments have powers to make laws and to enforce them. If the government could not identify the problem, it richly deserves censure; if it identified the problem but was incapable of finding a solution, it cannot escape blame either. In either case, one cannot avoid doubts as to whether the injection of military personnel into the various branches of civilian administration has resulted in increased efficiency. A government that can take credit for acts of nature like abundant rain resulting in a good harvest, and abundant fish catches, should also be prepared to accept blame for human penchants and acts which are more readily within the power of mortals to control.

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Food versus Development

Giving more seriously economic reasons why the continuation of the subsidy was no longer justified, Major Felli outlined some of the facilities that could have been provided with the ₵30 million. He spoke of the "primary schools currently housed in shanty and rickety structures and even under trees" that **could have been** rehabilitated; of the feeder roads and first class bitumen roads that **could have been** constructed, and of the health posts that **could have been** built. It was all made to sound as if the government had suddenly made a brilliant discovery that "man shall not live by bread alone". But did one need any inspiration to come by this knowledge?

Prior to January 1972, we were being told precisely this: that if we agreed to pay more for certain things, mainly consumables, it would be possible for us to provide these amenities, especially in the rural areas, for the less fortunate people who do not receive car allowances or live in government bungalows. We behaved as if most of this was gibberish, and we unfurled our banner with the motto: "Let the people eat". Did we need a whole year to realize that while the people eat, they must also drink good water and be educated in decent classrooms and travel on roads that are not too dusty or otherwise uncomfortable? Did we need a whole year to become aware of the simple fact that "the money which we were spending to subsidize mainly foreign foods could create jobs for our less fortunate brothers who are still unemployed"?

It is a great pity that it has taken the government one full year to realise that a very important aspect of its economic administration is a non-starter and that in terms of development, the past

year has been much of a waste. Of course we shall not deny the government credit for what it has had the courage and realism to do: the repudiation of certain debts, the acquiring of majority shares in the extractive industries, the partial revaluation of the cedi, the O.F.Y. programme whose full impact on our pockets is yet to be felt, etc. These policies are a welcome contrast to the ineffective, doctrinaire capitalist approach of the Busia government to our major economic problems. It lacked the vigour and realism to adopt policies that could ensure that Ghanaians would effectively control their own affairs, and there was no immediate prospect of that government being healthily deflected from its wayward path of "collapsing" the economy of the country. All this we willingly concede, but we are not so much interested in what the government has achieved as in what it could have achieved, if resources had been more sensibly channelled into more productive areas, instead of being used to "feed ourselves" on foreign foods. Our concern is not about the fact that the subsidy has been removed; our worry is that it was found wise or expedient to have introduced it at all in the first place.

Buying Support

The new found realism of the N.R.C. also shows one thing, namely, that people should be very cautious about reversing the policies initiated by their predecessors, whether they succeed them normally or by force of arms. The confessed inability of the present government to change the taste of Ghanaians or to curb smuggling (which in fact appears to have been on the increase) should indicate to all those who want to see and learn that many problems are created more by existing conditions and attitudes than by any individual or group of persons. It should also show that rhetoric apart, no section of this community should pretend that it has any magic wand to enable it to take any short-cuts to national prosperity. Even those who come into power through military initiative should realise that there must of necessity be a ceiling to the price that they should, and can, pay for popular goodwill and continued support. We cannot allow economic realities to recede from us in the hope that some miracle might occur to redeem us and our promises. The government could have saved itself the present enormous embarrassment if it had been sufficiently frank with the people right from the start and impressed on them that the provision of cheap milk and sugar should not be the only or even a major concern of a serious administration.

The government sincerely believes that with the removal of the subsidies, smuggling and hoarding will be reduced to a negligible minimum, so that the goods will be available on the shelves when people want them, even if at more realistic prices. We would like to share that optimism. The easy availability of goods will, in course of time, compensate for the increased prices to which people will be adjusting themselves and their pockets. But should the goods continue to be in short supply after the "corrective measure", then the malaise and frustration that the combination of shortages and "high" prices will generate can only naturally lead people to ask this ominous question which has been asked more than once in this country: Did we go or did we come?

Social

N.R.C. AND THE STANDARD RENT

By
Kwame Frimpong

THE Government's action in fixing standard rents for private houses in certain specified towns and cities in the country is commendable and is a sensible move in the right direction. It will be recalled that ever since the N.R.C. came into power they have made it their policy to reduce rents and thereby reduce the hardships facing tenants in the country.

The first attempt seemed to be a new strategy introduced by the N.R.C. in the country. They did not adopt a legislative method to reduce rents, which they could have done. They rather appealed to landlords to reduce their rents. In the Operation Feed Yourself campaign they adopted the same method. Instead of acquiring land for farming purposes through legislation they chose to appeal to chiefs to lease land for farming.

Whereas the appeal to chiefs yielded good results, hence the bumper harvest, it appears the appeal to the landlords fell on deaf ears. The landlords who were reported to have responded to the call were negligible. There was a case of two landlords in Accra New Town who were said to have reduced their rents by ₵2.00. No other reductions were reported.

It was this recalcitrance from landlords that led the Commissioner for Local Government to come out on August 16 last year with an order that tenants should pay 80% of their original rents to their landlords—probably to satisfy the old adage that if persuation fails force must be applied.

However, the Government realised the difficulties that might arise with the implementation of the order and a week later August 23, the order was suspended with a promise that the government would come out with a detailed programme on rent control.

At a time when almost all had been forgotten about the promise, the Chairman of the National Redemption Council in his press conference on January 10, 1973 assured the public that the government had taken a firm decision on rent control and that it would soon be announced. And now the N.R.C. has fulfilled its promise. The Commissioner for Works and Housing, Colonel Victor Coker-Appiah has announced new standard rents for private houses in the country. This has demonstrably proved the N.R.C's belief in "deeds not words".

Rent Act

The payment of high rents has been a problem facing the tenant in the country as far back as the 1940's when the cost of living was in general rising in the country. This led the Government to appoint a Standard Advisory Committee to look into the high cost of living. Because of the cost of living problem the government decided to pay a bonus—known as the cost of living bonus—to workers in order to lessen their hardships. The Standard Advisory Committee found as a fact that the workers were not realising the full benefit of the bonus as they were using it in paying higher rents in the urban centres especially in Sekondi-Takoradi. Although the Committee realised that it was not strictly within their terms of reference it found it necessary to recommend the introduction of legislative measures to control the high rents in the country. That started a series of statutes on Rent Control culminating in the existing law, the Rent Act 1963, Act 220. The fact that the existing law on rent control cannot cope with the problem of high rents can be seen in the recent measures adopted by the members of the N.R.C. to get rents reduced.

The problem of high rents is a very serious economic and social one, and does not face only Ghana. British legislation on this problem existed as far back as 1915. The main cause of this social problem is the shortage of houses as compared with the demand for them. So long as houses continue to be inadequate and more and more people continue to demand premises for shelter the price for them, in this case rent, will continue to rise. Because, other things being equal, prices will rise if demand increases. Rents therefore yield to the economic forces of demand and supply.

In the light of the above it should be clear to us that the first and in fact the most effective way to control rents is to flood the market with houses. The Government of Ghana saw this necessity and hence the birth of the State Housing Corporation. But the Corporation has not been able to live up to its objectives, with the result that rents are still very high in the country. And in fact to solve the rent problem by the housing method takes a long time, and hence the need for a faster method—that is, by legislation. This method the government has adopted.

Methods of Rent Control

The legislative solution could take two forms. In the first place it could be by nationalisation of all private houses, so that the government simply fixes more reasonable and fair rents throughout the country. That is a very short method of reducing rents and at the same time eliminating the landlords from the possibility of charging higher rents. This method was adopted in Tanzania and has recently been introduced in Zambia.

The second method is to allow the landlords to keep their premises but to fix the type of rent that they should charge for them. This method is not as effective as the former, as it involves a number of difficulties, e.g. supervision of observance of the law, the detection of breach, and punishment of offenders. It is this type of control that exists in the country.

The new device of fixing standard rents, by all criteria, is preferable to the previous device of reducing rents in general by 20%.

In the instant measure the details are as follows: rent on sandcrete or landcrete building of a size not exceeding 12' x 12' which formerly attracted a rent of about ₵10.00 will now be ₵7.50. A sandcrete or landcrete building of a size not exceeding

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12' x 10' which formerly attracted a rent of ₵8.00 will now attract ₵6.50 rent. The new rent for 10' x 10' sandcrete-built house will be ₵5.50 instead of the already payable rent of about ₵8.00. For a 12' x 10' sized house built of wooden, swish or iron sheets the new rent is fixed at ₵4.50 as compared with the ₵7.00 which was originally being charged. A tenant in a 10' x 10' iron sheets room will now pay ₵3.50 instead of ₵5.50

The N.R.C. plans to fix rents for flats and Government bungalows in due course.

A closer look at the new measure discloses one possible flaw! The measure assumes that alf landlords have uniform rents for their premises in the country. It cannot be said that all landlords, with rooms of 12' x 12' charge about ₵10.00 It is possible that some charge as high as ₵16.00 to ₵20.00 In a situation like this how could the tenant insist on the payment of the new standard rent of ₵7.50.?

The simplest way would have been to provide that all rooms with a particular measurement should attract a certain type of rent without going into how much is being paid. It is not the rent formerly being paid that is determining the new rent, but rather the type of room being occupied. The emphasis must be on the latter.

The problem of the observance and enforcement of the new measure still exists. The failure of most measures of rent control lies with the fact that tenants for fear of victimisation and ejectment fail to report their landlords to the appropriate quarters as required by the previous enactments.

Tenants, naturally, would not like to incur the displeasure of their landlords, they would therefore prefer the payment of higher rents so as to live peacefully with their landlords.

It could also be that tenants do not know the existence of the law on rent control, and therefore do not know the protection the Act gives them. This fact was found by the Kwaku Bonsu Committee appointed to inquire into the operation of the 1952 Ordinance on the control of rents: and it is a general disease with almost all enactments in the country.

Therefore in order to make sure that the new measure is successful, tenants must be aware of the new standard rents. It cannot be assumed that everybody would be aware of this. A publicity campaign must therefore be waged to bring it to the attention of all tenants. This could be carried out through the traditional rulers and the Departments, corporations, schools and colleges and the information media.

Secondly, the tenants should be encouraged to report their landlords if they fail to observe the the new order; and be told that they cannot be ejected easily by their landlords because of the protection that the 1963 Act affords them. However, if the tenants cannot be trusted to fulfil their parts we could call on the Rent Officers. They must insist on the observance of the provision in the 1963 Act that requires landlords to provide their tenants with rent-cards on which the rents being charged are inserted. The Rent Officers must then inspect premises to make sure that the landlords have fulfilled this requirement. Soldiers could be called in to assist the Rent Officers, since the present number is not adequate to visit all premises within a reasonable short period.

And finally the offenders must not be spared. They must actually be brought to justice, and treated as prisoners of the economic war.

It is hoped the new standard rents (with a keen observance of the measure and the punishment of the offenders) will be an immediate, if not a lasting, solution to the high rents problem in the country, and tenants for the first time will feel an actual attempt to remove their number one economic enemy, namely, the payment of exorbitant rent to greedy landlords has been made. The N.R.C. in this new bold measure have undoubtedly added one more credit to their judgment book.

LEGON OBSERVER NOTICE

We regret to inform our readers that as from the 1st of March, 1973 the price of the **Legon Observer** will be increased from 15p to 20p. This increase has been made necessary by the rise in production costs.

For about a year now the cost of newsprint has been doubled, resulting in increased costs. We have been extremely reluctant in the past to pass this on to our readers, but we do not think we can absorb the additional financial burden any longer.

It is with great reluctance that we have come to this decision and we trust that our reading public will bear with us.

Observer Notebook

Training Mining Engineers

THE recent announcement about the setting up of a new department in the University of Science and Technology, to be known as Geo-Technical Department, concerned with the training of mining engineers is further evidence of that institution's responsiveness to national exigencies. The new department will equip students with the necessary skills to enable them to take more responsible positions in the country's mining industry. We have had occasion in the recent

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

REGISTRAR'S OFFICES

ADMISSION TO DEGREE COURSES

IN OCTOBER, 1973.

Candidates wishing to be considered for admission to all Degree Courses (including B.Sc. Administration) of the University of Ghana should write for application forms which should be completed and returned not later than **31st March, 1973**

To be considered for admission to the first year course, a candidate must:—

(1) have obtained passes at Credit (or higher) level at the West African School Certificate Examination or passes at the London General Certificate of Education Examination (or an approved equivalent) in English Language and in at least four (4) other subjects of which not less than THREE (3) must be at the Advanced Level. At least one of the Advanced Level passes should be grade 'D' or above. (In exceptional cases candidates who have taken three (3) Advanced Level subjects at one and the same sitting and have obtained two (2) passes not below grade 'C' may be considered for admission, provided they also satisfy the requirement in 2 below).

(2) have obtained a pass in the General Paper set by the West African Examinations Council for Advanced Level candidates.

In addition, candidates shall be expected to sati the requirements of the particular Faculties and Depa ments in which they wish to study. These requireme are outlined in a pamphlet issued with application for

Candidates who hope to satisfy the minimum requi ments at examinations to be held in January or Ju 1973 must also complete application forms and retu them not later than **31st March, 1973.** No late appli tions will be considered.

NOTE:

1. Letters requesting application forms must be addres to the **SENIOR ASSISTANT REGISTRAR (AC DEMIC), UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O. BOX LEGON,** and must be accompanied by a self-addres quarto-size envelope (8" x 10") to which must affixed a 12 Pesewas (12p) stamp.
2. Forms will not be sent to applicants who do **not** se stamped envelopes as indicated.
3. Candidates still in attendance at 6th Form Scho need not apply individually as forms will be sent the Heads of all 6th Form Schools.

22ND JANUARY, 1973

ADMISSION TO POSTGRADUATE

DEGREE COURSES 1973

Persons who wish to be considered for admission to Post-Graduate Degree Courses in the University of Ghana in October, 1973 are invited to write for application forms which should be completed and returned not later than **30th March, 1973.**

Courses in the following subjects are available:—

M.A.

African Archaeology
African Studies
Classics—or Latin with specialization in Literatu
History and Philosophy.
English Language

English Literature
French Language and Literature
Geography
History
Journalism and Communication
Library Studies
Linguistics
Philosophy
Political Science (with particular reference to Local Government)
Population Studies
Sociology
Study of Religions
L.L.M. (Law)
M.Sc. (Economics)

M.Sc.

Botany: (Microbiology, Plant Pathology, Physiology, Taxonomy, Anatomy, Ecology, Freshwater Ecology and Botany, Marine Ecology and Botany, Quantitative Ecology, Genetics)
Biochemistry
Chemistry
Geology
Mathematics (Mathematical Physics, Statistics, Numerical Mathematics, Topology)
Nutrition and Food Science
Physics
Statistics
Zoology

M.Sc. AGRICULTURE

Agric. Economics
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Agric. Extension
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Sociology
Study of Religions
Botany
Biochemistry
Geology
Mathematics
Nutrition and Food Science
Physics
Statistics
Zoology

A candidate seeking admission to a Master's or Diploma course must have obtained a good first degree in an appropriate field of study in an approved University and must have satisfied any additional requirements to the course of his choice. Ph.D. applicants must normally be holders of an M.A. or M.Sc. degree.

A candidate who does not satisfy the requirements stated above but is otherwise adjudged suitable may be admitted. For the purpose of assessing his suitability, such a candidate may be interviewed or be required to take an entrance examination or both as directed by the Board of Graduate Studies.

Admission to the course leading to a particular postgraduate degree will depend on the availability of teaching and other facilities for the candidate's special field of study.

The duration of Master's degrees in the Faculties of Arts and Social Studies is two years while those in the Faculties of Science and Agriculture may be of one or two years' duration depending on the qualifications of the candidate. The Ph.D. degree takes at least three years to complete while postgraduate diploma courses are of one year's duration.

NOTE: (IMPORTANT)

1. Letters requesting application forms must be addressed to the SENIOR ASSISTANT REGISTRAR (ACADEMIC), UNIVERSITY OF GHANA, P.O. BOX 25, LEGON, and must be accompanied by a self-addressed foolscap envelope to which is affixed a 10p (ten pesewas) stamp.
2. Forms will not be sent to applicants who do **NOT** send stamped envelopes as indicated.

January 22, 1973

past to draw attention to the necessity of training mining engineers in the country, and we are happy to note that the University of Science and Technology too had been addressing itself to that problem. This is what is expected of a public institution on which vast sums are spent: its expansion programme should be closely related to the manpower requirements of the country that sustains it. Where courses already exist, the programmes should be adapted to changing circumstances, and new departments should be created where necessary.

In this regard, we would like to call once again on the Geology Department of Legon to emulate this example from its sister university and so reorientate its programmes that the training it offers become more directly related to the needs of the country. As a letter from a correspondent in our columns makes amply clear, the training in Geology offered in Legon does not sufficiently equip students for immediate employment. In most cases it is necessary for the graduates from that department to undergo further training in 'applied' fields before they acquire **practical** skills.

We consider that the four years spent in the department should be enough to give them sufficient practical skills in specific areas (like Extractive Metallurgy, Mineral Dressing, Economic Geology etc.) for immediate utilisation after graduation. The fact that a course stands on a department's books is not enough by itself; in a practical course like Geology, special areas must be studied in depth so that the skills acquired can be applied.

While congratulating the University of Science and Technology for being forward-looking in deciding to set up the new Geo-Technical Department, we should also like to advise the Geology Department of Legon to shake itself out of its supine complacency and so reorganise its courses as to make them more visibly meaningful in the context of our national needs.

This question is too important to leave to the individual inclinations of the members of that department, and we urge the University authorities to step in to ensure that the nation gets fair returns for its investments in that area.

SITUATION VACANT

Applications are invited from suitably qualified persons for the post of Advertisements Canvasser in the office of the **Legon Observer.**

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Applications should be sent before February 24th to The Editor, The **Legon Observer,** P.O. Box 11, Legon.

Rehabilitating "Wayward" Girls

THE recent report in the **Daily Graphic** (February 5) that the Wesestern Regional Organisation is to institute a scheme to rehabilitate wayward girls in the region is most welcome. Prostitution is one of the most intractable social problems all over the world and deserves more serious treatment than the mere adoption of disdainful and superior attitudes towards the unfortunate girls involved in that immoral trade. Quite apart from the obvious health hazards to the girls themselves and to their clientele, prostitution constitutes moral debasement both for "the producer and the consumer", and seen from this angle, those girls pushed into this path by force of circumstances deserve sympathy rather than contempt.

It is a problem to which serious attention should be devoted, and voluntary organisations, the churches and the Social Welfare services have a special role to play in this. Most of the victims of prostitution undertake the "profession" for want of any other means of earning a living, and the majority would not have gone that way, if opportunities for learning more profitable trades had been available and ample.

In the recent past, we read about some of these girls being drilled in Cape Coast by soldiers. That method appears to us to be negative and sterile. It is an unproductive method because it does not offer alternative opportunities to those girls. Researches have been done in the past in this country into aspects of this particular social evil, and it may be necessary to update the findings with a view to tackling the problem on a national scale.

The Western Regional Organisation deserves the highest commendation for having looked at the problem in its humane dimensions, and especially for having initiated remedial action. We trust that other regional organisations will learn from the scheme started in the West and try to adopt positive measures of rehabilitation.

Methods like drilling and court action alone can only temporarily keep the girls off the streets and their favourite haunts without providing

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lasting solutions. They might even aggravate the problem. For example, those who are fined in courts need the money to pay up, and since prostitution is the only skill they have for earning money, they are plunged further into the evil. Teaching them honest trades, as has been started in the western region, will help reduce the incidence of prostitution, which cannot be stamped out altogether. It is idle to pretend that the evil can be completely eliminated in any rapidly urbanised and developing society.

Letters

The Withdrawn ¢30m. Subsidy: An Act of Redemption or just Another Example of Economic Mismanagement?

SIR—Giving reasons why the N.R.C. has belatedly withdrawn the subsidy for the importation of "foreign foods and commodities", Major Felli, Commissioner for Trade and Tourism, among other things said:

"In a single year it has cost the Government ¢30 million to subsidize foreign foods . . . ¢5 million of this money could have been utilized in the construction of about 60 miles of first class bitumen roads on the line of that which runs from Nsawam to Kibi. ¢1 million could have been used in rehabilitating about 100 primary schools currently housed in shanty and rickety structures. Another ¢1 million could suffice for the construction of about 100 miles of feeder roads which are currently needed. . . . Yet, out of this money, we could have spent ¢2 million for the provision of two health posts in each of the regions of this country".

As might be expected, Major Felli conceded that "it will be indefensible if our children should grown up to realise that the money which we could have used to develop the country was used to promote mass consumption of foreign foods".

But it would seem the N.R.C. has succeeded in doing just that. It is doubtful whether the Commissioner realised the full implications of this statement. Taking the speech in its totality the purpose for which this ¢30 million was spent is at indefensible today as it will be to our children and posterity. Is this an act of redemption or just another example of economic mismanagement?

Maybe the very weighty considerations which goaded the displaced Busia government to adopt certain economic measures, which we have since castigated as "economic mismanagement", are now beginning to dawn upon our redeemers. If this is correct, then we are yet to find justification for some of the measures taken since 13th January 1972. To escape a counter charge of hypocrisy, incompetence, arrogance and economic mismanagement the 13th January man has a special obligation to justify the restoration of car allowances, table allowances and the rest to certain top persons at the expense of the erstwhile rural development programme.

Not only that. The ordinary citizen would like to know why we still hear of smuggling and contraband goods although our borders are now guarded by soldiers? Price control regulations are announced and published amid fanfare and trumpets backed by the whole military might at the nation's command, and yet prices today are as high as, and in some cases even higher than, Busia's post-devaluation era. In view of all this 'big talk' about "Operation Feed Yourself" why should milk remain heavily subsidized whereas subsidy for matchets has been withdrawn? One would have thought that in our present circumstances matchets but not milk should be subsidised, that is, if we must subsidise anything at all. The retention of the subsidy for milk means that the N.R.C. cares more for milk than for cutlasses. This is preposterous. The subsidy for milk too must go! It is quite unnecessary.

Sure, Major Felli and his colleagues of the National Redemption Council are poignantly aware that their withdrawing the subsidy "will provide another weapon for some disgruntled politicians". And so it goes without saying that "we shall watch such people and anybody caught in any act of sabotage will face the full might of the law".

So be it. But how about ordinary citizens who are not "disgruntled politicians" or "the ruling soldiers"? Are they not entitled to know whether the "Pro-Sure" chaps were right after all?

The powers that be, it is hoped, will not regard it as an act of sabotage if we ask: Is the withdrawal of the ¢30 million subsidy a confession of failure on the part of the N.R.C., or just another example of reckless dissipation of our money?

Commonwealth Hall **Obeng-Manu**
University of Ghana
Legon

Stop this Drilling

SIR—A few weeks ago, the Head of State called on Ghanaians to be bold to criticise constructively any government measures and make suggestions. It is this message and my own personal conviction that have emboldened me to write the following.

A few weeks ago, a very scandalous photograph appeared in a local daily (See **Graphic** January 17, 1973, page 5) which showed a group of soldiers standing by some girls rolling on the bare ground. By the side of this picture was the explanatory caption: "Away with all immoral practices". The accompanying short article explained that the "rolling" girls were 'suspected' to be prostitutes. It could be inferred that they were being drilled on the orders of Col. Benarsko who is reported to have addressed them earlier.

If there is any truth in the 'suspicion' that those girls were prostitutes, it is sad enough; but to let them roll on the ground and drain away their basic humanity by this drilling is most reprehensible and objectionable. I believe that de-humanising girls through this particular form of drilling is not the best weapon with which to fight the problem of prostitution. It is indeed my contention that this method is the worst and the poorest.

What ought to be done in such a situation is simply to show sympathy with the girls as a preliminary 'antidote'. No one can tell with any certainty the various factors that lead girls (or women) to undertake this profession. When you have "rounded them up" you need to address them like a kind father with a lot of understanding of the mechanics of social and human relations; you need to follow this up with job offers where this is possible. The basic humanity even of a prostitute, suspected and proven, must be recognised and respected.

I would also say this: It is not the best way of advertising one's revolutionary fevour by bullying poor indefensible girls upon the vague assumption that they are 'suspected' of being prostitutes: The **Daily Graphic** goes outside Ghana and it saddens me to think that the picture in question will be seen there. I am one of the admirers of Col. Bernasko's revolutionary fervour, but in all honesty to my country and myself I disagree with him on the treatment meted to those daughters of Cape Coast and Ghana.

Mensah Sarbah Hall **Dennis Adjei-Brenyah**
University of Ghana
Legon

Who Should Wear What (In Cape Coast)?

SIR—Cape Coast appears to have singularly borne the brunt of whatever evils one could associate with military rule. Girls walking the streets of Cape Coast have to be on their guard against two particularly excited soldiers: they meet a girl on the street and if to their mind the dress she is wearing is short, they just pounce on her, tear her dress up into pieces, and almost strip her naked in public. Any girl with a slit behind her dress suffers the same uncivilised fate. Is this civilisation in reverse, where the public are brutally forced to oppose the trend of current fashion?

These two particular soldiers invariably cane their helpless civilian victims in the process of stripping them and long after that. Their actions are so rampant and indiscriminate that they have had a brush with a number of young fashionable housewives and university lady students; although the latter have been publicly embarrassed by these soldiers, quite a number of them have had the courage to openly defy the brutal, primitive and barbaric actions on the part of these soldiers. Of late, many girls have had to forgo dances and outing with their "decent" and serious boy-friends for fear of this bullying of the soldiers.

If the military authorities want the mini and other forms of dresses banned, they should come out with public announcements. Otherwise, it should be made quite clear to them that what these soldiers are doing in Cape Coast is nothing short of literally raping innocent victims of their civic and civil liberties. Anyway who should determine the dress of a lady in Ghana? Let us allow the trend of civilisation to decide.

If these soldiers have been acting on their own misguided initiative, then I should like to bring their activities to the attention of their Regional Commissioner. If they are doing it with his blessing and on his orders, then he should care about how far the zeal of these soldiers carries them, and what image of the military is being created in the minds of the public here.

c/o P.O. Box 525 **Kofi Nyamekye**
Cape Coast

"The Future of Our Mines"—Another Rejoinder

SIR—I refer to the letter by Mr. A. F. J. Smit, Professor and Head of Geology Department at Legon, published in **L.O.** VIII/1, page 19, commenting on your editorial entitled "The Future of our Mines". The letter came as an unpleasant shock to many of the graduates who have passed through the Geology Department at Legon, including myself and other people in the Geology profession in the country.

What the Geology Department actually does is to treat these fields of applied geology as one-hour topics in which the students are given introductory lectures on definitions and terms applicable. For instance, in Palaeontology (the study of fossils and fauna), introductory lectures are given in Petroleum Geology about the occurrence of oil in nature and classification of geological structures associated with the oil. To claim, therefore, for example, that Petroleum Geology is taught as a subject at Legon such as is being done at Ibadan (where diplomas are actually awarded in Petroleum Geology), while the students have not even seen borehole logs from an oil drilling rig before, would not be exactly true.

In contrast to this situation in Legon, it is gratifying to note that the Faculty of Engineering at U.S.T. Kumasi has decided to set up a new Department of Geo-Technical Studies where deserving students in engineering who have shown promise in the 'basic' geology course in their first two years would have the opportunity to read specific courses in the field of applied geology such as Ceramics, Hydrogeology, Mining Geology, Engineering Geology, Geophysics, and Geochemistry for the B.Sc. degree. When this is done then the University would be considered to be seriously teaching applied geology subjects, but not before then. This is what Legon is expected to do and is not doing.

The author of the letter attempted to put window dressing on the subjects taught in his department. It is wrong to claim that applied geology courses such as Geochemistry, Geophysics, Mining Geology, etc. are taught in the Geology Department at Legon.

The truth of the matter is that about five years ago, attempts were made to teach Geophysics at the **Physics** Department of the University. The attempts were frustrated by lack of necessary teaching equipment and suitably qualified lecturers. Thus the Geophysics course was discontinued. There has never been in the University the serious teaching of Geophysics or indeed any other applied geology course.

It is on record that after two decades of its existence, five graduates from the Geology Department at Legon are at present undergoing training in Mining Geology at the State Gold Mining Corporation. It is also known that five other graduates are receiving training in Hydrogeology at Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation. There are others undergoing practical courses elsewhere.

It is true that graduates from the Geology Department manage to find jobs in the various fields of applied geology in the government departments and corporations of the country. But these employers have their own training programmes and the graduates are invariably sent to the U.S.A. and other places for the necessary basic training required in the particular applied field. This is not good enough. I am sure if the proper homework of planning being advocated by your editorial (**L.O.** VII/25) is implemented, the country would not waste money giving double training to people who pass out from the Geology Department at Legon. For how can we afford to use all our money to train graduates for three to four years at Legon only to send them for other fresh courses in basic applied geology relevant to Ghana.

Finally, to endorse your views in the said editorial, I call on the University authorities and the government to look into the whole teaching of Geology at Legon, and for that matter of any other department which is not making a relevant contribution to our efforts at reaching "the commanding heights of economy".

The Organising Committee **Kobina Atobrah**
Geological Society of Ghana **Editor, Geonews**
c/o P.O. Box 1997
Kumasi

The "Earthquake" at Kumasi—Essentially a Paradox

SIR—Very often these days people in authority feel called upon to stretch the possibilities of language. A famous even if fictional example of this kind of thing is that paradoxical commandment which was issued in **Animal Farm** to the effect that all animals are equal but some are more equal than others. Every politician or quasi-politician now is something of a poet who weaves paradoxes out of words but confuses nobody (not even himself) except such people as want to be confused. For often, stubborn reality refuses to co-operate in the politician's game of words.

Progressive Ghana does not lag behind in linguistic paradoxes. Recently, two Air Force planes as well as a Ghana Airways plane were used to convey milk, sardines, mackerel and, mercifully, rice to Kumasi. This was not all, a further consignment went by rail. Let us now recall that usually when materials are airlifted to a certain area these usually are in the form of medical and food supplies desperately needed for relief in disaster spots. In fact, one usually thinks of airlifts in connection with wars, earthquakes and other disasters.

In a sense then, Kumasi suffered an earthquake if not from a war. And indeed an S.O.S. message was sent out, as is the custom in such eventualities. Now let us note that this earthquake was caused by a shortage of milk and sardines etc. If that is the case, then are these things essential or not? The question is largely irrelevant as far as the ordinary Ghanaian is concerned, and he leaves it to be resolved by the language experts, i.e. the politicians or their substitutes. The ordinary Ghanaian, smart creature that he is, refuses to heed the label but continues to demand the stuff. It is however curious when these items are urgently airlifted by those who have declared them unessential.

Dept. of English **A. N. Mensah**
Legon

"Face-lift" for Accra, Ho, Cape Coast Etc.

SIR—Of late we have been reading in the local papers about "face-lifts" and "new looks" for some regional capitals. It looks as though people believe that it is the already relatively developed regional capitals and urban centres that deserve or require a face-lift. When are we going to hear of a face-lift or new-look for humble places like Butumegyabu or Kwesibuokrom? And this may actually mean just giving people in these areas the barest minimum of a decent life. This is what social justice is all about, and we would like to believe that the revolution said to be on, cares about this.

Department of Modern Languages **P. A. V. Ansah**
Legon

Soviet-trained Ghanaian Doctors

SIR—Although I do not belong to the medical profession, I have been following with interest the debate on Medical Education in the USSR between Professor Vartanian and Dr. J. O. M. Pobee, both prominent medical men. I would, however, like to ask this pertinent question if I may. Did Professor Vartanian address a copy of his rejoinder to Dr. Pobee? If the answer is "no", then how come that Dr. Pobee was able to reply to the Professor's rejoinder before it was published? (Both rejoinder and reply appeared in the last issue of the **Legon Observer**). Is someone biased in favour of Dr. Pobee?

P.O. Box 3128 **M. S. Braimah**
Accra

EDITOR'S NOTE: If Mr. Braimah had been reading the **Legon Observer** regularly and carefully, he would have noticed that this is not the first time that something of the nature he is complaining about has occurred in our columns. We should like to refer him in particular to **L.O.** VII/24, which contained two articles followed by rejoinders in the same issue. We even drew attention to the debates in our cover page. So what is this present fuss about? Can't some people be less insincere for a change? The insinuation in the last sentence of the letter above is accordingly rejected.

Prices of Foodstuffs

SIR—The O.F.Y. was hailed with unimaginable enthusiasm because at least we knew it was going to relieve the city-dweller a little from the clutches of high foodstuffs prices. Little did anybody think that the prices were rather going to rise. It is quite alarming to hear some of the prices of certain food items. Plaintain which serves as a staple food for the majority of Ghanaians cannot easily be bought. I first thought it was only in Accra that the prices of food items are high but I have found out that this exists in other areas too.

When I was at the market the other day I had to switch on to other food items because those I had in mind were too costly. Both basic foods and vegetables fall into the same category. One small tomato sells at 5p at Adabraka market, three leaves of green vegetables or (kontomle) sell at 5p. This has made living in Accra extremely difficult, and it is not much better in other urban areas. If one is afraid to take tea or coffee because the prices of sugar and milk are high at least one should not be prevented from eating locally produced food items because they are too expensive. Let's find a way out or else the pinch would soon be too hard to bear.

H/No. C43/3 **Sammy K. Oduro-Denkyi**
Adama Avenue
Adabraka, Accra

On Price Increases of the National Papers

SIR—I am always baffled by the manner in which the managements of the national papers—the **Daily Graphic** and **Ghanaian Times** and their sister papers increase their prices. All they have to do is to inform the reading public of these increases in price and they are sure to obtain such increases as nobody questions the basis for the increases in price.

About two years ago, the prices of these papers were increased from 3p to 4p and as if this increase were not

enough the reading public have been called upon to pay an extra pesewa to read these papers as from the first of February this year. These increases in price are always atributed to the rise in production cost, and then to throw dust into the eyes of the reading public, the editors of the papers promise to give these papers a new look to justify the extra pesewas to pay for these papers.

However, I find it hard to understand these editors when they raise hue and cry over the increase in prices of goods and services provided by drivers, kenkey sellers and others in their editorials while they find it convenient to increase the price of their papers. The editors should know that just as they find it hard to understand why for instance, kenkey sellers should reduce the sizes of the balls of kenkey when the price of corn goes up, their readers would not be too easily impressed by their explanation in terms of production costs.

I feel that Ghanaians should not only be saved from the exploitation by traders but also from that by public corporations. These corporations must not be allowed to resort to increasing the prices of their goods and services just to get money to pay bonuses at the end of the year.

P.O. Box M.196 **Yaw Nkansah**
Accra

P.P.P. Still Going Strong?

SIR—Since the ban on political parties by the NRC over a year ago, there is one political party that appears not to have been affected for reasons known to it and the NRC. I am referring to the Peoples' Popular Party (PPP).

This party which has its headquarters in the commercial area of Accra, still has boldly its name in front of its offices, opens its offices daily, with officials and members going in and out including its general secretary.

Rumours have it that this party is a protégé of the CPP and the NRC is tolerating it because it (THE NRC) is pro-Nkrumah and CPP. In fact their members boast of this openly.

If this is not true then the NRC should have the PPP office closed like that of all other parties, restrain its officials and withdraw any covert or overt support it has for it, for people are watching. This must be done in the interest of public peace.

P.O. Box 5686 **B. Okoe Laryea**
Accra-North

The Old Guard Again?

SIR—Rumours have been circulating that Mr. Kojo Botsio, one-time Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Nkrumah government has been offered quite an enviable post by the N.R.C. This writer does not know how far this rumour can be substantiated but considering the fact that Mr. Kwasi Amoako-Atta also a former finance minister in the Nkrumah regime is a so-called adviser to the N R.C. on Eastern European Affairs, then the rumour in question might have a grain of truth.

The object of this letter is to remind the N.R.C. that our dear Ghana has had enough of the disservice of these C.P.P. men. What have they to offer Ghana? Recent pronouncements at the O.A.U. Liberation Committee's meeting in Accra have depicted Kwame Nkrumah as though he was an angel. How soon must we Ghanaians forget that Kwame Nkrumah's government was the soil from which the seeds of Ghana's present economic ills germinated? Were these men not in the corrupt regime of Nkrumah when contracts involving loans "vitiated by corruption and other illegalities" were entered into? If these men had had any good advice to offer, Ghana would have emerged as the greatest economic empire in black Africa by now.

Mr. Kojo Botsio is reported to have said that a Kwame Nkrumah Foundation is to be set up to continue the works of Kwame Nkrumah. Kwame Nkrumah was a politician and therefore his works were political in nature. At present there is no partisan politics in revolutionary Ghana and such a Foundation is therefore uncalled for. Are we going to have a Kwame Nkrumah Foundation to teach us that P.D.A. is a good piece of legislation? A Foundation to brain-wash us with an ideology so that we shall not find faults with our government?

The people's revolutionary N.R.C. must not recruit these C.P.P. henchmen in any key position so that power might not again be handed over to any group of people or politicians on a silver platter. Ghana is not devoid of human resources; give others a chance.

The right to rule is the birthright of all Ghanaians and not the divine right of any particular group of people.

c/o P.O. Box M.44 **John Mensah**
Accra.

The Post Office Sorting Division

SIR—It is becoming more and more evident, judging from the frequency of letters one has been reading in the dailies about this, that the staff in the sorting divisions of the Post Offices in certain parts of the country do not realise just how important and delicate their work is. They do not seem to realise that the mishandling or misdirection of any letter on their part inflicts irreparable damage on some two unsuspecting persons somewhere.

I mailed a letter containing ¢15.00 worth of Postal Orders in early October of last year at the U.S.T. Post Office to a parent in Winneba. When the letter arrived the envelope had been torn open at one end and repasted very conspicuously. But fortunately the Postal Orders were still in it . . . apparently because the counterfoils had been detached by me earlier on before mailing.

I know that some parcels are officially subjected to opening and searching by the Post Office, but mine was not a parcel but an ordinary letter in an ordinary envelope with the correct amount of postage stamps on it. So there was no reason whatsoever why the letter should have been opened at all. The fact that the Postal Orders were left untouched is beside the point. Goodness knows how many such letters arrive at their destinations or find their way into wastebaskets, emptied of their contents. In fact a little over a year ago, a brother mailed a letter with an enclosure from London to me here. I know that it sometimes takes about three months for a letter sent by surface mail to go from say Ghana to Britain and vice versa. But I did not know that it takes well over one year for a letter to traverse the same distance by **Air Mail.** My brother's letter is yet to come!

I wish tougher measures would be taken against those found to be tampering with the mail. Maybe it should be impressed upon them that the only alternative to their present honourable jobs is stark unemployment.

Faculty of Architecture **Charles Blankson**
U.S.T., Kumasi

Up North and Down South

SIR—Very often, during listeners' choice and other programmes, certain expressions like: "up in the north", "far up there", are used to describe the location of some towns in the Northern and Upper Regions.

If the idea is to give more clarification of such areas as being remote from where the announcer is talking, then it is equally necessary to say for example: Saltpond or Winneba is at "down, down south" or "far down here" for the benefit of those of us who have little or no knowledge of the details of locations in Southern Ghana. If these details can be dispensed with as far as towns in the south are concerned, towns in the north deserve similar treatment.

Looked at from another angle, such expressions frighten some public servants who may have a genuine desire to serve the nation irrespective of where they are posted. Expressions like "far up there" might scare them stiff when they have to serve in the two regions. Such workers often imagine that if something should happen to them "far up there", it would take days or weeks before relatives get to know their predicament.

Such misleading expressions tend to irritate a section of the population and our current revolution calls for a change in attitude. Those who exert influence directly or indirectly on society by virtue of their civic duties and positions should help spread the idea of "one nation" instead of indirectly encouraging divisive tendencies.

School for the Deaf **Bob Milliar**
Wa

Ghana Sports must be Reviewed

SIR—Since the overthrow of the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1966, Ghana's sports have retrogressed systematically. Many countries have experienced this and right at our door step is Nigeria who was adjudged the second best sporting nation in Africa at the Lagos Games. The secret of her success lies in the scientific approach she adopted to improve upon her performance, having detected her reverses at international competitions. She temporarily withdrew partially from international competitions, and behind the scene she over-hauled her sports administration personnel and infused it with some discipline, staffing it with technical experts appointed locally and from elsewhere. One recalls the invitation to the former world champion, the late Dick Tiger, to coach her boxing squad. Also, in the third quarter of last year a similar approach was made to Miss Ethel Jacks to coach the Nigerian women table tennis team. She accepted the offer and the results are known to all of us, judging from their performance at the recent 2nd All-Africa Games held in Lagos.

How long is Ghana waiting to reappraise her reverses in sports and find an antidote to them? Our popularity in sports is fast waning, and it is time we declared a truce on all international meetings. We can then set a target when we shall be back with a bang: when we shall once more see new Aggrey-Fynns, Gyamfis, and Acquahs beating Sudan 3-0 in Accra and drawing 3-3 with Nigeria in Lagos.

I should like to conclude by extending my personal congratulations to all the participants at the 2nd All-Africa Games in Lagos and especially to Mr. A. O. Lawson, the voluntary athletics coach, who needs to be decorated by the State.

P.O. Box 3419 **Saka Adotey**
Accra

Book Review

'OUT OF THE MORAL MORASS'

Wole Soyinka, **The Man Died**, Rex Collings
London, 1972, £3.50

Reviewed
By
John Gibbs

'THE MAN DIED. Prison notes of Wole Soyinka' has already been critically acclaimed. When designing the cover of the paper-back edition—hopefully close behind this expensive hard-back—the publisher will have to decide which of the following to select:

It 'testifies to one man's courage'.[1]
It is 'a personal indictment of the regime which tried to kill him'.[2]
It is 'an extraordinary and moving book'.[3]
It is a 'very, very remarkable book, as hard to put down as it will be to describe'.[4]
'Soyinka writes with vigour and a fierce awareness of the beauty of life as well as the dark, murky side which he observed and which he suffered from in prison'.[5]
'It records both the inner and outer facets of Soyinka's ordeal and does so with dignity, passion, eloquence and a good deal of admirably sardonic humour'.[6]
It is 'a subjective, indignant, ill-organised and poetic account of his experience in gaol. It is a disturbing chronicle containing some hair-raising episodes . . .'[7]
It is 'a courageous, eccentric, moving book, and through it there thunders — the word is not too strong—the theme . . .' the man dies who keeps silent in the face of tyranny'.[8]

The reviewers plunge, like Lakunle, into their bags of adjectives, but even when the bags are empty the book is still inadequately described. Perhaps only Soyinka himself could describe it—in one of his riotous tie-dyes of images. Just as his theatre brings together music, dance, ritual, verse, dialogue and symbol, so his 'prison notes' brings between two covers genres and disciplines which are usually separated in the European tradition: poetry, descriptive essays, documentary evidence, mock heroic pastiche, revue sketches, autobiography, character studies, metaphysics, meditation, hallucinations, diary entries, philosophy, invective politics . . .

Politics seems a promising place to start. After all it was politics which got Soyinka, the man they couldn't kill, the man they couldn't drive insane, into prison in the first place. But what politics? The reader of the British and Nigerian press got the impression that Soyinka was in detention for two reasons: (1) he wrote an article in the Nigerian **Daily Sketch** arguing that the Civil War was futile, and (2) he visited Oiukwu to discuss peace plans with him. (Soyinka smuggled out letters which silenced, in the minds of the 'sympathetic' at least, the charges that he had negotiated the purchase of jets for the rebels and visited Benin in August, 1967). But from **The Man Died**, and recent studies of the attitudes to the Civil War in the Western Region, it appears that Soyinka was a leader of 'The Third Force',[9] a movement which included Victor Banio and Alale—'a Moscow trained Marxist who had been with Nkrumah's CPP until, growing too embarrassing with his call for a reduction in the personality cult and the growing separa-

tion of the party elite from the masses, he had even earned himself a spell in preventive detention.[10]

The Third Force regarded the massacres of the Ibos as sedulously encouraged by a villainous coalition of the old Northern politicians ('The Mafia') and the regime brought in by the July Coup ('The Military'). The brutal slaughter of the Ibos was a cynical plot to distract attention from the corruption of the Mafia-Military. The Civil War was, thus, not 'To keep Nigeria one', but 'To keep potential critics of the Mafia-Military busy (or incommunicado) elsewhere, and 'To keep the Mafia-Military in power'. Soyinka's article and his travels, which had included a visit to the Northern Region shortly before the massacres began, were part of the work of The Third Force. In prison Soyinka gathered evidence about the way the military condoned violence against Ibos, and he smuggled the information out. The shuttle had begun to unthread the fabric of lies in which the Mafia-Military had disguised themselves, and it was for this, Soyinka maintains, that he was detained for two years rather than a matter of weeks.

Soyinka makes his case in his own style. He calls a riot-baton 'a formidable three-foot cudgel', rather than 'a standard piece of police equipment', and there will be those who object to his method of giving evidence. They will ask: 'were you carrying a tape-measure or a ruler? Did you actually measure the so-called 'cudgel'?' But even though some of his charges may be put aside as 'insufficiently substantiated', his eye-witness account of the treatment of Ambrose Okpe and Gani Biban, two soldiers accused of murdering an Ibo before the war, and the documents he has assembled concerning the violence at Ikom in the Mid-West after the war demand answers from Gowon. Silence will confirm that he condoned and still condones Ibo hunting.

The most moving chapter in the book is that in which Soyinka describes the state of the Ibos in Kiri-Kiri Prison. It is a passage which shows all his skill as a writer, and also levels a charge which must be answered. The Ibos were kept in utter degradation, yet one night, in a communal assertion of will, they sang for hours and hours. Soyinka describes the profound effect the singing had on him, but he is aware that readers may dismiss the account as the response of a poet with pummiced sensibilities, and he adds the less articulate confession of a fellow prisoner, a Yoruba businessman: '. . . I have never been through a night like that, never in my life'. The sitting in the tail of the chapter is a 'Footnote' to the Red Cross investigators who allowed themselves to be deceived as to the true state of the prisoners' conditions by some last minute 'plastic surgery'—the issue of soap and blankets, the visit of the barber, the washing of clothes. The footnote is a challenge which Soyinka has also put into verse and which can be hung around the necks of many 'teams of investigators':

> Week seventy-five
> Observers welcome. Cheap
> Conducted tours—behold
> Our hands are clean
> The rains have fallen twice and earth is deep.[12]

The Red Cross has to answer this, but Gowon, in Soyinka's opinion has to answer much, much more, a horde of charges. One reviewer has ridiculed Soyinka's perception of political responsibility in personal terms. He writes:

> (Soyinka's) main political theory is that people are responsible for what they do and what they fail to do. No wise, temperate person, of course, believes that old-fashioned clap-trap for a moment.[13]

But, surely, the judgements of the war crimes tribunals and the concept of ministerial responsibility are based on just such 'old fashioned clap-trap'. 'The ex-Politician memoirs business' is built, partly, on the desire to justify personal decisions, and critics are at liberty to point out the cracks in plaster-cast perfection.

There are those who, on reading **The Man Died**, will say: 'Soyinka? Ah yes . . . A playwright, certainly . . A poet, definitely . . . but a politician, and a philosopher, oh no! In fact Soyinka's plays, poems, politics and philosophy (his four Ps?) are a seamless gown woven throughout by a restless shuttle, his mind. Soyinka has long seen life in terms of the brief, heroic assertion of an individual against a moral morass inhabited by the functionaries of evil and by arch-devils. Demoke is the first of a line, which leads from Eman to Daodu, of protagonists who, even though recognizing the futility of their actions, challenge a prevailing evil. In **Idanre and Other Poems, A Shuttle in The Crypt** and **The Man Died** they are joined by Adekunle Fajui and Victor Banjo, 'flare too rare/Too brief, chivalric steel/Redeems us living'. Behind Adenebi there trails a miserable succession of intellectual prostitutes, political time-servers and 'gaping sycophants! The group includes the Aweris and the Secretary from **Kongi's Harvest** and, now, from **The Man Died,** Femi Okunu, Yissa Adeio and J P. Clark. Then there are the real villains, the select company of evil in which Mata Kharibu and Kongi have now been joined by smiling General Yakubu ('Jack') Gowon.

Shortly after his release from detention, in October 1969, Soyinka produced **Kongi's Harvest** with the dictator dressed as a soldier and surrounded by military henchmen. In anticipating Gowon's reaction to Soyinka's challenge in his 'prison notes', one might recast the situation as a more radical adaptation of **Kongi's Harvest.** In the new version, which Soyinka may even now be working on, the play opens in a detention camp. (Some of the set from the earlier production could be re-used). Akinyos, the playwright's **alter ego** is making mobiles and composing satirical verses about 'the boss' who has detained him, a General Ubu Nowog. The prisoner manages to evade the strictest precautions and smuggles his verses to the world press which publishes them eagerly. Realizing that Akinyos is more trouble in prison than out, Nowog releases him as part of an Independence Anniversary Amnesty. From the safety of a foreign country Akinyos publishes a passionate exposé of the corruption on which Nowog's regime is built—the moral morass.

This volume is lavishly praised by the critics. The second act closes with Akinyos announcing that he intends to return home to take up a post at the University of Efi, but that first he will visit a number of African and European countries. He says: 'There are of course sinister possibilities about the reactions of the authorities. But this time nothing can take place in the dark. There will be no lies, no half-truths'.[14] The third act opens (it is not yet clear whether this is a three or five act drama) on a meditative Nowog. Previously he had appeared as a sincere and humble head of state, now we see him, surrounded by dubious and devious

politicians, preparing a 'welcome' for Akinyos. Nowog's instinct for revenge is at odds with the dictates of diplomacy. He is shortly to host a Black Arts Festival, a massive assembly of writers, painters, film makers, critics and actors from the four corners of the Black Diaspora. They will expect to hear Akinyos' latest collection of mixed metaphors and see his most recent amalgam of noise, gesture, impenetrable mathemagic and all too penetrable satire. (The script for this act will, in accordance with the traditions of 'The African Theatre', be improvized before an interested international audience during the forthcoming months).

But to return to **The Man Died**—after an excursion vaguely reminiscent of the construction of that book—it is harrowing and amusing, provocative and spirited, an immensely rich collection of material which affords a deep insight into Soyinka's mind. Its power rests on the integrity of his vision, the intensity of his imagination, the skill of his pen and the honesty to which he is above all else committed.

Those who followed Soyinka's imprisonment as it was reported in the Nigerian and international press must have a number of questions which **The Man Died** does not answer. For example, were the papers carried out by a fellow prisoner and declared to be forgeries by Soyinka's wife and colleagues at Ibadan in fact by him?[15] Why is no mention made of the visit to Kaduna Prison by Soyinka's father—a visit which ended speculation that he was dead?[16] What was the truth about the correspondence with **The New Statesman** concerning the Jock Campbell Award?[17] The Award was rejected in a bewildering letter over Soyinka's signature, but what were, and are, his real feelings about the matter? In 'Flowers for my Land', one of the poems smuggled out of prison, Soyinka wrote: 'Oil erupts/Upon the Altar, casts an evil shade'.[18] Yet in **The Man Died** 'Oil diplomacy' (or 'international oil thuggery') is not regarded as an important factor in the causes of the Civil War. When and why, one wonders, did Soyinka change his mind?

Answers to these questions would be interesting, but Soyinka disarms criticism by describing his book modestly as 'Prison Notes'. The notes do not make up a complete chronological record, the circumstances of his imprisonment did not permit the 'keeping of a diary' and the cast of his mind is alien to that of 'the mere chronicler'. They are an instance of the individual's ability to triumph over deprivation and chaos. They represent an act of self-assertion akin to that of Soyinka's patron-god, Ogun, who descended into the primordial marsh and made road by which the gods could approach men.

NOTES

1. John Young, 'An Epitaph for Nigeria', **The Times,** November 14, 1972.
2. Peter Macdonald, 'Notes from a Nigerian Prison', **Scotsman,** November 18, 1872.
3. 'The Echoes of War', **Economist,** November 18, 1972.
4. Angus Calder, 'Pilgrim turn alone' **New Statesman,** December 8, 1972.
5. A. Norman Jeffares, 'The Spirit that Triumphs', **Yorkshire Post,** December 28, 1972.
6. Anthony Thwaite, 'Walls have mouths', **Observer,** December 17, 1972.
7. Francis Wyndham 'Tales from Nigeria', **The Listener,** November 23, 1972.
8. Jeremy Brooks, 'Vital Witness', **The Sunday Times,** November 26, 1972.
9. See, for example, B. J. Dudley, 'Western Nigeria and the Nigerian Crisis', **Nigerian Politics and Military Rule,** ed. S. K. Panter-Brick, London, 1970, page 107.
10. **The Man Died** p. 179.
11. **Ibid.** pp. 96-113.
12. **Ibid.** p. 307, also 'Background and Friezes', Wole Soyinka, **A Shuttle in the Crypt,** London, 1972, p. 74.
13. Angus Calder **op. cit.**
14. This is remarkably similar to a statement made by Soyinka 'No lies, no half-truths,: a writers' cup of bitterness runs over:' **The Times,** October 9, 1972.
15. 'Is Soyinka dead?', **The Times,** July 11, 1968.
16. 'A Bulletin on Soyinka', **The Times,** October 15, 1968.
17. 'Wole Soyinka', **New Statesman,** May 23, 1969.
18. This appeared in **The New Statesman,** May 23, 1969, in **Poems from Prison,** London, 1969 and in **A Shuttle in the Crypt,** p. 63.

For The Record

Monday January 29

Timber Firm Banned

MESSRS Fynhout (Ghana) Limited, a Dutch firm with 21 years' of operation in Ghana, had its export registration cancelled at the weekend by the Timber Marketing Board. This followed the discovery of a host of fraudulent practices in the export of logs.

Lt.-Col. Odartey-Wellington, executive chairman of the board, who announced this, said that the malpractices included the preparation of fictitious documents and the smuggling of timber through the manipulation of documents.

He added that the board had directed that with immediate effect all log and lumber already purchased by the firm and found anywhere in the country are to be seized and taken over by the Ghana Timber Limited—a subsidiary of the board. In addition, the Ghana Timber Limited is to take over the assets of the company and its operations in Ghana.

New Water Scheme for Accra

THE Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation is to launch a giant dam project at the Weija Water Works this financial year to provide the Accra metropolitan area with enough water for the next 40 years.

The project which is estimated at ¢20 million, is a joint venture of the World Bank and the Government of Ghana.

Mr. E. K. Y. Dovlo, Greater Accra Area Manager of the Corporation, disclosed this when Colonel W. C. O. Acquaye-Nortey, Greater Accra Regional Commissioner, paid an official visit to the dam site at the weekend.

Tuesday January 30

New Brewery for Ghana

COLONEL I. K. Acheampong, the Head of State, today opened a ¢12 million ultra-modern brewery, the Tata Brewery, at Dome, near Accra.

The brewery which is owned by a 50-year old Ghanaian businessman, Mr. J. K. Siaw, will produce Tata pilsner beer, both large and mini, Maltex, Tata Soft drinks and Tata stout.

Government Acquires Shares in Log Firms

THE Government has taken majority shares in two more timber companies, International Hardwords Limited and the African Veneer Mahogany Exporters Limited.

According to an Executive Instrument published in Accra yesterday, the Government shares will be 55 per cent in each case as provided for by N.R.C.D 139 on Timber Operations (Government Participation).

This brings to six the number of timber companies in which the government now holds majority shares. The other companies are Gliksten (West Africa) Limited, the Takoradi Veneer and Lumber Company Limited, the Timber Division of R.T. Briscoe (Ghana) Limited and African Timber and Plywood (Ghana) Limited.

Wednesday January 31

Government Withdraws Subsidy on Foreign Goods

THE Government has with immediate effect withdrawn the ¢30 million subsidy on the importation of foreign foods and commodities except milk and baby foods. The commodities include sugar, corned-beef, sardines, bar soap and matchets

Major R. J. A. Felli, Commissioner for Trade and Tourism, announced at a news conference in Accra today that as a result of the greed and illicit deals of some traders, consumers were not benefiting from the subsidy.

He expressed the hope that the new prices of these commodities will make profiteering unattractive and reduce smuggling to the minimum, adding that the government could have used the money spent on subsidy to provide amenities like health posts, roads and schools.

Thurday February 1

Two Sentenced to Death for Subversion

TWO persons charged with subversion by stealing were yesterday sentenced to death by firing squad in Accra.

The two men, John Owusu 24, and Emmanuel Kwaku Badasu 25, had been charged on two counts of conspiracy to commit subversion and subversion by stealing underground cables valued at ¢800, and had been found guilty of the second charge by the four-member Greater Accra Military Tribunal headed by Lt.-Col. E. K. Utuka.

Tuesday February 6

New Taxes on Vehicles

ACCORDING to an N.R.C. decree published today in Accra, the Vehicles Purchase Tax Decree 1973, any person who imports a vehicle into Ghana for his personal use shall pay a purchase tax. This tax ranges from 200 per cent on vehicles whose value exceed ¢7,800 to 10 per cent on those valued between ¢2,000 and 2,750.

Such vehicles cannot be sold or transferred to any person during the first year of importation.

Any person who contravenes any provision of the decree shall be guilty of an offence and liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ¢1,000 or to imprisonment not exceeding two years or to both.

CORRECTION

In our last issue, (**L.O.** VIII/2 p. 41) the name and address of the contributor who wrote the first letter headed "The Returning Exiles" was inadvertently omitted.

We apologise both to our Cape Coast correspondent who wrote that letter and to our readers for the error—Editor.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

KOFI EDJAH—Lecturer in Economics, University of Cape Coast.

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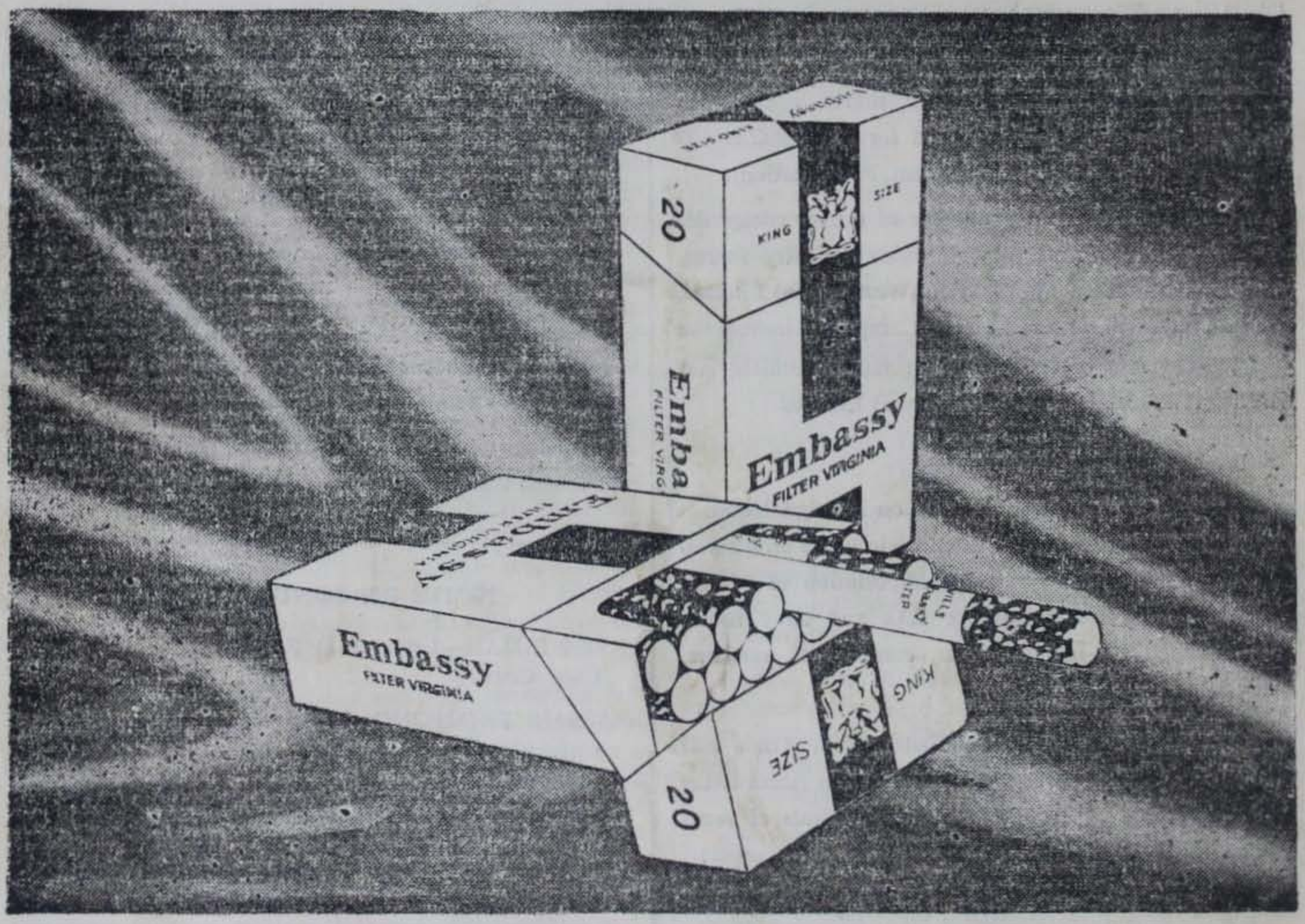
JAMES GIBBS—Lecturer in English, Churchill College, Blantyre, Malawi.

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Editorial

AFRICA AND THE E.E.C.

WITHIN the last fortnight, there have been two very important conferences here in Accra. Both conferences considered intra-African economic cooperation and Africa's relations with the European Economic Community. Shortly after the opening of the second conference on 19th February, it was announced that the question of Africa's relations with the E.E.C. had been dropped from the agenda because a number of governments had not had enough time to study all aspects of this intricate problem so as to be able to brief their delegates. The postponement of this item gives African governments more time to take a careful and cool look at the form of relationships that it will be in their best interest to establish with the E.E.C.

The single most important factor in the series of conferences is the recognition of the necessity for Africa to present a united front. At present there are a number of African countries associated with the E.E.C.; these are made up of the former colonies of France, Belgium and Italy which signed the Treaty of Rome in 1957; the treaty became effective in 1958. Even though the associated countries had the opportunity of renouncing association on becoming independent, which with the exception of Guinea they did not do, it is important to remember that association was **initially** dictated by the nature of colonial relationships. Other countries, like the East African Community group of countries comprising Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, sought and obtained some form of relationships with the E.E.C. on the basis of the second Arusha agreement of 24th September 1969. This agreement, like the second Yaounde Convention, expires on 31st January 1975. With the adhesion of Great Britain on 1st January this year, the question has been posed about the relationships between the developing Commonwealth countries on the one hand and the E.E.C. on the other, when the existing relations between Great Britain and her former colonies and territories, especially under the Commonwealth Preference Arrangements, lapse in January 1975.

The question which arises is: for her economic development, does Africa have to be associated with the E.E.C.? In other words, is there no economic salvation for Africa outside the orbit of the E.E.C.? Those in favour of association argue that it offers greater opportunities to Africans to develop their exports, thereby enhancing their prospects of economic development. There is also the attraction of aid through the European Development Fund and similar agencies.

It does appear then that association with the E.E.C. presents a fairly soft option, but it will be short-sighted to establish close economic relations only on this basis. What Africa needs are fundamental structural changes in her economies, and the pertinent question to ask is how association will help in the achievement of this basic objective. It is obvious that Africans cannot continue to be perpetually producers of raw materials, and from this point of view it can be affirmed that association will introduce rigidities in our economic policies that will impede rapid economic development in the long run. The major structural changes needed are a consolidation of our agricultural base, the exploitation of our natural resources, and a reasonable degree of industrialisation that will enable us to process the raw materials we produce. The experience of those countries already associated does not encourage us to believe that the terms of association are in line with these objectives, especially where industrialisation is concerned.

One of the major handicaps to industrialisation efforts in individual African countries is the lack of large markets, and it deserves to be recalled that the search for markets for Europe's industrial products played a crucial role in the various colonial adventures. The home markets could not absorb all the products, and it was necessary to expand the markets through the acquisition of colonies. One way of removing this obstacle to industrialisation is to expand the size of our markets through the development of intra-African trade. The argument usually advanced against the expansion of African markets is that most of us produce the same type of minerals and agricultural products. This, of course, is an exaggeration because there are sufficient varieties in our natural resources to sustain a viable and diversified economy on a continental scale. The distribution of manufacturing responsibilities is one of the things that an African Economic Community can work out, at least initially on a regional basis. All types of industrial activity can thrive in Africa provided large enough markets are created for their products, and Africa should be able to undertake such industries, if only we can agree to cooperate among ourselves. Using a bigger home market as a starting point, we should in time be able to take advantage of our cheap factors of production to so expand as to be able to export competitively to other parts of the world, which we now only serve as markets and cheap sources of raw materials.

The uncertainties in the world trade pattern should encourage us to diversify our trading partners instead of tying ourselves down to any single or monolithic economic power. While it is true that the enlarged E.E.C. is the main trading partner of Africa, it is also a fact that between 1960 and 1970, the total volume of trade between the E.E.C. and the associated African states declined both in terms of imports and of exports. This is equally true of the non-associated African countries. A number of countries have diversified their trading patterns by establishing links with the United States, Japan, the U.S.S.R. and other eastern European countries, and their share of trade with these countries is consistently on the increase. This is a healthy development which should not be stifled by the unnecessary perpetuation of colonial relationships, for it should be borne in mind that the E.E.C. is only an initial phase of an ultimate European political reality.

To us, then, the choice before Africa is clear. The present obstacles to our economic development and general well-being can be removed by a concerted effort towards the creation of an African Economic Community that can be started on a regional basis. We have the physical and manpower resources needed for rapid expansion; the highly-skilled manpower can be trained in due course. It is also crucial that Africa speak with a single voice. The countries already associated will have the opportunity to revise their position when the Yaounde Agreement expires in January 1975. As individual countries we do not have the necessary bargaining power to obtain a really fair deal, but as a united front we can compel a recognition of our needs and our rights. The advantages offered by association look attractive, but only in the short run; for sustained development as a long-term objective, however, association with the E.E.C., on the present showing, cannot provide the answer to our problems.

LEGON OBSERVER NOTICE

We regret to inform our readers that as from the 1st of March, 1973 the price of the **Legon Observer** will be increased from 15p to 20p. This increase has been made necessary by the rise in production costs.

For about a year now the cost of newsprint has been doubled, resulting in increased costs. We have been extremely reluctant in the past to pass this on to our readers, but we do not think we can absorb the additional financial burden any longer.

It is with great reluctance that we have come to this decision and we trust that our reading public will bear with us.

What is the Ghana Commercial Bank doing to help develop Ghana?



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Politics

INSTANT JUSTICE—ROUGH AND READY

By

P.A.V. Ansah

JUSTICE dela yed, they say, is justice denied. It can also be affirmed with equal confidence that justice rushed is justice denied. Both extremes are to be avoided, if justice is to be seen to be done, and in any civilised and self-respecting society, there is no revolutionary principle that can justify any ill-conceived short-cuts in the administration of justice.

Since the military took power in January 1972, one feature of the administration has been the extent to which military personnel have become involved in areas that have been traditionally considered the preserve of civilians. It seems to have been thought by some people, including the government, that one way of getting things done expeditiously and efficiently in this country was to get military personnel involved in police duties and in the administration of state enterprises and other governmental agencies. It remains to be seen whether the army officers seconded to certain state organs have made any significant impact on the efficient running of the enterprises concerned.

We are not concerned with the involvement of soldiers in purely civilian matters; presumably it might be argued that officers and men in the Armed Forces are citizens in their own right, and have as much right to participate in the administration of the country as anybody else. Of course, if the fact of army people running the affairs of the country at the highest possible level has been accommodated, irrespective of whatever people might think about military rule, then it is a pointless exercise to argue about the propriety of having military involvement at lower levels. This is, of course, the first time that military influence has permeated the society to the extent that we see now. The previous military government contented itself with the higher echelons of the administration, so that the present system is quite a novel experience to us. Now the people are seeing at close quarters how the army goes about its business, and it is important that harmony should reign between the civilian and military populations.

It would appear that this harmony does not exist to the degree that one would consider desirable. Trained in a particular kind of way, the soldiers who have had to deal with civilians have not learnt to adapt or adjust their methods to the new situation of a civilian setting. One of their favourite methods of instilling discipline is drilling and other forms of physical correction. Since the present government came into power, there have been numerous reports and complaints of soldiers subjecting civilians to drilling and various forms of harassment. Most of these complaints have been made in hushed tones for fear of possible reprisals if one raised one's voice too loud.

The newspapers have reported incidents, occasionally illustrated with pictures, of late-comers being drilled, of workers being bullied into giving up their right to demand fair remuneration for their labour, of suspected prostitutes being made to roll on the ground, and of suspects being drilled and shaved—sometimes with broken bottles—because, as one responsible officer gleefully revealed in public, the army does not want lice in its guard-rooms. Recent reports from the capital of the Central Region have revealed cases of soldiers harassing ladies whose dresses are judged to be too short or otherwise offensive to the presumably puritanical tastes of certain soldiers. There have been reports of soldiers having used their power and position to settle scores either in their own case or on behalf of friends and relatives. There was also the case of a former ambassador who had returned home as a Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For one reason or another, he was drilled publicly by an army officer in front of his ministry. Not long after this humiliation, the gentleman concerned was re-appointed ambassador, and has since left for his post. How does anyone expect this ambassador to be accorded the respect he deserves at his post, when it is known that he has been toyed with so humiliatingly in his own country?

On Monday, January 29th, the **Daily Graphic** reported an incident from the Upper Region. Some young men who were **suspected** of being cattle thieves were arrested and subjected to rigorous drilling lasting three and a half hours, after which they were paired up to fight each other and then taken into custody. A similar incident occurred in Accra sometime last year. People rounded up at Nima, an Accra suburb, and **suspected** of being criminals were shaved, made to roll on the ground, and paired against each other to fight. This horrifying spectacle of sadism was offered to the public gaze on television during the 7.30 news bulletin. However, it appears that wiser counsel prevailed shortly afterwards, so

Sophie's going to have another baby.

Isn't that nice?



Nice for who?

Not Sophie!

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How to space her children...

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that that particular item was suppressed in the late news bulletin two hours later.

It would have been bad enough if such unfortunate acts were committed by ordinary soldiers misguided in their enthusiasm, but the tragedy is that responsible officers, not excluding commissioners in charge of ministries and regions, are also guilty of this offence. Perhaps the Adabraka Police Station incident extensively reported in the **Weekly Spectator** issue of 3rd February is the most dramatic incident to date, but it is by no means an isolated case in this bizarre exhibition of "soldier-power". (In the Adabraka Police Station incident, a lieutenant who felt aggrieved because a friend of his had been refused bail, went there with armed soldiers and caused to be arrested at gunpoint the six policemen there, took them in an army truck to the military camp and subjected them to some senseless drilling, before releasing the unfortunate victims to find their own way back to the Police Station.) It is even reported that some of these acts of the show of power have had fatal consequences, but people are too terrified to speak out for fear of drawing upon themselves the wrath of the soldiers. It is absolutely indefensible that individual soldiers should be allowed to feel that they are arbiters of what is socially, legally and even morally proper for the totality of Ghanaians. It would be tedious to recount other incidents, but the list is almost inexhaustible.

Some people would, and do, argue that we are lazy and require an ironfisted type of discipline to ensure maximum efficiency. In justification of their contention, they claim that since the drills started, people have become smarter and more punctual. This may be true, but it is questionable whether an official who has been publicly humiliated or who has become exhausted, as a result of drilling which may be ultimately good for his fitness but which he has not asked for, will be disposed to put in his maximum effort when he gets into his office. It is not realistic to expect that a disgruntled worker nursing a grievance can put out his best. It is also well known that the type of drill given has sometimes had tragic consequences for oldish people. What this means is that unduly coercive methods can actually be counter-productive by defeating the purpose for which the methods are instituted.

It is also argued that these harsh methods are justified because they have yielded positive results in other areas as well. We are informed that since the soldiers preoccupied themselves with the collection of basic rates, more money has been obtained than ever before, and that targets have been exceeded. This might just mean that the estimated receipts from basic rates were not properly calculated to begin with, but we shall not go into that here and now. The method applied last year has, by all accounts, been effective, but a more pertinent question is: can it be lasting, and can it be sustained without the army doing irreparable damage to its image?

We have been assured, even if only in the vaguest of terms, that the military government does not intend to stay in power for ever. What this means is that the soldiers who have been helping with the collection of basic rates by their bizarre methods will not be permanently around. Suppose, then, that people were to become habituated to paying their basic rates only in submission to military violence, how do we hope to collect taxes and other rates when the soldiers are no longer around to apply their particular method? If people are given the impression that they have to report for work on time only to spare themselves the public humiliation of drilling, what will be their motivation when the threat is removed, as it should be removed one day, since even the most ardent revolutionary would not consider a military presence in government as a permanent solution to our many problems, political, economic or social?

A more sensible and lasting way of trying to get people to do what is required of them, whether it is paying taxes, being punctual at work, showing proper invoices, honestly accounting for the money voted for the purchasing of cocoa or other commodities, etc., is to enforce existing disciplinary measures, and where these are found to be in any way defective, to put teeth into the system. This is the only manner in which we can ensure efficiency in a civilised way. Surely there do exist sanctions against those offences for which the soldiers administer instant justice? If we are to escape the danger of gradually drifting into mob rule, it is necessary to apply the sanctions wherever necessary, instead of leaving things to the temperament and discretion of individual soldiers who may ultimately do more harm than good through misguided military zeal.

Most of these acts of terrorism by some soldiers have been explained away in the name of "revolutionary discipline". We have read the charter which the N.R.C. recently gave to the country, and we see nothing in it that would warrant regarding such unfortunate acts as we have touched upon as "revolutionary discipline". On the contrary, the charter calls on people in office or any other position of leadership to **"avoid arrogance, impetuosity and lordly ways in all their dealings**

with the people". It would appear therefore that the acts of those officers and men who have arrogated to themselves the right to hand out rough and ready justice to civilians do run directly counter to the letter and spirit of the charter. This means that the work of social reconstruction and national unity undertaken by the government is being rendered more difficult by certain soldiers who are creating in the minds of the public a not too flattering picture of the army and its manners.

Lack of Information

The authorities appear to be aware of the situation, even though it is doubtful whether they know the gruesome details of the excesses to which some soldiers have carried their warped interpretation of revolutionary discipline. Commenting specifically on the disgraceful incident at the Adabraka Police Station, the Public Relations Directorate of the Armed Forces assured the public that the matter was being investigated, so that appropriate action could be taken. The statement revealed that since the army take-over last year, fifteen servicemen have been dismissed for similar acts. It is regrettable that such measures had not been brought to the attention of the public earlier. Had it not been for the drama at the Adabraka Police Station, it is doubtful if we would have ever known that punitive measures have been taken against some soldiers. And if a whole Police Station could be treated so shabbily, one shudders to think what could happen to individual citizens. We are certain that if the public had been encouraged to report such wanton and pointless acts of terrorism, or if military authorities had closely followed the activities of some of their soldiers, they would have dismissed at least ten times the number of those so far reported to have been dismissed.

We hope that the publicity given to the Adabraka Police Station incident will help to restrain the misguided enthusiasm of certain soldiers. We, however, believe that the public needs to be encouraged to report any such occurrences to the appropriate authorities for corrective action to be taken. It will be further necessary that any corrective action taken should be made public because in civilian-military relations, it will serve no useful purpose if the civilian public is not concretely assured that they are being protected against the sadistic instincts of another section of the population. A lot of secrecy normally surrounds military matters; this may be defensible when soldiers are among themselves, but once they have become involved in civilian life, it is necessary that the shroud of secrecy be rent apart, so that civilians are not left to the tender mercies of individual soldiers. What is at stake here is the image of the Army that has become tarnished as a result of arbitrary use of force by personnel both high and low.

We have been told by a highly placed attorney that a military government is not incompatible with the basic principles of the rule of law and the liberty of the individual. The Chairman of the N.R.C. himself told a foreign correspondent last year in the course of an interview that there is more democracy in this country than ever before. We have no doubt whatsoever that the Chairman and his colleagues are very sincere and have the best of intentions. To us, democracy should mean the freedom to go about one's legitimate business without any molestation or undue interference from any quarter. It should mean the freedom to decide what type of clothing one would like to wear without anybody else, soldier or civilian, dictating the length. It should also mean that those who are suspected of infringing any code of conduct can only be disciplined by the regular methods laid down. It should mean further that those suspected of having embezzled public funds or defrauding the public in other ways may be brought to book only through the regular processes of the law instead of being accorded unsolicited protection "in their own interest" or being brutally assaulted by military personnel.

Law Enforcement

On the other hand, if those in authority feel that the existing laws are not adequate or effective, and believe that an element of instant justice needs to be added, the ordinary rules of fair play require that this be spelt out clearly so that the public is apprised of the new order. If it is found that we would prosper more rapidly in a Hobbesian world where only the physically stronger will survive, then this should be set out in codes, so that those ladies, for example, the brevity or length of whose dresses exceed that stipulated by the law may know the risk to which their particular tastes will be exposing them. It is possible to argue that one is living under the rule of law — even if the laws are foolish and only fit for the jungle — once the existing laws are adhered to in every respect. Of course, in this case, it is also necessary to spell out clearly who is responsible for making the laws, ensuring that they are respected, and punishing the offenders. Now we know who makes the laws, but we are not so clear on who are responsible for their enforcement. Nobody denies the government the right to amend the existing laws as it sees fit,

but until that has been done, we demand **as of right** that the existing one should be respected in every particular.

We do not see any sense in drilling butchers for selling their meat above those prices stipulated by the government when the government has not kept its part of the bargain by supplying the butchers with the meat, and especially when GIHOC openly sells its meat above government prices. What is good for the butchers should be equally good for GIHOC. In this case, the drilling is just a cover-up for the inefficiency of the meat supply system for which the butchers are simply made scape-goats.

We have taken the trouble to draw the attention of the government to the prevailing unhealthy situation in which some soldiers, encouraged no doubt by what some of their over-zealous superiors have done in the area of civilian drilling, have made themselves the dispensers of instant justice, not to embarrass the government, but in a bid to let the government know the uneasy feeling many citizens have but which they dare not voice out. We believe that the acts of brutality have gone on for this long because the appropriate authorities have not been made clearly aware of these wayward acts. We are also charitable enough to want to believe that even those soldiers who are guilty of terrorising civilians have been motivated by good intentions. This might very well be the case, but it has to be admitted that the end does not always justify the means; this is a principle that cannot be altered in the name of any sane revolutionary exigencies. We do not for a moment doubt the good intentions of the officers and men, high and low, who have in the past dispensed this instant, rough and ready justice. But it must also be remembered that the road to hell is for the most part paved with good intentions.

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The Economy

"MANAGING GHANA'S ECONOMY" — THE ILLUSIONS OF SUCCESS

A Correspondent

The National Redemption Council has gone through the gruelling — and hopefully a sobering as well as self-satisfying—experience of reviving and managing an economy which was left in shambles by the inconsistencies of the last civilian government. Up to a point, Ghana has enjoyed a better government and more successful economic management under Acheampong and his "amateurs" than under Busia and his "professionals".

But I suppose the definition of economic success in a developing country like Ghana raises some thorny issues in semantics. The emphasis is on the word "developing" by which economists connote a dynamic economic environment in which an annually increasing rate of investment generates a rate of growth of national product sufficiently greater than the rate of growth of population to assure each individual a standard of living "higher" than that of the previous period. Two issues are revelant: (i) How "high" in the opinion of the Government or the individual should the "standard of living" of the individual be relative to his demographic environment in any period? (ii) What is "the standard of living" any way? Let us stop at this point and search for more down-to-earth concepts and landmarks of progress and not waste too much time and effort on definitional niceties and ultimately achieve nothing material and concrete. This is good advice also for the new crop of neo-socialist intellectuals and advisers who have assumed the self-imposed role of ideologically buttressing the new government; they are just blowing their tops off in vacuo and wasting everybody's time and money. In a period of war, I suppose it is as much of a crime to hoard good ideas as it is to throw egos, words and public property carelessly about, especially as members of the last government are waiting to be judged for just these crimes. The hackneyed "isms" are as much of a hazard to the government as are the effects of devaluation and tendency towards rising prices.

"Isms" are perhaps more in the nature of politics, sociology and law in which we are not versed. The causes, effects and guidelines for the avoidance of devaluation and inflation fall within those critical areas of human existence where we

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are all forced to talk, if only for survival. So let us talk about devaluation and inflation. First on devaluation. This phenomenon exhibits as a reflection of the pressure on the balance of payments resulting from importing more goods and services than the country can afford to pay for either with its exports or reserves. Economists are wont to throw the word "equilibrium" into every situation where balance, on some specified desired criteria, is achieved. Busia's external economic policy was a failure because in 1970, Ghanaians imported about ₵50 million worth of goods and services more than we exported or could pay for with our reserves. We had to borrow from abroad to make up the difference in the balance of payments: the balance of payments was redressed but the root cause of the disequilibrium remained unassailed. In 1971, the performance was even poorer. Again, we had to acquire all sorts and manner of external loans totalling about ₵160 million to balance our external payments. Then, faced with a bleak and hopeless trade and payments prospect for 1972, Busia resorted to devaluation against the best advice of his finance minister, according to rumour. This was the justification for Acheampong and his comrades to sack Busia and his colleagues by force.

Provisional figures indicated that during the approximately eleven and a half months of Acheampong's government in 1972, the return to the policy of controls on Ghana's foreign trade and payments, together with an improvement in the world cocoa market, earned Ghana a handsome suplus of ₵173.9 million on the trade account. We have been able to bite very deep into accumulated short-term trade arrears, banking loans and other current obligations and, for the first time in ages, been in a position to add well over ₵100 million to Ghana's foreign exchange reserves. The insolvency image and importunate trading habits of Ghana have been erased in only one year of sensible economic administration. All this is happening at a time when the almighty dollar is under severe pressure and sterling is gradually sinking under the weight of Britain's obscure industrial relations.

If you need further proof of the revival of the strength of the Cedi just glance through the following sketch of Ghana's recent currency history:

Date	Government/Leader (Min. of Fin.)	Cedi-Sterling Parity (Cedis Per £)
Pre-July 1967	N.L.C./Ankrah (Afrifa)	2.45
July 1967	N.L.C./Ankrah (Afrifa)	2.86
December 1971	P.P./Busia (Mensah)	4.46
February 1972	N.R.C./Acheampong (Acheampong)	3.34
February 1973	N.R.C./Acheampong (Acheampong)	2.85

The cedi is, at least one pesewa stronger now than the cedi during Afrifa's reign. Acheampong's administration has in one year undone all the harm done to our dear new cedi in six years of unenlightened dictatorships. Dictators need not necessarily be in uniform. Still, what is all this success story about if our well-known moderately-priced ball of kenkey is now such an emaciated image of its former rotund, robust and rebounding self and if a pound of beef sells now at ₵1.20, available only on the red market.

Economists, with their characteristic lack of precision, describe as a tendency towards rising prices what we all know as "inflation". Six months ago, a pound of beef sold at ₵0.60. A price increase of 100 per cent in six months is inflation and an excessive one. Let us leave beef and tomatoes alone and look at the retail price index (a sort of a catch-all or hold-all for all price increases affecting the average consumer).

The retail price index went up from 273.5 in June 1972 (1963=100) to 313.0 in June 1972, which may be loosely interpreted as an increase of over 14 per cent in the cost of living in twelve months. Economists are fond of invoking the laws of "demand and supply" to explain any situation of imbalance or disequilibrium. Inflation is a situation of disequilibrium in the sense that we have "too many cedis chasing too few foreign goods and tomatoes (and beef)" implying

that the demand for and supply of goods and services are not in tune, and the disharmony is reflected in rising prices. Demand is determined by strength of the desire of individuals for consumption goods and the cash at their disposal. Liquidity or the **quid pro quo** is in turn a function of disposable or spendable income (i.e. the amount of cash left to individuals after income taxation) plus the amount of credit the Governor of the Bank of Ghana instructs the commercial banks to extend to their clients for consumption purposes.

Now, let us avoid complications. The money supply is supposed to give us some indication of the pressure of demand. The Bank of Ghana Act laid down a "rule of prudence" that money supply should not be allowed to increase by more than 15 per cent in any year. That was sixteen years ago and things have changed, so perhaps the law should have changed, but it stands as it was and over the twelve months ending in November, 1972 money supply was estimated to have gone up by 40 per cent — what we may call a "loose" monetary policy. But this was probably the best the monetary authorities could do because they have been under pressure from the government to finance quite big budget deficits. For example, the banks financed ₵120 million of deficits in the last fiscal year and are billed to finance a deficit of ₵80 million in the current fiscal year. So, the Government's domestic house-keeping has been far from satisfactory.

Real Test of Success

The supply of tomatoes, beef etc. is determined by several factors and economists have, since Adam Smith, not agreed on whether tomatoes and beef can be more efficiently produced by the capitalist or socialist or peasant or co-operative organization of the means of production. We chose Operation Feed Youself, to which we all whole-heartedly gave moral and physical support. We have cursed the smugglers and damned the hoarders, but the plain truth of the matter is that OFY has not produced the tomatoes and the beef in the quantities and qualities required by Ghana's eight million consumers. The most sensible thing for all of us to do is to stop the profligate use of words on the "success" of Operation Feed Yourself and find a better alternative means of increasing food production. We have abandoned Busia's liberal trade policy and that has improved the external trade balance, so we must abandon the now doctrinaire OFY and find a more workable, but still self-reliant solution to the production problem not only in agriculture but in industry as well.

Economists have gone round the very difficult problem of maintaining both internal equilibrium and external balance with the theory of "Joint Balance" to which original contributions have been made by Meade, Mundell, Swan, Steuer (of the University of Ghana) among many others. The theory, as it stands at present, has severe limitations in its application to less developed countries. Nevertheless, it tells us that a balance of payments equilibrium is not sufficient to ensure the promotion of growth or welfare or "internal balance" or the abundant supply of kenkey, bread, beef, sticks and better telephone services. Anybody can put the brakes on external trade and payments to achieve a favourable balance. But the real test of economic success is whether within this import entrenchment policy a government can generate economic growth.

Planning for the Future

The N.R.C. has not been in office long enough to make any real impact on the economic structure inherited from the past; it has however demonstrated its capacity to carry the coherence of thought or conception into action. But it is making a very big economic mistake (or rather the special "economic" advisers are). And that is, the index of success is far too myopic, too narrow and too static, i.e. you cannot call the "balance of trade" surplus success if it brings with it no bread, no beef and no tomatoes in the market. Operation Feed Yourself has "caught on like bush fire" but can the Food Production Corporation do some cost/benefit analysis and tell the nation how much was spent on their activities during the first phase and the value of food and services they produced last year?

Economic success lies in more goods on the market at reasonable prices and not in the trade surplus **per se.** So let us all stop making a fetish of the balance of payments, let us remove the illusions of the Operation Feed Yourself and the "trade surplus" and do the next most sensible thing i.e. **Plan** for the future. We can remove the bottlenecks to progress by careful planning and consistent plan implementation. This, according to Arthur Lewis, is a long-term business, but we can make a start now.

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Agriculture

SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR LIVESTOCK PRODUCTION UNDER OFY II

By

E. N. W. Oppong

IN THE bid to find solutions to the problem of feeding the nation, one area has proved particularly difficult. In fact Operation Feed Yourself (O.F.Y.) phase I was silent about it. The Upper Regional Commissioner Lt. Col. Minyila and the Central Regional Commissioner Commander Amedume as well as the Greater Accra Regional Commissioner Col. Acquaye-Nortey have all said that greater emphasis will be placed on livestock production during O.F.Y. II. Ghana has always depended on its neighbours both near and far to solve its meat deficiency problems. Thus in 1971 for instance, Ghana imported 59%, 20% and 28% respectively of cattle, sheep and goats that were officially slaughtered for food in the country. The problems that face the recently created Cattle Marketing Board is ample testimony of the seriousness of the problem of supplying the country's meat needs.

Cattle, sheep and goats are not, of course, the only meat animals available to us in this country. Poultry, pigs, and wild game are all available in varying quantities at various times of the year. In fact, the country appears to be self-sufficient in its pig production, considering that we no longer import pigs for slaughter and do actually export a small number of pigs. The country's production of all types of edible livestock including poultry has been increasing steadily over the past many years; so, of course, has the human population and for this reason, demand continues to grow. But the increase in the human population alone is not responsible for our perpetual meat deficiency. A number of problems contribute to this, and these will be looked at briefly and suggestions for a pragmatic approach to the problem made.

Poultry production got off to a good start some four to five years ago, when the Pomadze hatcheries got into full production and the country seemed to be getting near self-sufficiency in this area. In recent months, however, with increasing difficulty in obtaining beef and mutton, there has been greater demand for poultry meat and demand has outstriped production. The three hatcheries in the country are now unable to meet the increasing demand by poultry keepers. In addition to this constraint there is the problem of the rising cost of poultry feed. A meeting was held recently at the instance of the National Redemption Council to look into the problem of poultry feed and advise on the use of local substitutes for the conventional ingredients and the production of cheap poultry feed.

Wheat bran has recently been incorporated into poultry feed in the country, either as partial or whole substitute for maize. Sorghum and millet and rice bran can also be useful substitutes, but these must all be produced in a big way to make them cheap for poultry feed. With the sort of preparations that are being made for O.F.Y. II, the indications are that barring unforseen bad weather conditions enough of the grains should be produced. Items such as oil cake and fish meal should not be difficult to come by if the factories processing edible oil and fish go into full production.

The oil mills already produce copra and groundnut cake; with increasing cotton production in the country, cotton seed cake should be available to add to poultry feed. The use in poultry feed of leaves such as those of **Leucenia leucocephala** which grow wild should replace the importation of **Xanthrophil** and give the yolk of the eggs the orange colour it should have.

Pork Production

Though the high cost and, at times, the non-availability of poultry feed have put constraints on poultry production, the major problem has been the supply of day old chickens. The three hatcheries in the country should be able to supply the local demand. An increase in poultry meat and egg production will depend partly on more food from O.F.Y. II, more oil cakes and fish meat and the ability of the hatcheries to produce day old chicks as and when required. The hatcheries need to import more parent birds to augment and replace old birds.

One of the areas in which the country is self-sufficient and should be exploited to ease our meat shortage problem is in pork production. The pig is prolific, has a short gestation period and is ready for the market in 5-6 months. The constraints on pork production are two-fold: namely the cost of production and marketing. Like poultry, the basic ingredients in pig food are grains, oil cakes and fishmeal. Fluctuations in the prices of these items are reflected in the cost of pig food which is passed on to the consumer. The other problem is marketing and acceptability of pork. A section of the population do not eat pork for either religious or social reasons. There is yet another section who are prejudiced by the rather poor management of pigs in the villages

and do not find pork acceptable. Such people however may accept processed pig meat.

The present high cost of pig production makes pork, whether processed or not, out of reach of the majority of the population who would otherwise accept it. One obvious solution is increased production of grains (maize, sorghum and millet) fish meal and oil cakes, as suggested for poultry. Cassava can be used to supplement the grains either as whole cassava or as by products of cassava processing. These will have to be boiled and fed and any surplus ensiled. The high cost of cassava on the market at the moment makes this substitution difficult. Large scale cassava growing should be encouraged in O.F.Y. II so that advantage can be taken to use some of it for pig feeding. To increase pork consumption to make it worth the while of producers, a national campaign is called for. This should aim at improving pig management in the villages, through the extension wing at the appropriate division of the Ministry of Agriculture. Pigs should be properly housed, fed and watered to remove the stigma of the unclean animal scavenging in the village and make pork acceptable to those who are put off by the unclean habits of the animal.

Sheep and Goats

There should be another campaign by the Ministries of Agriculture and Information by way of posters, advertisement and radio talks to educate the public to eat pork. This would certainly pay off. Increased cheap pork production would make it easier to sell processed pork such as ham, sausages, bacon, corned pork etc. which at the moment are too expensive and within the reach of only a few people and are therefore looked upon as luxury food items. It is a known fact that people who do not readily accept fresh pork do accept processed pig meat.

Sheep and goats are found nearly in every village of the country and even in the streets of Accra. The indication is that these animals can be raised in a big way all over the country. These animals have a five month gestation period and attain maturity when about ten to twelve months of age. Some give birth to twins and can breed three times in two years. The constraints one finds in their increased production are that they are raised in rather small numbers by people whose interest is primarily food crop production and also by people who cannot afford to have large numbers due to lack of space to house them.

In fact, except where the local authority bylaws make it mandatory for these animals to be penned, these animals have to find sleeping places at night by themselves in most villages. One other major constraint on sheep and goat production in this country is the heavy yearly loss due to diseases, some of which are ill understood.

The feed of sheep and goats does not, as in poultry and pigs, depend strictly on the grains and oil cakes etc., though some of these will be acceptable and may even be necessary at certain times. Sheep and goats can be raised entirely on grass which can be supplemented with the by-products of agricultural based industries such as molasses in addition to those suggested for pigs. To increase sheep and goat production, there will be the need through the extension services of the appropriate organs of the Ministry of Agriculture to exhort people to take purely to the production of these animals in areas removed from people's farms or in pens near agricultural based industries such as rice mills, cassava processing mills and oil cake mills. Sheep could be raised under plantation crops such as oil palm, kola, citrus, avocado and cashew where the trees are four years old or more.

Cattle Raising

The forest zone is as good as the savanna areas for livestock raising, and people in the forest region should be encouraged to raise animals. The traditional practice of collecting plantain and cassava peelings to confined sheep and goats in the villages should be encouraged. Indeed plantain and cassava leaves are also acceptable to sheep and goats. There is the need here too to mount a propaganda campaign to encourage the village dweller with two or three sheep and goats to increase his flock to ten or more, by paying attention to housing, health and provision of feed. Attention need not only be focused on the big operators that will emerge but every effort should be made to contact as many small scale operators as possible.

Currently, all attention seems to be focused on cattle, and shortage of meat is synonymous with shortage of beef. Beef shortage is not a phenomenon in Ghana alone, it is at the moment a world problem, but this does not mean we should do nothing about it here. Some constraints on cattle production in Ghana are briefly summarised here. By its very nature of development it takes two and a half to three years or more for a calf to produce another of its kind for the first time, and the young so born will take a similar period to attain slaughter weight. Other constraints on cattle production in the country are lack of water and fodder during the dry season

of the year, poor management practices such as the use of inferior bulls for breeding and loss by death of young stock, and lack of good breeding animals to improve the national stock.

As in pig, sheep and goat production, cattle raising is carried out by a large number of small and medium size operators with their own programmes or lack of programmes. There are no definite guidelines or programmes laid down by the government. They come in contact with Ministry of Agriculture officials either during the times of livestock vaccination or when stock are dying.

The solution to the problem of increasing beef supply is to increase cattle numbers. This can be tackled on a short-term or long-term basis. The former would mean massive importation of live animals into the country for breeding. This, of course, would depend on foreign exchange and the willingness of other countries to sell breeding stock to us. The long-term solution could be two-fold, namely through the small scale operators and introduction of large scale operators.

Improved Management

There is the need for a concerted intensive effort to educate the small-scale and medium-scale operators to improve their management practices. They should be educated to conserve some fodder at the time of plenty, to use by-products of agricultural based industries as for sheep and goats and to use only those animals that will improve the quality of their stock, to appreciate the need of calling for help early rather than late, and must have available to them all the inputs that they require such as water, pastures, drugs, salt licks etc. They should be made to appreciate the harmful effects of ticks and branding of animals by fire and burning of bush. It is not always easy to get a livestock-man to change his management practices overnight, especially if he does not see his livestock adviser from one month to the next. It is equally not possible to have sufficient livestock advisers or extension workers to visit every livestock owner once a month. This problem could be overcome, however, through the use of radio broadcasting at set times with set instructions as what to do, when to do it, where, and whom to contact for certain named items, advice or information. This broadcasting should be at regional level or even at district level to make sure that the language spoken is understood.

This should not be difficult to organise and one to two million cedis from the money accruing from the withdrawal of subsidies on foreign food could be used to organise farm broadcasts. One channel transistor radios subsidised to be within the reach of most farmers would work. Community listening posts could also be organised. This of course would apply to food crop farmers as well. Instructions should be precise and should be aimed at improving management, and should be those that can be undertaken with the minimum of inputs. Livestock extension officers should be mobile and must visit farmers to see if instructions over the radios are being put into operation, and to help by practical example where necessary.

Irrigation of areas of the Northern and Upper Regions and the Accra-Ada plains for food crop production would make it possible to irrigate pastures during the dry season in addition to obtaining by-products of food crop cultivation for livestock feeding.

Veterinary Research Laboratory

There is the need also to have demonstration farms where every day activities could be seen and appreciated. Such farms could be private or government owned. Encouragement to large scale operators would help build model livestock raising farms which could be visited by neighbouring farmers. Such farms would be in a position to raise improved breeding animals.

It is known that the local banks especially the Agricultural Development Bank and the Bank of Ghana are going into livestock production. This is an encouraging development. Businessmen with capital should also be encouraged to take livestock farming as a business.

There is one area in livestock production in which a lot has been achieved; that is disease control, but a lot more needs to be done.

There is required urgently a Central Veterinary Research Laboratory, not diagnostic laboratory, charged with the responsibility of investigating the various causes of diseases and deaths of livestock. The need for this is more than twenty years overdue, though it has long been recognised by the various governments of this country. Any attempt to boost livestock production will not make much impact if a veterinary laboratory capable of investigating animal diseases is not set up.

To boost livestock production in O.F.Y. II then would depend on the availability of feed from the food growing sector to feed poultry and pigs. There is the need to make every effort to reach the man who produces livestock of any type and to get him to improve his husbandry methods to produce a few more animals than he currently does.

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Observer Notebook

Industrial Unrest in South Africa

To get a proper appreciation of the courage a worker needs to go on strike in South Africa, one must run through the whole gamut of **apartheid** laws. These are so constricting and debilitating that the reader gets the impression, as Lewis Nkosi has said in **Home and Exile,** that once a policeman sees an African in South Africa, he assumes a crime has been committed.

The main reason why **apartheid** has lasted so long is that, thanks to the miserly wages that African miners and other workers are paid in that country, returns on investments are stupendous. This is the main reason why western capitalist countries have invested so heavily in South Africa, and why they have consistently ignored U.N. and other exhortations to isolate the South African government so that the whole civilized world would see them for the moral lepers that they are.

There has been a long history of industrial unrest in South Africa. Apart from the laying down of tools, such as has happened recently, there have been less conventional actions such as bus boycotts. The most infamous reaction by the racist regime to these legitimate expressions of grievances was of course the Sharpeville Incident.

Now that nationalist activity has been intensified in the whole of Southern Africa, it is noteworthy that the workers of South Africa are heroically drawing attention to the inhuman conditions under which they are forced to live and work. It must not be forgotten that South Africa is the bulwark of colonialism in Africa. Equally important is the fact that it would be wrong to leave South Africa out of the field of operations of guerilla and other progressive actions. For, whatever respite Vorster and his gang are given, they utilize by giving support to like-minded brutes in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. It is crucial, for the success of the nationalist struggle, that the armour of **apartheid,** fortified by the shameless greed of western capitalist investors, must be dented from inside.

On the outside, we in independent Africa must redouble our efforts to isolate all racist and colonialist regimes. It is sad to note that aeroplanes still pass through many African capitals on their way to Johannesburg. Indeed, in only a few of these capitals do we find even a token slap in the face of apartheid, in the form of a ruling that holders of South African passports should not insult the soil of independent Africa with their footmarks.

How utterly we betray the cause of African Freedom! The impetus that the O.A.U. Liberation Committee meeting in Accra had must not be allowed to waste away. For freedom in Africa is one and indivisible. So long as South Africa remains enslaved, so long would it be self-delusion to think that any country on this continent is truly free.

Almost Mobbing African Unity Away

THE old familiar saw says two wrongs don't make one right, and of course this is true. If a Ghanaian football crowd should attempt to retaliate against a Nigerian side for last fortnight's mobbing of our compatriots in Lagos, this would be putting two wrongs together and trying to make one right out of them. And it won't work. Even our complaining in the press went a little too far, especially since the responsible Nigerians involved, as well as sections of their press, had rendered unnecessary and anticlimactic much Ghanaian agonizing over the incident. The officials' prompt and positive reaction to the conduct of their less well controlled fellow citizens has not only gone a long way to assuage our distress but also done much to make us hope for a better future in this field.

Nevertheless it must be emphasized how such incidents within the geographical, not to say the psychological, boundaries of the African unity movement would inevitably reduce the chances of its success. Such results would be grim business all right, yet unbelievably farcical too, should it happen. For who would have laid a red pesewa on the chances of a Saturday afternoon football mob frustrating the aims of African unity? Who would entertain such aberrations within the context of the struggle against apartheid, Rhodesian racialism, Portuguese determination to subdue, and hold subject forever, three considerable territories in Africa? What price the sudden violence of a mere partisan crowd of sports spectators as a difficulty in the way of African unity, when ranged against, say, Britain's cool cynicism and callousness in the Rhodesian affair? Or against the open, contemptuous brutality of "big power" bolstering of South African racialism through investment and the arms trade? . . .

Ah, but it **could** happen. A partisan set-to, once, between two South American countries at this very thing of a football game is said to have led to war! Again: Nigeria is a great, important country, and

will soon be a powerful one without a doubt; Ghana, for all her present economic embarrassment, is also, incontrovertibly, a significant member of the revolutionary African family of independent states. Irritations between these two countries, whatever their source or cause, could well prove an impediment to the consolidation of the gains of the unity movement, if allowed to multiply and expand. The same would be true of similar trouble between or among other member states.

Is this one kind of problem, then, to which the O.A.U. might pay some attention, as something belonging unto its peace? We of the **Observer** think so. However, we are not suggesting that the Organization should now begin to provide a pan-African force to police intra-African football matches, or formulate a new charter on the ascriptive rights of visiting O.A.U. member teams! No, nothing as ridiculous as that. Rather, we have in mind something like a cultural or social wing of the Organization whose task would be, quite simply, social and cultural propaganda-for fellow-feeling, and for closer understanding, between and among the **peoples** of the O.A.U., not just its leaders. That is the theme; variations on it can be devised by others to whom the idea may appeal. The ways of doing what would need to be done, and the means, would also of course have to be found.

Meanwhile, win or lose the second game in this elimination series, the Ghana Black Stars will, we are sure, give a good account of themselves on and off the field. We are equally certain that our national crowd on Sunday, though bound to be partisan, naturally, will not want a tooth for a tooth but will treat our Nigerian guests **as our guests.** The "golden Green Eagles" are once more welcome to Ghana!

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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February, 1973

Letters

"The Withdrawn ¢30m. Subsidy"

—Rejoinders (3)

SIR—Mr. Obeng-Manu's letter in the last issue of this paper (**L.O.** VIII/3) sounded like an apologia for the Busia government. I agree that the N.R.C., whether they like it or not, may have to take certain decisions which may appear like some of Busia's economic policies, but such a similarity should not provide grounds for starting a long debate on the justification of the 13th January coup d'etat.

Any coup d'etat **per se**, or the use of force against unarmed civilians whom the army is supposed to support, can never be justified under any circumstances. So that on 24th February 1966 and 13th January 1972 I questioned the justification for the overthrow of Kwame Nkrumah and Busia respectively. When the monopolists or custodians of force decide to step in and do politics we can only judge them by what they do with the power they have got.

Since coming into office, the N.R.C. have taken many steps which justify their action on 13th January 1972. I agree that the N.R.C. has not gone far enough in the abolition of the subsidy, but I disagree with anybody who uses this isolated case to question the justification of the 13th January Revolution. What does Mr. Obeng-Manu have to say about the repudiation of some of our foreign debts, about the state participation in certain mining and timber firms? Are these measures just examples of economic mismanagement or acts of redemption?

It is hoped all Ghanaians will bury their differences for a better Ghana. This is the time when given a choice between Acheampong and Busia everybody should choose Ghana. This is not the time to debate over why Acheampong overthrew Busia. Must we cry over spilt milk and try to revive ancient horses? Let us accept the situation and see what we can do now to build a better Ghana. Regimes may come and go, but Ghana will remain.

Akuafo Hall **Lwanga Blay-Amihere**
Legon

SIR—"If a government has embarked on a policy it believes to be right, it should stick to it despite hostile, short-term reactions. Every government worthy of the name must at some time introduce measures involving deep political unpopularity and hostility. It may take years for the results of that policy to become manifest, and to retreat at the first whiff of psephological grapeshot is not only cowardly, but may inflict long-term hardship on the nation". (The Rt. Hon. Harold Wilson).

Recent events locally have confirmed the quotation above, and it is expedient that our present rulers assimilate this since they are steeped in politics, for government is politics, no matter who governs at any given time. It is now apparent that some economic measures taken by the previous government, unmindful of their popularity, were measures any government worthy of the name would have taken. If the ¢30 million thrown to the winds by the present government's own admission had been used in building low-cost houses at ¢8,000 each, 3,750 houses would have been built and 22,500 families housed, working on the basis of an average family made up of a father, mother and four children.

It is said that he who never made a mistake never did anything correct. Though the use of the ¢30 million as subsidy for foreign foods is a very big economic mistake which has cost the nation, we must accept it as a lesson in government and look well before we leap next time. For aren't we all fallible mortals?

My advice to the government is that if they are after popularity they will find it hard to govern, especially in a country where the art of government is new and the majority of the governed are unlettered. Now that it has been established that the previous government after all did **one** thing correct, we must give them the credit for their foresight. Animosity for personalities must not blind us from doing this publicly.

P.O. Box 5686 **B. Okoe Laryea**
Accra-North

SIR—It appears to me that some Ghanaians interpret the democratic right of free discussion to mean finding fault with whatever the government of the day does, so as to destroy it through adverse criticism.

A letter by Mr. Obeng-Manu in **L.O.** VIII/3 is a good example of what I mean by destructive criticism. In this letter, Mr. Obeng-Manu vehemently criticised the withdrawal of the government subsidy on certain food items and on matches, and tried to draw a comparison between the present regime and the Busia regime. To him, there was no justification in overthrowing the Busia regime since he sees no difference between the policies of the two regimes. Mr. Manu, I think, is trying to throw dust into the eyes of the "silent majority".

To say that prices at this time are higher than those at the post-devaluation era is false; and no wonder Mr. Obeng-Manu could not substantiate his statement with figures. The prices of the essential food items after the withdrawal of the subsidy are nowhere near those after the devaluation. For example, a packet of sugar at present sells at 55p, whilst it was selling at 80p after the devaluation; and milk was 27p after the devaluation.

To me and the "silent majority" of Ghanaians, what the N.R.C. has achieved in just a year cannot in anyway be compared with the gross economic mismanagement of the N.L.C. and Busia regimes. At the time of the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime, Ghanaians were told that we were in debt to the tune of 400 million cedis; but at the time the N.L.C. was handing over power to the Busia regime of intellectuals, we were told Ghana was owing over 800m. A year after Busia assumed power, we were told once again that the debt had skyrocketed to one thousand million cedis.

The N.R.C. came to power with a debt of over one billion cedis hanging around its neck. In order to have breathing space, it had to repudiate those of the debts tainted with corruption. Following the advice of the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.), Busia had devalued the cedi by 44%. Prices of goods were doubled because of this massive and uncalled for devaluation. In order to relieve the people of this imposed hardship, due to the fault of the so-called intellectual regime, the cedi was revalued by 40% and essential commodities



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were subsidised. Because of the sharp drop in the prices of these commodities, traders began to hoard so as to create artificial shortages and sell the goods at exorbitant prices. The aim of the subsidy was being defeated. It therefore became necessary to increase prices so as to thwart the activities of hoarders and smugglers, who were taking advantage of the disparity in the prices of goods in Ghana and the neighbouring countries. This is the background to the withdrawal of the subsidies.

Should we choose a regime which for almost three years in power always had a trade deficit, or that which in just a year was able to improve the economy and accumulate a trade surplus of more than 170 million cedis? Should we choose a regime that always had to borrow to finance its budget, or that which relies on capital accumulated through careful planning? Should we choose a regime that helped foreign capitalist monopolists to exploit us, or a regime that has taken steps to place "the commanding heights of the economy" in the hands of the people? The achievements of the N.R.C. are too numerous to list here, and I think they will not be disturbed by such destructive criticisms; the majority of the people understand them and are fully behind them.

I believe that a regime must be praised when necessary and must be criticised when the need arises. We must not make it our objective to find fault with a regime all the time.

Unity Hall **Kwame Arye**
U.S.T., Kumasi

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Arye argues forcefully and convincingly, but we would like to comment on the accuracy of some of his figures. He quotes the price of milk and sugar to be 27p per tin and 80p per packet after the Busia devaluation .We do not know the source of his information but the post-devaluation prices of these items as quoted in the **Ghanaian Times** of Thursday, 6th January, 1972, were 17p per tin and 40p per packet. Post-devaluation prices of other goods are as follows:

Corned Beef	65p	(Current price 80p)
Sardines	16p	(Current price 15p)
Mackerel	15p	(Current price 13p)

Mr. Arye's figure of one billion cedis as being the extent of our foreign indebtedness after a year of Busia's administration is equally controversial.

O.F.Y. and Bush Fires

SIR—Recent news reports, especially from the Northern and Upper Regions, and other parts of the country, have indicated that bush fires have destroyed several hundreds of acres of rice fields and many other crop farms. It is disheartening to hear these reports. Apart from the loss of property to these farmers who have toiled throughout the year in such fire-devastated farms, the general yields and success of the O.F.Y. campaign is being seriously undermined by such senseless acts of bush-burning.

To encourage the O.F.Y. campaign further, your paper would be doing the nation good service in leading a campaign ("Operation Anti-Bush Fires") against the destructive bush fires that have been a common feature in most crop growing areas since the O.F.Y. campaign was launched. Such a campaign should involve the Ministry of Agriculture, the Local Councils and chiefs in various localities. People should be educated against indiscriminate and careless burning of grasses. Tney should be made to understand that it is not only bad for agriculture and animal husbandry and the general public, but it also eliminates and destroys vegetation. Such a campaign could even be backed by re-enforcing strictly the by-laws on indiscriminate fire burning which have, of late, been ignored.

P.O. Box 31 **A. Iddrisu**
Babile/Lawra
Upper Region

Drill-happy Soldiers in Cape Coast

SIR—A terrorist atmosphere has seized this once quiet town for some months now. Once again it all seems like 1946 when Gold Coast soldiers returned from the war to beat up their civilian brothers, very often for no provocation whatsoever. I remember the time in 1946 when a group of three drunken soldiers invaded our school and started molesting a teacher. I remember the day when a soldier openly grabbed a tin of corned beef from a trader's stall, opened it and started eating it. I remember the way in which soldiers were constantly fighting policemen, trying hard to prove who was boss, who was stronger. That was twenty-seven years ago, but it looks as if we are back in that era here in Cape Coast.

Just a few weeks ago, one Sergeant Koomson of the Central Regional Organization had the nerve to send a landrover with soldiers to arrest a sales girl who, he alleged, had been insolent to him (**L.O.** VII/24). Since then many more incidents have been happening in this town. I was at the Town Hall the other day when I saw girls being rounded up by soldiers. A young man whose female partner had been arrested was trying to explain to the soldiers that the girl was not a harlot or anything of the sort. For trying to parley with them, the leader of the soldiers pounced on the young man and severely lashed him with a cane. After six manful lashes he tossed the young man to three accompanying soldiers. One of them was obviously more human and had more sense than the leader. He did not use his cane. The other two did.

I was at the football park when a midget of a soldier gleefully pushed around a Cape Coast referee who had come to the park without his I.D. card. I thought a decent explanation that he could not come in free without his I.D. card would have been sufficient. And just about a month ago, a soldier walked over to a girl and asked her whether she thought the mini-skirt she was wearing was decent enough. Without a reply from the girl, the soldier slapped her. Now it appears some soldiers in Cape Coast have run amok. They can be seen with canes and branches of saplings in the streets. They are a fearsome group of people, a law to themselves, our terrorists: 1946 is back.

My mother came to see me about three months ago saying a co-tenant in her house had unjutifiably quarrelled with her and that I should go and report the man to the Regional Commissioner to have him drilled! Poor woman, she now believes that drilling is the normal way of redressing grievances in these parts!

On the basis of this vandalism in Cape Coast a number of questions need be raised:

(i) What civilized government rules by slaps, drills and lashes of the cane?

(ii) What is a military government like, if a sergeant can send a landrover to town to arrest a civilian for no crime whatsoever?
(iii) What protection do civilians have against army brutality?

For purposes of good government one would like to suggest that the N.R.C. should try to check its soldiers and restrain the exuberance of its commissioners. Secondly, rules and policies of conduct for the Ghanaian population should be standardized over the country. If women should not wear mini-skirts, ban the mini as Tanzania has done. If young girls should not go to dances, a law defining what age a girl is considered too young to go to dances should be passed. If civil servants should not drink beer at lunch time for example, a law to that effect should be passed.

Drilling and beating civilians is a very primitive way of solving deep-seated national problems like absenteeism, lateness, laziness and sexual immorality. What is needed are studies to find out why people come late to work, why girls take to the streets, what the industrial morale of the Ghanaian worker is like. If the government and especially its drill-happy commissioners would care to do the basic homework involved in some of these issues, it would come out with more long lasting solutions, not the short-cuts of terrorism and the brutality of military drills.

Recently a Cape Coast driver asked my opinion of the present government. I told him the government was doing a spendid job. "But the beating", he complained. Yes indeed, the brutal beating!

Aboom Wells Road **A Frightened Citizen**
Cape Coast

Who Should Wear What (in Cape Coast)—A Footnote

SIR—I write in support of your Cape Coast correspondent who was complaining about the activities of some soldiers who have arrogated to themselves the right to decide what length of dress is compatible with these "revolutionary" times (**L.O.** VIII/3). In support of his complaint, I have the following incidents to report.

Around the 4th of this month, a soldier entered Infant Class Two of the Cape Coast Cherubim and Seraphim School and mercilesly caned the girls in the class for wearing uniforms he thought were short. Some of these children sustained injuries, as a result of which the matter was reported to the police; the police shamefully refused to investigate on the confession that they could not afford to antagonise the soldiers.

On the 3rd of this month, two graduate teachers from Mfantsiman Girls School shopping around Cape Coast were accosted by soldiers; their mission? They wanted to measure the lengths of their dresses to make sure they were not short. In the verbal conflict that ensued, the soldiers must have been quick to realise the education gap between the ladies and themselves; whereupon they tactfully ended things for the ladies to regain their civil freedom.

One could go on and on narrating atrocities being committed by soldiers in this peaceful town of Cape Coast. Anyone who doubts it must come down to see things for himself or learn from the town folk. These details are offered for the information and necessary action, even if retroactive, of the Public Relations Directorate or any relevant section of the Army. Given the general enthusiasm of these soldiers, Sir, I think you can appreciate why I prefer to remain anonymous in print.

Cape Coast **A Concerned Reader**

Was it a Reward or a Punishment?

SIR—I read something in the **Daily Graphic** of 14th February which has left me quite perplexed since then. I do not know whether to laugh or cry, or to do both alternately. A 73-year old man was being rewarded for having driven for 44 years without getting involved in an accident. His prize? A certificate and, of all things, a tea set. What a monumental counter-revolutionary joke!

Now, what has the old man done to merit this punishment of being offered a tea set in these **hard times?** This old Brong Ahafo driver is being henceforth saddled with the problem of having to look for foreign, essential, basic commodities like tea, sugar and milk, if his prize is to be of any use to him. And to think that the presentation was made on behalf of the Regional Commissioner by the deputy Regional Administrative Officer, who know all about self-reliance! How could they use a poor old man so?

My advice to Opanin Akwasi Donkor, the unfortunate recipient of this mini Trojan Horse is: Keep the damned thing as a piece of ornament, and in true Christian fashion, forgive those who have played this huge joke on you, even if these people know what they do.

A69 Prabiw Street **Kwesi Enu**
Saltpond

Let Us Be Realistic

SIR—The way some of the neo-revolutionaries interpret or rather misinterpret the "Self-reliance" policy is very deceptive. Why should we stigmatize certain goods as "non-essential" or even "foreign" just because we are now poor and cannot get them? This could only be meaningful in terms of priorities and available resources.

The aim of economic development after all is to make the people better off—by increasing their demand for what they consider essential to their well-being, among other things.

In our present circumstances we need not get rice, milk and corned beef, not because they are "non-essential", but because we are broke. It is very reasonable within the given circumstances to use the very little money that we have to buy more cutlasses and cattle (thus forgoing rice, milk and corned beef, for the time being) and work very hard so that we can in the very near future get more of those essential things. Herein and only herein lies the justification for calling upon the people to work harder! Or perhaps we go back to where our fathers started.
started.

Oguaa Hall **Yaw Agyarko-Appea**
University of Cape Coast

Miscellaneous

INSIDE THE WESTERN REGION

By

J. O. M. Pobee

SUNDAY afternoon is always a good day to travel, for the simple reason that many people are resting and getting over the pleasant or pleasurable fight with their mounds of fufu or sleeping off the many pints of beer downed earlier on. The traffic is light on the roads. Few vehicles going out of Accra and fewer still coming into the hustle and bustle of the metropolis of Accra. So it was that we (meaning two sons aged 11 years and 9 years, and a nephew aged 12 years, and I) set out from Accra on 20th August on the first stage of our holidays. We spent the first night in Cape Coast.

On Monday the 21st of August we were on our way to the Western Region of Ghana, having left Cape Coast at 8.30 hours. At Takoradi we stopped to look at the sights and to have a cold drink at the Harbour View Hotel. At 10.45 hours we started off for the Busua Pleasure Beach in the Ahanta district of the Western Region. We could not have chosen a more auspicious day to reach that beach, as it happened to be the final day of a festival. We had arrived at the tail end of the festival of Kuntum, or Kundum as the Ahantas themselves pronounce it.

The Omanhene of Busua, apparently the premier chief in Ahanta District, sat in state and received homage from the chiefs and elders in the afternoon. There was an 'Afternoon Jump' by the Pick-Ups band which went on till 22.30 hours! We just could not get away from soul music and the Skid dance. No, the lads and lasses were not from the Apollo Theatre in Accra but Ahantas. Some, of course, have seen and gone places but a good many too have virtually stayed in the Ahanta district all these years. I do not know whether this is progress or not but obviously and healthily their ambitions are those of the town dwellers and their hopes the same as people of the big towns. Surely they must share in the general frustration that now abounds in the youth. Are we nurturing a nation of pill-swallowers and neurotics? I reflected.

The Busua Pleasure Beach is I suppose one of the nicest stretches of beach in Ghana that unfortunately is poorly patronised by Ghanaians, I gathered. The road to Busua is not bad, and lies seven miles from Agona Junction. The three miles are untarred but reasonably good. The management provides electricity by a small generating plant. Unfortunately the management is unable to serve the town of Busua itself with electricity, so that it is clothed in darkness at night whilst the Pleasure Beach side winks lights, even if they are only dim ones. The management also provides good drinking water obtained from Takoradi.

All this basic expenditure is naturally reflected in the price to the consumer and this is not cheap either. On the 23rd August one of the national dailies carried a short piece entitled: "Busua named as potential tourist centre". Like so many tourist ventures it seems to me the Ghanaian is not considered in their calculations. If electricity and pipe-borne water can be delivered to Busua (the district deserves these amenities anyway) then the pleasure beach can share in these and the tariffs will be much lower than they are at the moment. Hard working and underpaid Ghanaians can also then enjoy two weeks away from their work and their homes to recharge their batteries, as it were, for another gruelling twelve months. Busua is not the only place that needs to be developed for such holiday resorts. Certainly Elmina/Cape Coast, Winneba, Prampram, Lake Bosumtwi and the Damongo Game Reserve, amongst others, need urgent and priority attention. The dollars and deutschmarks, but perhaps not the yens, will yet roll in, in their numbers, when that is done; moreover, Ghanaians too can enjoy the little that is left of pleasure in high pressurised Ghana-today.

Talking about newspaper reports about festivals and such things, it does not cease to amaze me the number of newspaper men and photographers that give coverage to such events only to take a third of a column for a whole day's affair in the newspapers. One can only hope the newspaper archives are bulging with material for some budding sociologist to fall upon to produce a magnificent social commentary for his thesis. We cannot have too many doctors, you know, even though they may not all be the healing type!

The next stop on our trip through the Western region was Axim, a distance of 45 miles from Sekondi. The new Axim road is one of the best in the country, save for one dangerous curve.

Axim is a small hilly town with some of the fine qualities of small towns. Everybody seems to know everybody, as shown by the interminable salutations and courtesies. It lacks electricity and it is less than three years ago that it was blessed with pipe borne water. There is a generator which supplies the electricity needs of the hospital and the senior government officials. There is another small generating plant run by the Town Development Committee which also supplies a few others.

Fort San Antonio, an imposing white fortress, guards the sea approaches of Axim, overlooking the gulf of Guinea in which stands the lighthouse on a small island. At low tide one could walk from the Fort to the Lighthouse, a distance of about a mile. I enjoyed my trip round the Fort with the caretaker. I trust the history he gave us was authentic. I am still trying to check the veracity of the fact of the mile long tunnel between the Fort and the Lighthouse. It seems to me the Department of Monuments and Museums should employ somehow a more adequate guide. I do not fear for myself, but I am concerned about the children who accompanied me. I hope their history teachers would have no cause to pillory them for answers they give based on that lecture.

Night life is practically non-existent. In this connection Abura Dunkwa with its one night club is one up on Axim. It was disappointing not to find a tennis court. What has happened to the good old school teachers who were the soul and life of places like Axim? They were the tennis players and the ballroom dancers of decades not so long gone by.

Axim is the capital of the Evalues and the Nzimas. And how that small town of 5,619 people (1960 census) can boast of two paramount chiefs puzzles me. These are the paramount chiefs of Upper and Lower Axim: I am of course leaving out of account the paramount chief of Nsein about one mile away.

You cannot stay in Axim for even a day without realising its historic and commercial past. The Lighthouse on its island is one reminder of the Kankanhen (clippers) that put into Axim in those days. The great buildings evidential of the great commercial past include "Hwe mma mmpro" (Be careful not to stumble whilst looking at its magnificence) now in a state of disrepair. The coconut trees remind you of the copra industry of the twenties. The beach at Awunakrom studded with good timber, throws into focus the great part that industry played in the economy of the Gold Coast. Those were the days of the Timber King, Paa Grant; those were the days when timber came down in rafts along the Ankobra to the estuary, into the Gulf of Guinea. Are those days gone forever, never to be recalled?

The next town in the Western Region we visited was Tarkwa, the gold mining centre. One of the impressive things that hits the eye whilst on the southern approaches to Tarkwa is the difference between the housing for the former European Mines employees and that of the Africans. The bungalows of the European bosses are spaciously studded along the ridge, presenting a beautiful picture in contrast to the barracks of the African employees, with a single room or two for whole families. I can see with my mind's eye their bosses lording it over all they could survey with their eyes. Our gold was taken away together with our souls and our dignity.

The rains continue to come down as expected in the Tarkwa area. The other sure expectation is the grinding to a halt of the once prosperous town of Tarkwa. The Tarkwa Club, a shadow of its former self, is crumbling And the ¢60,000 or so Nurses School is not being used, as it has not been, since 1965. The Ministry of Health has not heard of the "Economic War" nor of the idea that all available resources must be utilized to the maximum. Why cannot the hospital extend its services into the building instead of letting it lie idle? At the very least the cramped conditions of Tarkwa Hospital as at present will be relieved.

It was unfortunate that we could not visit Esiama with its rice factory, Nkroful with the tomb of Kwame Nkrumah and Half Assini the border town. This was because the engine of the ferry had conked out and even though we could have crossed in a canoe, the road beyond Axim was such that I could not take my car. In these days of owning one car from the start of employment to retirement and beyond, he would be a fool who would listen to the advice of other kind and suffering workers. It is a crying shame that the pontoon should go out of service for one month before getting it repaired because of lack of spare parts. The ferry is on a most important trunk road, if it can be called such, and in a revolutionary era heads should roll, literally speaking, if there are such breakdowns. Did any head roll? No. Now I can only hope this deficiency in my itinerary will be made good in the not too distant future.

The Wiawso area is another part of the Western Region that I could not visit. That was also for the same reason of the poor state of the roads and partly that I had only a short time at my disposal.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

For The Record

Saturday, February 10

Chiefs Demand Shares in Mining

THE National House of Chiefs is to present a memorandum to the government asking that the various traditional councils should be allowed to acquire shares in both Ghanaian and foreign timber and mining companies operating in the country.

Such a measure, it is felt, will make the councils economically sound and will enable them to carry out more projects without government assistance.

Speaking on the subject, Nana Sir Tsibu Darko, Omanhene of Assin-Attandansu Traditional Area and chairman of the Land and Skin Committee of the House said, "Traditional Councils which are the land owners of these mining and timber areas have for too long been exploited and it is time the owners derived some benefits from these lands".

Fifteen Servicemen Dismissed

A statement issued in Accra by the Public Relations Directorate of the Ministry of Defence revealed that fifteen service personnel had been dismissed in recent times from the Ghana Armed Forces "for behaviour contrary to military rules and regulations".

The statement also said that preliminary disciplinary action had been instituted again an Air Force Lieutenant alleged to have arrested some police officers at the Adabraka Police Station on January 28 this year. The officer concerned was under arrest and, if the enquiry now going on confirmed his guilt and that of others involved, appropriate disciplinary action would be taken.

Tuesday, February 13

Changes in Agric. Ministry

COL. F. G. Bernasko in an address to heads of Agricultural units at the Ministry today, announced a far-reaching re-organisation of the Ministry. Two divisions, administrative and professional, have been created within the Ministry. The administrative division is to be headed by the Principal Secretary and the professional division by a Director of Agriculture.

Three departments have also been set up, namely, the departments of Operations, Planning and Extension Services.

A number of top agricultural officers in Accra have also been posted to the regions as part of the re-organisation.

Thursday, February 15

Six Timber Firms Banned

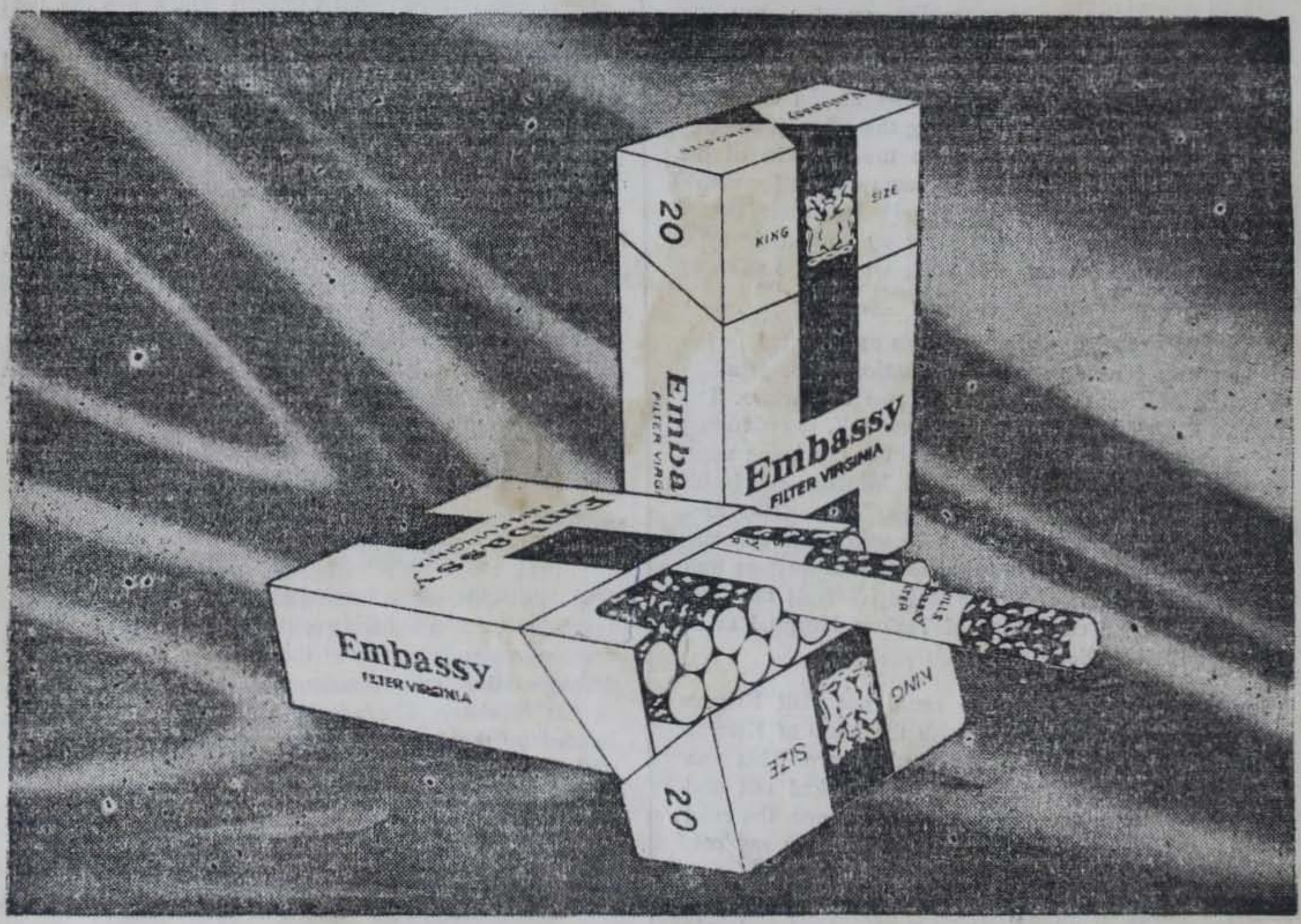
SIX foreign-owned timber buying and exporting companies have been disqualified from operating in the country's timber trade for failing to register, incorporate and transfer into Ghana a minimum of ¢300,000 as their working capital.

The disqualification which was announced today by Lt.-Col. N. A. Odartey Wellington, Executive Chairman of the Timber Marketing Board, takes immediate effect because the firms were informed of the new requirements of the board as far back as November last year.

The Board has appointed 38 new exporters, mostly Ghanaians, to handle the timber export trade for the overseas countries.

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Editorials

WANTED: A SINGLE NATIONAL DAY

GHANA now sports three separate annual national holidays. The first, by calendar chronology rather than history, is the 13th of January and may be called "Redemption" Day; the second is 24th February, "Liberation" Day; and the third, 6th March, "Freedom" or "Independence" Day. (In real chronological terms, the order should of course read exactly in reverse.) Since we live in an era of instant everything, including instant history, anyone with even half a care about his life and times knows why Ghana has these three holidays, and what each of the terms "freedom", "Liberation" and "redemption" means in our contemporary context. There was even a threat of our adding two more to the present three, separately celebrating republicanism and the return to civilian rule. Fortunately, those cups passed from us.

Two objections exist against our having all these national holidays, which, after all, are in addition to the long established public ones shared with other nations. The first is that three are too many, and come too close to one another. Not only that: they follow right after Christmas, "Boxing" Day and the New Year, and then also lead right into the great Easter week-end—this being the one that lasts from about noon on Thursday until midnight on Monday, and is nicknamed by some the "lost week-end"! .... What all this means is that between 25th December and a date in late March, or in April, we are on formal holiday on **six separate occasions** and **nine working days.** Thus we have the first four months of the the year torn to shreds by these recurrent occasions of work stoppage and merrymaking, in a country which has suffered for decades from chronic under-production in most areas of the economy. Now, a bout of frivolity every so often must be good even for the most serious souls, we agree; but too much of it tends in our opinion to make fools out of otherwise intelligent people.

What has been said so far adds up to our first objection to so many holidays; it is a tangible, concrete objection. The second is an intangible, non-utilitarian but decisive one. It is this. While we have at the moment three national holidays, we have no **National Day,** so designated and in its own exclusive right. This is because the true meaning, significance, and standing of a national day are emasculated and frittered away by an indefinable, feckless rivalry among our three existing national holidays; more than that, it is because two of these three do obscure the issue for the third, which by all definable criteria and even by our current gestures should be

our one and only National Day. It is, surely, only arguing the obvious when we say that the 6th of March is the only day on the Ghanaian calendar that qualifies for the title under discussion.

In the case of the other two, the 13th of January and the 24th of February, their claims to national-universal attachment and acceptance are not as unencumbered as those of the 6th of March. On this day in 1957 we threw off the humiliation and shame of colonial subjection to a foreign people; on each of the other two days, in 1966 and 1972 respectively, we merely ejected a national government that had failed the people who put them there. The two sets of criteria and the values here involved differ crucially and cannot be be equated. We ought, in short, to accept the occasion of our riddance of the yoke of colonialism as the one national event that merits our full and exclusive devotion, that deserves celebration in the form of a National Day of which there can be no duplicate. For the events of 6th March 1957 were unique and will not be repeated, whereas getting rid of the Nkrumah regime by force in 1966 was only the first of two military interventions in civilian affairs. In Dahomey, incidentally, there have been five such interventions!

As viewed by the **Observer,** therefore, the position can be summarized as follows: first, we have too many public holidays overall; secondly, we have too many national holidays and **no** exclusively designated National Day; thirdly, one of the three existing national holidays does qualify for dedication as such a Day. It is our feeling, from all this, that we should keep remembering the 24th of February and the 13th of January and should recognize them in some way on the appropriate occasion each time, but not by taking a holiday from work and production; secondly, that we should now once and for all enthrone the 6th of March (this year's "edition" of which we have just celebrated) as Ghana's only National Day, observed annually with dignity as well as with discreet merrymaking.

"FREEDOM DAY" ACTS OF GOVERNMENT

In support of the case made out above for the 6th March anniversary, we cite the fact that the N.R.C. has again just made the most significant gestures that can be made on national anniversaries. The Chairman, in the name of the Council and acting in his capacity as Head of State, has granted amnesty to prisoners, commuted death sentences, released political detainees, and, lastly, awarded national honours to twenty-four persons considered to have rendered conspicuous service to Ghana in one way or another over varying periods of time.

As usual, everyone with an awareness of the great issues of public interest must be appreciative of these acts of government. Whether all prisoners granted amnesty or commutation deserve that degree of clemency or not is a matter for private philosophical or legalistic speculation; and whether release from detention bears any relevance or has any effect on guilt or innocence in those released is likewise a question on which concerned citizens may exercise their moral or other judgment, but may do nothing else except perhaps rejoice in some cases and agonize quietly in others. As far as the general health of the state and of the people is concerned, however, such acts of national governments are always predominantly more gainful than otherwise.

Especially in the case of released political detainees, there is the urgent business of reconciliation and reintegration to be considered. And not mere social integration, but a rejoining the forces engaged in the national task of construction and reconstruction. Particularly needed are all those ex-politicians who, not being guilty of repugnant crimes against the state or against their own people, are also men and women of ability, knowledge or special skills. As for those who knowingly or unknowingly might have put their hand to wrong doing, a just society has just laws under which to deal with them.

It is particularly pleasant to welcome those whom the state has been delighted to honour this year. May the gods forfend that Ghana should ever come, by these presents, to create new social classes in our society, already burdened with the problem of privilege versus unprivilege; so it is our hope that this is not what our national honours system is going to do. Recognition of merit or service, in the form of a badge, a medal, a scroll or citation, will not, we hope, eventually create a new aristocracy, complete with new titles, new estates, and new accents by which to determine levels or degrees of aristocracy! Our state honours, we trust, will mark out unglaringly a group of modest men and women who would smile at their medals, shake many hands, have a drink, and go home— to continue serving Ghana now. We congratulate this year's winners, be they popular footballers, astute businessmen winning foreign exchange for Ghana, or distinguished musicians full of years and humanity. May they and Ghana's national honours remain inspiring, and modest.

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Administration

REORGANISATION OF THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE: POSTS, SALARIES AND MOTIVATION

By

E. Bortei-Doku

AT LONG last we have seen a break-through in the stagnant situation that had plagued the Ministry of Agriculture since the first years of independence. The 14th of February reorganisation that was reported in the daily papers was a major attempt to halt the agricultural brain drain in the ministry, which had concentrated all our top grade agricultural personnel in Accra. This drain had been necessitated by the multiplication of divisions in the ministry over the last ten years, to suit every conceivable area of agricultural development.

It is important to observe, however, that this reorganisation, although very welcome, will not solve the problem and will not achieve its objective, if it does not take into account the motivations of the 'top grade' staff who are expected to function as new regional heads in the country; especially if some of them feel that they are being penalised, in spite of what the authorities say. No reorganisation can please everybody, but the present one can at least command popular support from the staff and can provide maximum incentives for action, if some of the traditional disadvantages associated with staying outside Accra have now been seriously considered and remedied. Some of these disadvantages are: low status of staff outside Accra, salary differences, children's educational problems, and scarce amenities.

Reversing Previous Thinking

It has been common practice in the ministry to assign inferior status to staff posted outside Accra, just to ensure that they are sufficiently subordinated to head-quarters staff for the purposes of administration. This practice also ensured that nothing happened outside Accra without the knowledge and authority of the capital organisation. It seems the objective of this reorganisation is to reverse this type of thinking, to give greater initiative to regional heads, and to make them more autonomous in problem solving and decision making.

If this assumption of the objective is correct, one would strongly suggest that the authorities take a second look at the post created for Regional Agricultural Heads, and designate that post to reflect the status it deserves. One is in full agreement with the creation of the post of Director of Agriculture in the Ministry. I am, however, proposing that those who will work with the director in Accra should be designated assistant directors, and that the post of deputy director should go to the regional head. A person posted to the region can either be appointed deputy director or can be made to act, according to his present grade.

One's efficiency in agricultural planning and administration improves with local knowledge and experience. The practice of attracting personnel to Accra for the purposes of promotion is detrimental to agricultural development. Our objective should be to make it unnecessary for a person to struggle to go to Accra, when he is still needed to apply his experience to the development of his region. I believe that the post of deputy director at the regional level would give a sufficient incentive to our most senior agriculturists, and would persuade them to build up their agricultural careers in the regions instead of wishing to come to Accra. If this can be done, the reorganisation would lay a permanent foundation for the more efficient use of our manpower in the agricultural development of the country.

The Race to Accra

The next point is salary. Status difference is obviously related to salary difference, and the director and deputy directors would earn more than the assistant directors. I am suggesting that the salary differences between the deputy director in the region and the assistant in Accra should be significant enough to make it not worthwhile to want to end one's career in Accra for income purposes.

Another social factor which has been responsible for the race to Accra is the education of one's children. The system of education in this country is such that one is compelled to gravitate towards a centre where he can get a special preparatory or 'international' school for his children. I do not pretend to see a solution to this serious problem, but at least it should be recognised as a national handicap.

I have discussed factors which have kept some of our most important resource persons in Accra. I believe that it is possible to create conditions in the regions favourable enough to attract trained agriculturists to stay in the regions, making it unnecessary to transfer to Accra at all cost. One hopes that if action is taken on at least the regional post and the salary difference, a firm

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foundation would have been laid for the best utilisation of our human resources.

Editors Note: **See letters on "Changing of the Guard" and "Posting of the Agriculturist", in "Letters"**

Social

GOVERNMENT RENT CONTROL POLICY

By

J. N. A. Kpakpoe-Glover

ON Thursday, 17th August, 1972, an Accra daily carried on its front page a news item which sought to set out government policy on rent. It was an order from Colonel Victor Coker-Appiah, then Commissioner for Local Government, that landlords in the country should reduce their rents by 20% with effect from 1st September.

The argument appeared to be that property rates had been reduced by 20% and therefore landlords were to reduce their rents by the same percentage. Property rates, in Ghana, form a small proportion of the rental value of the houses and it was hard to see the logicality of the argument that landlords should reduce their rents by 20% because rates had been reduced by the same margin.

Before the order became operative it was suspended indefinitely because it was felt that the indiscriminate application of the 20% cut in rents would not achieve the desired purpose, i.e. relieving hardships on tenants.

In place of this order Col. Victor Coker-Appiah , now Commissioner for Works and Housing, was reported in another daily paper, on 17th January, 1973, as having announced new directives on rent restriction with effect from 1st February, and that a new decree to give legal backing was to be issued soon.

The following schedule shows the maximum recommended rents for different types and sizes of rooms:

Type	Room Size	Rent (Max.)
1. Sandcrete or Landcrete Buildings	12' x 12'	₵7.50
	12' x 10'	₵6.50
	10' x 10'	₵5.50
2. Wooden, Swish and Iron Sheet Buildings	12' x 10'	₵4.50
	10' x 10'	₵3.50

Comparatively, this new directive is better than the previous order as it provides for graduated rent cuts and takes into consideration the sizes of rooms and the materials used in the construction in fixing the maximum rents. It is however inadequate as it fails to take into account several other important factors affecting rental values, such as amenities and facilities available and the location of property.

If due regard is not given to some of these factors which determine rents in the urban areas, the enforcement of this order will produce many social and economic problems. At best the policy encourages tenants, the beneficiaries, to ask for more state protection; at worst, it stifles growth and development of housing and simply aggravates the present situation.

The current problem of high rents is not the making of the landlords, but rather the effect of changes that have been and are taking place within the social and economic system. Prominent among these changes can be mentioned the drift of rural populations to the urban centres, low productivity, general rises in prices of goods and services. To make landlords the only scapegoats is not only unfair but also punitive, and it can safely be assumed that this is against the spirit of the policy.

The Lower Income Group

The housing problem is most acutely felt by the lower income group, which forms the largest single group in the renter class. The serious consequences of the present situation affect the lower income group to a greater degree than any other group. It has resulted in overcrowding, insanitary conditions and lack of adequate amenities and facilities in houses. The lower income group have all the disadvantages of higher income group housing, but none of the advantages. To most of them a great proportion of their activities takes place in the open air. Their rooms are hot in the afternoons and in the evenings hardly offer any comfortable spots for rest, and yet they pay about 15.4% of their salary as rent. It is interesting to note that the figure 15.4% compares favourably with what the previous government demanded from those occupying government bungalows.

Investing in lower income housing has been a problem for the government, particularly in this period when government expenditure is rising faster than the revenue will permit, and with these legislative interventions investors in lower income housing will be less attracted to increase their investments. It has to be recognised that although

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as much capital investment is required for lower income housing as for higher income housing, the returns for the latter tend to be higher, whilst maintenance and bills (which have to be met from the rent income) are higher in the case of lower income housing; and yet it is this income which the government seeks to control or restrict.

In addition to these, problems of rent defaulting, disputes with landlords, etc, make investment in low-income housing less attractive to genuine investors. As a result, most of the investors are inclined to invest in houses that attract tenants in the higher income groups. A look at the trends of housing development in areas such as Airport-Roman Ridge, North Kaneshie, Tesano and the area opposite Accra Academy on the Winneba Road in Accra, and Stadium Area, Nhiaso, and Dichemso in Kumasi, will illustrate the above points.

Solutions to the Problem

Landlords who had already invested in lower income housing and can no longer meet expenses on maintenance and repairs, and who have to contend with tenants' delinquencies, are withdrawing their houses as dwellings and putting them to other uses, such as rest houses, night clubs and hotels. The result of all this is that not only is investment in lower income housing provided at the very minimum, but also the existing stocks of that type of accommodation are diminishing. With more people from the rural areas coming to the towns, the problem increases both in scope and content.

Our own experience of price control of goods and commodities should have given us an indication that we cannot solve this problem by way of controlling or restricting rents by legislation. Instead, government policies should be geared towards improving habits of saving and investment, those which can generate massive investment in housing by individuals, groups of individuals and co-operatives. It is a problem whose solution lies in government initiative but not in the direction of rent control.

Government initiative does not necessarily mean direct government participation. The Ghana Housing Corporation, Tema Development Corporation and the proposed Bank for Housing and Construction are all evidence of government initiative in this direction. The Ghana Housing Corporation whose activities cover the whole country has not made its impact as far as lower income housing is concerned, after 15 years of existence. It will therefore be necessary for the government to direct the potential credit-granting institutions, such as the Commercial Banks, the First Ghana Building Society, and the State Insurance Corporation, to step up their activities as far as investment in low-income housing is concerned.

The Roof Loans Scheme recommended by the U.N. Housing Mission to Ghana, and operated poorly by the Ghana Housing Corporation because of weakness in the administrative machinery, should be reorganised properly to cover the urban areas too.

Mobilisation of Resources

Large companies such as United Africa Company Ltd., Kumasi Brewery Ltd., Overseas Breweries Ltd. and Pioneer Tobacco Company, must be encouraged to take an active part in the development of housing estates for their lower income workers and, if possible, state owned corporations such as GIHOC should also be urged to do the same.

Although we can easily pick out availability of credit facilities as the single factor which has persistently stifled investment in housing in Ghana there are many others, such as absence of industries producing building materials cheaply by using local raw materials, problems of land acquisition, provision for water, electricity, sewerage, access roads, etc. These problems can be better solved in the case of higher income groups, where the State has building schemes, e.g. East Cantonments and Airport Residential Area. There can be a modification of these schemes to help solve the problem of low income housing.

Development of the country's natural resources such as lime, clay and timber should be given priority in our national development programmes, as they have been proved through research and

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As a first step towards finding solutions to our housing problem, it is essential that the problem itself, in all its ramifications, should be seriously studied. It would be worthwhile for government to take the initiative in this respect by establishing an expert committee to undertake this as a matter of urgency. Such a committee, I would suggest, should comprise competent Ghanaians from the following fields and disciplines: sociology, geography, planning, land economy, architecture, civil engineering, geology..... Its membership must include, among others, the University of Science and Technology, the Building and Road Research Institute of the C.S.I.R., the Town and Country Planning Secretariat of the Ministry of Lands and Mineral Resources (Lands Department). The Development Planning Secretariat of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning can be made to coordinate the activities of the committee, whose task should be to study the problem exhaustively and recommend a realistic housing policy for the country.

The Economy

SHORTAGES — WHAT ARE THE CAUSES?

By

W. S. K. Agbemawokla

THERE has been much concern about the phenomenon of shortages of some particular commodities in the country. The pages of the newspapers continue to be filled with discourses on this subject. Many people link the problem with the activities of hoarders and smugglers, and, quite recently, with "conditional sellers". Milk, toilet soaps, detergents, pepsodent—all of them locally produced commodities—are in sporadic supply. The list increases and the commodities change frequently. Some weeks ago, it was matchets and beer; some days ago it was some brands of cigarette. Now it is cement.

The government as well as every well-meaning individual is much concerned about this state of affairs, and rightly so. While holding no brief for the smugglers and hoarders in our midst, I feel strongly that the blame apportioned to this group of deviants in our society is disproportionate to the effective smuggling and hoarding going on. I feel that though we cannot exonerate these wrongdoers, we also cannot rule out the probability of finding causes elsewhere.

In the **Ghanaian Times** of 22nd November, 1972, it was reported that Food Specialities (Ghana) Ltd., Tema, was producing 307,000 tins of Ideal Evaporated Milk daily. This figure, according to the author's computation, was 25 per cent more than our daily requirement. To attribute milk shortages solely to smuggling and hoarding implies that thousands of such tins are being carted away illegally across the country's frontiers. This must be a voluminous trade which would require quite a number of vehicles and much more laxity in our border controls than what we usually hear of it. Then there is also the case of "Ghana-Portland" cement. Shall we blame its shortage, too, solely on the activities of smugglers and hoarders?

Raw Material Substitution

In the first budget of the N.R.C. the government re-instituted the export bonus. By it, the government pays in cedis a percentage of the export earnings to firms which export some specified commodities. The objective is to encourage firms which manufacture the commodities which come under the scheme to export more of their products than they have been doing hitherto, and thereby increase the foreign exchange earnings of the industrial sector and reduce our age-old over-dependence on cocoa. Note should be taken, however, that no significant increase has been made on the allocation of foreign exchange for the import of industrial raw material. Instead, there has been a call for self-reliance in raw materials. Firms which will not be self-sufficient in locally produced industrial raw materials will in future not be granted import licences.

A study of efficiency utilization in manufacturing, on a sample of forty firms in 1968, showed that the most efficient ones were operating at a capacity of 50 to 60 per cent, while the inefficient ones had a capacity utilization of 35 per cent. This under-utilization of capacity was largely attributable to insufficiency of industrial raw materials and lack of machinery spare parts, all of which had to be bought and paid for in scarce foreign exchange. When, therefore, raw materials are obtained locally, this is to the good.

But if the "raw materials substitution" strategy is pursued with characteristic revolutionary fervour, the immediate outcome would be that Ghanaians will have to pay their per-unit price for shoddy goods; shoddy because using the locally procured raw materials, without the requisite immediate

technological adjustments, means both qualitative and quantitative reduction in output. The qualitative fall in output plus the rise in the per-unit price of output will lead ultimately to a fall in exports, because our already high priced goods will not stand up on the competitive foreign market.

While the adjustments and re-adjustments are in progress there is a high probability that all the affected commodities will be in adequate supply in the country. I do not mean that "raw materials substitution" is inadvisable. My contention is that it must be instituted gradually, with a long term perspective. Or else there will be shortages, high prices and a fall in exports.

The government's reluctance in granting enough import licences to manufacturing firms may be said to be reducing further the already low capacity utilization of the firms. One would have wished that rather than idolizing trade surpluses the government would grant adequate foreign exchange to our import-substituting firms, to make sure of a steady and sufficient flow of goods from the factories. After all, the essence of holding money is that it can be spent; reserves sitting in the vaults of banks in London are of no practical importance to the ordinary man who enters a shop and is faced with empty stalls.

Effects of Export Bonus

One may also pry into the effect of the export bonus scheme on the availability of commodities on the market. Suppose in his bid to benefit from the scheme an entrepreneur succeeds in securing markets elsewhere. Suppose further that by calculation he estimates that his expected receipts on a unit of his product on the foreign market are 10 per cent more than his expectations in Ghana. If he earns an export bonus of 10 per cent, then his total receipts are 20 per cent higher than what he would have earned had he marketed all his products in Ghana. The percentage gains could be higher than this. The more he exports, the more he gains. What prevents this entrepreneur from exporting 90 per cent of his products, leaving a mere 10 per cent on the home market?

In the **Mirror** of 18th February, 1972, it was reported that Panbros Salts (Ghana) Ltd. exported 6,500 tons of salt to Upper Volta. But we are all aware of the current shortage of granulated salt—the product of Panbros—on the market. This is the case in our country! We do not have enough to go round, but we export and queue for the very limited quantity scattered intermittently here and there. While 'Omo', 'Surf', 'Lux' and 'Pepsodent', which we make here, are not always available in the quantity we want them, shops in neighbouring countries are filled with these commodities. We pride ourselves on having exported so many tons of yams, while we at the same time pull faces when we are told that a tuber of yam costs 80 pesewas!

Has the government any means of assuring itself that the home demand is first met before export markets are supplied? If not, then it must not worry about shortages, because they are partly by-products of its own economic policies. While it must not relax in its efforts to clamp down on hoarders, smugglers and conditional sellers, the government will find it a rewarding undertaking to consider seriously **other** methods of combating the phenomenon of shortages.

Observer Notebook

Taking Higher Justice to the Regions

A RATHER severe handicap under which the administration of justice has laboured in this country ever since the establishment of the appellate system of justice has been the undue centralisation of appeals in the nation's capital. The former appeals to the West African Court of Appeal ("WACA") and to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council were abolished soon after the attainment of political independence. After these abolitions, the litigant's last resort was to the Supreme Court, sitting in Accra only; and now the Supreme Court has been abolished and replaced with the Court of Appeal as the court of last resort. With the establishment of the Civil Division of the Court of Appeal in the Ashanti and Brong-Ahafo capitals in the very recent past, a new chapter has been opened in this all important matter of the centralisation of appeals in Accra.

It appears that the new move is aimed directly at coming to the aid of the litigant by eliminating the necessity for making long, tedious and expensive journeys to Accra for the simple but crucial purpose of seeking a final judicial pronouncement on his cause. The **Observer** would like to place on record its unreserved commendation of the new move, which should be seen as truly revolutionary or new thinking about the important matter of appeals. And the fact that both the Acting Chief Justice and the Attorney-General graced the occasion of the opening of the new regional Civil Division of the Court of Appeal shows

the legitimate importance which is officially attached to this new move.

It is refreshing to note that a system of centralisation which was merely in blind imitation of the British system has now been seen to be of little service in our community, where the conditions are vastly different from those obtaining in the country of our former colonial masters. As with all national experiments, the recent innovation calls for careful circumspection to ensure that the experiment achieves the purpose for which it was introduced and is made to serve the best interests of the people more closely concerned with it. This consideration leads us to draw attention to some of the more important problem areas to which great thought must be continuously given.

First, it is of the utmost importance that the litigant should reap benefits in terms of physical convenience and a reduction in travelling expenses from the new experiment. The question arises: Will good and experienced members of the bar who happen to be based in the nation's capital be willing to travel to the regions without adding prohibitive costs to the litigant's bill? No one can reasonably expect a busy practitioner in Accra to go to Bolgatanga or Sunyani for one week without the assurance of adequate compensation for his trouble. Perhaps the answer to this problem is to hope for the gradual establishment in all regional capitals of appellate lawyers who will not have to travel far to handle civil appeals.

Secondly, the authorities must ensure that each Regional Civil Court of Appeal is supported by efficient regional appellate registries, which will submit cases that have been heard to those responsible for law-reporting with some dispatch. The practice, we are informed, has been that cases decided in the regions are quite often unreported, largely because of adminisrative difficulties. Yet an efficient system of law-reporting is indispensable to the proper administration of justice. Thirdly, it is to be hoped that the decentralisation of appellate jurisdiction in civil matters will encourage the decentralisation of legal practitioners, so that more and more lawyers of experience and ability will make the regions outside Accra their base. Finally, the **Observer** hopes that the experiment will be extended to other regions in the country, and that every effort will be made to ensure the smooth operation of the system.

The Malam Shitta Case

THE matter of the sale of the Mercedes Benz car won by the Bolgatanga night watchman, Malam Abduramani Shitta, in the Golden Chance Raffle event last November is still exercising many minds in the country, a ghost that will not be laid. Pressmen and other citizens have now taken to wondering:

1. Whether the car was, after all, a "brand new" one (which, if it was, would really have made it worth ₵20,000-plus);
2. Whether the government really paid a large proportion of that amount to acquire the car as their donation to the raffle; and
3. whether someone had not perhaps over-enthusiastically placed the wrong value on it, than a second hand car, even of the Mercedes make, was worth; this valuation being then leaked to the public in order to enhance the status of the prize and that of the raffle as a whole.

Now we all know that the Golden Chance Raffle is a national event, meant to make maximum profit for distribution among a large number of worthy charities. We also know that a lot of work, and even more of goodwill, goes into its organization and execution every year. If in the midst of all this, some mistakes are made or errors of judgement committed, surely the public would understand?

But the public cannot be expected to understand or to forgive being kept permanently in the dark as to what happened on this particular occasion. For they had been led to believe that here was a new Mercedes Benz 250 car, priced at over ₵20,000, being donated as 1st Prize in the raffle. . . In due course a man wins it, but the next thing they hear is that someone has bought the ₵20,000 prize car off the winner — a simple, unlettered Northerner — for less than ₵8,000! Naturally they get worried and suspicious. They think: "Someone owes us an explanation, or possibly the truer facts about the car".

And we agree with them, and with our fellow pressmen. Moreover, we think the press has so far given the government, the organizers of the raffle, and the motor company concerned a very fair chance to offer that explanation or supply the truer facts; or perhaps just confirm the old reports, but in authentic terms. It would be far better for the authorities named above to do this themselves than for the press to get hold of something which may be unecessarily embarrassing to all concerned. The essential altruism and goodwill which ennobles the charities movement everywhere would be jeopardized this way, in this case.

The Scandal at the Stadium

SAY it is the rule of law that is needed, or justice under law, or respect for law—any formulation you like, as long as it means a condition of law-government which restores neglected basic rights to the citizen. Whatever you call it, Ghana needs today, though admittedly among many other needs, a state of legality and of guarantee which would enable and even encourage its citizens to take officials to court for damages, when such citizens are cheated or in any other way wronged by such officials. If citizens of Ghana felt that confident about their ability and their rights in this respect, many of them would by today have filed suit for damages against the whole of the Sports Council of Ghana and the management of the National Stadium.

Their complaint would come under several heads, among them:

(1) **Breach of contract:** in that they (the complainants) bought tickets which guaranteed each buyer entrance into the National Stadium, together with a seat or a place to stand (by accepted contractual practice and common understanding), for the purpose of watching a football match between Ghana and Nigeria, billed for Sunday, 25th February 1973; but that on the appointed date and place they found themselves barred from entry into the spectator stands;

(2) **Personal loss:** in that they lost money—in the form of their unaccepted tickets, in transport fares (some cases involving hundreds of miles of travel), in overnight accommodation and meal charges, plus many sundry and miscellaneous expenses—by being thus deprived of the benefit for which they had undergone these expenses;

(3) **Assault and battery:** in that many had been caught in situations in which soldiers and police had had to use physical force on sections of the disappointed and enraged crowds at the barriers, in the course of which actions they, the complainants, had suffered physical injury;

(4) **Extreme hardship in the form of inconvenience and humiliation:** in that they had spent weeks planning for their participation in this event, and the whole day in obtaining their tickets and presenting themselves for admission into the stands at the appointed time and place—only to be turned back from the barriers in the conditions already described above.

We are sure that the police, themselves the master framers of multiple charges against accused persons, could help us find and formulate more complaints against the accused in this case, complaints arising out of the experiences so detailed. The point is, that it is absolutely monstrous for the stadium and sports authorities to sell hundreds of tickets to fans and would-be spectators for whom no accomodation is provided or available, and who receive such treatment. This was infuriating enough, on that Sunday the 25th; but when with it we were obliged to couple the experience of the scores of strangers and visitors seen wandering disconsolately from barrier to barrier, with tickets or without, our cup of anger really had to run over.

Ghana ought to have passed and left such primitive conditions behind her at least two decades ago.

The "Match" They Did Not Miss!

THE so-called football match which the unfortunates described above did not see—and which the "fortunates" did—turned out in the event to have been a monumental bore and a complete waste of time and trouble. The complainants should still try to take the Ghanaian sports and stadium authorities to court, if they are willing to try; but not on account of the football match they missed. In fact they missed nothing, for it was no match, nor did it have any football in it.

And the **Observer's** message this Friday morning to both the Ghana Black Stars and the Nigerian "golden" Green Eagles is that, on their showing in Accra two weeks ago, as well as in Lagos two weeks before that, they are not in anybody's World Cup class. They ought to go home and start learning the art of soccer all over again from scratch.

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Letters

"Changing of the Guard"

SIR—I refer to your editorial in **L.O.** Vol. VIII/2, and wish to commend you for your objective analysis of the present agricultural situation in the country and your suggestions for improving it.

Agriculture in Ghana is suffering from many ills, the majority of which were identified by the then Commissioner for Agriculture, as pointed out in your editorial. I wish to point out, however, that the reorganization of the Ministry for more effective co-ordination would solve only half the numerous problems if the decentralization policy is not carried out to the letter. No half-hearted methods should be adopted. The operations of the Ministry should be decentralized, not only to the regional level but also to the district level as well.

Another serious problem that needs tackling is the training of agricultural officers in specialized fields of agriculture. Training them, for instance, in fields like animal breeding and grassland husbandry would augur well for effective extension services to farmers. Such subject-matter specialists would contribute more to the agricultural revolution than the present crop of officers, most of whom have not received any specialist training whatsoever.

Last but not least, the conditions of service of agricultural officers should be brought up to compare favourably with their counterparts in other fields, like engineers and architects, who, by far, are better remunerated.

P.O. Box 31 **A. Iddrisu**
Babile-Lawra
Upper Region

The N.R.C. and Temporary Solutions

SIR—I would like to comment on certain aspects of the administration of the N.R.C. It is true that the government is facing our problems with all vigour and realism, but at the same time it would appear that the regime is not interested in permanent solutions to our problems. Whilst I admire the way they are tackling the taxation problem, at the same time I am not happy about the way the taxes are collected, that is, our dependence on soldiers to help us collect our taxes. What I would rather ask the N.R.C. to do for this country is to evolve a new and efficient system of collecting taxes. Are we going to depend on soldiers after we have returned to civilian rule?

Another aspect of its administration is the distribution system. We remember the report of the Greater Accra Commissioner ordering the army to take over the distribution of cattle from the butchers. One of the reasons given for this take-over was that meat was too expensive and not getting to the people. But the question one should ask is whether meat is available in large quantities. Meat is simply not on the market and therefore it is yielding to the economic forces of demand and supply.

Recently it was also reported in the television news that the Chairman of the Logistics Committee and his secretary went to Makola Market to sell certain "essential commodities" to the people. Instead of that committee evolving an effective and efficient system of distribution, the chairman and his secretary chose to go to Makola to sell the goods. By doing this, they were showing to the nation that their distribution system is ineffective. What our soldiers must bear in mind is that they are not going to rule this country indefinitely and therefore they should rather find permanent solutions to our problems. If they fail to do this and resort to their method of inviting soldiers to supervise our distribution system, we would still have our old problems again when we return to civilian rule and the people of this country will be tempted to ask this question: What did they do for us?

P.O. Box 231 **Labi Koi-Larbi**
Accra

Too Busy to Play Games

SIR—Kindly allow me space in your paper to comment on a couple of letters that appeared in **L.O.** VIII/4, in reply to an earlier one written by Mr. Obeng-Manu.

The first was written by a Mr. Lwanga Blay-Amihere. Unless Mr. Blay-Amihere meant to treat the important issue raised by Mr. Obeng-Manu as a joke (which I would consider a great pity), I find the logic behind his argument not only contradictory but also dangerous. First, Mr. Blay Amihere admits that any coup d'etat, or the use of force against unarmed civilians, can never be justified under any circumstances. Then in the next breath he says: "Since coming into office, the N.R.C. have taken many steps which justify their action on 13th January, 1972".

To elaborate on his claim, he dismisses the rather unfortunate experiment of the thirty million cedis (¢30,000,000) subsidy as an isolated case which cannot be used to question the justification of the 13th January coup. On the other hand, he sees acts of redemption in the repudiation of some of our foreign debts and the steps taken by the government for the state to participate in certain mining and timber firms.

It is possible that to those of us living in places where the provision of such "foreign" amenities as good drinking water, electricity, hospitals, international schools, ultra-modern markets, sewerage systems, etc., etc., is supported with government funds, the unprofitable use of ¢30,000,000 might be considered as an isolated case. But how about those Ghanaians enjoying our "village green"—those condemned to drinking muddy water that year after year kills or maims their dear ones through typhoid fever, worm infestation and river blindness? Would they, if they knew that so much money has been lost, consider it an isolated case?

The repudiation of some of our debts was not exactly economic management or mismanagement; it was a courageous act. It is also praiseworthy that the government has taken steps to ensure the participation in some mining and timber firms by the state. It is only a pity that neither our first military regime (which if my memory serves me right included some of the people helping to rule us today) nor the Busia regime managed to take similar action. But then it is perhaps better late than never. What we should try to avoid is getting ourselves into that frame of mind which would suggest that because these actions were taken by soldiers, it proves that only soldiers have the ability to govern this nation.

I saw in Mr. Obeng-Manu's letter a courageous attempt to state a principle, which is that people who can capture for themselves the right to decide when a government should be overthrown should always bear a few things in mind. Among these is the fact that there will always be some Ghanaians who will feel bold enough to remind them periodically of the reasons they gave for overthrowing a government. As I see it, such a debate is not over why Acheampong overthrew Busia. It is rather a warning to would-be adventurers that they should not expect unworthy adulation from all sections of the Ghanaian community if they were to use some flimsy excuse(s) to try to get rid of the present administration or any future administration, especially a civilian one.

Thus, notwithstanding the criticism that Mr. Blay-Amihere finds uncalled for, like him most of us prefer to accept the status quo and are helping to build a better Ghana. As such, we feel too busy to play games with Mr. Blay-Amihere by choosing Ghana when we have only been given the option of choosing Acheampong for Busia.

The second letter written by Mr. Kwame Arye asks us a host of questions, all concerning our possible choice of regimes. I want to remind the gentleman that such questions are irrelevant, for the simple reason that we really do not have a choice in the matter.

P.O. Box 54 **K. K. Oduro**
University of Ghana
Legon

Not the Major but More Foods

SIR—In 1966 the N.L.C. government set up the Logistics Committee to monitor the importation and stocks of essential commodities (sic), so as to avoid the shortages that characterised the last days of the Nkrumah regime.

The N.R.C. has copied this idea, but, apart from the various changes of name, the government also seems to believe that shortages and the consequent high prices can be cured by making the committee responsible for both the importation and the local distribution of these commodities.

Major Weir, the Chairman of the committee, is apparently a very dynamic and revolutionary young man. In January 1972, he took over the 2nd Infantry Brigade and thereby captured the whole of Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, and the Northern and Upper Regions for the coup. And he was only a Captain! But I am afraid that centralising so much of the trade of the country in the hands of one man, even a Major Weir, may only lead to further inefficiency and dislocation—not to say corruption.

Look at it this way. Before January 1972 the commodities for which Major Weir and his men are now responsible were imported and distributed by hundreds of managers, accountants, and others in the trading community. Is it probable that one soldier and a committee of bureaucrats can do the same job efficiently?

The commercial organisation of the country has much more skill and experience at importing and distributing these goods than any government committee can acquire in decades. Meanwhile, the Ghana public has to pay for the education of this group with high prices and faulty distribution. All this on top of the difficulties that are inherent in the import licencing system, with its maze of red tape and its poor planning.

Major Weir and our stalwart Regional Commissioners were already responsible for selling sardines, corned beef, mackerel. milk and sugar, with an occasional side line in baby foods. Then they took over cutlasses. Now they have moved into cement, with a procedure that reads like a bureaucrat's nightmare. The solution to the ever rising cost of living in Ghana is not to call in Major Weir; it is to import more of these essential commodities with our ¢170 million trade surplus.

(Name and address supplied)

Posting of the Agriculturist

SIR—The posting of agricultural personnel to the regions is a good step in the right direction. However, to make them more effective, these officers at their new areas of operation should not sit at their offices only to undertake the routine administrative duties, as they have been doing at headquarters. They should rather leave these matters to the administrative officers, so that their energies could be directed to proper supervision over the personnel employed in the agricultural sectors, and to giving the necessary expert advice to farmers.

At the moment because of lack of proper supervision over the field assistants and their labourers, this group of workers only attend their daily roll calls and then return to their homes to pursue their own pastimes and collect their monthly salaries for doing nothing. I hope that with the posting of these officers, misguided workers will be more closely supervised.

It is also hoped that other ministries and departments with the same set-up as the Ministry of Agriculture will follow suit with the posting of experts where their services are needed, in order to provide expert advice to those who need it.

P.O. Box M.263 **Fred Opong Nkansah**
Accra

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Foodstuff Allowances

SIR—A provision in the General Orders—the code of behaviour for the Public Service—stipulates that "Foodstuff Allowances" be paid to southern Ghanaian citizens in the junior ranks of the public service working in the Northern and Upper Regions. The provision is still in force and the beneficiaries are enjoying this irregular privilege. Northern Ghanaian public servants in the south do not enjoy this privilege.

Apart from the separatist and discriminative concept of the provision, it is at variance with the spirit of the revolution.

It is most unreasonable to suppose that one particular group is not accustomed to the food produced in another part of their own country and for that reason deserve special allowances. If southern Ghanaians are not accustomed to the type of food produced in the north, should northern Ghanaians be expected to be accustomed to foodstuffs produced in the south?

To balance the equation, I call on the authorities to make the same provision for northern public servants working in the south or, better still, to waive this irregular provision, for our revolution provides for self-reliance.

Regional Administrarion **G. S. Molah**
P.O. Box 50
Bolgatanga

Allowance for Commissioners

SIR—Mr. Karikari, the chairman of the Special Action Unit, is reported to have said that, with the exception of two, Commissioners receive their rank salaries plus allowances. It is rather unfortunate that the allowances were not quoted in the **Weekly Spectator** for Ghanaians to know the magnitude of sacrifices our commissioners are making and the seriousness they attach to the popular dictum of bridging the gap between the incomes of lowly paid and highest paid workers.

In the final analysis, basic pay packets attract taxation, while allowances in most cases do not. Therefore, assuming that they are given heavy allowances, it could mean something different from bridging the gap between income groups in the country.

P.O. Box M.174 **Yaw Opong**
Accra

Graduate Employment

SIR—The government decision to ask all industry in the country, whether owned by a Ghanaian or a foreigner, to "evolve plans immediately for engaging graduates in their outfits" is indeed laudable. A recent survey which I voluntarily conducted with a friend of mine showed that most large and medium sized private firms in the country totally dislike the employment of graduates. And they have very few good reasons for doing so too. In most cases the proprietors are not themselves highly educated and so the presence of graduates is destestable to them.

We may however contend that most of these industries were set up with the aid of funds provided by Ghanaian banks. We also agree that our universities were not set up for fun. Their output must be totally utilised for the benefit of the nation. If the graduates are inexperienced, the government request goes further to say that "suitable employees must be asked to attend courses organised by the Management Development and Productivity Institute and the College of Advanced Management".

Unless such measures are imposed on many of our private industries, particularly those owned by Asians, then any policy of Ghanaianisation in top management of many large organisations would be futile. This revolutionary period is the time for the government to ask all large and medium sized firms to send to the Commissioner of Labour the percentage of graduates in their labour force so that some action could be taken.

P.O. Box 4582 **George Twum**
Accra

The Exploited and Lowly Headteacher

SIR—It is sad to note that all the educational reformists, except one university don, have neglected an important aspect of the teaching profession in their attempt to suggest means of improving upon our present educational system. Perhaps the professor also intentionally left out part of this for teachers to say for themselves. It is about the status of headteachers.

To the suggestions made in the article which appeared in **L.O.** VII/16, I wish to add that the headteacher, who has presently also become an accountant, an administrator, a statistician, a farm manager and a host of other things, needs his status to be little more clearly defined and spelt out.

I am tempted here to say that it is more honourable to be a P.W.D. road overseer than to be a headteacher in an elementary school in Ghana. The former has some power vested in him by his employer, and he is rated higher than those he supervises. What about a headteacher? He is no more than an over-burdened and "toothless bull-dog". He is often subjected to public ridicule in his attempt to please his employers. He has as much to do by way of teaching as the teachers he is requested by paper to lead and supervise.

Unfortunately this disparity exists only in the elementary school. Headmasters and Principals of secondary schools and training colleges in most cases do not normally teach and, where they do at all, not as many lessons as a subordinate tutor is requested to do. Why this disparity?

Think of a teacher leaving his class to attend a sports meeting, taking a completed pro forma to the District Education Office, meeting all sorts of officers at different venues, all these within the same week. How can such a person maintain his professional output?

These are some of the outside engagements. He, while in school, has to write replies to numerous official letters and listen to complaints parents have to make. With his lessons to teach, he is expected to know what is happening in every class. He is to manage the school farm some distance away, unless he is not loyal to the Operation Feed Yourself Campaign.

I suggest therefore that one of the means of ensuring a solid foundation in our elementary schools is to lighten the burden of headteachers and raise their status. This will make them more effective as supervisors and leaders.

L.A. Middle School **F. K. Tanyegbe**
P.O. Box 14
Teti

Kente Industry Dying?

SIR—The fact that the kente industry is of special importance to the country can be seen in two respects. First, it is the source of production of our rich 'kente' cloth, which is the principal booster of our culture. Secondly, it is one of the few true native industries that offer employment to a number of our rural folk.

Almost all the villages within the Kwabere No. 1 District in the Ashanti Region rely on kente weaving as a source of employment: villages like Adangomasi, Bonwire, Bamang, Asonomaso and Ebira. The people of Adangomasi have even established a vocational institute for the training of the youth in kente weaving. Nevertheless, the industry is dying a natural death. This has arisen from the non-availability of weaving yarns. As a result the inhabitants of the villages concerned have been thrown out of employment, and the Adangomasi vocational institute faces a shut-down.

The government must find an appropriate and effective solution to this problem as soon as possible, if the drift of the youth from the rural areas into the cities and towns must be minimised, and if our culture must indeed be preseved. It is believed that the sole manufacturer or importer of the yarns has not been finding it easy to get the required import licence. The Ministry of Trade must look into this, to find out the root causes. If for any reason the businessman in question can no longer be given the required import licence, then the government must take it upon itself to import or manufacture the yarns for the production of the kente cloth.

In the name of social justice and fairness to our unfortunate rural brothers, something must be done to save the kente industry. Not only would this benefit our rural folk, but it would also go a long way to reduce the unemployment facing the country; it would at the same time preserve one of the means of promoting our culture.

Commonwealth Hall **Kwame Frimpong**
Legon

Relevance of Ancient History

SIR—Ancient history ought to be on the syllabus for the O-level examination of the West African Examinations Council. It is nearer and more relevant to African culture than is the European history that is on the syllabus now; moreover, with its study of early democracies and of freedom it is interesting in its own right, as well as being relevant to something else. The idea that states should be independent is Greek, the idea that they should not is Roman. The idea of freedom in the state, freedom from the state, freedom of the state, freedom of speech, of association, and of thought, is Greek; the separation of public and private law is Roman. The life of Christ is part of Roman history, written in the Greek language. Is this not stimulating, and eminently suitable for teaching in schools?

Now in some schools it could be taught, whether or not it was on the O-level syllabus, but in others the boys and girls are depressingly conscious of the syllabus, even in Form I, and refuse to learn anything that is not on it. So the sooner ancient history is put on the syllabus the better.

Accra North **Daphne Hereward**

Gulder Bottles

SIR—It is clear that those who do the sticking of the Gulder labels are either lazy or disgruntled workers. And if it is the work of a machine then there is something defective about it. Any time one is pouring iced Gulder into a glass one finds one's hands soiled with glue, because the labels were lackadaisically fixed, leaving too much glue on the bottle. The least mistake one makes in holding the bottle results in the bottle slipping out of one's hands and falling down, leading, of course, to a loss of the contents. The brewers should take up the challenge and see to rectifying that mistake at the soonest possible time.

H/No. C43/1 **Sammy K. Oduro-Denkyi**
Adama Avenue
Adabraka, Accra

Miscellaneous

INSIDE THE WESTERN REGION—II

By

J. O. M. Pobee

Health—For the Western Region, of 9,236 square miles and 626,155 people, there are four hospitals, namely Effia Nkwanta, 400 beds; Tarkwa, 80 beds and cots; Axim, 70 beds; and Wiawso, 20 beds. These are run by the Ministry of Health. There are two hospitals run by the Roman Catholic Church at Eikwe and Asankragua. There is another hospital at Tarkwa for the Mines Employees.

In addition to these hospitals, there are Health Centres and Health Posts at Enchi, Wassa Akropong, Essikadu, Nsuta, Sefwi Asafo, Agona Nkwanta, Ayima and Tikobo. Other health centres are in Abura, Ekpu, Daboasi, Sese and Bibiani. Altogether, well over a million out-patients are seen in a year, compared with about the same number in Brong Ahafo.

There is no doubt that the health facilities are inadequate, particularly the in-patient facilities. It would be a good idea if the Ministry of Health could concentrate in the next five years on improving the facilities in the following four towns in addition to Effia Nkwanta, namely Axim, Half Assini, Wiawso and Tarkwa. If that is done and the roads improved and a good ambulance service provided, difficult cases from the other areas can reach centres of improved medical care without patients' lives being too endangered.

Educational—There are secondary schools in Nsien, next door to Axim, Tarkwa, and an Agriculture Secon-



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dary School at Nkroful. By all accounts they need to be improved. These schools were started in the Ghana Education Trust era, just like the Mfantsiman Secondary School. They developed not so long after Ghana National and Aggrey Memorial Zion Schools in Cape Coast. What factors have contributed to the high standards that these last three named schools have achieved? Let the Ministry of Education identify these factors and then see if they can create the same conditions for the school in Axim, for instance, to reach its maximum potential.

Social—Social life is in direct proportion to economic activity. When a young and dashing public servant has to seek the ordinary pleasures of life forty-five miles away in Takoradi each time, he will not be amused to stay in the rural area for long.

For the visitor during the Kundum Festival that I was, there was activity. The black beauties of Axim were all there, so were the men, who work in Accra, Takoradi and Tarkwa, eager and obviously happy, and enjoying the fruits of their labour in the past year.

Economic—Ever since my return from the Western Region I have not ceased to wonder why the area is in such a state of economic torpor. Yes, there is cocoa in the Eastern Region, but that is about all. Yet the Eastern Region appears relatively more prosperous. Why is this so? There are many contributory factors.

The Nzimas, or rather Evalues, are not great fishermen and yet the sea is one of their assets. They are in the same boat as the people of Saltpond who though living by the sea are no great shakes at sea fishing. Thus it is that there is a contingent of Gas making a living out of fishing in Axim, whilst Fantes fish in Accra. A common sight is a single Evalue in a small boat and with a cast net. His ambitions are obviously very limited. A little catch just to feed his family and sell the rest to buy tomatoes at three for twenty pesewas in the month of August. But generally speaking the cost of living in the Western Region is high. Perhaps corn is cheaper, but certainly not yam when it sells for one cedi a tuber, whilst in Ejisu about the same time, it is one cedi for three tubers. The overheads really do not justify this price difference. The soil in the Western Region is fertile and food should not be one of their problems, but it looks as if it is. And why?

There is some apathy—oppressive in nature in Nzima and Ahanta land. Are they a lazy people? Certainly not. Kumasi has its fair share of Nzima timber contractors, goldsmiths and storekeepers. Tarkwa's businessmen and goldsmiths have a high proportion of Nzimas and Ahantas. Why then the somnolence of these districts of the Western Region?

The Nzimas and the Ahantas suffer from the hands of entrepreneurs who buy most of the fish to take to and sell in Sekondi, Takoradi and Tarkwa, whilst the locals go without it. There are the miles and miles of palm trees and extensive plantations of coconut trees. Yet the Western Region appears a poor region. But one must grant the Nzimas one thing: they have gone ahead in the palm wine industry.

The palm wine is carried in truncated cones of pale wooden casks. The proverbial black and white, or black man with white helmet, is lost forever. It is nice to know that the wine tastes just as nice and we must not grumble about this treasonous activity of the Nzima palm wine tappers. It's not surprising to me now to understand why, as rumours had it, a palm wine tapper in the Nzima area was affected by the Apollo 568!

The beer bars, the few there are, have very stiff competition from numerous palm wine and **akpeteshie** bars. The Western Region must take the prize for the region with the highest number of such bars.

Resources Lying Untapped

Bamboo trees abound. Surely there is some use for the bambo tree? Let's ask China! I am sure they have more use for it than the bamboo shoots eaten at the Ng Ong Restaurant.

Soon after Agona Junction, one comes upon the beautiful orchards originally laid out by the State Farms and now under the control of the Rubber Estates Company; what solid reason is there for that transfer? What becomes of the oranges? Cannot a little factory be set up to make orange peels and orange juices? And why can't students be employed during the long vacation to harvest it for a fee?

At Esiama and its environs rice is cultivated. Why is it not making an impact on our food supplies, as originally thought? The thick forests of the western part of the Western Region, that is in the Wiawso area, supports cocoa and timber. One cannot hope for a richer source of income.

There is the mining industry of gold and manganese. These are viable, aren't they? Why then does the area look so depressing? But the tree that must cheer the hearts of our economists must be the **Hevea Brasiliensis.** You turn off the Agona Junction to the Tarkwa Road to Axim, or you continue to Tarkwa, and there lie acres and acres of rubber trees. The greyish white, tall, lanky trees with a verdant undergrowth make a lovely spectacle. You see that and you ask yourself: What do we get from all this? I hope we really do get a fair share. The fact that Bonsaso, where the Firestone Company

is, is in Ghana, does not necessarily mean that that particular height of the economy has been taken by us. Let us see some more of Ghanaians in the administration and executive set-up at Bonsaso, and let us read and re-read the small print and even the large print of the agreement. That does not imply rejection of foreign capital and expertise. I am only reminding us, the people of Ghana, what the whole question of self-government is about.

The Grants, Quarms and Blays

The Western Region is served by three great rivers, the Ankobra, the Tano and the Pra. When is Ghana going to have the financial resources to harness the energy of the Ankobra or the Pra, or to tap good drinking water from the Tano and the Ankobra? The Ankobra has served its time in the service of Ghana, or rather the Gold Coast, during the good old days of the timber industry—the days of the Grants, the Quarms and the Blays. Isn't it time that Ghana paid its respects and honoured this faithful servant and the people of Nzimaland? All that the Ankobra requires is a sash of steel and concrete across it near its estuary—a sash otherwise known as a bridge. All that the Ankobra asks for is a band across it, made of rocks (which abound in that area) and cement (from Nauli) and a few machines, and we have what is called a hydroelectric dam.

Takoradi Harbour is still operational but much less so than before Tema came. Is there a way of making it to work at full capacity and thus help revive economic activity in Takoradi area?

Nzimaland is sharing in the religious fervour that has gripped Ghana. The 12-Apostles sect is there all right, and I suppose you need all of them plus the traditional churches to uproot the proverbial witchcraft of the Nzimas. But the inclusion of Judas among the apostles still puzzles me after all that he did; or was it necessary he should do what he did to prove a point?

One other thing that strikes the traveller in Nzimaland is the number of inscriptions on houses. Why so many "Nyame Bekyere"s? Is it the same old story of manna from heaven? Does it imply they will not work and yet will be able to eat? It is a little disturbing if positive answers to the question reflect the general attitude of the Nzimas. There is some sort of defeatism about it; it is not conductive to getting out of economic stupor. This attitude of **deus ex machina** is so common in Ghanaian society that it is worrying. I am still waiting in vain for reassurance from a fraternal connection who is supposed to know so much about these eternal and celestial divine things!

The inscriptions do not stop with houses. They are on vehicles also. God this and God that. Vehicles in Nzimaland, like those owned by Gas, hardly ever bear the inscription in Nzima or Ga. It's either in Akan or English. The prize on my trip goes to the vehicle with the inscription: "No Business no Wife". I am not at all sure this is true. My general impression is that it is the unemployed men that the women love and shower money on. They form the bulk of fathers with the most children, say ten to fifteen. The converse is also not true. No wife no business. I have been reflecting whether I would prefer to be a businessman without a wife or wives. I share any view that any reader cares to hold on this.

There is the border with Ivory Coast. The apathy in Nzimaland is even reflected in the smuggling across it. This virtue is by no means being ridiculed. It is a reflection of the low key activity of saints and sinners in that area. When the saints share a common heritage with sinners something is wrong, very basically wrong!

Poor in the Midst of Plenty

In December, 1971 (**L.O.** VI/25) Prof. K. A. B. Jones-Quartey made a report of a visit to the Central and Western Regions. He said: "Like all other Ghanaians, the Central and Western Regional people are waiting, some gloomily, some cheerfully, for something to be done", and he pleaded that somebody must provide such people with the economic tools and incentives, or with the necessary skills for gainful production. It is a view one can hardly dissent from, as one cannot but reach that conclusion oneself.

After 1,000 miles in two weeks, two things stand out clearly. The first lasting impression is that the Western Region is potentially rich. The problem is how this potential can be realised, so that it can reflect in the lives of the people. How can Axim and Tarkwa and Takoradi and Sekondi be restored to their pristine glory? How can the native humour of the Nzimas at least emerge in its full display from the economic depression? And they do have a great sense of humour. How else can one explain the Celtic Afromosia Sporting Club? I am assured it is not Celtic of Scotland, and Afromosia is not a dwarf of African descent.

I always seem to miss important football matches on my tours. So it was that I missed the match between Green Grass XI and Great Wonders. True enough it will take a club with wonderful powers to find their opponents in the Green Grass of the pitch, with its many footpaths in the shadow of fort San Antonio.

The Wassas also are in this humour game. There is "Jimmy Gargarin Tailoring Shop, skilled tailors". I should hope so. The whole effort in sending Yuri Gar-

garin into space by the Russians was one of scientific and expert skill. All the same I would not be surprised if one get space suits from these tailors.

In conclusion, this writer must share a secret with the readers of the **Legon Observer.** There is a Pobee Abaka family resident in Axim. No, I did not receive an invitation to a Fomfom (red maize) meal, because I did not declare myself to them. However, I am still admiring the industry of my ancestor, a merchant prince of Saltpond. Family planning was not one of his headaches and one can say of him, like the South American with 38 children: "God was good to him". I used to think it was only a small enclave of Pobees, now I am wondering whether the seeds were not spread all over. Though I must admit the Mensahs are the winners hands down in this game.

We learn, don't we, on these travels!

Play Review

"BLOOD AND TEARS"

Reviewed

By

Yeboah-Nyamekye

WHEN "Kivuli" opened at the Drama Studio one memorable evening in 1972, every member of the audience had the pleasure of acclaiming the arrival of a promising new playwright in Asiedu Yirenkyi. On 9th February this year, when "Blood and Tears" opened, again at the Drama Studio, they had the satisfaction of finding that their expectations had been met with undisputable certainty.

If, in addition, the Accra audiences would cast a backward glance to the author's numerous productions, of plays like "The Marriage of Anansewa" (by Mrs. Sutherland) and "Song of a Goat" (by J. P. Clark), among others, they would have no doubt that Ghana now has a new dramatist in their midst. I believe that when the recording angel writes, he will have Asiedu Yirenkyi on the list of those who were undertaking the difficult task of promoting good theatre in Ghana.

In a stirring and beautiful production directed by Mr. John T. Afolabi, a third year drama student, "Blood and Tears" emerges as the most moving (and hilarious) Ghanaian play of the past dozen years. It is, moreover, a play that needs no erudite exegesis, no coterie support and no apologetics to make it acceptable.

Charles Brown, a young Ghanaian electrical engineer, arrives with his wife Elsie from London and takes up lodgings in a beautiful furnished flat. But Charles, in spite of his high education, is only a puppet. He is not even capable of fixing a mere plug, let alone mend a fuse. He is obsessed by his London memories and talks about it with much nostalgic grandiloquence. Anything local, to him, is garbage. He has been so brainwashed by the western way of life that he has lost his own cultural identity. He is mal-adjusted in his own society. He has a weakness too, drink, and he cleaves to his bottle of beer religiously. In short, he is the epitome of "Beentoism', living in illusion, living in a dream world.

His wife, Elsie, is a woman who cackles, and who requires that her husband account for every minute he spends outside the house. But then she makes the sad mistake of introducing her close friend, Flora, to Charles. Flora, a beautiful girl, is a whore who sells her feminity to the highest bidder; it does not take any time for Charles to win her body. The two lovers have their greatest opportunity when Elsie, being pregnant, has to go to her mother to deliver the baby.

Charles and Flora actually live together like man and wife. But when Elsie returns, things get very hot for them. They carry on all the same, until Charles suddenly discovers what his mistress is. He clubs her and lands himself into trouble.

Some Very Good Acting

So far for the story. Now the staging. The simple set, which combines sharp realism with beauty, adds the dimension of environment to the plot. But the furniture, as part of the set, is miserable. So miserable that it makes nonsense of Flora's lines: "Well . . . your sitting room . . . like a palace", and: "the best furnished sitting room I have . . . stepped into for years". This misfit is sheer carelessness on the director's part. The lighting effects are also poor. When they are supposed to be fazed in gradually, the lights flash on. Coloured lighting would give more effect to some scenes.

The characterization is vastly enriched by the performances of Miss Philippa Dennis, who plays Elsie with great virtousity as well as conviction; and Robert Ansah, who plays Charles Brown fascinatingly. He really, like a good actor, gets into emotional touch with others, and his Charles is a packed, compendious affair very rich in detail. He has a voice of bottled thunder. The trouble is, that in his anxiety to reach the audience, Ansah does everything on such a vast scale that it

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There's something else. We wouldn't bother to mention it, but people keep mentioning it to us. It's the nature of the service aboard every Ghana Airways aircraft. *When a Ghanaian hostess says 'Welcome', she really means it.* It isn't a matter of training, either. You can't instil genuine warmth into a stewardess by training. In our case, we're lucky. It's a national characteristic.



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quickly becomes monotonous. His dancing with and hugging of Flora are too wild to enhance the sophisticated ways his London training is supposed to have given him. In short, there are many moments of over-acting.

Miss Patience Dowuonah-Hammond plays Flora with a masterful realization of innocence and shrewdness. Her charming voice is as smooth as a choir girl's. But beyond the charm of her bird-like voice one finds the ruthlessness of the troll. All the true qualities of a lecherous ingrate are portrayed in bold, primitive colours by Patience's master-strokes.

One of the play's greatest qualities is its sparkling dialogue. Very often one comes across playwrights who hoard words like misers; Mr. Yirenkyi spends them like a sailor, without being pretentious. One weakness the author may do well to review is in the scene when Elsie comes from the kitchen to discover Flora in the arms of Charles. This earlier discovery weakens the irony of the succeeding scenes, because it spoils the effect of the discovery of Flora's letter in the last scene by anticipating it.

Through his chosen medium, Yirenkyi clearly breaks to pieces the cult built around "Beentos" in this dear land of ours. Being a "Beento" is not all that matters, and therefore this class should be stripped of all the airs and arrogance built around them. This is the main goal of the theatre: to educate; to reaffirm certain social values; to bring out a social evil into the view of everybody and by so doing help to stamp it out. But will the theatre survive in Ghana? Well, one hopes so, though only on condition, one feels, that the Ghana government would give the same measure of support that is given to libraries, museums and art centres.

At present so few pains are taken by the powers that be to promote theatre in Ghana that such theatre lions and tigers as Efua Sutherland, Bill Marshal, Asiedu Yirenkyi, Ama Ata Aidoo, are all condemned to incarceration in a museum. Such plenitude of talent, and so blithely treated by a nation which needs so much education in all fields—social, physical and spiritual! It cannot, surely, be long before someone in Ghana will raise a cry that has been raised in all advanced countries before: Organise the theatre; the theatre is indispensable!

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For The Record

Monday February 26

3,000 Public Officers to Retire

INFORMED sources revealed in Accra today that more than 3,000 public officers are to retire from the Ghana Civil Service and Public Corporations this year. It was added that almost all of them had reached their compulsory retiring age, with only a negligible number retiring voluntarily.

This is the largest figure ever to be recorded in the country.

Thursday March 1

Pacts with Israel and Poland

THE Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, Major Kwame Baah, today signed separate cultural agreements with representatives of the Israeli and Polish governments. The agreements are aimed at improving relations between Ghana and the two countries in the cultural, educational, scientific and artistic fields, and will be in force for five years.

Mr. Avraham Cohen, the Israeli Ambassador, signed on behalf of his government, while Mr. Z. Krolak, Charge d'Affairs of the Polish Embassy in Ghana, signed for his government.

Friday March 2

Pencil Factory to be Re-opened

MAJOR K. B. Agbo, Commissioner for Industries, will tomorrow cut the sod for work to begin on the million cedi Pencil Factory in Kumasi which was abandoned after the 1966 coup. The factory is to be reactivated under a joint venture of the Ghana Government, the National Investment Bank, Ghana Stationery Company and a German firm, Rehbeck Buffalo Gmbh.

The project, initiated in 1964 under the People's Republic of China's technical aid to Ghana is to produce, in addition to all kinds of pencils, sharpeners, colour boxes, carbon papers, ink, chalk, glue, pen holders, rulers, stamp pads, typewriter ribbons, ball point pens, felt pens and wooden toys.

The factory will go into production before the end of the year and will obtain 90 per cent of its raw materials locally.

Saturday March 3

30,000 Cattle from Gambia

A three-man Government delegation led by Dr. S. B. K. Quartey, Head of the Veterinary Services Division of the Ministry of Agriculture, which went to Gambia to negotiate the supply of cattle has returned home; and it is revealed by sources close the Ministry that more than 30,000 breeding cattle are to be imported from Gambia for the development of breeding farms in the country. More than 1,100 calves are expected in the country this year to feed the farms.

According to the Ministry, every region will be equipped with cattle breeding stations, as well as sheep, goat and pig farms during the current phase of the O.F.Y. programme.

Saturday March 3

Airlift of Tomatoes

AS from Monday 5th March, planes of the Ghana Air Force are to airlift tomatoes from Bolgatanga to the main consuming centres to alleviate the shortage of this commodity.

The air lifting is to be carried out on behalf of the Food Distribution Corporation which will be responsible for purchasing and selling the tomatoes.

Decree on Newspapers

UNDER a new decree issued by the N.R.C. no person shall, after the expiry of 30 days from the publication of the Decree in the Gazette, print, publish or circulate any newspaper, magazine, or journal except under a licence granted in respect of such a paper to the publisher by the Commissioner responsible for information

Tuesday March 6

Amnesty for Prisoners

THE N.R.C. has granted amnesty to ordinary convict prisoners on the occasion of Ghana's Independence anniversary which falls today.

According to a statement from the office of the N.R.C. all prisoners serving sentences of imprisonment of five years or more (except life sentences) are to have their sentences remitted by half, if they have not by today already served half or more of the sentence. Where the prisoner has served half or more of the sentence, he is to have the remainder of the term remitted.

Prisoners under sentence of death who have by today been in custody for a year or more will have their sentences commuted to life imprisonment; while prisoners serving life sentences who have served 15 years or more are to be granted remission of the remainder of their sentences.

The N.R.C. has also granted amnesty to long standing cases of deserters from the Army.

Tuesday March 6

23 Members of P.P. Released

TO mark the 16th anniversary of Ghana's independence, the N.R.C. has today ordered the release from proctective custody of 23 members of the Progress Party.

Those released today include Dr. W. G. Bruce-Konuah, former Minister of Labour and Co-operatives; Dr. Jones Ofori-Atta, former Ministerial Secretary of Economic Planing; Mr. J. G. Amamoo, former Ministerial Secretary for Lands and Mineral Resources, and Mr. John Kuffuor, former Ministrial Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Others included are H. W. Kofi Sackey, former Ministerial Secretary for Housing; Dr. T. K. Aboagye, former Ministerial Secretary for Defence; Dr. J. K. Fynn and Mr. S. K. Oppong, former Ministerial Secretary for Education and Rural Development respectively; Mr. Saki Scheck, former Government Chief Whip; and Mr. Carl Reindorf, former Ministerial Secretary for Youth and Sports.

24 Awarded Honours

Tuesday March 6

A number of Ghanaians and some ex-patriates who have distinguished themselves in their various fields, have been awarded Independence Day Honours by the N.R.C.

Dr. Ephraim Amu, a retired Senior Research Fellow in Music at the University of Ghana has been made a Member of the Order of the Volta (MOV), Civil Division.

Others who were awarded the MOV included Sergeant Michael Kofi Ahelegbe or Mike Ahey who is distinguishd athlete; Mr. Ebenezer Sersah Aidoo, a private legal practitioner for his interest in national affairs especially in connection with the Society for Mentally Retarded Children; Mr. Jones Attuquayefio, of the Great Olympics Football Club, for his achievement in sports; and Mrs. Fanny Dalrymple-Hayfron, a retired voluntary social worker, for her work in women's organisations.

The rest are Miss Rose Hart, Mr. Sunday Ibranim, Mr. Augustus Odarteye Lawson, Mrs. Rosemond Mancell, Mrs. Rosina Oku-Ampofo and the Rev. Alexander Gottfried Sakyiama-Amoako.

A number of people also received the Grand Medal (GM), Honorary Division. These are Mrs. Valerie Bailey (British), Col. Leslie Hugh Bean (British), Dr. Edward Francis Bani Forster (Gambian), Mr. Dyaram Gandaram Hathiramani (Indian), the Very Rev. Sister Acqeline Tobin (Irish), and Dr. John Broke David (British).

Other awards included the Grand Medal (GM), Military Division, to Major Robert Kunta Zumah, Captain Caliphers Baiden, and Warant Officer Geshon Kwadzode for exceptional loyalty and devotion to duty.

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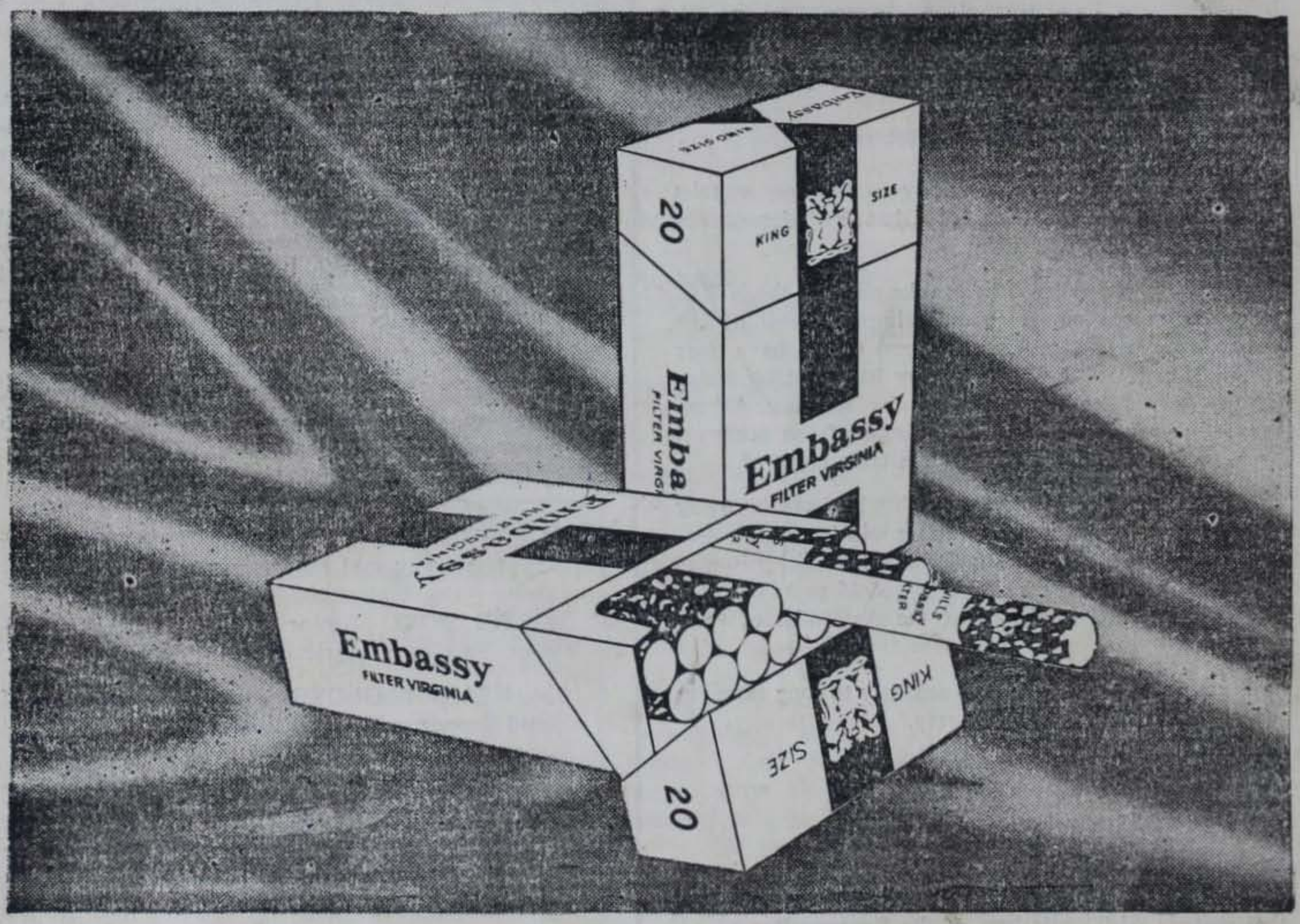
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Editorial

EDUCATION AND ITS MANY PROBLEMS

THE **Observer** looks today at some of the many faces of education, considered as a prime aspect of society and development. The occasion for this further examination of the subject is one created by its own current topicality.

Tomorrow, Saturday the 24th of March, the University of Ghana holds its annual Congregation, in its Silver Jubilee year culminating next October; and this is only the final of three supreme annual university occasions in the Ghanaian calendar of significant events, with Cape Coast and Kumasi preceding in January and early March respectively. Just recently too, there was the short but sharp public debate about foreign recognition or non-recognition of some of the products of our universities, an incident examined below. In addition, we happen at the moment to be right in the middle of the "Speech Day and Annual Prize-Giving" season at the secondary schools, always productive of educational reviews and overflowing with the rhetoric of moral exhortation. And, next week, the West African Examinations Council itself will begin the celebration of its 21st anniversary.

The last but not the least event to be noticed as contributing greatly to proof of our topicality claim is the inauguration of Ghana's second, separate annual festival of the arts. This has been established by the Institute of African Studies at Legon, was opened on 12th March by the Vice-Chancellor, has provided a wide public with exciting presentations of all kinds, and only ends today, the eve of Congregation. Aspects of art and culture, as they affect and are affected by formal and informal education, are discussed in many contributions in succeeding pages in this issue, these having been sent to us entirely unsolicited and therefore confirming the significant currency of interest in these matters.

It is, then, a good moment, we think, to take yet another look at some of the many complex problems that education faces locally. The first of the few we have space to deal with today is also involved in the wider question of administration at the national level. The article on government advisers beginning on page 129, states the case for advisory councils at the constant service of government departments or ministries, such as two committees that have just been instituted, as noted below. There is no doubt that the multiplication of consultative and advisory committees can result in a sort of administrative equivalent of the phenomenon of economic inflation, this particular case being one of too many advisers chasing too few subjects. Be that as it may, we believe that in

certain selective situations there is need to disprove this rule by some of its exceptions.

A general advisory council on education, working with the Ministry of Education and the commissioner, or minister, and acting as liaison between the government and the educational institutions, may well be able to reduce the frequency and expensiveness of "Stop-Go-Stop-Go" operations. Nor need it duplicate the functions of the civil servants of the ministry, who are technocrats and fact-finders in the main; nor of a conference of headmasters or a curriculum group or a universities grants committee, all of which bodies have their distinctive and exclusive functions. An educational advisory council to the government would be an assessor body sorting out all claims of any kind and helping to steer the national authority clear of treacherous shoals. The government's just announced appointment of a local government advisory committee and another on curriculum thus approaches this need in two areas. Our main complaint here, but a crucial one for the reasons already stated above, is the inclusion of ministry personnel.

The question of the cost-benefit equation in the educational enterprises of Ghana is one that has been rehearsed many times in the country, not least in the editorial and public columns of this paper. Not being "Solicitors and Advocates" for the universities of this country, we have no wish to answer the question for them whether or not they are putting out in results as much as they take in by government subsidy. Only they can and should answer that question for themselves. What the paying public must do before they pass judgment on the answer, though, is to make sure they have the facts, for the universities do claim to have a lot of facts to show for their activities and services. On the other hand, if these institutions are failing to present their image in its proper light, then they have themselves to blame if the cry of "Ivory Tower!" still persists among the uninformed.

The recent trouble between the University of Science and Technology and the Ghana Institution of Engineers, however, illustrates a different kind of problem for our higher education institutions; and it is one on which we can this time offer an opinion, since we consider that it was a fight to the finish, with very decisive results. In our opinion, the point at issue was an essentially simple one but was made complex and turgid by the engineers, who thus lost sight of the main point in contest, and belaboured the wrong ones. The Universities of Ghana, whatever else to the contrary may be said about them, seem to have no difficulty getting "recognition", that is, acceptance, for their graduates, post-graduate students, candidates for doctorate degrees, and members of their academic staff, at **universities** and by **academic bodies** around the world, bar none. This is basic, and as a general position it must and does cover the case of the engineers produced by Kumasi too; if their standards are not high, or have fallen, it would soon show in their relations with other universities and research establishments abroad.

What remains therefore is whether these graduates are acceptable to **professional** bodies abroad or not, and this is to be determined only by the position of the professional bodies here **at home.** If the Ghana Institution of Engineers is itself in good standing with its counterparts abroad, its recognition or rejection of our local products would determine the fate of the latter abroad also, one way or the other; and this is what should concern Ghana. The argument about external examiners and the attitude of the British professional body of engineers were meaningless as well as irrelevant in this context.

To put it another way. What should strike terror in the hearts of the Kumasi engineering faculty, the University itself, and Ghana as a whole would be if a Ghana Institution of Engineers, itself well established and widely recognized, found our engineering graduates so wanting in qualification that they refused them the Institution's recognition and blessing. British, German, American or Nigerian professionals in this field would then be justified to reject our men too. But not otherwise. So we think the G.I.E. has put the boot on the wrong foot, though we respect them for their concern about engineering standards at Kumasi.

Education as a principal means of developing culture consciousness in the people is also discussed in this issue, especially in the leading article on the subject. This is a matter which, like proselytism in religion, has its controversial undertones as well as overtones. Some would be left severely alone to practice or not to practice culture; some are highly selective in their utilization of cultural symbols, tools, instruments, with or without the intention of making a case or proving a point thereby... What an educational institution ought to do about culture is both to study and teach the arts in the interest of commited individuals and groups; to research into and preserve cultural phenomena; and finally to present artistic displays and demonstrations for the enjoyment of as large numbers of people as would come voluntarily to participate, or simply to watch. This is what the university of Ife does and what Legon has started doing. And this is good for those who care.

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*From April 1st 1973
†From June 1st 1973

BRITISH CALEDONIAN

Education

FORMAL EDUCATION AND CONFLICT IN GHANAIAN SOCIETY

By

B.S. Kwakwa

MANY people writing or speaking on education tend to limit themselves to institutional education, that is, what happens in school and college. I must make it clear at the outset that I take education to cover a wider area than that. Any significant experience that deepens and widens a man's knowledge, that affects his outlook and modifies his attitude towards life I take to be a kind of education. It is a continual initiation into the norms, occupations and sanctions of his society. It may be structured and systematised for certain age groups in a particular community, or it may be seemingly haphazard and chancy, but it is nevertheless a kind of education.

This rather haphazard kind of education had been going on throughout Ghanaian society before the advent of the white colonial missionaries, merchants and masters. Indeed it goes on in every society, however low down the development ladder it appears. H. Elvin, the Director of the London Institute of Education, writes in "Humanist Education" (in **The Humanist Frame,** edited by J. Huxley) about the education an African had received in his youth at his "bush" school:

> The African explained how with the boys of his age group he had been sent away to the "school" in the bush where he had learned that he was part of the tribe. Before, if he had done wrong, he had been responsible to his family. Now if he did wrong he had injured the whole tribe, and especially his own age group. Secondly, they learned practical things in the bush school, like tracking game and the medicinal uses of plants. And lastly, they learned to listen to the silences of the forest and to become attuned to the rhythm of the earth, "so that the nature within ourselves found unity with the nature of the earth".

Elvin comments that this is as real an education as the English school boy gets in the classroom; however, he adds that it is education for a static society. But no society is absolutely static. However "static" it may seem, it nevertheless does change. A new discovery, say in herbal medicine, a tribal war in which a chieftain so distinguishes himself that he is elevated to the paramountcy, such events usher in, surely, a quiet but significant change in the society?

But such changes as occur in this way in relatively static societies cause relatively little disturbance. It is such changes as occur in a growing body. The body itself is scarcely aware of them. When, however, the society clashes with an alien dominating culture there occurs a change that is quite revolutionary and the effects of which may be quite traumatic.

The very advent of the colonial master in Ghana meant contact with new physical objects and with new ideas. This contact changed, and even today changes, the attitudes of the Ghanaian to life, and this means an increased tempo of change in his society. New experiences come in quick succession to the indigenous people; new political arrangements are made, disturbing sometimes the existing order; new economic activities get introduced. All these have had lasting effects on the life of the remotest village in the country. Religious, political, and economic innovations bring new experiences and change people's attitudes, and education should take cognisance of these.

Effect of Western Education

Contacts in various spheres introduced experiences and ideas that made for something like a revolutionary change in Ghanaian society. But institutional education accelerated the pace of these changes. When it is realised that education in the country was by and large church established and controlled, and that it was only in the late 1870s that the colonial government stepped in, we would understand the change in attitude of the school-educated section of the society towards chiefs and elders, whose offices are quasi sacred, towards the indigenous religion, the traditional medicinal practice and the usages of the society to which they, by birth, belonged.

The contempt of the so-called educated for the culture of their societies was accentuated by the fact that the missionary schools, and even the government schools when finally they came to be established, ignored indigenous culture almost entirely. For the white man in the 19th century did not understand the culture of the people, and, not understanding, he had nothing but contempt for it. It was heathen culture, the culture of infidels. As late as 1899, commenting on the music of Northern Ghana as part of his report on what was then known as the Northern Territories, a colonial agent wrote (as quoted by Prof. J. Kwabena Nketia in his Inaugural Lecture, "Ethnomusicology"):

> Iteration on iteration of the same airs never seems to weary the West African. His chief musical treat is the tomtom. In season and out of season, all day and all night, he is prepared to abandon himself to the delights of a noisy demonstration on this instrument of torture, and it is more often exhaustion on the part of the performers than boredom by the audience that puts a period to the deafening and monotonous noise.

And the white man injects something of this contempt for Ghanaian culture into those who pass through the formal education system. Some later regret this ignorance and contempt. K.A. Busia, in "Purposeful Education for Africa", writes:

> At the end of my first year at the secondary school I went home to Wenchi for the Christmas vacation. I had not been home for four years, and on that visit, I became painfully aware of my isolation. I understood our community far less than boys of my own age who had never been to school. I felt I did not belong to it as much as they did. It was a traumatic experience. My awareness of the problem of the relevance of education to society must have begun then.

Examples of Conflict

Others did not regret and have not regretted, like the proverbial Cape Coast scholar of the late 19th and early 20th centuries who found it inconvenient to eat indigenous foods in public; or the many parents of today who would rather that their children spoke English than the indigenous language; or the many products of formal education today who know all the intricacies of European ballroom dancing and would pay large sums of money to watch a European ballet dancing troupe, but do not understand drum music and could not dance to the tunes of **adowa** or **agbadza** songs, nor would care to watch a troupe of African dancers.

One notices the serious cultural dissociation here. The effect of the western type of education has been to produce two, or even three, nations in the country, each unable to communicate effectively with the other. Many of those who have passed through the formal education system do not understand the culture of their own society. Those who have never been to school do not understand the ways of the "educated". In many circumstances the two do not understand each other. Then there is even a third group, the half "educated", who understand neither the ways of their own indigenous society nor those of the "highly educated".

If from infancy you had been made to respect and to honour the culture of your people and thus made to soak yourself in it, you would tend to understand it from the inside. It would become part of you, and, in your day to day life, in your behaviour, in your attitude towards your fellow men and women, you would tend unconsciously to show that you are a Ghanaian, or an African. You have lost this opportunity to be peculiarly Ghanaian and African when you come belatedly to your own culture. The true Ghanaian easily sees your shortcomings; he sees you are different from him and he suspects you. This, in fine, is the situation that very well educated Ghanaians sometimes find themselves in. They may think they understand their fellow "uneducated" countrymen, but they do not. And the consequences of this lack of understanding have been and can be disastrous politically and socially.

Correction of Imbalance

Again the education brought by the white man was almost purely literary. The church wanted pastors and catechists to help in evangelization. The merchants and the government officials wanted clerks to help in the shops and in junior positions in the civil service. Let a colonial officer himself sum up, as he is quoted in "Education and Changing West African Culture":

> The conception of the aim of education was that it should make useful citizens, and when we say useful citizens we mean literally citizens who would be of use to us. The conception was one of exploitation and development for the benefit of the people of Great Britain. It was to this purpose that such education as was given was directed.

The education received in the schools and colleges has fitted the really well educated for the civil service, teaching, or the honourable professions — law and medicine. Until very recently such men have rarely entered farming or business or the technical professions. Their education has not prepared them for these. The result has been that these essential sectors of the economy have been left largely to the illiterate and the half-literate. And however good and resourceful the illiterate can be, he finds it difficult, if not impossible in the contemporary world of expertise, to compete with the Lebanese and Indian, let alone the western European firms, who have for a long time dominated both the wholesale and the retail trade of the country.

There is everywhere in the country today an outcry for agricultural, technical and business education. The country would obviously benefit from this type of education. The measures being

advised and some of those being taken at present, to my mind, may not be very effective. But I believe it is possible to take bold and imaginative steps to correct the imbalance in the educational system. All we need, perhaps, is to take this all-important question of education out of the arena of politics, and bring cold logic and knowledge to bear on the problem.

But perhaps the real problem lies in cultural education, and to this one many writers have been blind. For the society is split into various cultures, each unintelligible to the other. They are not even subcultures, for this connotes a branching out system from a basic culture. That is, there appears to be no basic culture common to everybody. And education should supply this. A thorough study of, and immersion of our pupils and students, as well as adults outside the formal system, in the indigenous culture should be our aim. For it is this which will open avenues of a common understanding and make the literate understand the not so literate, and to understand even the illiterate; and vice versa. Together we can then set our goals, political and social, and, working in an atmosphere of complete understanding, achieve them.

The Arts and Culture

CHOREOGRAPHY IN TRADITIONAL DANCES

By

Francis Nii-Yartey

THERE are many problems facing the African choreographer, or traditional African dance expert, in this era of our theatrical development. One of them is the problem of the presentation of our African traditional dances in the modern theatre, so as to retain all the important indigenous elements in them. In dealing with this problem, the choreographer cannot run away from the fact that the modern theatre, of necessity, transforms the traditional arts from a largely community oriented activity into new theatrical forms.

In some respects, it may also transform them into socio-economic activities, for in traditional African societies most of our artists do not usually depend on their performances for their livelihood. The **obonu** drummer of the Gas of Ghana, for example, goes to traditional functions to play, not for money but as a fulfilment of his social obligation; in addition, he performs in order to share his creative joy with his own people. So does the **agbekor** drummer or dancer of the Ewe (also of Ghana) and the **inchwala** performer of Swaziland. Traditional dances, musical skill and repertoire are passed on from generation to generation. Taking an objective look at this transformation, we expect our artistes not only to reproduce what has been handed down to them but also to recreate it and add to it the reflections of their lives.

In the traditional theatre, as we know it, there is no division between the performer and the audience. Each and everyone plays an active role in a common effort to safeguard the traditionally established moral and social standards within the society. This may take the form of singing, clapping, animation, or wiping the faces of tired and sweating musicians. They all observe the same customary behaviour and dance etiquette on which the movements, gestures and general pattern of the dances are based. In short, they all have the same basic understanding of their art; as a result, everybody goes home after a performance well satisfied with the fulfilment of the aesthetic, emotional and social requirements of the occasion.

Demands of Modern Theatre

In the modern theatre, on the other hand, there is a sort of dichotomy created between the performer and the audience by the very physical condition of the performing arena. One section performs while the other is seated comfortably receiving, with little or no participation.

The two sections are further pulled apart by the different artistic and cultural backgrounds of the people who may constitute the audience. This realization necessarily calls for so many changes. For example, costumes may have to be modified so as to ensure easy changing from one dance to another; they can also be made to appear more beautiful under modern stage lighting. In some cases the costumes may have to be modified to conform to existing standards. Similarly, dance movements may be exaggerated so that they can be seen more clearly by members of the audience who may be sitting far away from the performing area.

A single dance which otherwise may last for several hours may be shortened not only to suit theatre time but also to avoid too many repetitions which might bore the audience. In the traditional set-up, the dancers almost always dance towards the drummers. In the theatre they have to face the audience in most cases, thereby weakening the communicative line on which good performance rests.

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All this will tickle the artistic mind of the African choreographer who attempts to put a traditional dance on the modern stage, since he has to capture and hold the attention and the sensibilities of his varied audience. His choreography — and here lies a major problem — is not only going to be assessed by the customary and artistic standards of his society but also by the norms of the theatre, which may not necessarily be the same as those of indigenous society.

Before the choreographer attempts putting a traditional dance on a new stage he must be aware of the requirements of the new environment as well as those of the old. But he must also think about continuity, dynamics, structure, balance, space and duration. Also each individual dance that he puts on the modern stage must have the proper expression of the original idea and the emotional value attached to it. Most important of all, it must be able to communicate exactly what it is intended to mean or offer to the audience.

Choreography not Alien

In the fields of architecture, music, painting, sculpture and many others, there have been changes in the traditional African forms because of the new experience and knowledge of forms in other countries. But some people argue that the dancer should not choreograph our dances, because, as they say, choreography is "western", therefore it is likely to kill the traditional elements in the dance. It would be a grave mistake on our part if we take such people seriously, because choreography is not new to our traditional people.

This has been brought to light by Professor A. Mawere-Opoku, the well known Ghanaian choreographer who has such wide and intimate knowledge of traditional African dance forms. Mawere-Opoku has proved in concrete terms that acculturation in the arts can take place only when there is fertile ground created by the common social, musical or linguistic structures of any two cultures; this will ensure easy growth of the particular art form which is being acculturated.

This is what is happening in the case of choreography. Mawere-Opoku has shown us that the art of choreography has been with us ever since we started dancing. He says:

> ....Konkonba movements were absorbed into See There **Ahyiwa,** and other dance styles. Some of these movements are discernable in modified forms in the highlife and Kpanlogo.....The youth, for their entertainment, created their own dance forms, with their creative drum rhythms and songs. Sometimes the older generation adopted these new dances. Certainly the dances grew with their creators. Some of the best like Adowa, which has borrowed much from the Kete, Akapoma and Densewu, have become national.

Another approach adopted by African choreographers is the introduction of new movements collected during travels to other regions, and, of course, regions which are neighbours tend to borrow one from the other.

The people of Ada living in an area between the Gas and the Ewes, have created **kpatsa** which uses a happy fusion of both styles of dances. The choreographer's competence in dance and perception are needed in seeking to infuse new ideas into an existing style so as to present the form of the dance with its new movement vocabulary, in an acceptance form. (**Research Review,** Institute of African Studies, vol. 5 No. 2, 1969; pages 1—8.)

We may then say that applying the principles of choreography exemplified in our own dances, as well as in those of other countries, to the development of the theatrical presentation of our dance is in the right direction. It is no less expedient, in this era, than changing from rock and wall painting to canvas painting by our artists. The paintings of Dr. Bucknor and many other African artists who are forward looking are testimonies of this. The important changes we have had so far with our traditional sculptures support our argument. Dr. Oku Ampofo and Vincent Kofi are living examples of pioneers who blended traditional African sculpture with the modern touch (which some people wrongly call western), to the acclamation of the indigenous people themselves and the world at large.

Enlarging the Scope

Dr. E. Amu, who is often regarded as a traditionalist or even a conservative, has been able to improve upon the traditional **odurugya** and **atenteben** flutes, which originally had four holes, by adding more holes; the result is the conventional diatonic scale of the octave, while the tonal qualities of the three instruments are still maintained. This done, the odurugya and the atenteben can now play not only the indigenous but also a wide range of tunes, in this way satisfying a larger audience than before. Dr. Amu did not stop there; he has also taken indigenous tunes, and, with 'western' harmonic technique, has been able to turn them into wonderful music. These the indigenous people (the so-called village folks) have accepted, though the new touch in them are very obvious. A good example of this blend is Dr. Amu's song, **"Agyinamoa Ewuo".**

Saka Acquaye, the Ghanaian sculptor and musician, works on the same lines; examples of this can be found in the songs of his folk-opera, **The Lost Fishermen.** Many other African artists like him take the same approach in their respective arts.

In the field of dance, the Ghana National Dance Ensemble, the Guinea Ballet, the Senegal National Dance Company, and many other African dance companies, have realized the need to choreograph traditional African dances to suit the modern theatre, and they have been accepted by people throughout the world, including their own people.

The following are some of the comments made by critics on the Ghana Dance Ensemble:

Carman Moore writes:

> One simply feels Ghanaian villages and fresh excitement in movement. To project such a sense of transport and to ensure dancing of such great agility and subtlety as the Ghana dancers exhibited on American theatre boards, extraordinary discipline must have been infused into the group by someone with both broad intellectual range and great love of dance.
>
> If the African Dance Company of Ghana does hold an edge over many of the other brilliant national dance tour companies of Africa, and the rest of the world for that matter, the reason may lie in the intelligent training procedures of the Institute school of dance.... Western stage forms are nowadays seeking means of audience participation. Africa has it as a matter of course, and the Ghana troupe, much aided by Mr. Opoku's lighthanded but sure choreography, made it real in a proscenium theatre.

And **Heuwell Tircult** has this to say:

> Of all the various national dance companies to visit the Bay Area, the Ghana Dance Ensemble's monday evening program in Berkeley's Zellerbach Auditorium was noticeably the most light hearted in approach. All dance companies smile, but they smiled like they meant it....

The **Dakar Matin** puts it in this way:

> ...It is an undeniable fact, and one can say so without any fear of contradiction, that Ghana was one of the best groups since the opening of the World Festival of Negro Arts.

The **Leningrad Pravda** also comments that:

> The troupe acquaints the spectators with Ghanaian Folk Art; national character of their dances is the main feature that makes them so delightful. Their every motion is simple and natural; they feel perfectly complicated and swift rhythms of music. They perform the most various choreographic pieces to the drums only, thus imparting vigorousness and fieriness to them.

The above comments sufficiently substantiate the evidence that people within and outside the continent of Africa enjoy and respect our traditional dances, as performed outside the village square.

It is in this light that we urge our traditional dance experts to gear their efforts towards the challenges of today and prepare for tomorrow, for, as Vincent Kofi, the sculptor, says, "....no art is produced in a vacuum", and "....outside influences do not constitute a danger to a virile artistic tradition". Basically, art knows no colour or creed; it is a universal language.

Administration

WHO ADVISES THE GOVERNMENT?

By

S. A. Nkrumah

"THE Civil Service, of course!" This is the first answer that suggests itself to both the layman and the student of public administration. But there are more advisers to the government than those that walk the corridors of the ministries; we may call them the informal advisers, after the fashion in which they operate. The aim of this paper is to examine this group, and their importance in the shaping of public policy.

We are submitting the informal adviser to a critical study, because this is important per se; we are not doing it because we attach less significance to the role of the formal administrative hierarchy, the body constitutionally charged with the responsibility of guiding the government to achieve its goals. On the contrary, we are fully conscious of the vital position of civil servants, particularly those in the top echelons of the administrative class. After all, the implementation of public policy is their job, and they work better if they have had a hand in the shaping of this policy. They do this through several ways: providing the statistical base for the adoption of particular policies, actually confronting the government with alternative policies and the expected implications of their implementation, and also

evaluating the implications of the adoption of particular policies.

The avenues open to a responsible administrator to influence policy are so immense that it is unpardonable for him to take the stand of: "The politicians took the decision; as administrators, we only implemented it", even though the civil servant's anonymity implies that the minister must accept responsibility for whatever takes place in the ministry. We are here removing the focus from civil servants because by and large they are safe advisers, safe in the sense that they put their advice in writing and one can always go back and match achievements against the kind of expectations built up by the formal adviser in order to gain the acceptance of his advice by the government. Indeed, the government's advisers in the civil service are accountable to the public for the type of advice they give. It is their profession to advise and they cannot afford to advise irresponsibly, knowing that their prestige and career prospects can be influenced by the outcome of their advice.

Informal Advisers and Accountability

We are in no way suggesting that civil servants are incapable of advising irresponsibly. Every advice has an element of value judgment in it which may or may not be conducive to the public good. Moreover, to err is human and genuine mistakes occur occasionally. Above all, no society can have a better civil service than its public morality allows, and the bitter truth is that in a society of "ten per centers" the advice tendered by some civil servants **will** be influenced by some immediate selfish expectations. All said, however, the civil servant is a safe adviser because he is accountable. His commissioner (or minister) can always call him to explain the implications of his advice.

Not so with informal advisers. They are not accountable to the society for the advice which they tender by virtue of special connections they may have with members of the government. In all fairness, let us recognise the fact that not all the advice whose source is external to the civil service is given by persons with special relationships with members of the government. Neither a contentious editorial, criticising a projected policy of a government, nor a sycophantic one showering praises, is written by persons with special connections with the powers that be, although their advice may be very far-reaching.

However, there are others, who because they may have been classmates with members of the government, or are from the same town, or attend the same lodge, or sit down occasionally to split a bottle or two with members of government, or who may even be girl-friends, are accessible to the centres of power and are capable of influencing — indeed do influence — public policy through what they deliberately or inadvertently say at critical moments. What is common to all these sources of advice for public decision making is their lack of accountability for the influence they have.

For one thing, their advice would not be on the files in the ministries, hence it is impossible to locate them officially and hold them responsible where their advice leads to disastrous consequences. However, it is one thing to say that informal advisers are not accountable and another to claim that they are irresponsible. Of course, some of them can be irresponsible and full of malice, particularly when they set out to destroy public figures who have no opportunity to defend themselves. But, ordinarily, the absence of accountability notwithstanding, informal advisers cannot afford to influence irresponsibly, because that way they endanger the privileged and honourable association they enjoy with the members of the government.

The Pros and Cons

Generally, therefore, the advice given to the government informally would be well-intended. Most people have excellent ideas about how the affairs of the country ought to be organised and they do not hesitate, where they are fortunate to come in contact with the members of the government, to volunteer these ideas. For obvious reasons they would not have the necessary statistics with which to buttress their case. Nor is it uncommon to discover certain illogicalities and contradictions when their advice is subjected to critical analysis.

However, having made these reservations we would say that informal advisers are a tremendous source of dynamic ideas to any government. Since they are outside the normal civil service machinery, these people tend to lack the caution and circumspection with which the civil servant does his work and which, invariably, hamstring his perspectives. The outsider is free to dream, as it were, of the country's problems and visualize solutions, often simplistic but nevertheless useful, pointers to the possible areas from which the correct answers may be obtained.

What is absolutely dangerous about some informal advisers is the overzealous enthusiasm with which they literally force their advice on the government. They alone are right; anybody else

is wrong. It is usual for them to start by destroying any confidence the government may have in some body or institution that is capable of offering alternative views. Naturally, civil servants are the common victims of such informal advisers, and the appellations applied to them by the latter include "saboteurs", "reactionaries", "counter-revolutionaries", and so on. But for this unwarranted mud-slinging on others, informal advisers could be accommodated without any fear of serious repercussion.

We have already recognized the non-civil service advisers as a great source of initiative to the government. It is therefore necessary to devise forms which would allow the country to utilise fully their advice, without at the same time losing the brains of the regular civil servants. We have to "formalize" the mode of their advice.

Measures to Adopt

Two approaches are open to the members of the government. First, they can ask their "back-door" advisers to put whatever they have to say on paper. There is no doubt that this would put most informal advisers off; they have neither the time nor the patience to submit a memorandum. A couple of drafts would find their way into the waste-paper basket, and it is only the serious public spirited individual who can overcome the frustration of organising his thoughts well enough to write meaningfully to the government. In addition to this initial self-screening of one's ideas, the fact that the advice is being given the government on paper means that the regular civil servants have the opportunity to study it and give their own comments on how practicable the advice is.

The second approach that members of the government can adopt is actually to take the advice of the men behind the curtains as their own and to ask formally for the views of their regular civil servants on it. Again, this way, the civil servants have the opportunity to advise the government on the implications of the advice.

One can anticipate people preferring making personal contacts to writing a memorandum, on the grounds that more often than not civil servants do "sit" on their letters. This may or may not be true. What is certain is that no civil servant will dare delay on matters in which he knows his commissioner is interested. In any case, we have no reason to paint civil servants as monsters devouring all views apart from their own. Of course, we are aware that the civil service as an institution does not welcome, warmly, proposals originating outside itself. But then who does?

One would grant that civil servants are capable of frustrating informal advisers through unbalanced and unfair comments on proposals by the latter. After all , they have the facts and figures, and by presenting or withholding certain information they can tilt governmental decision in one direction or the other. Such civil servants make the concept of public accountability a myth. I believe that if there are such people in our civil service they are very few indeed, and the public can expect their views to be given serious attention if they would write formally making suggestions dircetly to the government.

However, for those who are still sceptical about how outside views influence public policy, I would emphasize the device of the "advisory council". Each ministry can have an advisory council of about five people who are very knowledgeable on the subject matter of the ministry. In addition to the regular ministry headed by the principal secretary, the council could also advise the commissioner on controversial projected policies. This council would ensure that the government is made aware of all aspects of a policy before it is adopted. This way, we can be certain that government policies would not be announced only to be withdrawn for further study a few days later. The net effect would be that public policies would be made, after extensive examination of their implication, not only by the regular government advisers but also by other competent citizens who care about the progress of the country.

Observer Notebook

The Nightmare in Sudan

THREE weeks ago, the world was saddened by the cold-blooded murder of three diplomats, two Americans and one Belgian, in Khartoum by members of the Black September group of al Fatah. The fact that such acts of desperate brutality are increasing on the world political scene does not make them any less horrifying; and we in Africa had more reason to be alarmed this time on account of the nearness of the event. This was not one of those remote Latin American episodes over which we could complacently shake our heads or even shrug our shoulders. This one happened here.

Without taking sides in the Arab-Israeli dispute, the **Legon Observer** believes that there is an honourable way of fighting a war and a dishonourable way of doing so. We believe that

there are things a human being must not do even to save his country or defend a cause, and among these are, for instance, the slaughter of innocent children such as we saw in **My Lai** or the slaughter of innocent diplomats such as the world is frequently called upon to witness these days. It is our view that a cause that has no regard for innocent human life is deeply tarnished and unworthy of support or sympathy. For, considerations of humanity must be one of the main reasons for any struggle.

Further, some of the demands which were made by the seven Black September guerrillas as a condition for the release of the diplomats were blatantly unreasonable. Particularly wierd was the demand for the release of Sirhan Sirhan, the convicted assassin of Senator Robert Kennedy. How in the name of reason could the release of this man help the Arab cause? Certainly, securing the release of Sirhan Sirhan would draw attention to the Black September movement and would therefore be of some propaganda value. Also, the event of Sirhan's release would have been one of considerable embarrassment to the U.S.A., which was then playing host to Mrs. Golda Meir. But these considerations are so insubstantial that the demand for the assassin's release remains the little detail which certifies the essentially lunatic character of the macabre occurrence in Khartoum.

In our world which is afflicted, among other things, with desperate, irrational men, two things have become most unsafe—travelling by air and being a diplomat. The ambassador who used to lie abroad for the good of his country is now continually dying abroad for nobody's good, and this calamitous trend should be checked as far as possible. When confronted with the demands of the Septemberists, President Nixon is quoted to have said that the way to remove further insecurity in the diplomatic career was to refuse to give in to extremist pressures. The statement was made at a time when those two of his diplomats in Khartoum, Mr. Cleo Noel and Mr. Curt Moore, were under the threat of assassination by the guerrillas; at the time, it sounded particularly callous and later cost America the lives of the two men. Yet there is reason in that position. The more people like the Black Septemberists feel that their demands will be met, the more they will be inclined to resort to their horrifying tactics.

The time has come for African governments to join other governments in condemning the recent killings in Sudan, and in addition, to make it clear that they will not as a matter of principle trade anything for the lives of innocent people, and that the blood of any innocent slain will be on the heads of the assassins. This will to some extent place diplomats and some other people more at the mercy of ruthless groups, and if these desperate fighters insist on murdering them, then it will at least be clear that we have psycopaths on our hands and we can deal with them accordingly. Above all, security for diplomats should be ruthlessly tightened. Let Africa make it clear that we too believe thuggery and blackmail cannot serve an honourable cause.

The New Taxi Fares

THERE is much confusion about taxi fares in Accra, and reportedly in other Ghanaian cities as well. Complaints reaching the **Legon Observer** suggest that taxi drivers are exploiting the new regulations regarding taxi service and fares to the disadvantage of taxi users. Naturally, people wish to know what these new regulations are, and the objectives they are expected to achieve. Education of the public on this matter by the government has been regrettably lacking in adequacy.

Our investigations have revealed that the Ministry of Transport and Communications originally reached a kind of gentleman's agreement with the taxi drivers regarding fares in the cities. Briefly, the new arrangements and fares are as follows:

1. On certain routes in the centres of our cities (e.g. from the Accra General Post Office to Kaneshie or to Kokomlemle), a passenger can "engage" a taxi and pay a fare of 20 pesewas for the whole distance, or any part of it;
2. If the taxi is "engaged", as stated above, the taxi driver is at liberty to pick up three other passengers along the same route for a fare of 20 pesewas each;
3. A passenger wishing to hire a taxi all to himself, or for the exclusive use of his family or friends, not exceeding four in number in either case, pays a fare of 80 pesewas, that is, pays for the four passenger seats in the taxi, whether all of them are occupied or not;
4. Outside the prescribed routes in the centres of the cities, e.g. from Accra to Legon, a person wishing to "engage" or "hire" a taxi has to bargain with the taxi driver for his fare.

The purpose of these new arrangements, according to the ministry, is to enable taxis to operate as buses or "Trotros", and thereby help ease the urban transportation problem by carrying as many people as possible. Also, users who do not mind

sharing a taxi along the same route with three other passengers pay only 20 pesewas for a comparatively comfortable ride in a saloon car! Previously, some taxi drivers could take other passengers in addition to the person who first engaged them, and charge whatever fare they quoted to any one of the passengers. In this respect the new arrangements regularize taxi fares in in our cities.

The **Legon Observer** would wish to call attention to a couple of problems here and make suggestions for their solution. First, there is strong evidence that most taxi drivers do not enquire from an ignorant passenger whether he wishes to "engage" or "hire", and may drive him quickly along the route and then demand 80 pesewas, although previously the fare for the same journey was about 40 pesewas. Secondly, even if the passenger announces that he is merely "engaging" the taxi, but the driver is unable to find any other passengers along the route, is it not possible for the driver to deny that the passenger had wanted merely to "engage" this taxi, and therefore demand the fare for "hiring"?

Towards resolving this confusion, which could lead to serious consequences, we wish to make the following suggestions. First, and obviously, there is a need to inform the general public adequately about the new arrangements and to define for the passenger his rights in the new situation; to this end, taxi drivers should be obliged to display in their vehicles the new regulations, the recognised routes and the fares. We also hope that the regulations will specify the fares for children travelling with their parents by taxi.

Finally, understanding that the new regulations and fares lack legal backing, we urge that this should be remedied immediately, if violations are to be checked through due process of law.

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LABORATORY EQUIPMENT

Letters

Education Ministry and A.T.T.C.

SIR—There has been some improvements in the Ministry of Education recently: First, the placing of teachers with the G.C.E. 'O' level on the Post-Secondary salary grading; and secondly, placing trained teachers with three 'A' level G.C.E. certificates (no matter the number of sittings) on the Senior Teachers salary scale.

One special type of teacher, however, is now left with a problem which it expects the Ministry of Education to solve. This "teacher" is the A.T.T.C. "specialist"—"Specialist" in inverted commas because it is undefined. Just imagine being called a "specialist" in a training college or a secondary school, and when a graduate teacher becomes available you are declared redundant! Rather than call this "teacher" a specialist, it would be better to call him a substitute.

The minimum qualification for A.T.T.C. entry is G.C.E. 'O' level in four subjects, including English Language and one's special subject; plus at least three years post-certificate teaching. After two years training one is bonded to teach four years before one can enter university on study leave, i.e., if one has the minimum qualifications for university entry.

We of the A.T.T.C. have been told (not officially though) that arrangements are going on with Cape Coast University to recognise the A.T.T.C. specialist certificate as an entry requirement. When this arrangement would be complete and also take effect is known only to those who should know.

The problem of the A.T.T.C. specialist can be solved in many ways, including the following:

(i) The Ministry of Education could either increase the salary of the A.T.T.C. specialist in such a way as to discourage him from attempting to escape his present position, and/or

(ii) write off the four years compulsory teaching binding him after completion, so that if he is hard working he can get the university minimum entry requirement and find himself in the university where, after completion, he would have his position **defined**; and

(iii) regard the A.T.T.C. specialist certificate as an entry requirement for entry into any of our varsities.

If any of the above is considered by the Ministry and also implemented, I assure the Ministry of Education, and also the Ghana National Association of Teachers (G.N.A.T.) officials, of complete rest for at least five years, without any trouble from any teacher.

A.T.T.C. **S. A. Bukari**
Winneba

Underprivileged Schools

SIR—Independent schools are being shabbily treated. They, unlike the assisted schools, have to pay income tax, and their proprietors too, on top of that; their candidates are usually not allowed to enter for scientific subjects for G.C.E., and they are forbidden Peace Corps teachers, though they are just the schools who need them most, since they can hardly afford to employ graduates. About a month ago one school proprietor had to return to the sender a parcel containing a valuable piece of

equipment—a dictaphone—donated by a well-wisher in America, because the duty demanded by the man at the post office was exorbitant. Assisted schools get their equipment duty-free.

We (the National Independent Schools and Colleges Association) negotiated with the Ministry of Education about these things, and were told to ask the Examinations Council; then with the council, who told us to ask the ministry. While we were in the middle of this, a missive came from the ministry saying that we should reduce our fees. We should love to, but how can we, when they are already so fantastically low that if we did we would not be able to raise standards, or maintain them, or even, always, feed the boarders?

Our secretary found himself summoned to the ministry in haste, and was warned about closures unless the fees were reduced. But how can we bridge an eight-foot gap with a four-foot ladder? What good is this sort of thing doing the country, or the ministry, or the boys and girls, or anybody else?

Accra **Daphne Hereward**

Save Our Cocoa from Drink!

SIR—An Accra daily on 14th February, 1973, carried an article which should have alarmed all Ghanaians. I refer to that claim that "The Institute of Standards and Industrial Research recently completed research studies into the distillation of alcohol from cocoa juice. As a result of this, the National Standards Board has indicated [its intention?] to launch a campaign to get distillers to use cocoa juice in producing Akpeteshie". The report goes on to tell us of belated plans to educate the farmer to become a collector of cocoa juice . . .

If the report is true, and assuming the export of good quality cocoa beans is still of concern to this nation, then we would beg the government to do everything to stop the impending miseducation.

The processes involved in the preparation of cocoa beans for the market include the following: The pods are first removed from the trees. They are gathered at a central place where they are broken open. The beans are scooped out of the broken pods and arranged in a heap, usually on banana or plantain leaves. The heap is then carefully covered up with leaves and left to ferment for about six days.

Since it is during the fermentation process that important biochemical reactions take place, to convert the beans to the desirable product for which Ghana cocoa is so famous, I hope you will permit me, Mr. Editor, to give a brief outline of this process for the benefit of your readers:

1st day of fermentation—The organisms called yeasts and bacteria get introduced into the cocoa mass during the opening of the pod and the scooping out of the beans. The yeasts convert the sugars into alcohols.

2nd day of fermentation —Some of the bacteria, called acetic acid bacteria, proceed to convert the alcohols into acetic acid.

3rd day of fermentation—As a result of the fermentation process, a great deal of heat is generated in the cocoa mass. The combined effect of heat and acetic acid, which penetrates the beans, is to kill the beans. As a result, the bean is no longer "viable", that is, it loses its ability to germinate.

The death of the bean permits two important things to take place: first, some bitter substances in the bean, called anthocyanins, get destroyed; secondly, the peculiar cocoa aroma and flavour potential is developed.

Thus any education which teaches farmers either to squeeze out the cocoa juice before fermentation starts, or to extract the alcohol before it is converted into acetic acid, is going to be inimical to the production of quality cocoa beans for the chocolate industry. And to think this strange idea is supposed to have come from the National Standards Board—a body specifically set up to maintain quality of products!

Dept. of Biochemistry **K. K. Oduro**
Legon

Reconciliation and not Revival

SIR—Ghana is now in a military era. The N.R.C. has made it explicitly clear that politics, and for that matter party politics, has no room in our revolutionary era. That is a sound policy, for Ghanaians obviously seem to have had enough of politics and politicians for the timebeing It is in the light of this no-politics spirit that I have been prompted to question the idea and the rationale behind the showing to the people of films on the political life of the late Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. The question becomes more relevant and more justifiable when such films are shown all over the country by a government agency like the Information Service.

That Dr. Nkrumah was a politician of no mean class, especially in Africa and in international circles, cannot be easily disputed. Yes, he **was** Kwame Nkrumah of Africa. But, much as Ghanaians admired his political career both at home and abroad, I do not think they would countenance the revival and perpetuation of his ideology and policies; far from that. The wounds he and his clique inflicted on the Ghanaian economy and society are too fresh and conspicuous to overlook. Our chronic indebtedness is a clear testimony.

In this era of national reconciliation, when we need a united front for the reconstruction of the nation it is best we forget all about those, big or small, who plunged us into our economic mess. There should be no cause to stir up political feelings.

To the anti-Nkrumaist, the showing of such pro-Nkrumah films to the public could mean that the N.R.C. is in for the revival of Nkrumaism and all its attendant evils. The Nkrumaist elements in the society would, on the other hand, not be far from right if they thought that the N.R.C. was solidly behind them. The results would go a long way in thwarting the government's genuine efforts at bringing about national reconciliation.

It is therefore in the interest of a united and forward-looking Ghana that I strongly appeal to the N.R.C. to ban all political films, and anything that brings about suspicion of its inclination to any political party, past or present. Any attempt at the revival of any past ideology is just too dangerous for poor mother Ghana. What we need now is national reconciliation. The N.R.C. must watch the Nkrumaist elements who are now pushing themselves into the limelight of the nation's affairs. We know them enough, and we must not forget that the leopard cannot change its spots.

A.T.T.C. **Kwesi Manu-Acheampong**
Winneba

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Kwame Nkrumah: Hero or Villain?

SIR—With many Ghanaians, I am considerably perturbed about the way the image of Kwame Nkrumah is being handled by the National Redemption Council. Just take the following statement by Colonel Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C., during the 21st Session of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee held at the State House, Accra, on 8th January, 1973:

> . . . That new Ghana was consecrated with the momentous declaration that our independence was meaningless unless it was linked up with the total liberation and unity of the continent. This historic statement was made by a man who saw the vision of a free and united Africa and dedicated his life to the realisation of this ideal. I speak of that immortal son of Africa whose pronouncements and actions inspired a new faith, a new confidence in the African Personality, and who in diverse ways gave the liberation movements a sense of direction and vitality. Gallant sons of Africa, on this historic occasion it is only fitting that we should hallow the memory of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, whose contribution to the liberation movement was remarkable and far-reaching. You will agree that Ghana under Nkrumah was true to this pledge and made contributions of magnificent dimensions to the cause of African liberation and unity.

And then on the 24th February, 1973, barely a month after the statement quoted above, and at a time when some of the delegates who attended the 21st Session of the Liberation Committee were here again for the E.C.A. Second Ministerial Conference, we were celebrating Kwame Nkrumah's downfall!

Most Ghanaians were willing to go to work on 24th February, but were virtually locked out! Make Kwame Nkrumah a hero or damn him; then the whole world would know where we stand on this matter.

P.O. Box 5823 **Georgette Osei (Mrs.)**
Accra North

Traders and the Regime

SIR—It is an indisputable fact that the success of any regime greatly depends on traders, notably retailers. Their actions may create much room for even the layman to be able to criticise the regime in power, for the prices of commodities largely determine the country's standard of living. Whatever price a trader charges for a commodity, be it a controlled one or not, is, to the layman, an action of the government.

The root cause of most of the coups d'etat in African countries, particularly Ghana, is economic inconsistence. Quite recently the N.R.C. had to withdraw the government's ¢30 million subsidy, just because of the behaviour of traders in hoarding and in exorbitant pricing of goods. As there is no smoke without fire, the government must ask itself this question: why do the country's retailers continue to hoard and to charge so exorbitantly, in spite of repeated warnings?

I wish to draw the government's attention to the fact that the root cause of these two practices lies with some of the government's own G.N.T.C. storekeepers, who are sole distributors of commodities to retailers. If a retailer, before he succeeded in getting the supply of a commodity, was made to "do something" apart from paying the normal price, then he will sell it at cut-throat prices, since profit is his primary concern.

It seems to me that the government has absolute trust in its G.N.T.C. managers, but the public, especially retailers, would agree with me that many of them are more to blame than the retailers for our troubles in this matter. They very often sell to familiar faces, notably relatives; thus the unfortunate retailers have to pass through the back door for their purchases, many times through middlemen who are very well known to the managers. There exists the government's price inspectors: fine! But the question is, do they do the work conscientiously? Another question is: do these so-called price inspectors check G.N.T.C. stores? If not, it is high time they did so.

About the traders themselves: What is their quota towards the success of the N.R.C. regime? It would be in the interest of the government if they would expose all defaulters at the G.N.T.C.—government's sole distributors. They should let the public know the cause of their hoarding and their exorbitant prices, so as to get a solution for it, for the success of a regime greatly rests on them.

Kotoka Hall **Willie Owusu-Acheaw**
A.T.T.C.
Winneba

The New Press Decree

SIR—Listening to a bulletin of home news on Saturday, 3rd March, 1973, I heard it announced that the N.R.C. had issued a decree that required every newspaper and journal in the country to obtain a paid licence from the Ministry of Information before publication, and that anybody who contravenes the said decree in future would be liable to a fine or to imprisonment.

One may argue that such a step could bring in a substantial income to the government, but we may equally ask whether this will not hamper freedom of the press. In a situation where one has to obtain a licence before publication, can we really say that the press is free?

We may even ask about the actual reason behind this decree. Has the N.R.C. become incensed as a result of constant criticism from certain quarters, and now wants to check this by means of this decree? If this is the case, then the problem will not be solved, because people will continue to publish once they have obtained the appropriate licence. Perhaps a more effective means would be for the N.R.C. to abolish every newspaper and journal in the country; but this would be a worse solution. and will not help the revolution in any case. We need to attack and to criticise, constructively, when something goes wrong. It is better to speak then, than to stay unconcerned. Or are we on the threshold of the era when every Ghanaian would be gagged?

In the meantime, I would implore all owners of newspapers and journals to obtain the appropriate licence, because we need the press; and it is always better to speak about what is going wrong than do the usual post-mortem on what went wrong.

Akuafo Hall **Peter C. Pyne**
Legon

Constructive Criticism

SIR—Permit me to express my feelings for the manner in which Dr. P. A. V. Ansah exposed some of the doings of individual soldiers, whose activities are calculated to denigrate the present military government.

Gone are the days when Ghanaians kept mute, thus suggesting that all was well with the government of the day, since sharp criticism would incur their displeasure or would lead to victimisation. If these misdoings, once exposed, are followed by corrective measures, the long cherished dream of Ghana being transformed into a new society worthy to live in will come true.

It does nobody any good to bury his pen in his hand, whereas he is not unaware of some of the shortcomings of the government and is only waiting for the day when the government would fall and he would turn round to list the catalogue of its shortcomings.

Showering praises all the time is dangerous, because the government may think it is not making mistakes, whereas it may be making a mess of itself. The saying that nobody is infallible still holds good.

Mampong-Ashanti **A. Kyereme-Antwi**

What are the Facts?

SIR—It is unfortunate for a paper to print "SABOTAGE" as headline on its front page, in reporting the particular news it had in hand on that day, 14th March.

The Colonel-Head of State was reported to have said during his address to the nurses that some disgruntled Ghanaians were buying foreign foods in large quantities and destroying them, just to discredit the government. How, Mr. Editor? And are some of these people being caught and brought to justice? Worst of all was that not a single reporter could stand up and ask the Colonel to substantiate.

I know this particular paper has had a bad day, but is that all it can make out of an address by a head of state? I am sure our papers will be doing more useful service to the community if they follow up the news and give us the facts behind it.

Faculty of Science **E. S. Larverh**
Legon

BE ABREAST WITH

THE TIMES, READ

THE LEGON

OBSERVER

Abolition of Cocoa Spraying Scheme

SIR—When recently government withdrew the subsidy on essential commodities, Ghanaians were told that the purpose for which the exercise had been meant was being thwarted through the unpatriotic activities of a few economic saboteurs. Items subsidised to be sold cheaply to the public were being hoarded, black marketed or even smuggled out of the country.

In a matter of weeks, government has had another cause to cancel and abolish: this time the mass cocoa spraying scheme, because it "had been tainted with bribery, cheating, improper spraying, dishonesty and discrimination". One government newspaper's view is that supervision of the sprayers has been so poor that spraying is done in ways which even disturb the farmer's own work. It is also reported that much of the time the sprayers are found in palm wine and akpeteshie bars in the villages . . .

My personal reaction to these developments, and particularly the unique decisions always taken, is that if a ruling military junta could allow well conceived strategies at helping the downtrodden (low income urban worker and the neglected rural farmer) to be negated by a group of market women, retail traders, and a band of 3,500 cocoa sprayers, then perhaps Ghana needs to be salvaged rather than saved.

Legon Hall **Kofi Akwabi-Ameyaw**
Legon

The Cement Situation

SIR—Early in March, 1973, the Logistics Committee took over the sale of cement from the accredited distributors, Ghana Cement Works Limited.

This was timely in order to alleviate the catastrophic price increases in this commodity we experienced for some time before the take over. But this take over has posed a very big problem for the landlord or housecwner who needs just a bag or two of cement to maintain his house or carry out a small project either in his house or elsewhere.

What provision has the Ministry of Trade or the Logistics Committee made towards this? The appropriate body is being called upon to alleviate this frustrating situation.

P.O. Box 0265 **Saka Adotey**
Osu.

Milk More Valuable than Blood?

SIR—It seems it is far safer to trade in human beings in Ghana than to hoard a carton of milk! Because, you know something? The latter carries the DEATH PENALTY and an astronomical fine; the former TWO YEARS IN PRISON AND/OR ¢1,000 FINE!

So a carton of milk is more valuable than a human being in Ghana!

167 Indece Hall **K. Ahia**
U.S.T., Kumasi

Matters Arising

ORGANISING MASS EDUCATION

By

E. S. Aidoo

I HAVE just discovered (should I add "to my shame"?) that I have not, and no one else has, commented on Mr. A. P. Achampong's nice letter in your issue of as long ago as the 17th November, 1972. I may have been so overjoyed that he found in my interest an indication "that it will not be very difficult to find literate people who will wish to serve the nation by joining" in real action to spread literacy among our people that —I just went to sleep! Sorry. The matter is very serious. So let me deal with all my friend's questions (**L.O.** VII/23 at page 552).

The most important thing is to find and get together a dedicated group of literates who are willing to serve. Mr. Achampong agrees that that would not be very difficult. And that is the best beginning for any meaningful action. St. Paul, the aged Apostle, commended much the same thing to the youthful Timothy when he said the latter should commit what he regarded as most valuable "to reliable men who will be able to teach others as well". So we need **willing and reliable men**—and women too. I hope we will agree that the Ministry of Education and the Institute of Adult Education are in much the same position as most voluntary organisations in getting together such persons.

The Whens, Wheres and Hows

Mr. Achampong next asks: "When people from all the regions have joined the organisation, when, where and how shall we streamline our objectives and co-ordinate our efforts"? The only difficulty here is in the attempt to look so far ahead. But need we—or need even the ministry itself—**start** by "co-ordinating efforts" in **all** the regions"? I think not. In my letter I made it clear that a thing like this may be commenced by a voluntary organisation on a small scale. As the organisation grows it should not be too difficult for any administrator to deal with any number of whens and wheres and hows one can think of now. Then also, it should be easy to persuade the Ministry of Education to take over the organisation and run it directly or through the Institute,

Does anyone really need to introduce such willing adult teachers and their mission "to the people without appearing to be intruders"? Into what would any such teacher be intruding? If the organisation is voluntary, then presumably the adult illiterates are not going to be forced to attend? In that case the organisation and its teachers would be their own "letters of commendation"; for no one talks more about literacy to others than the newly literate.

As regards "textbooks and other teaching aids". Mr. Achampong undoubtedly has superior knowledge. But I suggest that if a start is made and the adults learn just to write on and read from blackboards (or black slates) and ordinary exercise books (or even scribbling pads), then several organisations now in existence can be called upon to supply more stationery. At a later stage the new literates should be taught to **buy** books to read; and, for this purpose, the State Publishing Corporation can be persuaded to print many copies of standard textbooks. This has been done in other countries. We even know that when some countries wanted to learn (or enjoy) the beauties of English literature they just went ahead and cheaply printed copies of works like Shakespeare's without so much as bothering to obtain the licence of those who held the copyrights therein. But we must do better.

Incidentally, it is possible for individual Ghanaians to be asked to contribute money if, like me, they cannot give time to this work. All that such donors usually want to be assured of is that the money they give will be responsibly accounted for. And that need not be a problem. Additionally, I know that the Ministry of Education can arrange for the government to give financial assistance to the sort of voluntary organisation we have in mind, provided certain administrative conditions are satisfied. Mr. Achampong was therefore certainly being unkind to himself when he described what could well spring from himself and a few other dedicated friends as an "organisation which has sprung up as though from nowhere".

Now to his final paragraph. What we are concerned with now is not how "the problem will be solved more easily". I admit that the problem is serious enough to engage the attention of the Ministry of Education. But I cannot sincerely say that it is the most serious problem now facing the country. So we need not waste time trying to persuade the ministry to start tackling this problem now (instead of which other?) with its limited resources. To me it appears best in our present circumstances that a voluntary organisation, if one can be formed by willing and reliable residents, should start on a project like this. When that organisation has reached as far as the members can sincerely go, then "an authoritative body like the ministry" will itself feel obliged to come in and administer the desired "far-reaching solution to the problem".

The conclusion of the matter is: I do not agree with Mr. Achampong that the obstacles he sees are mighty at all. To what have others come?

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Book Review

WEST AFRICAN WAGER: HOUPHOUET VERSUS NKRUMAH

By

Jon Woronoff

(Scarecrow Press Inc., Metuchen, N.J., 1972, 371p. $10.00)

Reviewed by

S. K. B. Asante

A COMPARATIVE study of Ivory Coast and Ghana from the rise of the nationalist movement to the mid-sixties is not new to the scholarly world. Many have felt the need to compare the two countries. What seems to be a novelty about the book under review is its massive documentation, its clarity and balance, as well as its depth of treatment of a comprehensive range of interesting themes. Ideas about Ghana and Ivory Coast which have for the most part been propounded elsewhere have been repeated and set out here with great force and cogency.

The book is about a wager which was made on 6th April, 1957, exactly a month after Ghana's independence, between the Ivorian leader, Houphouet-Boigny, and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. The contest was to the effect that each leader would follow his own path during the ensuing decade, and the world could then judge which country had fared better. While Nkrumah chose complete independence for Ghana and fought for it, Houphouet's Ivory Coast was granted independence in 1960 with little indigenous effort.

The Ivorian leader, who had originally scoffed at independence and derogatorily referred to it as merely 'nominal", would have preferred an all Franco-African Community based on equality and fraternity. He was firmly convinced that within a period of ten years, with the aid of the metropolitan power, the Ivory Coast would have passed Ghana in economic and social fields. With coherence and lucidity in expression, Jon Woronoff refreshingly weaves this remarkable story of the "wager" around such themes as decolonisation, domestic politics and control, foreign policy and economic development.

The most striking contrast between the two countries during the period under review is in the fields of foreign policy and economic development. These two—not very much un-related—subjects, which together cover over one-third of the whole book, were most crucial in the determination of the outcome of the wager. This is partly so because, whereas in older states foreign policy and economic development were usually a reflection of national needs or ideologies, the policies in this early period were frequently less those of Ghana or the Ivory Coast than they were a projection of the views of Kwame Nkrumah and Houphouet-Boigny. These were the men who defined the nation's needs and ideology, and ran its foreign affairs. They determined most of the broad policies and, in the case of Nkrumah, many of the lesser details.

Excluding India, none of the successor states in the post-colonial era aroused so many hopes as Ghana under Kwame Nkrumah, and none came to independence with so extensive a commitment to the development of a forceful foreign policy. On attaining independence, Ghana pledged herself not only to work towards the liberation of the rest of the African continent but also to mobilise her resources towards the achievement of African unity (and possible leadership of the emerging world). In pursuit of this policy, Ghana accumulated immense political capital in making herself the Mecca of African nationalism. Thus pan-Africanism, an historical movement championing the cause of black people, was brought to African soil for the first time. Besides the African continent, Ghana was busy dealing with countries in the other parts of the world. She had 43 missions abroad when the Ivory Coast had only 16. In short, nothing occurred on the international scene that did not seem to concern Accra, and "Osagyefo" took a personal interest in several major crises.

These aspirations of Kwame Nkrumah went far beyond the limited scope of the economic and financial resources of a comparatively small developing African state which had just emerged into independence. It was not surprising, then, that Nkrumah's foreign policy ramifications deeply affected the domestic scene, and the result was disastrous for Ghana's economy and subsequent political stability. For the financial burden inherent in pursuit of a forceful foreign policy was compounded at home by reckless waste, scandalous dishonesty in the party hierarchy, and the totally inexcusable lack of proper economic planning.

Nation Building and African Unity

Nkrumah plunged into his alleged socialism with a doctrinaire enthusiasm which was more apparent than real. In any case Nkrumah's socialism, if it at all existed, was decreed for all except those who in fact should have been setting the example in self-denial. With surprising maturity of judgment on events so recently current, Woronoff intelligently takes us through the various phases of Nkrumah's foreign and domestic policies. The breadth and scope of his analysis here is truly outstanding.

While radical and dynamic Nkrumah committed his country to the liberation of the whole continent of Africa, his patient and moderate rival, Houphouet-Boigny, was so concerned with nation-building that he seemed to ignore the suffering of the colonial peoples. To the Ivorian leader, foreign policy was of secondary consideration, for Ivory Coast was in no position to look after the rest of the continent. He firmly believed that no African country was capable of federating others, and that the achievement of African unity was next to an impossibility.

As a corollary to this, Houphouet attached little importance to international politics, for, in his opinion, that sort of activity might be a futile or even harmful exercise, and at any rate expensive. Hence much of Ivorian foreign policy had economic more than political or diplomatic motives. And it was on economic development that Houphouet placed the wager. As he referred to it on 13th June 1959: "If Ghana can assure its population an appreciable improvement in its lot, I will have lost the wager. If we do so in the Ivory Coast, we will have won".

The book ends with a very stimulating chapter captioned, "The Winner". Although the Ghana coup of 24th February, 1966, eliminated one of the contestants of the wager before the ten years had passed, it had however become clear by the mid-1960s who was the

winner of the wager: If success was measured in terms of economic and social development, then Houphouet had done better. While the rate of economic growth in Ghana had fallen drastically, the rate in the Ivory Coast was high and prosperity evident. Whether Nkrumah's apologists, as well as the blind followers of Nkrumaism, like it or not, it is quite evident that Ghanaians are still suffering from certain aspects of the economic malaise in which the Osagyefo plunged the country.

On the other hand, Nkrumah clearly did better in some aspects of foreign policy. It is true that he alienated almost all of the other African leaders and found himself virtually alone at the historic Addis Ababa Conference of May 1963. It is also equally true that attempts at subversion of neighbouring states brought no dividends and exhausted whatever remaining political capital he had established. But to carp at these issues would be tantamount to counting the petals of the tulip instead of observing the magnificent flower as a whole. For although, for instance, one of Nkrumah's highest goals—political unification of Africa—was a failure, it was not an unqualified one.

He succeeded in making the idea and ideals of African unity accepted all over Africa as the ultimate objective for all African states, whatever disagreements there might be on the ways and means of achieving this objective. Besides, it was quite evident that it was Nkrumah who absorbed and gave more or less coherent form to all the ideas going round the African continent: non-alignment neo-colonialism, African personality, African unity, and others. It was the Ghanaian who increasingly became the leading advocate of major African causes. Above all, the fact that Nkrumah made Africans everywhere feel proud of their Africanness might outweigh the almost complete failure in his statecraft and make less severe the judgment on him by future generations.

A Few Small Faults

On the whole Jon Woronoff's careful presentation of the balance sheet of Ghana and the Ivory Coast deserves wide acclaim. The reader, however, will look in vain for information about Nkrumah's reaction to the Rhodesian crisis, a reaction which led to Ghana's historic diplomatic break with her former metropolitan power, Britain, in December 1965. Similarly, one would like to know something about Houphouet-Boigny's general attitude towards the southern African problem, for his advocacy in 1970 of "dialogue" with South Africa would appear to have been fore-shadowed by his earlier reaction to racism and white minority regimes in Africa.

There are also, on a different level of shortcomings, a few misprints and inaccuracies which are not inexcusable for a 371-page book. For instance, the U.G.C.C. was founded in 1947 and not 1945 (p.7). Nkrumah went to the United States in 1935 and not 1937 (p.8). Also, we know of Governor Guggisberg's Native Administration Ordinance of 1927, and not "Native Authorities Act" (p.15); similarly, there is no railway line running from Cape Coast to Kumasi (p.168). The University of Ghana at Legon was established in 1948, long before Nkrumah assumed leadership of the country (p.172). Finally, Ghana did attend the famous 1955 Bandung Conference, even though she was still a dependency of Britain (p.129).

These observations do not in any way detract from the quality and usefulness of this up-to-date and very readable commentated survey of those eventful years of 1957 to 1966. **West African Wager** is indeed a highly commendable work. It will provide a great deal of stimulation to historians and political scientists in general, whether professional teacher or **amateur des livres.**

Miscellaneous

THESE CHARTER FLIGHTS!

By

Nellie Blackie

"STUDENT Charter Flights: **¢71,000 Down the Drain?"** Such was the bold headline that covered the front page of one of Accra's dailies on 1st March this year.

Stories on charter flights have for some time now featured in the local press. These stories either announce the arrival of some foreigners—predominantly American university students, college teachers and faculty members, or individuals on study tour or holiday trips—or give news about difficulties resulting from failure on the part of the organisers or other agencies to honour their part of the contract; in some cases this hitch occurs at the very onset, as in recent experiences in Ghana.

The history of charter flights in whose organisation and operation Ghanaians have actively been involved dates to as recently as 1968. Since this date flights have been variously organised by the Ghana United Nations Students Association (GUNSA), the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), or non-student, private agencies like the African Commentators Club, the West African Tourist Club, and the Afro-Carribean Association based in London. (The Ghana University Teachers' Association is a relatively young member in the family of charter flight organisations).

With the possible exception of those organised by the last named body, charter flights have not been known to be free from difficulties. They are not mere flights, as the word may very easily connote; there is more to them. An attempt to look closely at some of the characteristics of this emergent business institution may help enlighten us on what specifically has been involved in these flights.

To begin with, organising a charter flight has of late become another avenue to money grabbing—a very profitable venture. This is one definite feature which characterises any charter enterprise, whether it is a student-organised charter or a privately-administered flight. Naturally, there is nothing irregular in making a profit from an enterprise such as this, but it is the extent to which the people or agencies involved in the organisation of the various charter flights allow naked avarice to take hold of the better side of them, at the expense of the participants, that is being held to question There have been some occasions when people have had to pay more than they would do under normal circumstances, only to be dropped out of the programme altogether in the end.

There are two facets to the problem. The first is complete failure of arrangements, making it impossible for participants to leave Ghana at all for the destination advertised. Then there is the problem of stranded tourists from foreign countries finding it difficult to get back to their countries of origin at the end of their stay in

Ghana, as a result of poor arrangements on the part of the organisers. One would have thought that after collecting huge sums of money for the purpose by organising a return flight say from Ghana to Britain, the officers responsible would do everything towards its success; and more significantly that any one organisation would not entertain more applications than its plane or planes can accommodate.

Local experience has revealed, however, that some of the organisers, in their desperate effort to grab money no matter how, neglect their contractual obligations, so that participants originally bound to emplane on a charter organised by one group or institution have had to be transferred to a charter organised by another group, after great difficulty. In other cases, prospective Ghanaian tourists have paid their fares but have never seen the plane.

Stories abound of more serious criminal offences in relation to the organisation of some of the charter flights. There has allegedly been one instance in which an organiser, in all audacity, posed as a bank official representing a bank in Ghana and met the **Ghana-bound** charter, which **he** had organised, **in Nigeria,** and there executed all the exchange formalities in the plane! Where the enormous amount, made up of American dollars and travellers cheques, was eventually directed, still remains a big mystery. A most important question to ask is this: Where a projected flight fails to come off, what chance do the participants who païd for the flight have of a refund of their money?

For some time now this crude manner of acquiring money has been the big business of some of these organisers, and if it is really the N.R.C. government's intention to satisfy itself that a sound foundation has been laid, both economically and socially, before it would hand-over power back to civilians, then this item in our present national life deserves serious attention. There is no doubt these individuals are economic and social enemies in the war under way; they are tarnishing the image of the country and must therefore not be spared the application of the law.

The second problem that the exercise poses is: what guarantee is there that all those who participate in the various charters will duly return to Ghana at the end of the period of the holiday? This question in particular is being asked because available evidence indicates that in many cases it is easier to secure a passport under the charter flight system than it is under normal practice. Secondly, the difference between a return charter flight and a single journey in terms of fare is minimal. So that people are prepared to exploit this facility, sacrifice the return fare, and later refuse to return to Ghana for various reasons.

Tighten the Laws!

What is significant here is that there are a number of such people, whose prospects in Germany or Britain, for example, are very gloomy. There may not be any jobs for them to begin with, or schools to absorb them readily. They therefore have to hang on friends for long periods, or fend for themselves on very meagre resources. The hardships some of them endure is often not worth the risk. In these foreign places there is already the problem of an influx of Africans and other foreign nationals, so that immigration of these unwanted migrants goes to agravate the situation.

Immigration laws restraining such migrants should be tightened both here at home and in foreign countries. In foreign lands, the various Ghana embassies should be entrusted with the enforcement of these laws. A Ghanaian who opts to travel by a charter flight should not be allowed to stay in foreign countries longer than he should, if he is a tourist, without satisfying the authorities as to the necessity for his continued stay. Such enforcement may initially be difficult but in the long run it will prove a success.

In fact the whole exercise of charter flight operation has assumed such dimensions as to require the intervention of the government, to control and administer such enterprises; this should benefit the entire nation. It is therefore being sugested that a government agency for this operation be established, to reduce the problems to which prospective tourists have been exposed.

Alternatively, before too late, all future charter flight agencies should be registered, and properly so too, with the appropriate government department, namely the Ministry of Trade and Tourism. Then appropriate rules and measures should be applied to the operation of the agencies, so that in the event of any contingencies refund to participants or a settlement of accounts with bodies like the Ghana Airways Corporation, as in the recent case, can easily be effected.

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For The Record

Friday, March 9

Assistance to Small Business

THREE local and international institutions have granted the Consultancy Centre of the University of Science and Technology an amount of $236,000 to enable it advise small businessmen in Ghana. The institutions are the World Council of Churches, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Ghana Commercial Bank, OXFAM and Barclays Bank. This was announced by Associate Professor J. Powell, Acting Director of the Centre, when Mr. W. S. Moody of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund of the United States visited the centre in Kumasi to acquaint himself with its work.

According to Professor Powell, production units will be set up in all the faculties of the university to manufacture equipment for small industry. Such equipment will include bolts, nuts, traffic lights, scientific instruments, textiles, looms, brick, tile, furniture, and pharmaceutical compounds.

Monday, March 12

Mass Cocoa Spraying Abolished

THE government has with immediate effect abolished the mass cocoa spraying scheme which was begun by the Busia regime.

Announcing this at Breman Asikuma, Col. Bernasko, Commissioner for Agriculture, asked the cocoa farmers, in the spirit of self-reliance, to revert to the old system in which farmers were encouraged through subsidies and extension supports to do their own spraying. He alleged that the spraying scheme had been tainted with bribery, cheating, improper spraying and favouritism, and added that only 200,000 acres, or about five per cent of the cocoa farms in Ghana, had been sprayed since the scheme was introduced.

The ¢5 million which the government spends annually on the scheme will now be used in providing health, education, water, housing and transport facilities. And the 3,500 workers affected by the disbanding will be absorbed into the extension services of the ministry.

Monday, March 12

Strict Motor Checks Soon

AS from 1st April, the police will check motor vehicles throughout the country, to arrest and prosecute all drivers who have not, by then, obtained roadworthiness certificates for their vehicles.

Major A. H. Selormey, Commissioner for Transport and Communications, said in Accra today that his ministry had introduced more mobile vans to tour the rural areas and issue certificates. He added that it would not be necessary to commission motor firms to issue these certificates, since the ministry personnel were coping adequately with the work. According to the commissioner, vehicles which were issued with certificates last year will have to renew them in April, and those which had theirs in November will renew them in May.

Monday, March 12

Two Million Dollars for Cattle Breeding

GHANA is to receive a two-million dollar grant from the World Bank for cattle breeding. The French Government is to undertake a feasibility study of the project and will be prepared to offer technical assistance. Mr. Jean Deciry, French Ambassador in Ghana, announced this when he paid a courtesy call on the Ashanti Regional Commissioner, Lt.-Col. E. A. Baidoo in Kumasi.

Tuesday, March 13

Curriculum Committee

THE Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports has established a national advisory committee on curricula for pre-University education. The committee's functions include the following:

To advise the Commissioner for Education from time to time on the content of education at all levels of pre-university education;

To commission groups of specialists in the various subjects to produce textbooks and other materials for use in schools and colleges;

To review regularly and advise on the nature of external examinations and their effects on the curricular of schools and colleges.

Wednesday, March 14

Oils Mills to Develop Farms

THE Vegetable Oil Mills Division of GIHOC plans to spend over ¢1.8 million a year to develop farms for groundnuts and other raw materials to feed its four factories in the country. The factories, which are situated in Tamale, Bawku, Atebubu and Denu, require a total of 7,000 tons of groundnuts each year for processing. The Tamale and Atebubu factories, now in production, are capable of producing a total of 1,400 tons of groundnut oil and 1,800 tons of groundnut cake a year. The Denu and Bawku factories are not functioning at the moment, owing to shortage of groundnuts.

Thursday, March 15

Housing Corporation Mounts Crash Project

THE State Housing Corporation is to embark on a ¢2 million crash project under which 368 applicants on the waiting list since 1970 are to be provided with houses by the end of June this year. The applicants to benefit from the project are those who had paid 66⅔ per cent of their cost and had been placed on the waiting list. The type of houses to be built range from two-room to four-room units equipped with modern facilities.

Colonel George Slater, the Managing Director of the Corporation, said that at the end of the crash project the corporation would revert to its normal practice of accepting ten to fifteen per cent deposit from its clients.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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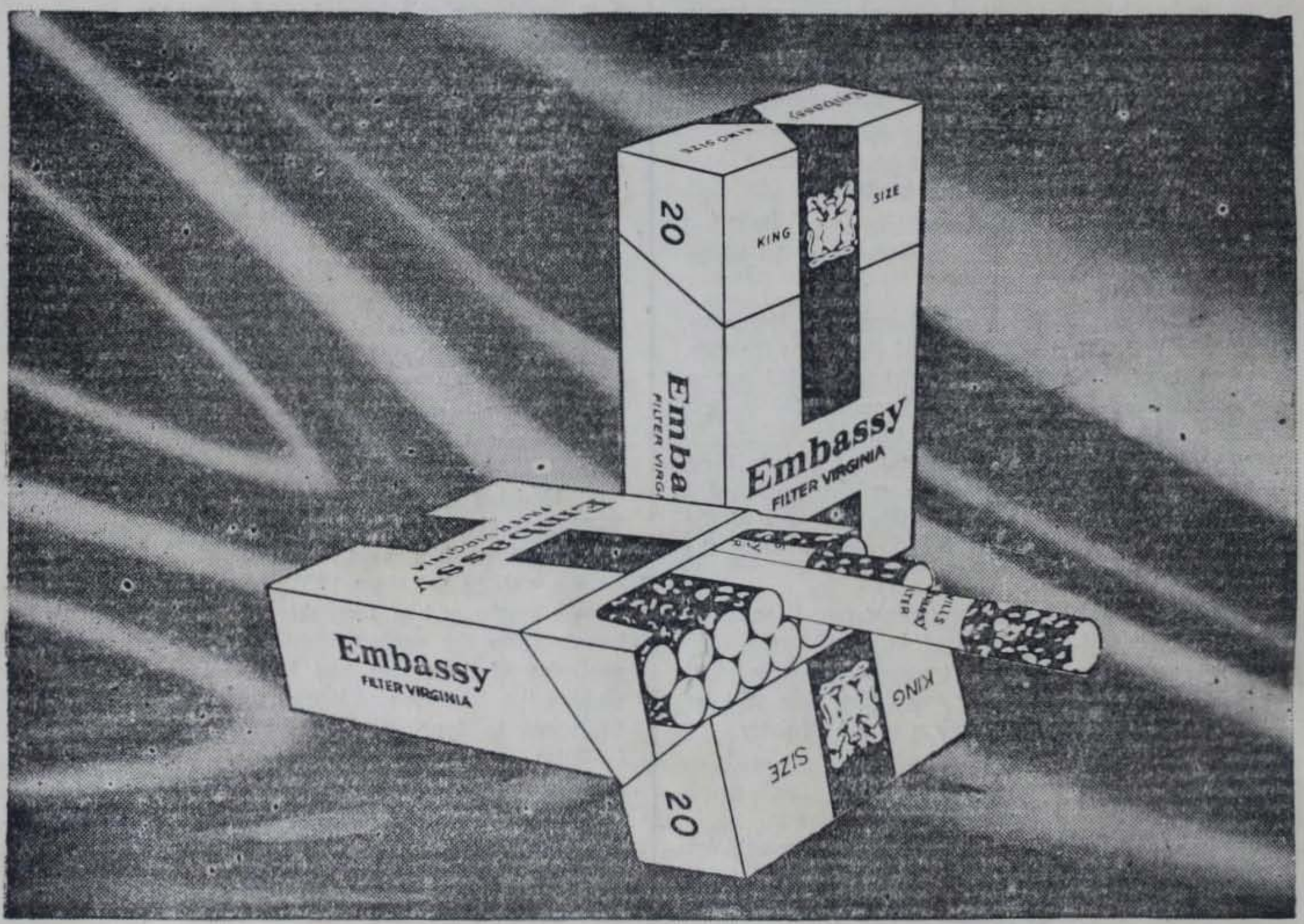
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E. S. AIDOO—Legal Practitioner and former Judicial Secretary to the Ghana Legal Council. Also a frequent contributor;

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Editorial

GOVERNMENT AND PRESS

For nearly three hundred years of this modern era, there has been a running battle between government and press, these two protectors and defenders of the people; each of them is fiercely jealous of its role and gives no quarter to the other. The fact that governments in the end can always apply the ultimate sanction of force and win a particular battle against the press has never brought and will never bring the "war" itself to an end; if it did, defeat would strike harder at the victors than at the vanquished, for then a government would have lost its best ally in the fearful struggle to hold a nation together in one piece. Responsible newspapers are that valuable and essential to responsible governments.

Ghana's press history has not lacked much in the incidence of this kind of dynamism and excitement. It shares such experience with colonial America, modern metropolitan France, many newly self-governing states in the "Third World". Our history since our colonial days is studded with court actions against presses and individual journalists, with imprisonment, fines, banning and suspension of newspapers, denial of official patronage, withdrawal of needed sustenance — the whole gamut of sanctions. The Ghana press has survived it all, whether any particular disadvantage was deliberately malevolent or whether it was intentionally benign but simply went uncomfortable or embarrassing. The decree for registration and licensing of newspapers which the present Ghana government passed a few weeks ago (see **L.O.** VIII/6, p. 136) and has just put into operation is one which spokesmen for the N.R.C. claim to be of the benign kind. An entry in our Notebook section today reports the Commissioner for Information as having declared that the decree has been designed to bring some order into newspaper-establishing adventurism, and thus in the main to save some people from falling into debt and distress.

We have accepted this assurance in good faith, for ourselves and for our contemporaries. But we warn of the historical danger that very often such benevolence turns out to be just another case of a "seduction of the innocent" — innocent rulers, that is, seduced by their own anxiety to seek the greatest good of the greatest number but acting in ways which may defeat the original intention. A colonial governor in Ghana — then the Gold Coast, of course — once claimed he was enacting a law of sedition against enemies and potential enemies of the Gold Coast and its people; in other words, Sir Shenton Shenton-Thomas was being very protective, very benevolent towards his charges and wards (though he did not also claim to be innocent). But hardly two years

later, the "Sedition Ordinance" of 1935 was being used against two significant figures of the times, Nnamdi Azikiwe and Wallace Johnson, who could, admittedly, have been called enemies — but only of Sir Shenton and his benevolent colonialism, not of the Gold Coast people. Much later, the first African government here, also acting in the name of good intentions towards its own wards, subjected the **other** press to a minor reign of terror, from soon after independence until the virtual disestablishment of that press politically by 1962. The star victim then was the **Ashanti Pioneer.** Eventually, that government itself was in its turn disestablished, but with finality—which was not what happened to the Ghana press as a whole.

The overwhelming truth of the matter is, that the only viability possible between any sensible government and a responsible press is the viability of co-existence, based on absolute mutual respect, tolerance, and even cooperation in any essential matters in which the public interest is involved or at stake. Otherwise even press laws, however repressive, will remain unhelpful to a government that uses them; for no independent, self-respecting press or journalist, equally convinced of their own protective and defensive role, will allow themselves to be frightened off from their position by anything whatsoever. The present law which requires us to register with the Ministry of Information, **and** to receive a licence to print and publish before we can do so, is a resuscitation of the operation of newspaper law of different kinds in this country, the most important of which was repealed by the Busia government in 1970. This was the 1st Republic's "Newspaper Licencing Act, 1963" (Act 789), which for the first time had insisted that publishers and printers should obtain a licence before they could print and publish a newspaper or news journal, as defined in the act.

There were two other pieces of legislation on printed matter and the press passed in the same years of 1961 and 1963, namely the "Book and Newspaper Registration Act, 1961" (Act 73) and its amendment: "The Book and Newspaper Registration (Amendment) Act, 1963" (Act 193); the act of 1961 was a re-enactment of a colonial ordinance first passed in 1894. We have no intention of examining here the provisions and full implications of the separate acts described so far; this will be done in our next issue. Today we are merely concerned with making a few editorial comments on what to us is the crux of the matter of the new N.R.C. enactment, the "Newspaper Licensing Decree, 1973" (N.R.C.D. 161).

This law happens to be modeled on the C.P.P. act of 1963, which, as it happens, was cancelled out by no other than the toppled and otherwise discredited P.P. government in 1970, with their "Newspaper Licensing (Repeal) Act" of that year. The principal objection to the repealed law was the precarious business of existence and operation depending rigidly on a licence, as against the previous requirement of mere registration, the submission of returns annually, the notification of changes in personnel (e.g. editor), and the compulsory deposit of copies of book or newspaper with scheduled agents and designated depositories. Now there is a little more. The principal causes of complaint against the new decree are, first, the one just noted above, and, secondly but even more objectionally, the power it rests in the hands of one top member of the government. For section 2 of the new "Newspaper Licensing Decree, 1973" requires that "without prejudice to section 3 of this Decree (on offences), the Commissioner may",

> **if the holder of a newspaper licence fails to comply with any condition included in such licence or for any reason, by executive instrument published in the 'Gazette' revoke or suspend such licence for such period as he thinks fit.**

It should take no great gifts of imagination or prophetic vision, especially given the history sketched in above, to see how exposed to risk the press is under this dispensation, notwithstanding the government's assurances and our own already declared faith in them, protem. The trouble is that "politicians", as well as vicious or ambitious bureaucrats, can and do convert the best intentioned requirements of law into instruments of torture, revenge or oppression, given the enablement within the law itself. That is the danger, and it is **not** speculative, as we have shown. We shall return to detail in our next issue.

ADVERTISE IN THE

LEGON OBSERVER

International

THE PAKISTANI P.O.W.'S—A HUMAN PROBLEM

By
A Correspondent

ON 20th February last, three Pakistani youths forced their way into India House in London and attempted to hold officials in the High Commission as hostages. They were holding weapons that looked dangerous. The British police were called, and a few minutes after their arrival two of the youth lay dead—shot by the police. It turned out that the weapons the youths had been holding were toy pistols. The aim of these youngsters, presumably, was to hold the officials hostage so that they could be used as pawns in the settlement of the issue of the over 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war held in Indian camps.

This ill-conceived experiment in modern style urban guerrilla activities ended tragically, but the young boys had made a point through their temerity: they had forced the world press to turn some attention to the tragic problem of the Pakistani prisoners of war who seemed to have been all but forgotten except by their government, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and a few curious journalists.

Pakistani Frustration

The bravado of the three young men who raided the Indian High Commission in London, in addition to forcing the world in a dramatic way to turn some of its attention to the plight of the Pakistani P.O.W.s, also reflects the exasperation and desperation that is felt in Pakistan by the continuing stalemate over the fate of the prisoners of war. A major human problem has been posed in the Indian subcontinent, and it must be seen from a humanitarian angle more than in any legalistic or political context, even though these latter considerations cannot be ignored altogether.

It was about fifteen months ago that Pakistan surrendered to India, and according to normal international practice, as set down in the Third Geneva Convention of 1949 on Prisoners of War (Article 118), Pakistan had every right to expect that her P.O.W.s would be released and repatriated without delay. Pakistan had herself unilaterally returned the Indian civilians and soldiers captured during the war. After this very long delay, India has still not seen fit to release the Pakistanis, and this flagrant defiance of an international convention, to which India is a signatory, is aggravated by the fact that there have been constantly depressing reports about inhuman treatment meted out to the Pakistanis.

The I.C.R.C., which has no particular reason to be biased in favour of Pakistan, has sent teams there which have issued heart-rending reports about atrocities committed against some of the Pakistani P.O.W.s, some of whom have lost their lives. As was to be expected of any government in such circumstances, India denied the I.C.R.C. allegations of brutality against the P.O.W.s, but she appears to have weakened her refutation by adopting high-handed measures against the I.C.R.C. officials by declaring its representative in New Delhi, Mr. George Hoffmann, **persona non grata.** India's refusal to allow I.C.R.C. agents to visit other camps, following the leakage of the first Red Cross reports, creates further suspicion as to how humanely the war detainees are being kept.

Only One Condition Needed

There appears to be no justifiable reason for the continued detention of Pakistani P.O.W.s in Indian camps, since the Geneva Convention regarding prisoners of war is unambiguous on the issue. The only condition is that hostilities must have ceased, and this single condition was fulfilled when India and Pakistan came to a ceasefire agreement on 17th December 1971. The cessation of hostilities was recognised as a fact by the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly before the end of 1971, and the general peace in that area has not been actively threatened since then.

The conditions given by India for releasing the P.O.W.s all indicate that she is using them as a lever to secure subsequent political advantages. As a senior Indian official confided to Walter Schwarz of the (London) **Observer,** "We fought a war over Bangladesh and can't regard the conflict as over until Bhutto recognises Bangladesh" (**The Observer,** 25/2/73). India wants Bangladesh to be recognised by Pakistan and associated with any talks leading to the release of the war detainees. This indicates a hardening of India's position since the Simla Agreement of July last year, when the recognition of Bangladesh was not made a pre-condition for the repatriation of Pakistani soldiers and civilians held in Indian camps.

This hardening of the Indian position has also made the Pakistani leaders less conciliatory than they were a few months ago. Last November, President Bhutto had told a foreign correspondent in Rawalpindi that he was prepared to exchange ambassadors with India, restore trade and hold a

summit meeting with his Indian counterparts, "even while the prisoners remained in India". By last February, however, despairing about India's intransigence and appalled no doubt by the I.C.R.C. reports detailing the inhuman treatment being given to the detainees, the Pakistani Foreign Minister told Walter Schwarz: "We will not recognise Bangladesh, or take any step whatsoever with India, until the prisoners are back. We simply cannot trust anyone's word on this."

Meanwhile the stalemate continues, and the detainees continue to suffer. It must be remembered that the over 90,000 Pakistani prisoners are not made up only of soldiers; there are over 15,000 civilians, including 6,000 children under the age of twelve and about 1,600 babies, most of them born in captivity. Now, what have these people done to deserve all the suffering? Why should they be made to suffer simply because they happen to have found themselves at a particular place during the hostilities?

Bengalis in Pakistan

This also happens to be the case of some 172,000 Bengali soldiers and civilians stranded in Pakistan. Though Pakistan claims that the Bengalis are not being harassed or maltreated in any way, reliable correspondents report that their living conditions are far from ideal, even if they are not suffering as much as the Pakistanis held in Indian camps. These Bengalis would like to be repatriated, but Pakistan feels that she would be conceding too much without gaining any returns if she allows them to go. It is almost certain that the Pakistanis are getting exasperated, and that if the problem of the release of the war detainees in India is not solved within the shortest possible time as a pre-condition to the solution of the other attendant problems, the Pakistanis may the more easily succumb to the temptation of visiting their anger on the Bengalis in their midst, which will further frustrate lasting peace prospects.

In Bangladesh itself, there have been reports that Biharis and Bengalis who refused to take up arms against the then Pakistan nation have been denounced as collaborators and are being persecuted. What all this means is that in different parts of the Indian sub-continent, people are suffering daily; they have suffered for so long that it is time a halt was called to the pointless atrocities. The use of human beings, some of them very innocent, as political pawns to extract concessions is an abominable aberration which must be arrested before human lives become further degraded. If the end of all politics is the greater happiness of man, it appears tragically absurd that, in this particular case, the human factor has been relegated to the background, while the politicians pursue their wayward courses, quibbling while men, women and children face a bleak future of continued suffering.

In the name of humanity, this vicious deadlock of "release and recognition" conditions and counter conditions must be resolved without delay. The sequence of events, and accepted international legal and humanitarian practice, do indicate that the first step has to be made by India. The unconditional release of the Pakistani prisoners of war, both civilian and military, is a key to all the other problems caused by the war which saw the birth of Bangladesh. The burden lies squarely on India, because she has no satisfactory explanation to offer for her blatant refusal to comply with the Third Geneva Convention on War Prisoners, to which she had freely subscribed. Nor has the world any reason to disbelieve the detailed reports of the I.C.R.C. that give harrowing details of the inhuman treatment to which the war detainees have been subjected for more than a year after the cessation of active hostilities.

The Vietnam Example

It is noteworthy that the exchange of war prisoners by the Americans and Vietnamese was commenced within hours of the formal ceasefire. The question of war prisoners weighed so heavily with the Americans that, "putting the cart before the horse", at one point in the negotiations they absurdly made the release of the American P.O.W.s a precondition for the cessation of hostilities. It must also be remembered that during the Vietnam war, people in various parts of the world, including those who were not interested in the ideological implications of the war, raised their voices on purely humanitarian grounds.

It is on these same grounds that world opinion should be mobilised against India for forcibly holding hundreds of thousands of Pakistanis captured during a war that ended fifteen months ago. The world has become a small place, and what happens in one part should be the concern of people in other parts. It is mainly for this reason that, in the light of our experiences, we have created international bodies for our mutual benefit, counsel and assistance. What is happening in the Indian sub-continent, therefore, should be seen as an international human problem, for what is at stake there is man, his dignity and his happiness. The world community therefore has an obligation to ensure that the suffering in that part of the world is halted before it explodes in our faces.

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There are two things that the world community can and should do to bring India to fulfil her international and humanitarian obligation of releasing and repatriating the Pakistani prisoners of war. First, individual governments and international organisations should exert the necessary moral pressures on India. It has become clear by now that without outside pressure of any sort the Indian government will continue to hold the P.O.W.s with a view to using them as pawns in political negotiations over Bangladesh or Kashmir. Secondly, those countries which have been giving food and other forms of material assistance to India should suspend such aid and restore it only after she has released the P.O.W.s. This last proposal is drastic, but it does appear that the situation has grown sufficiently desperate to justify the taking of desperate counter-measures.

Here in Ghana, the press has tried to bring to the notice of the public the tragic situation of the Pakistani war detainees. The Ghana Muslim Youth Organisation and the National Union of Ghana Students, in separate resolutions, have called upon the government and other world bodies "dedicated to the noble cause of human liberty" to exert all necessary moral pressure on India to release and repatriate all the Pakistani prisoners of war in accordance with the ceasefire agreement of December 1971. What is good for the Americans and Vietnamese should be good for the Indians and Pakistanis, within the specific context of cleaning up the residual mess of their respective wars. Ghana is a friend to both India and Pakistan, and it is fervently hoped that our government will give the question some attention, so that it can exert what moral pressure it commands to contribute towards a solution to this basically human problem.

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Administration

THE CIVIL SERVICE AND ITS MASTERS

By

S. A. Nkrumah

IN his address to the nation on the eve of the first anniversary of the 13th January Coup, the Chairman of the N.R.C. made certain observations about "some civil servants and public officers" who "are just not pulling their weight and are not making their full contribution to the pace and success of the revolution". It would be advisable, Col. Acheampong added, if such people would "give way to those who are prepared to accept our authority and to identify themselves with the revolution".

There can be no joke about such a stricture. When a head of government has cause to remonstrate publicly against the machinery he uses to carry out his policies, we have some ground to believe that all is not well. Of course, this is not the first time that a government of Ghana has complained about the civil service. Dr. Nkrumah did; for all practical purposes he counted the civil service as belonging to the enemy's side—fifth columnists, saboteurs, traitors!.

Good Civil Service

Dr. Busia, too, had reason not only to fear the civil service but also to actually purge it. Perhaps it was only the N.L.C. which did not have much misgiving about the civil service—not surprisingly either, because theirs was a government of officials. In any case they did not really have a mission (beyond the overthrow of Nkrumah), failure to achieve or delay in achieving which they could have blamed on their civil servants.

What we attempt to do in this paper is to put forward some explanation for the doubts that successive governments have had about their civil service. But even before the "plot thickens" let me state my belief that the Ghanaian civil service is among the best anywhere. In the midst of political instability in this country, it has stood unruffled and coped successfully with the demands of changing regimes. The ability to exist and continue to run the basic essential services in the society is in itself an achievement, but in addition we have escaped trouble like a "Congo", of early 60s dimensions.

The Ghana civil service has, also, produced some of the finest administrators, of whom any country in the world could be proud; and has

from time to time provided direct assistance and inspiration to the services of a number of African countries in their times of crisis. There have been failures here and there, like the disgraceful inability to implement the free text-book scheme, for instance; nevertheless, it is not difficult to acknowledge the tremendous contribution the civil service has made towards modernizing Ghana.

Therefore our view is that when Ghana's leaders complain about this establishment, they do not in fact condemn it **in toto**; they speak in relative terms, to the effect for instance that, given the resources at the disposal of the service, much more is expected of them than they are able to achieve. Sometimes, too, the critics have the "administrative lag" in mind — the gap between the huge administrative needs of the developing countries due to their high aspirations and expectations, and their actual performance, which is invariably far below the needs of their exigencies.

Civil Masters

Having made the above observations, this observer still thinks that Ghana governments have had genuine cause to be apprehensive of the performance of their civil servants. The first point here is that this country has never really had civil **servants**: as Colonel Acheampong said, our lot has been to be saddled with civil **masters**! Nobody in the civil sevice, from the messenger right up to the man at the top of the hierarchy, sincerely believes he is in the service to serve the public; if anything, it is self-help — what service accrues to the public is by and large incidental.

In 1957, Kwame Nkrumah warned the expatriate staff still in the service to cease to be civil masters, which they had actually been under the colonial system. But hardly did he ever visualize that the Ghanaians he was promoting into the shoes of the departing expatriates had already assumed the airs of public bosses. The fact that the C.P.P. government comprised mostly people of lower educational background even magnified the civil servants' feeling of superiority. Not only were they heirs to the omnipotent colonial governor at the apex of the colonial administration, but also their superior knowledge, in their thinking, entitled them to precedence over the political leaders.

The reliance of the N.L.C. on officials increased the powers of the civil servants, so much so that the undoubted competence of the individual ministers of the Busia era was not adequate to make civil servants to agree, in good faith, that political leadership was superior, as a matter of course. And now the chairman of the N.R.C. has complained that "there are still some civil servants and public officers who grudgingly accept our authority, probably because they think they know better".

The feeling of many civil servants that they are an authority unto themselves has two serious implications. First, what matters to them is not the broad policy or ideology of the political leadership but the civil servants' own imagination and their sense of priorities. In other words, the advice and suggestions they make to the government may not be based on the broad policies and expectations of the government. Thus while governments have often said they would do one thing, what is often actually done is the very opposite. This substitution of the government's will with that of the civil servant's has not been very helpful to the civil service itself. Determined politicians have always sought, as a reaction, to reduce the potency of civil servants by various tactics, ranging from utter neglect of their advice and reliance on foreign "experts" and political favourites, to arbitrary dismissals.

Neutral and Impartial

The other implication of the prevalence of civil masters is common knowledge to the public, as clients of the civil service. It is very seldom that one gets the impression that this service actually exists to serve one, that is, unless one meets a classmate, or "does something"! The danger is that the public has therefore come to mistrust the civil servant and to doubt his intergrity, and often faces him in a mood of confrontation. Under such circumstances, it has been impossible for civil servants to convince the public about their genuine problems and to solicit the co-operation without which no public purpose can be achieved. All text-books on public administration claim that the civil service exists to serve the public interest. One looks forward to the time that this will cease to be a myth in Ghana.

But there are other reasons for successive governments not being comfortable with their executive arm. Civil servants have not really been neutral and impartial. Here again, practice betrays theory. The ideal civil servant has his politics but does not play it. He is ready to give his best service to the government in power, no matter its ideological complexion. And when people meet public officials they expect to be treated like anybody else, not to be discriminated against or, on the other hand, fawned upon. On the face of it, such a situation has always pre-

vailed in Ghana. The civil service has worked with every government as "co-operatively" as our chiefs have declared their unflinching support for every regime. Yet well-guided, classified information always gets to the "Opposition" under the label of "unfounded rumours".

The culprit may be the Ghanaian's sympathy for the under-dog. Since the government is so powerful anyway, it does not really hurt if the public (including civil servants) gave the "other side" some aid and comfort. Hence we do not encourage the "minority" to wait for their turn — we aid and abet them, whether they throw grenades or write libel. Or maybe as individuals we sincerely hope that **our** star will shine under the next regime?

Graduates Unhappy in It

It is unfortunate where the civil servant is politically committed and partial. The government loses confidence in him, tries to defuse him by bringing into the service its own supporters, with serious repercussions for discipline, promotion and morale; or the government makes use of bureaus outside the regular ministries, with equally dangerous results. A lot of this happened under the past regimes.

Another indictment against the civil service is that it does not take kindly to ideas and practices coming from outside. It is like a system developing some resistance for its own survival, only it is on a disastrous scale here. No university graduate for instance is really happy in the service till he has been brain-washed into accepting what "he came to meet". Those who fare very poorly when they are seconded to the ministries are the university dons themselves. All sorts of tricks are brought into play to "ditch" them, just to strengthen their case that university men know only theory! Of course, sometimes the academics fail through their own doing, by overbearing behaviour or lack of capacity for good human relations. Such men would do well to take a course in **How to sell Ideas.**

Meanwhile we fail to benefit from the findings of various research institutions in the country, mostly because the new ideas are not acceptable to the men in the field. From which it follows that any government which puts a premium on innovation soon runs into difficulties with its civil service. The wicked truth is, that the civil service is a poor tool for revolution making.

Nevertheless, it can be turned into a pliant instrument, under a very special condition, namely, an incorruptible and hardworking political leadership. The civil service works wonders when it is kept on its toes, for it is crisis oriented. But who can push others about when he himself is not without blame and does not provide good leadership? Nkrumah's government, the N.L.C. and Busia's outfit were all corrupt one way or the other, and gave slovenly leadership in some ways. Consequently, they were not competent to insist on high standards of performance from the civil service. Under our present circumstances, with the military heading our public institutions and trying to provide quite close supervision at strategic places, the stage is set for ensuring that the civil servants do what is expected of them.

Our view is that as long as the army leadership is itself hardworking and uncorrupt, it can insist on the various codes of discipline and direct the civil service to achieve the public goals for which it exists.

The Economy

GHANA AND THE E.E.C.: SOME FURTHER THOUGHTS

By

Kwasi Kwarteng & A. G. Blomqvist

IN RECENT weeks much ink and erudition have been expended on the question whether Ghana should negotiate for associate status with the E.E.C., at the conference which will take place at Yaounde beginning in August 1973. The debate on the association question has ranged from vague political harangue in some papers to a more balanced weighing of the pros and cons, **inter alia**, in the pages of one particular periodical. With few exceptions, however, the conclusion has been the same, namely that it is not in Ghana's interest to associate with the E.E.C.

This conclusion strikes us as very much premature at this stage, since the negotiations on the exact terms of a possible association have not even started yet, and it appears short-sighted to limit one's options by deciding in advance that one is not even going to enter into negotiations. In addition we feel that, to a disturbingly large extent, the arguments adduced against a possible association rest on vaguely specified and greatly exaggerated fears regarding the degree to which an association would lead to an increase in political and economic "dependence" on the European countries, and to a strengthening of what is considered as the excessive degree of specialization of the African countries on primary exports.

It appears to us that there are very few provisions in the various proposed association agreements that could conceivably justify these fears, and in fact there are some provisions that would rather favour the trend towards exports in more processed form and towards

export diversification in general. What is needed, in our view, is a debate which focusses on the specific points in the proposed agreements where Ghana needs to formulate a clear-cut bargaining position, such as the issues of reverse preferences and limitations on trade relations with other African countries. Lofty generalizations about the rapacious intentions of the neo-colonialists in the E.E.C. are less useful in this respect than a careful examination of the specific means through which one thinks these intentions will be carried out.

As is well known, the reason why the association question is receiving so much attention at the present time is Britain's entry into the E.E.C., and the resulting gradual phasing out of the Commonwealth Preference Scheme. As a consequence of that, Ghana will lose, as from 1975, the preferences she enjoyed in the British market. Now, an association with the E.E.C. would mean that Ghana would be eligible for preferences which the already associated countries are enjoying in the now expanded E.E.C., and therefore what she loses from the ending of the Commonwealth preferences she would gain from association.

The Different Types

What matters most when it comes to considering whether a country should seek some sort of association with the E.E.C. is the extent of its trade with that body. In the case of Ghana the facts are unambiguous. In 1970 the enlarged E.E.C. took 49.3 per cent of Ghana's exports, the U.S.A. took 16.9%, Japan 6.5%, China 0.5%, and Eastern Europe 9.5%. There is therefore everything in the trading position of Ghana to warrant our seeking some association with the E.E.C., since, if we do not, almost half of our present export trade would have to face the Common External Tariff (C.E.T.) of the E.E.C.

Several forms of association are possible. First, there is association under the Yaounde Convention; it is the most comprehensive and the closest that a non-European country can have with the E.E.C. The second form is the one which any country can negotiate under article 238 of the Treaty of Rome, and which is typified by the treaty negotiated by the East African Community at Arusha. This is referred to here as the "Arusha type". It is less comprehensive than the Yaounde Convention, but certainly less watered down than the third type of agreement, which is a negotiated limited trade agreement between the E.E.C. and any country which seeks association in this form.

As we have mentioned, the Yaounde type of association is the most comprehensive. If Ghana should choose that option, it would entail duty free access to the E.E.C. market of all Ghana's tropical primary products, as well as her manufactured and semi-processed goods. There is of course a corresponding obligation on the associated countries to provide some reciprocal preferences for goods imported from the E.E.C. However, the Yaounde Convention does not provide a carte blanche to the E.E.C. countries in respect of E.E.C. exports to the associated members; it recognizes that a good proportion of the government revenue of the associated countries is derived from duties on imports and therefore leaves them the right to impose such revenue raising duties. There is also room for the imposition of fiscal charges on imports and other taxes. The convention also recognizes their right to impose quantitative restriction for balance of payment purposes.

Another important fact is that the commercial policies that the associated countries pursue with third countries should not be in any way discriminatory to the E.E.C. member countries. In other words, if any of the associated countries give preferences to goods from non-E.E.C. countries, the same preferences should be extended to goods from the E.E.C. The converse of this is not, however, true: the associated members can grant the same preferences to third countries as they give to E.E.C. members. This provision is of crucial importance and is taken up later in the discussion.

The principle of duty free access to the E.E.C. is, however, somewhat limited by the Community Common Agricultural Policy (C.A.P.). Critics of association under Yaounde have held this up as a particularly objectionable protective element, retained by the Community even if an association agreement is concluded. It is argued that because the C.A.P. imposes duties and quantitative restrictions on certain primary products, of interest to E.E.C. agriculture, it thereby consigns the associated countries to a role as perpetual producers of primary agricultural products of the traditional, limited and special kind.

For, although tropical agricultural products are admitted duty free into the E.E.C., the E.E.C. member states have taken special steps through the C.A.P. to protect their domestic production of certain commodities, like tobacco, maize, wheat and fruits and vegetables. Thus if any associated country produces any of these commodities for export, that country will come up against tariff walls in the E.E.C. countries; however, these tariff walls are not as high as those faced by non-associated third countries who produce these commodities. This rather implies a sort of "second-best" reason for association.

The Lagos Agreement

On the financial aid side, under the Yaounde Agreement associated countries participate in the European Development Fund. There are in this fund various aid facilities, as well as "soft loan" facilities, which are granted to countries with debt burdens and balance of payment problems. The soft loans are also used to tide over those countries that are in serious difficulties resulting from a drop in world prices of commodities on which their economies are particularly dependent.

The second option open to Ghana is to negotiate for an **Arusha type** association, which type does not cover all products in the E.E.C. trade list. In other words, there is only a specified number of products from the East African countries that enter the E.E.C. free of duty, and in return about sixty E.E.C. products are given preferential entry into East Africa. Products like coffee and tinned pineapple from East Africa do enter the E.E.C. free of duty but are subject to quota ceilings. This type of agreement is tailored to the requirements of each country that negotiates for it, and it is an essentially less preferential version of the Yaounde one. The Lagos Agreement under which Nigeria sought association was essentially of the same type as the Arusha agreement. The Lagos agreement, however, was never ratified, partly owing to the political upheavals in Nigeria and partly to France's inflexible stand on certain provisions in the agreements.

A conspicuous difference between the Arusha and the Yaounde type of association is the absence in the former of any participation in the European Development Fund. In other words, there is no provision made for aid and financial assistance. It is questionable, however, whether this constitutes much of a difference, since not getting aid from the Development Fund does not rule out the possibility of getting bilateral aid directly from E.E.C. member countries.

The third option is not a form of association in the strict sense, for it is only a trade agreement which may country can negotiate with a view to facilitating trade between the country and the E.E.C. The recent trade agreement between Egypt and the E.E.C., under which the latter is to reduce tariffs on imports of citrus from Egypt up to 60 per cent and, in return, Egypt will grant tariff reduction on manufactured products from the E.E.C. of 30 per cent, is typical of such trade agreements. There are other offers of a **quid pro quo** nature in the Egypt-E.E.C. agreement, and indeed the option also contains quota provisions which a country may negotiate to enable her to have limited access to the E.E.C. In terms of the size of the benefits that a country can gain from such a trade agreement, however, this type pales into insignificance compared to the Arusha type, and even more so to the Yaounde type, and we will not discuss it further.

The interesting options, therefore, are the Yaounde and Arusha types. On the following discussion, we will focus mainly on the terms of the Yaounde option, because the particular terms of an Arusha type agreement can only be known after detailed negotiations, commodity by commodity. This focus does not mean that we favour the Yaounde alternative; on the contrary, we think that the Arusha type is quite attractive; and if it is flexible enough to be acceptable to Tanzania, it should be worthy of consideration even by the most seasoned anti-colonialists and anti-imperialists.

Output Expansion

In terms of cedis and pesewas, the most important consequence of association would clearly be the avoidance of the 4% E.E.C. duty on cocoa beans. If exports from Ghana are subject to this duty, they will be at a competitive disadvantage relative to those from countries which do not, so that Ghana's share of the market in the expanded E.E.C. is likely to diminish somewhat. The trend towards output expansion in the associated countries is likely to accelerate, as they will now have preferential access to Britain which Ghana will not. In the short run, the impact on Ghana's export earnings may not be very substantial, in spite of the duty; but over the longer run, the output expansion in those countries which are associated, in response to the higher prices they will receive, will tend to drive prices down and lead to a decrease in Ghana's share of the market.

Another extremely important factor, it seems to us, is the relatively high E.E.C. duties on cocoa products (such as cocoa paste and cocoa butter). In these cases, the value of the processed product is only slightly higher than that of the raw material (i.e., the "value added" in processing is relatively small), but the tariffs on the total value of the processed product is much higher. Hence the profitability of these types of processing will be very low; it may in fact even be negative. Under the proposed terms of association, this will not be so, and processing will therefore be encouraged.

With respect to timber, this effect is even more pronounced. The duty on imports of logs into the E.E.C. is nil; but the Common External Tariff on veneer sheets and plywood is 7% and 13% respectively. As a consequence, it is again quite possible that a given volume of timber would earn Ghana a far greater amount of foreign exchange when exported in log form than if it were exported in processed form. It is quite clear that this type of tariff arrangement is an extremely powerful device through which exports of primary products in processed form is discouraged relative to unprocessed exports. Under association, this disincentive will not exist, and we think that this is a point that should receive considerable weight in the present context; from an **a priori** point of view, timber processing, for example, seems a very promising activity.

Other commodities of some importance for which Ghana would avoid duty by association are industrial diamonds and aluminium. Others which are at present relatively unimportant but which might become profitable in the future include bananas (C.E.T. 20%) and citrus fruits (20%); under association these would also enter free of duty. We recognize that these types of production do not represent "industrialization"; but if they can yield higher incomes to farmers and foreign exchange for Ghana, we fail to see why one should object to them for the somewhat metaphysical reason that they are classified as "primary".

The Negative Aspects

Again, association with E.E.C. would of course secure duty-free entry for other forms of exports as well, including manufacturing exports. At the present time, we regard this as a somewhat less important advantage, for two reasons. First, it is unlikely that during the time period that would be covered under a possible agreement (probably five years), Ghana would be able to develop manufacturing exports to the E.E.C. on any significant scale. Most manufacturing industry in Ghana operate with relatively high cost (partly due to small scale of operation) and is dependent on tariff protection. This, taken together with the over-valued exchange rate, would make it difficult to compete in the world market.

Secondly, however, under the so-called Generalized Scheme of Preferences, the E.E.C. has already agreed to admit manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from all developing countries free of duty. While the exports to which this concession would refer are limited by quotas (both by product and by individual countries), these quotas would probably be sufficient to ensure duty-free treatment of such exports on the limited scale that Ghana might be able to achieve in the near future.

The points raised above summarize what in our view are the principal advantages of some form of association. On the negative side, on the other hand, is first the problem of "reverse preferences", i.e. the tariff concessions that the African countries would have to grant to the E.E.C. This feature has been the focus of much of the opposition to any agreement, and it is of course true that if it were to lead to significant discrimination by African countries against non-E.E.C. third countries, it might lead to an increased "dependence" on Europe, in the sense that the E.E.C. share in imports of associated countries would increase.

This would be economically disadvantageous if the foreign exchange cost of such imports were higher than that of imports from other sources. The degree to which this would become a serious problem would obviously depend on the magnitude of the reverse preferences, i.e., on the difference between the tariff level against non-E.E.C. countries and that against other countries. Nothing specific is said about this in the proposed terms of association, and clearly this is an area in which hard bargaining must take place. It has been reported that some of the African countries which are at present associated with the E.E.C. have refused to extend reverse preferences, without any particular sanctions: if that is the case, it indicates that the E.E.C. position on this point is not inflexible, so that bargaining may pay.

Nevertheless, it seems likely to us that in order to preserve something of the principle of reciprocity, the E.E.C. will insist on at least some margin of preference. If it can be made small enough the economic disadvantages would of course also be correspondingly small; and it should furthermore be remembered that under the proposed terms of agreement, preference granted to the E.E.C. can also be extended to third countries. This proviso, as we understand it, could be useful in cases where Ghana would wish to encourage low-cost imports from a non-E.E.C. country for some particular products.

(Continued on Page 165)

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HOME TRUTHS ABOUT THE GHANAIAN BUSINESSMAN

By

E. K. Kumi

WHENEVER one talks of businessmen in the Ghanaian context, the question immediately arises as to who should be considered a businessman: is it the industrialist owing a large manufacturing factory and employing several hundreds of people, or the small self-employed trader, or the market woman who owns her own business?

In various contexts the net may include various categories, from market woman to owner of, say, Tata Brewery. But for the purposes of this article, emphasis will only be placed on the medium and small scale businessman: from self-employed trader to manufacturer employing up to say 100 people. This will then include such categories as tailoring, trading (shop or market) "chop bar" owners, landlords, educational institution proprietors, transport owners, bar and night club owners, bandsmen, farmers and factory owners.

The emphasis is to be placed on these, mainly because they occupy such a vital role in the economy that, to a great extent, the succeess of a revolution depends on their support and co-operation. They are in a position to thwart and sabotage the economic war or make a great success of it. This is so, not only because of the position they occupy in the economy but also because they are the most ubiquitous in the society and, furthermore, do not fall directly under government control or influence.

The accusations of weakness against the businessman are many and diverse, most of them justifiable and indefensible. Here we shall examine some of the major ones, like:

1. the lack of business acumen/ethics
2. exploitative attitudes
3. profit-mindedness (resistance to re-investment)
4. poor employer-employee relationships
5. poor treatment of customer or client
6. outright lack of correct attitude to work.

Some of these attitudes are inter-related, while some stand out prominently by themselves. Let us take the first one: lack of business acumen and/or ethics.

The lack of business ethics is the most serious weakness of the Ghanaian businessman. This refers to the total behaviour and attitude towards his work, and to some extent sums up all the other points. A businessman is primarily in it for profits, once he invests his money or efforts in an enterprise. He is thus thrifty, cunning, prudent, tolerant, enterprising and even miserly. A businessman would, therefore, try to establish very friendly and cordial relationships with his clients and customers. "The client or customer is always right" is the dictum for the really enterprising businessman. The satisfaction of his client is his prime concern, for the success of the business depends on the patronage of the public. And this is where the Ghanaian businessman is woefully lacking. He just doesn't care how the customer finds his business, once he gets his money from the customer.

You walk into a shop to buy something, and the proprietor is sitting there and watching you struggle it out; the slightest misunderstanding (even over price)

and he throws you out of his shop—"if you can't buy, leave it and go away". It is surprising how such businessmen still remain in business; it is perhaps because the Ghanaian does not care about such treatment.

To a great extent, the businessman is just not reliable, and does not even care about it. You hire a band for a dance, and after paying in advance and incurring further costs making preparations, the band just does not turn up, because it is playing at some other place! It seems many people do not realize that they have the right to sue such bands for large damages, or do not care to do so. You give material to a tailor to sew for you, and you may be certain the date he gives you for delivery will not be complied with. You have to make several trips to him, and sometimes you may finally end up taking your material away untouched, after several months.

Examples of such outright unreliability and disregard for clients/ customers, amounting to breach of contract, are so common it tends to be accepted as normal. And what is more, even enlightened businessmen, like Ghanaian lawyers and consultants, tend to be involved in such acts of unreliability; worse, they very often get away with it.

The love of work and devotion to duty is another aspect of business life seriously lacking here. A businessman needs to be religiously time-conscious and devoted to work. He must have strictly scheduled working hours and days, which must be followed without fail. Thus he should not just close his workshop at will, especially when he has not taken the trouble to inform his customers beforehand about it.

Hoarding and High Prices

Nothing is more annoying than to walk all the way to your favourite "eatery" after work, to find that it is closed for that day and may remain closed for several days; you do not have any means of knowing when it will be open again! And just because the business is privately owned, the owner may choose to go to work any time he pleases, regardless of how much it inconveniences the customers. All these amount to lack of business ethics, which is conspicuously characteristic of the Ghanaian businessman. And this is what I mean by lack of business acumen.

A typical Ghanaian businessman is interested only in making profits at any cost, and does not care by whatever means he comes by it. And the profits must be as high as possible. He just does not care about his customer or client. The unfortunate customer must pay more and more, and it does not matter whether he gets his money's worth or not. This particular attitude has been responsible for our most serious economic headaches in this country—the hoarding of goods to sell at exhorbitant prices, the smuggling out of vital commodities so as to make more profit, the excessively high rents, taxi fares, and the rest.

The businessman is thus too much profit minded. Profits are of course necessary in any business, but when it has to be at 100% or even up to 300% or more, then we have to stop to ponder where we are going. The average Ghanaian businessman is not interested in profits of 10% up to say 40%. Thus a car which is bought abroad at about ¢1,000 will be sold at as much as ¢3,000. A tailor buys material for ¢5.00, sews a shirt (labour cost about ¢1.50) and sells it at ¢15.00. A manufacturer calculates the cost of his products at say ¢1.00 each, and sells them at ¢3.50 each.

What is particularly disturbing is that the huge profits extracted from the public are not even re-invested into the business to make it more viable. Any amount gained from a business, over and above the cost, is profit and must be consumed.

Thus a prosperous businessman will think first of a luxurious car, house and even more wives. It just does not occur to him to plough back part of the profits into the business. A seamstress who has made some good business over Christmas or Easter, may not think of getting an electric sewing machine next time, but will go in for more wigs or dresses for herself. A beer bar proprietor whose business is functioning well will not think of replacing broken chairs, tables and glasses, until the whole place deteriorates so much that you just do not feel like going there any longer.

Low-Grade Labour

A classic example of such deterioration and eventual close-down is that of a former rest stop just outside a large town. In this case, in spite of the deteriorating condition of the place, prices were still as high as ever, until the buses discontinued the break-stop, and now the place is closed down. Perhaps the proprietor has become rich enough not to care.

In the "chop bars" no attempt is made to plough back profits for improvement and expansion. A chop bar owner who makes several cedis profit a day will not think of providing drinking cups in her bar, but rather use ovaltine tins, cigarette tins, etc., and may not even care to provide soap for use by the customers. Thus once the proprietress makes her profit she does not care about what happens to the customers. It is a pity that the Ghanaian accepts such conditions or takes them for granted, so that he is willing to continue to patronize such places indefinitely, that is, until the inevitable break-down!

To a great extent the poor performance of most of our business enterprises is due mainly to the very low calibre or type of labour employed: the cheapest (and therefore poorest) type. The wages paid to this labour are in many cases so abysmally low that one wonders how the employees manage to live in this Ghana at all! And often as a direct result of that their productivity is extremely low, at times lower than the wages.

Perhaps what most employers do not appreciate is that **low wages do not necessarily represent low labour costs**. (And this applies equally to the government). The fact that you pay employees wages like ¢0.50 per day does not always mean that you make more profit from that person compared to someone who pays ¢1.00 for the same type of labour. The person earning the 50p might be so discontented that he only works to return say 40p a day, whilst the person earning ¢1.00 per day might make ¢2.00 for his employer. In most cases it is possible, and, even more, profitable, to reduce the labour and pay higher wages to the fewer people remaining, so as to make them work more. This brings us to the problem of the type of labour employed.

Most Ghanaian businesses are just too small scale and too poorly managed to think of employing trained or qualified labour. How many chop bars are able or willing to employ graduates of polytechnics and home science institutes—who are well trained in food preparation? Most often the employees are family members, relatives, friends or fellow tribe members, so it becomes difficult to enforce strict business discipline on their operations.

Most of such people are uneducated or not well trained for the job; in many cases they tend to be a liability rather than assets to their employers. But they are paid low, so it does not matter. To employ qualified and "independent" labour means paying more in wages and salaries, regularly and consistently too. This our indigenous businessmen are not willing or ready to do, although in the long run it is more rewarding. It should be possible for some of these businessmen to employ qualified graduates from our universities in their business. Graduates would be willing to go into such fields, if only there were prospects and security in such openings and even if initial remunerations were not too high. Thus a really successful musical band may employ a graduate accountant to manage its business. This may well be in the end more rewarding to the businessman.

Buildings as Security

There is no denying the fact that most (or at least some) of the short-comings of the Ghanaian businessman are due to circumstances and problems beyond his control. The commonest problem facing most businessmen is that of finance, i.e., lack of capital or credit facilities to expand business. But this is a ubiquitous and persistent problem everywhere.

For any major expansion in his business, the businessman needs a large capital to start with. The obvious sources are the banks. But ask any local businessman and he will tell you it is not easy to borrow money from our banks. Many impediments, some senseless, are put in their way. For example, you need to have a building as security for a loan; for which reason, incidentally, most businessmen go in first for houses after making any profit from their business, instead of re-investing. This practice of mortgaging only houses should be looked into and discontinued by the banks. Better use the business itself.

In some cases banks hesitate to grant credit facilities to Ghanaian businessmen because the latter are just not reliable enough. The money given is used for different purposes and may not even be repaid—we are all aware of the outcome of the small Ghanaian business loans scheme! There is therefore a need for change in the Ghanaian businessman himself, if he wishes to win the confidence and co-operation of the banks.

Another serious problem which faces our businessmen is the question of taxation. This takes all sorts of forms: excise duty, income tax, council taxes, property taxes, social security, and others. By the time he goes through all the cumbersome procedures of paying all these taxes he feels like closing down the business. It is true that taxes are never popular; but they are absolutely necessary, so businesses which make profit should not expect to avoid paying taxes for all time. But there are cases which need to be treated on merit. In genuine cases of teething problems, all or some of the taxes may be temporarily waived. This needs to be discriminately applied and only to productive enterprises like industries, not to beer bars or night clubs.

The next problem, that of lack of business know-how in entrepreneurship, applies mostly to illiterate and semi-literate businessmen—those who have the money but lack the knowledge. They present the problems of conservatism, suspiciousness of every intention and everybody, lack of interest to expand, and others. There is little anyone can do about this type.

The problem of getting raw materials in apropriate quantities at the right time is also a serious one, especially to the manufacturer. When the raw materials are imported, the question of import licences arises, and when they are from local sources their unreliability of supply becomes a source of trouble.

All these problems culminate in the very high prices of locally produced goods and services we know, and at times in their poor quality, both resulting in low sales. Thus due to lack of capital and good entrepreneurship, to low labour productivity, etc., products are highly priced and poor in quality, so they have a small internal market and compare unfavourably in outside markets; they make small returns, so are unable to expand and improve their situation. Caught up in this vicious circle, most of the manufacturing businessmen are throwing their hands up in despair and prefering to go into low-risk, ready yielding business, like beer bars, "rest houses" or transportation. These fields are very low labour employers . . .

What then can be done?

In order to increase their financial resources, for example, several businessmen with similar intentions may join together to form co-operatives, and thus pool their resources together. The larger such businesses are, the better organised they would be, so that the banks would be more willing to grant credit facilities. Also, by pooling resources together and working more efficiently, businesses would be able to employ more efficient and right-calibre labour, since they would be in a position to pay better wages.

Business Bureau Wanting

In all these cases the government has a very important role to play and cannot escape responsibility. This is a situation in which a government should not leave private business to struggle it out by itself. Ghana is a developing country, with a dearth of experience and an abundance of problems in all spheres. What can be done is to set up an organisation to come to the aid of the businessman. The Ghanaian Business Bureau is supposed to do this, but its activities are greatly limited by personnel and extent. Also its powers are not far reaching enough. It should be possible for the bureau, for example, to decide on which types of businesses should receive soft bank loans—e.g. manufacturing enterprises rather than trading concerns. Moreover, the bureau should be in a position to help organise businesses into co-operatives and joint enterprises.

If the revolution is to succeed, then unemployment must be curbed to the minimum, goods must be available and at cheap prices, incomes must go up. Unless the government decides to go all-out socialist and own all the means of production, it has to encourage individuals to resuscitate the economy by going into productive business.

Observer Notebook

Press Conferences And Briefings

MEMBERS of the N.R.C. government have been keeping fairly close to the mass media recently. They have done so in groups and as individual heads of various ministeries. They are by these conferences avowedly seeking both to brief the press on general or specific matters and to obtain the opinion of the media men and women on procedure, performance, and other matters affecting the general welfare. In addition, Lt.-Colonel Festus Addae has even more recently issued from his department of (Army) Public Relations a detailed and completely adequate information sheet on where to go and whom to contact for official versions and correct facts, or: "Where to check/obtain information on Armed Forces matters", as the letter was headed.

This is all to the good and very helpful, though in the case of the estimable Colonel's invitation one could not help smiling at its disingenuousness. For the D.P.R. could have added, with his eyes carefully hooded and his face absolutely straight, as if speaking directly to the press: "For Armed Forces in this context, ladies and gentlemen, you are free to read: the Government of the Day"! Still, what contacts there have been so far between the media and that section of the Armed Forces forming the government have certainly been mutually enlightening and useful.

In one of them the Commissioner for Information (Lt.-Col. Benni) and his Director (Mr. G.T. Anim) wished to discuss with media practitioners, as well as representatives of the more public-service-oriented of departments of government and institutions of education, a "National Operations Chart"; this is one devised by the Ministry of Information and showing their organizational structure and operational aims in respect of various campaigns of theirs to give information to the public and seek its cooperation. In another, an earlier and bigger one, the media people were exposed to a formidable array of high brass, who however managed to make it all very amiable and friendly. Nevertheless there was also much straight talking at this particular confrontation—we had almost said straight shooting, but this would of course be dangerously inappropriate!

The Chief of Defence Staff—whose invitation this was in the main—briefed the very large assembly of media personnel, aided by colleagues of his in the N.R.C. as well as from the other forces, from Military Intelligence and the Public Relations Office. The meeting was in the form of a seminar, in which the various ministeries and forces represented there "told it like it was" from their separate angles of view. In turn they were closely questioned by the pressmen and heard protests and challenges on many matters. These included the matter of the then fresh case of the early-morning removal of the outgoing editor of the **Legon Observer** from his house to Burma Camp, and then to the Castle for questioning, finally to an early evening release, without caution and presumably without blame. Questions were also asked by the pressmen about government action in restoring by a new decree a press registration and control law, the likes of which even the Busia government, for all the complaints against it, had thrown out of the window only a couple of years ago.

The commissioners stated the defence for their action in the Paul Ansah case (for names were openly called and motives dissected). They said the government had become extremely disturbed at the consistent hostility of the **Legon Observer** to the government, as they saw it, since the 1st anniversary of the regime, so they had wanted to find out from the then editor what had gone wrong; the manner of the handling of Dr. Ansah's removal and temporary detention was largely inadvertent and unintentional, the gathering was assured. As for the new press decree, this was necessary, Colonel Benni said, to bring some order into the field and save a lot of people from wild entrepreneurship and debt-inviting adventures. . . Pressmen here indicated they would ponder on this explanation for a while. We of the **Observer** have made our own comment on this important matter in our editorial today.

As far as continuous contact between government and media is concerned, this is necessary. It can save a lot of humbug, if properly used. But it would do neither side any good, and would cause the public much disadvantage, if communicational contact between government and press developed into some clublike relationship, where mutual backslapping would soon lead both sides into loss of direction and a fools' paradise. The relations between press and government should be cordial, but businesslike.

Apartheid Wages

SINCE the **Guardian** revealed in its March 12th issue that the vast majority of British firms in South Africa were paying starvation wages to their African employees, there have been pleas of ignorance from the parent British companies of what was really happening in the apartheid republic. The only British companies, out of the one hundred investigated, that were not guilty of this modern and sophisticated version of the Slave Trade were Shell, I.C.I., Unilever and Rowntree Mackintosh. Following the **Guardian's** revelations, considerable concern has been expressed in business circles in Britain, with the promise that corrective measures will be taken without delay, and the Liberal leader, Mr. Jeremy Thorpe, has called on British parliamentarians to act as "vigilantes" to ensure that British investors in South Africa behave themselves towards their African workers, remuneration-wise. Now there is even to be an official British enquiry.

Well-intentioned and reassuring as these reactions and promises are, it is doubtful whether these measures go far enough to deal fundamentally with the problem of apartheid. For, it is a logical outcome of that obnoxious sociopolitical system that Africans should be treated as inferior in all things, including remuneration for their labours. Increasing the wages of African workers will reduce their economic hardships in the short term, but will it shake the very foundations of that inhuman system of apartheid?

The point is that the strength of South Africa depends on its economic wealth, obtained largely through inadequately remunerated African labour. The apartheid republic is heavily dependent on foreign investment and overseas markets, with the bulk of the investment coming from Western Europe, the United States, Japan and Britain. The total British investment in South Africa amounts to some £1200m., and constitutes over 50% of all foreign investment there. South Africa is reported to be a particularly fertile spot for investment because there are very high returns on capital, and, as the **Guardian** report made clear, most of these profits are obtained through the callous exploitation of cheap African labour. It follows, therefore, that foreign investors have been willing collaborators in the continued oppression of African workers and the perpetuation of apartheid, whose basic strength is white economic power.

The only way of effacing this stigma is to strike at the very foundations of apatheid by withdrawing foreign investment from South Africa. If there is any reason why this cannot be done, then all the talk about fairplay and concern for the Africans' welfare should cease forthwith, so that we can all see the hypocrites and the racialists for what they really are, both in South Africa and elsewhere. Certainly it is easier to deal with a wolf in a wolf's skin than with one clothed as a sheep.

The British have always maintained that their principal reason for maintaining relations with South Africa is to soften the rigours of apartheid and gradually move it towards a more humane—or, rather, less inhumane policy. The recent disclosures about the working conditions in South Africa where wages are dictated by racialist considerations have exposed the hollowness of this lofty claim: the British financiers have either openly connived at the merciless exploitation of African workers or have with reprehensible negligence not bothered to ensure that the Africans are paid the proper rates for the jobs they do, irrespective of their skin colour. The problem for the African in South Africa transcends that of just being overworked and underpaid; it is the problem of human dignity, and it is on this point that the professed liberal friends of Africans have to stand up and be counted, or just go away.

One very happy development in all this is that the African workers have of late become conscious of their rights and are claiming them through strikes. They have not been deterred by gun-toting policemen or by threats of being permanently locked out, nor have they been taken in by the offer of paltry increases which are more symbolic than concrete. Not unexpectedly, the racist government does not intend to play down the challenge. Since the recent spate of strikes, the Minister of Labour, Mr. Viljoen, has let it be known that Africans will not be allowed to form trade unions or to negotiate wage rates.

The other discriminatory measures, like pass book laws, unequal educational facilities, and job restrictions, are to continue as rigorously as before. The scene seems to be set for some sort of confrontation, even if on a minor scale initially, sooner or later, and it is at this point in time that all available pressures must be put on to help the Africans deal with the fundamental problem of apartheid.

We on this other side of Africa can exert pressure by eliminating trade with those companies, British

or other, that have been collaborating in the perpetuation of apartheid. As individual countries we may not make much of an impact, but as a united front we have a bargaining power which we can use with great effect. Sooner than later, those countries that have been propping up the apartheid regime through investment and trade—including those who were promoted from yellow or coloured to white not so very long ago—will have to be forced to choose between South Africa and the rest of Africa.

Whose "Responsibility" Are Priorities?

A NOTE of anxiety struck in the report of the Vice-Chancellor of Legon, at the Congregation of 24th March, formed the topic of a very good TV discussion last Sunday evening. The cause for worry was the progressively declining intake of science students at Legon and some of its attendant critical implications. The problem was very complex indeed and bristled with variables, since there were many combinations of factors to be worked for various tests and results.

For example: if you took Legon alone, the smallness of the absolute numbers in science-student intakes was alarming; and if you combined that with the fact of progressive and constant declension in those numbers, then the position was much worse. Yet if you took Legon together with Kumasi, and for certain results though not for others you added Cape Coast, then, though steady reduction over the last several years may still remain a factor, the build-up in absolute numbers of science students on the ground at all three universities actually reduces your cause for alarm. But of course it does not remove it! Again, when the debaters talk about science students they don't even mean all of them, but rather pure-science candidates as against those who are in it only to qualify "for the professions": medicine, dentistry, engineering,...

Other variables were mentioned, but we have to stop the enumeration if only because there, in that last one, was the rub! The difference between taking science for teaching or for research purposes, and taking science in order to become a doctor — **that** is what defines the problem; that is where the question of priorities reappears for the thousandth time. Mr. Andoh, of U.A.C. and the University Council (Legon), Professor Kojo Torto (Chemistry, Legon), and Mr Modjabeng Dowuona, Chairman of the Higher Education Council, all agreed that the great differentials between the attraction to science for teaching or research and the attraction to science as an entry into the professions were a function of the priorities of society. Since society placed a higher premium on the doctor, the dentist, and, now, certain categories of engineers, architects, etc. and awarded them both more money and greater prestige, why should your best students want to fool about with less than these aims in school and college?.

Now, was this a good thing — this imbalance, with its consequences for education, for social relations, for the final goals of society itself, if society aims to be just ? The answer was of course a round No! What then to do about these priorities, and who to do it? The panel thought that one ought to look again at the troubled question of salary structures and wage scales; in effect that, as far as authoritative control of employment at least was concerned, this was where it was possible to begin any levelling process at all. When finally asked by the host (Mr. Atadika) to say whose specific duty it was, then, to manipulate and alter the fateful priorities of society, the panel said it was the government's.

Very well, but only in a mechanistic, procedural, functional way, surely. The real impetus for great social change must arise ultimately, must it not, from the people themselves and the society they form; **they** are the permanence, not their government, which ideally is only the renewable though continuous expression of society's permanent will; as with chief and elders, so with prime minister and cabinet, or any other form of constitutional government. It is we who should all now make up our minds that the present distributive structure of our community is desperately imbalanced and unjust, that we are all caught up in this injustice, and ought all to participate in removing it.

To this end, let us have a permanent committee to deal with national priorities on a national scale. Such an organization would be insulated from the vagaries of political fortunes and pressures; it would enable us to avoid leaving such matters to the exclusive determination of a government whose successors may reverse the order again and establish new goals.

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Letters

Roadworthy Cars and Carworthy Roads

SIR—I have been very highly impressed by the number of motorists who have obtained their Roadworthiness Certificates. Whether they have complied with the requirement out of a sense of civic duty or for fear of fines or of more immediate corrective measures, or not, the important fact is that they have had their cars certified as being roadworthy; perhaps, more importantly too, they have paid the required fee.

Admittedly the accompanying certificate gives much more credit to certain cars than they properly deserve, and also the tests are not equally thorough (if at all) in all cases, but the point is well made. Spare parts dealers have done some good business within the last few weeks and cars which had been crying for proper and regular maintenance for a long time, have received mechanical and electrical "face-lifts". Let us all hope that we shall see a very substantial reduction in the number of road accidents.

To achieve this happy result, however, it is imperative that the pot-holes, poor sign-posting, uncovered trenches, unmarked broken-down vehicles, and all the petty annoyances of motorists be eliminated or at least considerably reduced. I shall put it another way by irreverently parodying a famous dictum: the roadworthiness of a car is meaningless unless it is totally linked up with the carworthiness of the roads. Mr. Editor, the burden of my plea is simple: while the majority of us motorists, I presume, have made our cars worthy of the road, we expect as of right that the competent authorities will also make the roads worthy of our cars.

Dept. of Modern Languages **P. A. V. Ansah**
Legon

Airport Parking Toll

SIR—All too often Ghanaians are made to feel that the enjoyment of facilities provided from taxes collected from themselves is a special favour being done them.

It used not to cost anything to go to the Accra International Airport, but then the surroundings were not as pleasant as they are now. Since the airport was christened Kotoka International Airport, we have had to pay 20 pesewas for parking. Now, by the fiat of the Department of Civil Aviation, we must pay the 20-pesewa toll whether we park or not. The only reason offered for this directive is that it will bring in ¢50,000 annually. Before too long we will be paying for wanting to go to the airport even on foot. This may bring in ¢100,000, who knows?

By what authority is this toll being levied? Of course the question is meaningless, in a country where state hotels can, with impunity, put up the price of mini-beer well above the control price; where landlords and taxi drivers can levy any amount, government regulations notwithstanding; where state-employed drivers behave as though they owned the vehicles in their charge, and the roads as well; where shop assistants leave you in no doubt that they are doing you a favour by selling to you. . . .

What does one do, then? For a beginning, good or bad, we must all emulate the example of the Department

of Civil Aviation: the University of Ghana should impose a 20-pesewa tariff on all visitors to the campus; after all, the roads and surroundings are maintained by the University—never mind who provides the money initially. All the G.N.T.C. shops and other commercial houses should levy tolls for the use of their car parks. The ministries, hospitals and petrol filling stations should do likewise. The police could also do with an extra ¢50,000. Anyone who walks into a police station should pay a fee; if this does not achieve anything else, at least it would cut out, to a large extent, frivolous complaints brought in daily to the police desk.

The Department of Civil Aviation itself could go one step further by demanding 5p from every pedestrian leaving the airport. It should not be difficult to find an excuse: they may have gone to the balcony, without paying, to see planes leave. Hopefully, when all of us, including the staff of the Department of Civil Aviation, begin to feel in our pockets the inconvenience of such payments, we would be persuaded to the wisdom of leaving Ghanaians alone to enjoy in peace what their own taxes have provided.

Legon **Ebow Daniel**

Why Another 50p Increase?

SIR—What prompted the Kumasi Peugeot drivers (popularly known as "One pound-One pound" drivers) to increase the transport fare of ¢2.50 from Kumasi to Accra to ¢3.00?

Formerly these drivers were charging ¢2.00 (hence the nickname), but they raised it overnight to ¢2.50 without anybody raising hell about it. Now they have done it again. Because of the transportation difficulties in the country, they must not use that advantage to enrich themselves. They are cheating.

Some of these Peugeot cars are not roadworthy enough to deserve such increases. Now that the government is trying to cut down the transportation difficulties created by some of these drivers, the Peugeot drivers are retarding such efforts.

National Lotteries **K. Omono Owusu**
P.O. Box 506
Accra

Much to Rejoice About

SIR—I wish to differ in opinion with some views expressed recently in another paper about the full import of our independence to us. The paper's editorial sought to create the impression that Ghanaians do not really realise the importance of independence, simply because we still do not fully appreciate our own culture, values, and potentials. It went on to cite as examples to support its contention the Ghanaian habits of queueing for "protein-deficient, sickly canned foreign foods", and of spending "a whole month's salary on a foreign made shirt", just because the white man produced them!

I think this is a wrong basis for assessing our attitudes. A better assessment can be achieved if we cast a glance at the situation in the country during the colonial era and compare it with that of post-Independence Ghana.

It must be called to mind that the colonial era was one of suppression, domination and exploitation. Almost all our wealth was being carried away. The accumulated foreign reserves from these exports were locked up in foreign banks and were not brought back for the development of our country. The colonial government was merely interested in collecting customs and excise duties and maintaining law and order. It was least interested in the development of our country and therefore there was little economic progress.

If we look at the past, then at the present, I think Ghanaians have cause to rejoice today over our independence. If anything, it has brought in its trail a structural change in every sphere of our lives. At least we are now a people who control our own affairs and take our own decisions. One wonders whether the Akosombo dam would have been a reality had we not had our independence. Would anyone have us believe that the colonial government would have built the maze of industries in Tema and all over the country today if we had not got independence (when in 113 years they could only boast of Achimota School, Korle Bu Hospital, and a few lines of railway and roads)?

We certainly had cause to be happy on the 16th anniversary of our independence. Surely, anyone who left our country in 1957 and came back in 1973 would find the place NOT what he left it? Let us be realistic and admit that a considerable change has occurred in every aspect of our lives—economic, social, and political.

Legon Hall **Atsu Tsikata**
Legon

Nkrumah: "Good" or "Bad"?

SIR—It looks pretty silly for anybody to suggest, as did Mrs. Georgette Osei in her letter published in your last issue (**L.O.** VIII/6) that we must paint Kwame Nkrumah either completely "bad' or completely "good". She wrote: "Make Kwame Nkrumah a hero or damn him; then the whole world would know where we stand on this matter".

Indeed the whole world is watching us, but they are watching to see if this country will once again switch over from one extreme to the other. As every child knows, between black and white there is an unlimited gradation of hues and shades. Nobody can say that the ruling N.R.C. is a perfect government, but it is remarkable how they are trying to maintain a very fine balance between the various extremes in our society. Many governments often take what appears to be the easier alternative by leaning over to one extreme. But this is a dangerous tendency, because in the long run it does not pay.

During the misunderstanding over the body of Nkrumah, Col. Acheampong said in a broadcast: ". . . Nor will the National Redemption Council and the people of Ghana, in honouring the memory of Dr. Nkrumah, take any step whatsoever which might amount to an invalidation of the change of government which took place in 1966. We support the coup of 1966, and there should be no doubt about it".

This means that when it comes to African emancipation and the struggle for freedom the N.R.C. would not close their eyes to the role Nkrumah played. It was plainly because of this that the N.R.C. decided to honour him, though they agree that the coup which toppled him was justified on many other counts. Therefore the head of state was justified in giving credit to Nkrumah before the O.A.U. Liberation Committee, and also in declaring 24th February a holiday. The mistake of the first coup was that many people saw only what went

wrong before 1966 but hardly a single thing that was right, and advised against some very viable projects initiated before the coup. Some anti-Nkrumah elements even attempted a campaign to question the wisdom of the Volta River Project!

African politics would be less violent and more stable if the majority of us would be as open-minded and as liberal as the present military government are trying to be. We must avoid extremism and give our opponents their due. We must stop seeing things only in extremes. Moderation is something we must learn.

P.O. Box 14 **Emmanuel Vorkeh**
Achimota

"Osofo Dadzie" and the Graduate

SIR—Many viewers of this T.V. programme do appreciate the humour, the lessons and, sometimes, the truth, that it conveys; and thus it attracts a large crowd of viewers every Sunday. However, recently "Osofo Dadzie" has done one programme, "The University People", which, instead of entertaining viewers as usual and instructing them on how best to contribute their quota to the success of the revolution, has cast a dark cloud on the outlook of the graduate in this country, and also thrown viewers into doubt: whether this is a true picture of the graduate or not.

At a time when we need our graduates so much to accept jobs whole-heartedly in the rural areas, "Osofo Dadzie" chooses to portray the graduate worker in the village as a thief, who, under the bad influence of another, a "graduate lady", is prepared to dupe the whole village. Here I will not attempt to comment on the behaviour of the "lady graduate" in the programme, which in itself was another insult to the university people as a whole.

It would have been a good idea and a very instructive programme if it had ended where Akwasi Charles pleasantly accepted to do the work of a secretary-receiver in his own village; or it could have gone further to show how Akwasi Charles was able to transform his village to a place of comfort, a home worth living in, through his hard work and devotion to help his own people in the rural area.

As it stood, the programme failed to achieve what it should have achieved, that is, educating the public as well as entertaining people with true facts. What it achieved was only the falsehood that there are graduate secretary-receivers who go duping farmers or co-operative societies in the country. The question I want to ask is: Do we have any graduate secretary-receivers at all? And if we do, how many of them have been convicted of embezzlement of cocoa funds?

It would be to the advantage of the revolution if that programme is screened once more with the necessary corrections.

This is my candid suggestion and I hope it will be considered.

Africa Hall **Afua Adu-Sarkodie**
U.S.T., Kumasi

Choosing Trading Partners

SIR—After independence in 1957, Ghana became free in her choice of trading partners, but this was not enforced until we attained republican status in 1960. From then onwards, the "trade winds" which were hitherto blowing from the west (especially Britain) changed route but are yet to find a definite course.

We are witnesses to the Ghanaian market having been flooded with South African canned fish for some time, and later Japanese brands; we were for another considerable period good consumers of Portuguese delicacies, and there were times when we even experimented with Soviet and Chinese tastes. This experiment was not carried out with food items only but with all consumable goods, ranging from clothing to house-hold appliances and gadgets. The Ghanaian for some time also fancied American and French suiting materials, and opted for Italian shoes and British shirts to match. With machinery, equipment and transport goods, we opted for British and German makes.

I wonder why we are not satisfied with one or two trading partners, bearing in mind the need to develop and maintain a sound economy. This is necessary for a country with a fragile economy like ours. We need to be prudent in our choice of worthwhile and liberal trading partners. In order that a particular country should qualify to be our trading partner, one of the basic requirements to be fulfilled is that she must be in a position to buy at least about 50% of her needs of a particular produce or product which earns a good part of our income for us. If this basic condition is not fulfilled, then that country is not a genuine trading partner who is willing to help us out of our economic woes.

If this my layman's suggestion is reviewed by experts and adopted, it will eliminate countries like France and Japan, to whom we are greatly in debt. We buy a lot from these countries, especially motor vehicles, but unfortunately they buy less from us. The U.S., Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany buy a lot of our produce and products; we are therefore bound, for healthy trade, to reciprocate this gesture, rather than helping others build huge reserves out of our efforts. We must not sacrifice sincere and genuine trade in favour of taste, price and probably "quality".

The economic rehabilitation of our dear country rests on our trading with countries which would see eye to eye with us, and not with those who refuse to buy from us because they have a promise to fulfil with other countries to whom they are traditionally attached or with whom they share common ideals and aspirations.

P.O. Box 0265 **Saka Adotey**
Osu-Accra

Save us from Makola Women

SIR—It appears that in this town the Makola women are so powerful that they pose a threat to future governments. Even a military regime is finding it difficult to deal with these women. They are powerful in the sense that they can boost the economy and at the same time could dismantle the whole system.

It is because of this power that I would appeal to the N.R.C. regime to eliminate the Makola women from trading in certain sectors of the economy. For instance, "essential commodities" like sugar, milk, sardines, corned beef and flour should not be given to

them to trade in. What the present government should do is to build more provision stores for the G.N.T.C. in every corner of the country. At present the number of G.N.T.C. shops is not adequate to cope with the current shortages in essential commodities. The government can also encourage private entrepreneurs to build super-markets to trade in essential commodities.

I am, however, not advocating the complete elimination of the Makola women; they can be made to trade in things like shoes, cloth, and other items which the consumer class can do away with temporarily. Their elimination from trading in essential commodities, however, and the establishment of more G.N.T.C. shops and super-markets, would give the government and the consumer class a number of advantages. First of all, it will be easier for the government to regulate the price system in the economy, and also hoarding and other economic malpractices which the Makola women indulge in would be reduced, because the government could check these G.N.T.C. stores and super-markets more effectively than they could the Makola women.

Secondly, since hoarding will be reduced, the administrative costs, and the human resources we waste in checking hoarding, could be diverted to help in certain other sectors of the economy. Thirdly, prices in certain areas would be uniform; and lastly the government, or any economic institution which wished to assess the economic progress of the country, would find it easier and less expensive, because these shops and super-markets keep records of their economic activities.

In the case of the consumer class, we shall be saved the many hours we spend in going round the market for a single commodity, because it would be easier for us to purchase these items at well organised shops. Also, the unnecessary abuses which are heaped on security officers and price inspectors at such periods of shortages will stop.

P.O. Box 231 **Labi Koi-Larbi**
Accra

Foreign Foods in the Bush

SIR—As usual, the news media bloated this foreign foods episode out of all proportion to the facts. The items found by the Ashanti Regional Commissioner, we know now, were milk and sardines etc. gone bad and dumped in the bush by the government's own G.N.T.C. If our news media had been more fact finding and less sensational, the truth could easily have been established at once.

This is not how the N.R.C. Chairman expects to be proved right.

House No. D/48 **Kwasi Nokware**
Dunkwa-on-Offin

Fire Out-break in Factories

SIR—Is there any possibility of fire havoc in some of the factories sited in Accra's Ring Road West Industrial area, and in others dotted in various parts of the city? (No prophet of doom I, though!)

Past years have seen the out-break of fire in a number of factories, resulting in great losses. In this country, whenever there is a fire there is always a ready-made excuse from the Fire Service authorities: "There were no hydrants which could enable the servicemen to have easy and quick access to water"!

By the way, are the hydrants now available in the factory environment of the city? Shall we live to see more fires and their attendant havoc?

P.O. Box 1 **Woody Tamakloe**
Kete-Krachi

Breach of Contract by "Legon Observer"?

SIR—I wish to draw your attention to some faults with the printing on pages 105-107, and again pages 110 and 111, of **L.O.** VIII/5.

After reading the first page of Mr. Agbemawokla's interesting article entitled, "Shortages—What are the Causes?", I was very much disappointed on realizing that I could no longer continue with my reading, simply because there was not a single word on any of the succeeding three pages, and again on two pages of another article.

It is however appreciated to note that on page 108 there was an article encouraging Ghanaians to seek their rights, should a contracting party fail to discharge his obligations under the contract. And I quote: ". . . . Ghana needs today . . . a state of legality and of guarantee which would enable and even encourage its citizens to take officials to court for damages, when such citizens are cheated. . . ."

Not being a lawyer, I will not attempt to frame many charges against the **Legon Observer,** but may only say that this act renders the contract of sale voidable because there has been a mistake as to the identity (i.e. the quality) of the subject-matter of contract, resulting in a breach of warranty (i.e., an implied subsidiary term of the contract).

If this charge is admissible, which I guess it is, then, Readers, if we all suffered the same fate, we are at least entitled to damages, which may be a refund of the purchase price, 15 (fifteen) pesewas!

Institute of Professional Studies **Daniel Obeng-Sasu**
Legon

No, not a refund of the purchase price but a replacement of your imperfect copy, which has been mailed to you. But, we must say, for a non-lawyer you do spend a lot of time on legal terminologies, don't you—EDITOR

(The Economy—Continued from Page 155)

Finally, if imports of any particular commodity were to be considered excessive, Ghana would always have the option of controlling them through quantitative restrictions, although these would have to be non-discriminatory. If the margin of reverse preference were to be reasonably small, and in view of the fact that their effect could be partly counteracted through the type of measure just discussed, it seems to us that their mere existence should not be considered a decisive objection to association in any form.

Another argument that has been heard with increasing frequency is that the African countries should concentrate on expanding intra-Africa trade rather than their trade with Europe. We also believe that increased economic integration in Africa should remain an objective of the greatest urgency, in spite of the small amount of progress that has been made in this respect over past years. Nevertheless, it is highly misleading to argue as if the non-associated countries were now faced with two mutually exclusive alternatives (i.e., either the E.E.C. or Africa), since the proposed terms of association in fact do make provisions for the formation of customs unions and economic unions between associated members, and with certain third countries.

Gains from Association

In fact, of course, those countries in Africa which in the past have had the most success in terms of integration, are already associated (the East African Common Market countries and the francophone West African countries), and one might argue that the Yaounde Conference offers an opportunity for African countries (including the francophone ones) to formulate a common bargaining position and work out some joint agreement with the E.E.C. Such a joint stand would clearly involve a strengthening of the African bargaining position, and it would seem that if a bloc of African countries could negotiate agreements with identical terms, this would greatly facilitate future efforts towards African integration. After all, one of the obstacles to such integration in the past has been the fact that the counries involved have had widely different tariff structures against the rest of the world.

Another point that has been made is that whereas the association terms do not prevent full integration, they might make more difficult a **partial** integration within Africa (unless a full-fledged customs union is formed. and unless concessions granted by an associated member towards another country would also have to be granted to the E.E.C.). But as we understand the matter, this difficulty already exists under the terms of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, in the "most-favoured nation" clause, and it is therefore again misleading to argue that this is a disadvantage of possible association with the E.E.C. On balance, it seems to us that agreement with the E.E.C. would have very little effect one way or the other on the prospects for African economic integration.

In conclusion, it seems to us that from an economic point of view, the potential short-term and long-term gains from some form of an association agreement may be substantial. Of course, an agreement will not constitute the solution to all of Ghana's economic problems, but that does not strike us as a sufficient reason for dismissing these gains altogether. Furthermore, as noted in the introduction, we believe that the fears of political domination by the E.E.C. as a consequence of an agreement are exaggerated. First, one of the principal differences between association on the one hand and full membership, on the other, is precisely that the former does not require a commitment to the political objectives of the E.E.C. Secondly, we fail to see which particular ones of the provisions discussed above would lead to an increase in political dependence on Europe, and unless that is specified, rational debate on this question appears impossible.

The argument that unless an associated country follows the political line of the E.E.C. it would be threatened with expulsion, seems inconsistent to us. If one is opposed to association in the first place, why should one consider its possible termination a disadvantage? On the whole, we think it would be a great pity if Ghana's stand on an essentially technical question of this nature should be decided on the basis of political sentiment largely irrelevant to the problem.

For The Record

Friday, March 23

T.U.C. Men Warned about Strikes

MAJOR Kwame Asante, Commissioner for Labour, Social Welfare and Co-operatives has warned that any trade unionist who incites workers to go on strike will be declared an economic war prisoner and dealt with by a Military Tribunal under the Subversion Decree. The Commissioner was addressing union officials of Gliksten West Africa Limited in connection with a four-hour strike recently staged by employees of the company because of delay in receiving their pay at the end of last month.

Monday, March 26

New Distribution System for Foreign Foods

THE Ghana Co-operatives Marketing Association, the Produce Buying Agency and the Trades Union Congress are to take over the distribution of foreign foods and other items to farmers and workers in the rural areas with immediate effect. Major Kwame Asante announced this when addressing over 2,000 employees of the Ghana Co-operatives Marketing Association in Kumasi at the week-end.

To ensure the success of the exercise, the Commissioner added, a committee had been set up under the chairmanship of Mr. U. K. Hackman, Executive Chairman of the Cocoa Marketing Board.

Monday, March 26

Lecturers Boycott Lectures

LECTURERS of the University of Science and Technology, Kumasi, refused to give lectures today because they felt inadequately protected. This development followed incidents last week when the students rioted, assaulting the children of some lecturers and destroying property. The student demonstration had been sparked off by an alleged assault on a student by the wife of a professor.

Meanwhile, the Ashanti Regional Commissioner has met the Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University, Professor

E. Bamfo-Kwakye and has assured him that he would see to it that law and order were restored and maintained in the University.

Tuesday, March 27

Housing Lottery

A LOTTERY, the "Own a House Lottery Scheme", which is to be organised by the Ministry of Works and Housing will start throughout the country as from August this year. Tickets will cost one cedi each, and the winner will be provided with a well furnished three-bedroom house in Accra.

Colonel G. H. Slater, Managing Director of the Ghana Housing Corporation, who disclosed this in Accra today said that the lottery will be drawn twice a year. According to him, the surplus of the proceeds from the lottery will be used to build more blocks of flats for the workers in the low income group throughout the country.

Thursday, March 29

¢2.4m. Farm Tools Ordered

THE Government has placed an order for farm machinery worth ¢2.4m. for farmers in the Upper Region to increase food production during the next farming season. The machinery, expected before June, include 40 power tillers from Japan, a number of combine harvesters, tractors and bulldozers from other countries.

This was disclosed at Vea by the Upper Regional Commissioner, Lt-Col. George Minyilla when conducting the Commissioner for Agriculture, Colonel F. G. Bernasko, round developed lands at the Vea dam near Bolgatanga.

Water for Upper Region

WORK on ¢8.8 million water development project for the Upper Region will start shortly under the supervision of the Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation. The project will be financed by the government with Canadian Government assistance of 4.4 million Canadian dollars half of which is a gift to Ghana.

Mr. Noble Power, Canadian High Commissioner in Ghana, who today presented the work programme for the project to Colonel Victor Coker-Appiah, Commissioner for Works and Housing, expressed the hope that the agreement on the project would be signed between his government and the Government of Ghana in about three weeks time.

Friday, March 30

Ghana-Togo Agreement

GHANA and Togo today signed an agreement for a Permanent Joint Commission for Co-operation under which both countries are expected to harmonise their policies in several areas including the political, economic, scientific, legal and cultural.

This agreement was one of several concluded between the heads of state of the two countries, Colonel I. K. Acheampong and President Etienne Eyadema of Togo. Other agreements signed were on trade, sports, health and information. According to a joint communique issued after the talks, the two Heads of State emphasised that they considered the Trade Agreement as an essential step towards the formation of a large West African Economic Community.

Hold-up of Cocoa

THE Commissioner for Labour has ordered the Produce Buying Agency and the Ghana Co-operative Marketing Association to evacuate over 1,000 tons of cocoa locked up in the Wassa-Amemfi area of the Western Region since 1971.

The Commissioner blamed the officials of the two buying agency for failing to contact their head offices to have the cocoa evacuated. The pile up is apparently due to broken bridges which make the Ankobra river impassable.

Monday, April 2

¢250,000 Loan to Upper Region Farmers

DURING the current farming season the Upper Regional Branch of the Agricultural Development Bank is to grant ¢250,000 loan to ten farmers during the current farming season.

Disclosing this at Bolgatanga yesterday, Mr. S. K. Asamoah, regional manager of the bank said that more than 2,000 applications had been processed. He added that loans totalling ¢263,000 had been granted to farmers in the region during the past three months for the purchase of tractors.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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"A CORRESPONDENT" is a well-known writer on public affairs.

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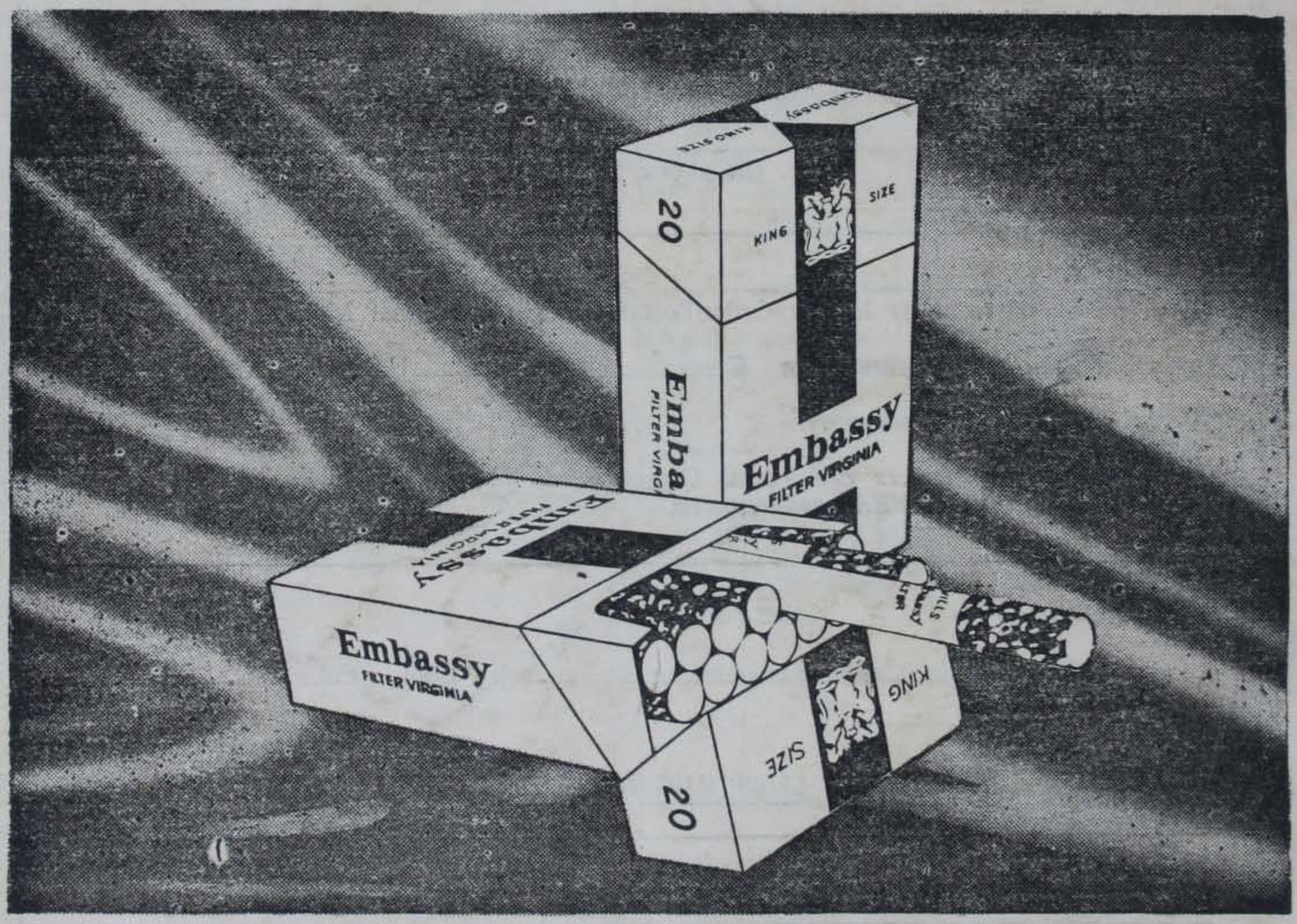
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Editorial

THE URGENCY OF COOPERATION IN AFRICA

THERE are three kinds of results which regional cooperation in Africa should aim for and determine to achieve. The first is the urgent one of breaking some of the economic strangleholds in which we have been held for so long, and establishing our own self-generated viability in the markets involved. The second kind of desired results is the prevention of our ever again being caught in strangleholds of any kind. And the third aim is the achievement, through joint regional machineries, of permanently continuous progress in designated fields.

Under the first aim we already have the major field of cocoa to operate on; there are also timber, cotton, coffee, vegetable oils, and the great mineral group of gold, diamonds, manganese, bauxite, and others. In short we are concerned in this first aim of regional cooperation with ourselves as the producers of vital raw materials. The second aim would concern the question of Africa's future relations with the European Common Market, as one major example, these relations being even now under consideration by the various groupings, as we know. Another example would be the protection of new African entrants into old fields, like oil, against their being immediately embraced and crushed to death in a consumer bear-hug.

The third and last kind of result from regional cooperation we ought to pursue concerns the old case of benefits from joint ventures in research, from the operation of international business like airlines and shipping companies, and benefits from the establishment and maintenance of standards, as in the examination and testing fields. (But the re-establishment of such as the former West African Court of Appeal is another matter altogether. We say this with due respect to the recent suggestion of our Attorney-General and Commissioner for Justice. The rescuscitation of "WACA" must, we think, await the re-establishment of more settled and similar systems of government and law among the states concerned, than we have at present.)

The reasons and the need for regional cooperation in Africa are a matter of mounting urgency, in every respect. It is true that in the politics of cocoa—under our first category of aims — one fateful die has already been cast, namely the Geneva Agreement of 1972. But in the article beginning on our page 173 today, our correspondent notes that the agreement is not quite satisfactory to the producers and is only a second best choice, though better than no-agreement at all. This means there is room for future manoeuvering, and obviously this will depend on the strength of the manoeuverers. Thus

is the need for eternal vigilance and continuous cooperation among the five West African cocoa producers more than amply emphasized. And in the Cocoa Conference coincidentally just ended at Legon, there was further ample evidence of the continuing play of rival tactics between producers and consumers.

Only strength of bargaining power and determination can meet these challenges to African and other raw material producers from the openly exploitative consumer world. And bargaining power in this context means that deriving from cooperation alone. The supreme contemporary test for this kind of solidarity, and one fitting into our category of aims, will come with Africa's E.E.C. discussions scheduled for next August. Here will be required not only courage for the decisions which will have to be taken for or against some form of African association with the E.E.C., but also the highest skill and patience in debating alternative choices. In all this, the need for African cooperation is paramount. It must be the means as well as the highroad to conclusions about the main issues involved in the question: to associate or not to associate with the E.E.C.

For ourselves there are certain propositions inseparable from this question and which also guide our thinking on it. The foremost is, that foreign — largely western — capitalism is by its nature, history and requirements committed to the squeezing of the last pound, dollar or franc out of the labour and raw materials of Africa (as well as of other non-rival areas of the world). Another postulate is that the E.E.C. represents this kind of consumer of the labour and raw materials of Africa, and in that capacity rivals only America. Our third belief is that the fringe benefits and microscopic advantages which do, or would, accrue from the results of these violently unequal relationships are swallowed up by the macroscopic gains to themselves accruing all the time from the investment policies and trading operations of the advanced countries, including particularly the leaders of the European market movement.

Our concluding proposition also embodies the main contentions of most African partisans. It is, namely, that Africa's greatest chances in this unholy game of prosperity versus survival lies alone in bilateral — or even multilateral, but free — bargaining, supported solidly by a united front of cooperating fellow African countries and/or regional groupings. No conscious African today can at the same time be naive enough to doubt that the western economic world has not the slightest wish for the economic emancipation of **African** Africa, seeing in such a prospect a threat to their traditional position of dominance. Therefore no conscious African should doubt that defeat for this iniquitous bullying of the continent and its black peoples can come only with maximum cooperation amongst ourselves in the fateful area of economic organization.

The Economy

WHY THE ECONOMY OF GHANA IS NOT GROWING, AND WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT

By

M. D. Steuer

THE single most significant fact about the economy of Ghana is that for many years now real income per person has remained roughly constant. In spite of a substantial potential for growth, the economy refuses to grow. The economy of Ghana is not in a crisis. A crisis is something which is intense and short-lived. The problems of this economy are persistent and long-term in nature. This economy is suffering from stagnation.

Stagnation is not a problem which can be successfully tackled by treating it as if it were a short-lived crisis. Emergencies call for emergency measures, and long-term problems for long-term solutions. In order to find these solutions, we must have a broadly correct diagnosis of the causes of stagnation in Ghana and treat them accordingly. Practical policy making must concentrate on those factors in the situation which can be readily changed. There is no point in wasting time and attention on those factors which are too difficult to change or cannot be changed at all. There is a limited number of things that a government can do at any one time. So it is essential that attention be concentrated on the most important and readily changeable factors.

The popular theory that the poor performance of the economy is due to the attitudes of Ghanaians puts the cart before the horse and directs attention away from those economic policies which are in need of change. When the policies are changed, then attitudes will change also, as the economy changes. Attitudes will not change through exhortation, and propaganda is no substitute for policies.

There are six economic factors which are primarily responsible for our zero rate of growth. Inappropriate borrowing from abroad is one of these. For borrowing to contribute to economic growth, the money must be used for projects which

yield in real terms a greater rate of return than the cost of the loan. One cannot achieve perfect certainty in these undertakings, but proper project appraisal can reduce the level of uncertainty to tolerable limits. On 6th April 1973, one of the national dailies reported a government decision to build a soap making plant. Though the decision has been taken, the article reported that the cost of the plant had yet to be determined. Either this is inaccurate reporting, or else the inappropriate approach to investment decisions in the past is continuing today.

The question of whether or not to accept capital from abroad, and indeed the questions of whether to invest in rural or urban areas, and in what types of projects, can all be decided on ideological grounds. But if the goal is economic growth, then these decisions must be based on solid professional appraisal.

Role of the Goverment

It is a matter of high urgency that we train a skilled cadre of able project analysers in Ghana. The foreigner has his own interests, which do not necessarily coincide with those of this country. In my view the criteria of self-sufficiency is satisfied if the investment decisions are firmly and capably in Ghanaian hands. Some foreign capital can contribute to growth; the inappropriate foreign capital should be excluded on professional rather than ideological grounds. Certainly direct foreign investment must be regulated. Participation, however, is a very costly and inefficient means of regulation. Among regulations, I would favour a strict and realistic timetable of Ghanaianization of foreign operations here, including top management.

While the government plays an essential role in collecting up domestic sources of capital for productive investment, more of this capital should be made available for private or community based investment throughout the country. A **second** factor contributing to Ghana's zero rate of growth in income per person has been the low level, and often the negative, rate of return on much of government investment. When the government house has been put in order, then expansion of this sector can lead to growth. Until that time, more of the money should be left in the cocoa villages and made available to other villages for private and community investment.

The **third** factor contributing to poor economic performance has been interference in private markets in ways that encourage anti-social behaviour. Price fixing, quotas, subsidies and a host of other regulations have distorted market signals, such that they cannot function. Enlightened economic policy encourages desirable behaviour through the policy. In Ghana it is often the case that policies urge people in one direction, and then propaganda and the police have to be employed to urge people in the opposite direction. These contradictory forces are harmful to economic growth.

It is always tempting to try to improve on the performance of the market by some form of intervention. And no doubt it is conceptually possible to make such improvements. But not just any intervention will result in an improvement. Often the opposite will result, the recent Cattle Marketing Board providing an excellent example. The tendency to blame traders, particularly market women, whenever inappropriate market regulation backfires, is most unfair. If prices are fixed by law below equilibrium we will have excess demand for those products. It is the price fixing, not the traders, which creates the situation. Apart from the injustice of blaming the traders, there is a potential loss of growth here. If we are to take advantage of the opportunities for agricultural exports, the goods must be moved from the villages to the markets. Skilled traders are the people who can do this job efficiently.

Wage and Income Structure

The **fourth** factor in Ghana's zero rate of growth is a wage and income structure which does not reflect productivity very accurately. The distribution of amenities should also be included along with income distribution. Such evidence as we have, suggests that the drift to the cities is not good for economic growth, because the drift is towards incomes and better amenities, not towards higher productivity. It is doubtful if this trend can be reversed by the provision of token amenities.

Growth in Ghana depends to a considerable extent on adjusting wages and incomes so that they more nearly reflect productivity. This is hard to do. It is easier to judge a man's qualifications than his output. Marx said, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need." In Ghana we seem to have the motto: "From each according to his production of cocoa, to each according to his academic degree." But degrees as such are irrelevant to economic growth. It is output which counts. Responsible decision takers must be given more scope to hire, fire and promote according to the criterion of productivity.

The **fifth** factor inhibiting growth is our overvalued exchange rate. Governments in all countries tend to be very reluctant to change exchange rates. They wait much too long, and then have to make

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very big changes. Devaluing the currency makes imports more expensive in cedi terms, and it rewards the exporter more. It does not make imports more expensive in terms of foreign exchange. It does not reduce the volume of imports coming into Ghana, unless we go for an under-valued exchange rate. As long as we are moving towards the equilibrium rate, devaluation has no effect on the amount Ghana can import. If we do not devalue, other means must be used to control the excess demand for foreign exchange.

Devaluation is just one of the means. Among the others are tariffs and licensing. The question: which is better, must be made more specific: better for whom and better for what? Devaluation is better for growth because it improves investment decisions. It also does not entail massive administrative costs for the government and the potential exporter. It is my view that licensing favours the upper income groups compared to devaluation, which favours the lower income groups. It should be remembered that devaluation does not affect the quantity of imports coming into Ghana, only who gets them. With excess demand for these imported goods it takes money, **and connections**, to get them. My guess is that higher income earners have the better connections.

African Economic Co-operation

Of course exchange rate changes have a large political component. It is not a matter on which purely economic considerations dominate, though it should be. An exchange rate movement up or down says nothing about how a country or a government is doing. An incorrect rate, either too high or too low, can hurt a country a lot. But few people realize this. It therefore seems reasonable that a broadly based national committee be set up to study the question of an exchange rate policy for Ghana. In politically sensitive issues there should be the widest possible participation in policy formulation. In this way policies are much more generally understood and better supported when they are needed.

Lastly, we come to the question of African economic co-operation. The best thing about the Common Market is that it is encouraging African countries to come together. There must be give and take in this process. The markets in West African countries are too small to support efficient size and utilization of plant in many activities. Duplication of effort is too costly. One way and another, the high income countries have proved themselves to be extremely protectionist. They talk about free trade, but find no difficulty in excluding products when it suits them. African unity is a much better bet than basing hopes on exporting to the rich producers. With proper international planning on this continent now, there is still scope to avoid much wasteful duplication.

In principle, everyone seems to agree about the need for African unity. It is the implementation which is lacking. However, a definite change can be detected. If the government pursues a vigorous policy of African international co-operation and planning, along with the other policies that require change, stagnation of the economy of Ghana will be a thing of the past, and we will observe a healthy rate of growth. What to do with the resulting increased capacity to produce is another matter, and an important one.

But whatever we want to do with it, we must actually achieve the growth first.

THE INTERNATIONAL COCOA AGREEMENT OF OCTOBER, 1972

By

A Correspondent

THE International Agreement on Cocoa, negotiations for which ended in Geneva on Saturday, 21st October 1972, by a resolution adopted by the contracting parties, was by no means the first or the most important of international agreements concluded on world prices for primary commodities. It is, however, probably true to say that that agreement had demanded the greatest amount of effort and skill, as well as taxed the patience of the negotiators to the utmost point.

Tentative discussions on an international cocoa agreement were, in fact, first started within the International Cocoa Office itself as far back as 1955, at a time when the peak of the world price of the "golden bean" had been reached and a downward trend had begun. The initiative for these exploratory talks was taken, not by the producer countries but, especially, by the smaller consumer countries which normally suffer most from the effects of sudden steep rises in the world price of cocoa.

After eight years of such preliminary discussions, the stage of international conferences was at last reached in 1963, when the first conference was held in Geneva. The second took place three years later in New York in 1966. This was quickly followed by yet a third conference, back in Geneva, in 1967. All these early conferences ended in complete failure to reach an agreement acceptable to the majority of the would-be contracting parties.

Disagreement centred especially on the question what should be the minimum and the maximum price levels to be fixed for cocoa on the world market. Producer and consumer countries alike could not agree, particularly on the minimum level below which the price of cocoa should not be allowed to fall. Coupled with this obstacle was the fact that the largest single consumer country, the United States of America, which takes about 25%—27% of the world's total output of cocoa, was more interested in free trade in this commodity than in an international agreement on it. America was to the end persistently, though also constructively, opposed to the conclusion of an agreement which she thought was not likely to be in her best, most enlightened self-interest.

Obstacles Summounted

Besides these three better known but unsuccessful international conferences, numerous regional conferences and informal talks were also held by both the producer and consumer countries throughout the period from 1964 to 1969. The West African producers' region was particularly active in these latter conferences and talks. Although expensive and time consuming, all these unsuccessful conferences were, however, not entirely wasted, since they undoubtedly prepared the ground and contributed in no small measure to the relatively successful conference which finally reached the necessary consensus and concluded the present agreement, in October, 1972.

They even produced a very useful side effect, especially in the West African region, which produces the controlling quota of total world cocoa output. The economic or cocoa interest in the region was so strong that it was able, not only to break through the formidable linguistic and political barriers which had previously separated the two English-speaking and the three French-speaking producer countries in the area, but also to withstand and outlive such periods of high tempers, bitterness and poisoned relations as the Nigerian Civil War.

The fourth, and successful, International Conference on Cocoa was started in Geneva on the 6th of March, 1972, and after a five months' break during which some useful informal consultations were made, was resumed later in the year on the 11th of September. This conference had to be extended beyond schedule for one full week before the present agreement could, at last, be concluded.

The agreement grouped all the main producer and consumer countries together, with the exception of the United States of America. In fact the Americans also attended the conference, but withdrew from it before the end of the negotiations because of their preference for free trade in this commodity and their persistent though non-antagonistic opposition (as has been noted before) to the minimum price of 23 cents per pound. It seems as if fear of the strong opposition of Congress, in which the chocolate manufacturers' interest is influential, partly scared the then American administration from immediately associating itself with the agreement at that stage, when the country was in the middle of an election campaign.

Partly as a result of this, the U.N.C.T.A.D. and the other negotiating parties did not entirely despair of seeing the U.S. join the agreement at an appropriate time in the future. The contracting parties strongly hope for this because the more there are parties to the agreement and the higher the percentage of world trade in cocoa the agreement covers, the greater would be its chances of succeeding. It may be noted that America herself has not entirely ruled out the likelihood of her one day subscribing to the agreement.

Attitude of Germany

The attitude adopted by the Federal Republic of Germany during the last conference towards the agreement constituted another source of serious concern to the other negotiators. With an eye on the American attitude, the German delegation associated itself with it, though with strong reservations. The underlying reasons for this attitude included the fear that the American defection may paralyse the application of the agreement. Germany therefore seemed to want to re-examine the whole situation during the period of signature, which was expected to come to an end on 15th January 1973.

Secondly, Germany sells most of her cocoa butter in America, and would be priced out of business if she were bound by the agreement while America remained outside it and bought cocoa butter from the free market, in which prices are likely to be lower. It was feared that a permanent German defection might render the agreement stillborn, because with 12% of world consumption, Germany constituted the next most important single importer.

The only one who seemed to draw some satisfaction from the agreement was, clearly, the Secretary-General of the U.N.C.T.A.D., Mr. Manuel Perez-Guerrero, who had taken the initiative and hastened the convening of the fourth international conference in the spring of 1972, and who contributed much towards its relative

success. The U.N.C.T.A.D. had been defending the principle of agreements on primary commodities for a long time; the October 1972 cocoa agreement was therefore seen as a concrete first result which, though limited, was yet encouraging, for "c'est le premier pas qui compte" — it is the first step that counts.

The five West African producer countries of Togo, the Cameroons, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria and Ghana — in that ascending order of importance — which together produce 80% of the total world cocoa output, were disappointed that the minimum price fixed was not higher than 23 cents to the pound. They openly complained of having made the greater concessions in return for no comparable concessions from the consumer countries. They were however realistic enough to consider the new agreement, which did not quite satisfy them, to be better than there being no agreement at all. After so many years of negotiation at so much monetary and physical cost, especially to the West African producer countries, which had always to travel long distances to attend conferences, it was absolutely necessary to reach some sort of agreement at that stage.

Support for the Agreement

For different, even opposite, reasons, the smaller consumer countries also felt that "the drawing up of a complete text on a Cocoa Agreement constituted a very important first step forward towards the normalisation of the international market for this commodity". As already pointed out, such countries had always been in favour of some sort of an agreement on this commodity, because they suffered most from high cocoa prices and expected such an agreement to keep high prices in check. This position was of course diametrically opposed to that of the producer countries, which would be happier if prices shot through the roof!

A rather peculiar feature of the agreement was that a negative signing procedure was devised for it, which was that the agreement was to be presumed to have been signed if no objection to it had been raised by the 15th of January 1973. This was an ingenious device meant to rope in as much support for the agreement as possible, since it satisfied none of the high and low contracting parties. This procedure was meant to buttress the normal signing procedure.

A date-line was also set before which the agreement was expected to be "ratified, accepted or approved" by the contracting parties, representing 80% of producers and 70% of consumers respectively. This was the 30th of April 1973, that is, within six months after the agreement had been concluded. It was however realised that due to different legislative time tables and procedures, it might be impossible for some countries to observe this six months' date-line, because at least nine months are required by the legislative procedures of such countries before any given agreement could be ratified in the proper and due form. As a result of this, some views were expressed which tended to indicate that it would not be materially possible for the agreement to come into effect before the next cocoa year, which would begin on 1st October 1973.

Provisions of the Agreement

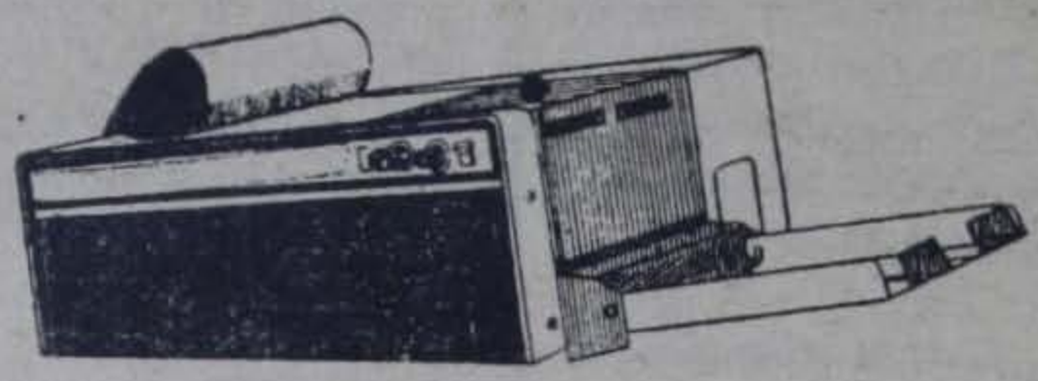
The agreement was to be presumed to have collected a sufficient number of signatures and/or a sufficient number of ratifications, if five exporting countries representing 80% of export quotas, and also any number of consuming countries accounting for 70%, was also applied to the consumer countries so that the agreement could still come into effect, if necessary, without the participation of the U.S.A.

Yet it was still feared that a permanent German defection would jeopardise the possibility of this 70% proportion being attained, since Germany and America alone imported 37%—39% of total world cocoa output, and applying even the lower proportion of 37% leaves 63%, which would just fall short of the desired 70% from the consumers' side. In order therefore to provide against even a German abstention, another ingenious device empowered the Secretary-General of the U.N. to decide, after consultations, as to whether or not proportions attained by the time each date-line was passed had satisfied the provisions of the agreement, or were near enough to the desired proportions to be rounded out.

This procedure has already been applied, to jump over the first hurdle of signing the agreement or of no objections registered against it by 15th January 1973. By the 14th of January a total of 41 countries, plus the countries of the E.E.C., had signed the agreement. The figure attained was 69.83 % of total imports, which was accordingly rounded out to 70% by the Secretary-General of the United Nations after consultations, thus moving the agreement on to the next and final stage of 30th April 1973.

Briefly summarised, the agreement contains the following main provisions:

(*a*) A price range within which the price of cocoa should rise and fall, namely, 23 cents at the minimum and 32 cents at the



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maximum, was worked out by the contracting parties;

(*b*) a buffer stock of 250 thousand tons of cocoa, under a regulator who will buy cocoa when the price tends to fall below 23 cents per pound and sell it when it tends to rise above 32 cents per pound, was established. The fund for the buffer stock would be raised by means of a tax of one American cent per pound weight on the total world cocoa trade. Such a levy would have raised an amount of about 850 thousand dollars on 1971 figures for the cocoa trade. When the buffer stock falls short, he is to buy more cocoa, thus helping to raise the world price;

(*c*) an International Cocoa Organisation, or Council, was set up by the agreement, as a sort of built-in mechanism to ensure its proper functioning.

The provision (b), above, seems to have been lifted from the relevant chapter of an economics text book on the traditional "Open Market Operations" of a central bank, and it is doubtful if the cocoa industry can be made to fit the highly organised situation of the Stock Exchange, or of a manufacturing factory which can normally turn on and switch off production at will. The dispersed nature of the cocoa industry, at least in West Africa, the relatively long period involved from planting to harvesting, and many other uncontrollable natural factors surrounding the production of cocoa, all tend to suggest that outputs may not be easily amenable to the sort of regulation intended by this provision. This must partly have accounted for another provision in the agreement which requires each producer country to declare and to use "more or less open export quotas".

The Cocoa Agreement is, of course, only one of a series of similar international agreements which have been concluded under the auspices of the U.N.C.T.A.D., on such large-scale primary products as sugar, wheat, coffee, tin and olive oil, and all of which aim at stabilising the prices of such commodities on the world market; also at assuring stable revenues to developing countries for financing their economic development programmes. The need for such commodity agreements has arisen largely from the fact that after the high demand for raw materials which characterised the post Second World War decade, primary products fell into a very serious depression from which they have not yet been able to recover their former glory, much to the great disadvantage of the developing countries.

Taking the particular example of cocoa prices, fluctuations were greatest between 1955 and 1965, when price falls followed a steeply declining curve, reaching an all time low level of only 12.2 cents per pound in July 1965, after which prices began to pick up again as if in a typical trade cycle, reaching the very high level of 48.7 cents per pound in December, 1968. By December 1971 the price had however again dropped back to 23.8 cents per pound. Such sudden and wide fluctuations simply played havoc with the economies of producer developing countries like Ghana, suffering from over-dependence on revenue earned from a commodity so tossed up and down on the world market like a kite.

Import of the Agreement

While the Cocoa Agreement was being negotiated last autumn, the world price of cocoa was around 32 cents per pound, with signs of continued improvement. That partly accounted for the impression formed by the producer countries that they had made greater efforts and concessions than the consumer negotiating partners, in trying to reach a compromised and acceptable agreement. The current relative boom in world prices for primary products generally, however short-lived it may turn out to be in the end, cannot but strengthen this feeling.

All the same, if the next hurdle of ratification, acceptance and/or approval is successfully jumped in April 1973, it would be better to give the agreement a fair trial than to throw it overboard. The present boom may be no more than the result of the flight from "hot money" and from rapidly depreciating currencies into investment and other values, and may therefore come to an end when the currently uncertain international monetary situation changes for the better.

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LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

by

Kwame Afreh

THE press in Ghana is often accused of sycophancy, hypocrisy, lack of courage and of vision; of withholding or distorting information and of generally defending bad government policies; finally, of refusing to publish the views of those who disagree with official policies and conduct. In addition, most editorials, especially in the state-owned newspapers, are dull, often colourless repetitions of government policy, lacking in analysis and originality, and not in any way helping the reader to understand or reflect upon issues that affect him and the country as a whole. Few journalists of stature have emerged since independence, although the present crop have had more formal education and professional training than their predecessors.

But the Ghana press should not be blamed entirely for the poor standard of journalism in the country today. In mitigation, the press can plead that since independence they have never been given the chance to do what the press in a modern, free society is expected to do. There has been very little press freedom in this country since independence, and a vigorous, independent press cannot flourish in an atmosphere of constant reprisals, harassment, detentions, deportation of journalists and ruthless suppression of dissentient and independent views. In short, liberty of the press has been more absent than present in Ghana.

Now what is meant by the liberty of the press? On this matter opinions will always differ. But in a common law country like Ghana, the liberty of the press should mean what Blackstone described it to be, about two hundred years ago. He said:

> **The liberty of the press is indeed essential to the nature of a free state: but this consists in laying no** previous **restraints upon publications and not in freedom for criminal matter when published. Every freeman has an undoubted right to lay what sentiments he pleases before the public: to forbid this, is to destroy the freedom of the press; but if he publishes what is improper, mischievous, or illegal, he must take the consequence of his temerity.** To subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser . . is to subject all freedom of sentiment to the prejudices of one man, and make him the arbitrary and infallible judge of all controverted points in learning, religion, and government. **[Emphasis mine] But to punish (as the law does at present) any dangerous or offensive writings, which, when published, shall on a fair and impartial trial be adjudged of a pernicious tendency, is necessary for the preservation of peace and good order, of government and religion, the only solid foundations of civil liberty. Thus the will of individuals is still left free; the abuse only of that free will is the object of legal punishment.**
>
> (Blackstone, **Commentaries on the Laws of England,** Book IV, pp. 151-152).

This was not a mere academic opinion. It is also the view of that same common law on which some of our own legal practices are still based. In a case involving the Dean of St. Asaph in 1783, the great Lord Mansfield also said that the liberty of the press consisted in "printing without any previous licence, subject to the consequences of law." This has been the common law since 1694, when the last Licensing Act was allowed to lapse in England.

Post-Independence Developments

On the whole the colonial government in Ghana adhered to the common law view in its treatment of the press. It is true that such a "troublesome" non-Gold Coaster like I. T. A. Wallace Johnson was deported following his conviction for sedition, and that Nnamdi Azikiwe was prosecuted also for sedition. But apart from the requirement that newspapers and the names and addresses of their publishers, printers and editors should be registered (a requirement like that which says limited liability companies should be registered), there were no "previous restrictions" upon publications; there was no censorship or a requirement that a **licence** must be obtained before a person could publish, print or circulate a newspaper. The government was content to rely on prosecutions in the ordinary courts for dealing with what it considered to be dangerous or offensive publications. What was wrong with our situation then was colonialism itself.

After independence in 1957 press freedom was systematically undermined and restricted, until by 1962 there was no independent press in Ghana. Journalists were reduced to mere propagandists, hackmen employed to destroy political opponents and to sing the praises of the government of the day. And that has remained the role of the press since then.

Until 1960 the Ghana government relied on deportations, detentions and prosecutions for sedition and libel, in dealing with opposition or troublesome journalists. But in that year press censorship was introduced, following the government's dissatisfaction with the way the **Ashanti Pioneer** was being operated. Under S. 183(2) of the Criminal Code, Act 29, the then President of Ghana was given power to impose censorship on any newspaper, book or document, or the

writings of any person, if **in his opinion** there was in such newspaper, book or document, or in the writings of an individual, "a systematic publication of matter calculated to prejudice public order or safety, or the maintenance of the public services or the economy of Ghana." It was under this that the **Ashanti Pioneer** was censored out of existence in 1961.

At the same time punishment for sedition was raised to a **minimum** of five years imprisonment, unless the court was of the opinion that the offence was trivial, or that there were special circumstances relating to the offence or the offender which would render the application of the prescribed minimum punishment unjust. (See 183(4) of Act 29). The law also retained colonial legislation which gave the government absolute discretion to ban the importation of any publication and which rendered criminal the sale, distribution, publication, printing or possession of any banned, seditious or, where the matter should have been censored, uncensored matter.

Government in Monopoly

By 1960 the government had established the Guinea Press and the **Ghanaian Times,** in addition to the **Evening News,** to propagate the ideology of the Osagyefo and the C.P.P. Soon afterwards the government acquired the ownership of the Graphic Company. Thus by 1963 government owned the biggest printing presses and all mass circulation newspapers (the **Graphic,** the **Mirror,** the **Ghanaian Times** and the **Evening News**). It also had (and still has) the monopoly of radio and T.V. The government or state- owned corporations employed most journalists. Under laws which established the corporations to run these media of information and communication, the government has always had the power to appoint the Boards of Directors, the Director-General, the Managing Directors or General Managers, as the case may be, of the Corporations, editors of state-owned newspapers, persons of or above managerial rank; also to give directions on policy.

Since independence, journalists, publishers and printers have been very insecure. They have always lived and worked in constant dread of the telephone call from or invitation to Flagstaff House, the Castle, or Burma Camp; of summary dismissals and transfers; of detention or prolonged interrogations. The final blow against press freedom was struck in 1963, when the Newspaper Licensing Act (Act 189) was passed and the regulations thereunder, L.I. 296, were published. But in 1970, in consonance with the constitution of the Second Republic, the 1963 Act and regulations were repealed by Act 319. Everything now seemed to be promising for the press. Then suddenly, on 5th March, 1973, Licensing Decree, N.R.C.D. 161, was passed and almost at the same time regulations there-under (L.I. 810) were published, to the surprise of most people.

The first, remarkable thing about the new decree and its regulations is, that they reproduce almost verbatim the 1963 Act and regulations repealed in 1970. Under this new law, "no person shall, after the expiration of thirty days from the publication of the decree, print, publish or circulate any newspaper except under and in accordance with a licence granted in respect of such paper to the publisher thereof."

The commissioner, directly or through the Director of Information, has **absolute discretion** to grant or refuse a licence, impose any conditions in a licence, or revoke a licence if the grantee fails to comply with any conditions included in the licence, or for any other reason. I say absolute discretion because the commissioner or the director is not required to give reasons for any decision that he may take in respect of any application for, or the revocation of, a licence. He is not required to publish (and has not published) any regulations governing the exercise of his discretionary powers. And if any aggrieved person were to appeal to the courts, it is not likely, in the absence of a provision like Article 173 of the suspended constitution, that the courts will inquire into the reasons for the commissioner's decision.

Hallmark of Dictatorship

One does not know what has prompted the reintroduction of the newspaper licensing laws. It may be that the government is in possession of some information which necessitated, on grounds of security, the re-introduction of these laws. Some people may also justify the government's decision on grounds of "revolutionary necessity": that is, on the grounds that during a revolution of set objectives it would be counter-productive to allow all sorts of views to be disseminated, for they could only serve to confuse, blunt the revolutionary zeal or subvert the minds of, the people.

It has also been argued that it is necessary to bring some order into the journalistic business. After the 1966 coup, several newspapers were set up, without adequate planning, capital or personnel. They soon collapsed, leaving printers, suppliers and employees (if any) unpaid or stranded. In any case — it may also be argued — if citizens

are required to obtain permits or licences in order to build or to sell liquor, why not for the printing, publication and circulation of newspapers?

These arguments may appear formidable, but in my opinion, they are only superficially so. The bitter lesson of history is that censorships and the licensing of publications are the hallmark of dictatorship. One of the aims of the N.R.C. is stated to be to restore the dignity of individuals and to enlarge upon our freedoms. These goals cannot be achieved through further restrictions on freedom. Moreover, it is in the government's own interest, as has been said before now, that it allow as much freedom of expression as possible; it is one sound way of testing and assessing public opinion. Without such freedom, a government can quickly get out of touch with the people, with tragic consequences. And the best way for the government to inculcate revolutionary zeal and discipline is to intensify popular political education, secure mass participation in the affairs of the nation, adopt correct policies, and effectively and efficiently implement them.

As for the argument that it is necessary to bring some order into the newspaper business, why not leave it to printers and suppliers to determine, as businessmen, whether a publisher, or any other person, should be granted credit? If it is the large debts publishers owe to state-owned printing enterprises that are the worry, there are other ways of dealing with the situation than through the licensing of newspapers. Again, regarding the argument that licences are required for several legitimate activities, one can only say here that expression of thought is as natural to man as eating, and cannot be put in the same category as the sale of liquor or the construction of a house in a congested urban area. And are not the other licensing laws too many already anyway? Why add to them, unless there are clear security or other good reasons for doing so?

Let Courts Determine

One other thing which must be noted about this new decree. Under it the definition of "newspaper" is wider than it was under the 1963 Act. The new law includes in the definition of newspaper, cultural, educational or scientific newspapers, which were explicitly excluded from the definition of the word in the 1963 Act, also military, technical, and religious newspapers, as well as house magazines, newspapers published by diplomatic missions, and newspapers meant for free distribution. Under the 1963 law only papers meant for sale and published periodically came within the definition, but even then it did not include cultural, educational or scientific newspapers, as I have said.

I know the incumbent Commissioner for Information and his Director of Information are fair, liberal-minded men. But that is not the issue. The point is, that any law which is capable of being used as an instrument of repression and for thought-control is dangerous in the hands of non-liberal men, which the successors of the present ones may well be. What the press in Ghana needs today is not further regulation but more freedom.

The Newspaper Licensing Decree, 1973 limits further the small area of press freedom there was. It should be repealed, or at least the government should publish regulations which will govern the exercise of the commissioner's discretionary powers. Let people express their views, subject only to the consequences of the law for libellous, seditious, subversive, obscene or treasonable publications. There are adequate laws to deal with the licentious. As Blackstone wrote:

> **. . . the only plausible argument heretofore used for restraining the just freedom of the press 'that it was necessary to prevent the daily abuse of it' will entirely lose its force, when it is shewn (by a reasonable exertion of the laws) that the press cannot be abused to**

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any bad purpose, without incurring a suitable punishment: whereas it never can be used to any good one, when under the control of an inspector. So true will it be found, that to ensure the licentiousness, is to maintain the liberty, of the press.

Whether a person is guilty of publishing a "dangerous or offensive" matter should be left to the ordinary courts to determine.

Observer Notebook

Successes in Guinea-Bissau

SINCE the inauguration of the military phase of the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau some ten years ago, by far the biggest set-back was the assassination of the heroic leader, Amilcar Cabral, last January. Those unacquainted with the resilience and dynamism of the P.A.I.G.C. which he led feared that the movement could not recover form the shock. Recent developments in the struggle point to the fact that a second line of leadership was ready to take over and has indeed made its mark.

One of the most significant aspects of the P.A.I.G.C. struggle has been the integration of theory with practice, the building up of a grass-roots party, the inculcation of the ideals of democracy and nationalism into the hierarchy of the party and the liberation forces. Faced with the stark realities of the colonial situation, the people of Guinea and Cape Verde have learnt the essence of discipline, courage and efficiency.

With the support of friendly countries, they have waged a heroic war in which they have effectively countered the colonialist aggressor in the air, on the land and on water. The reports to which we referred above are those of the shooting down of Portuguese — and, ultimately, therefore N.A.T.O. — combat aircraft over the beleaguered territory. The struggle for liberation has been totally embraced by the cadres of Cabral's P.A.I.G.C. / who, doubless, were further invigorated by the resolutions and expressions of solidarity emanating from last January's O.A.U. Liberation Committee meeting in Accra.

We have no doubt that the concrete analysis that followed Cabral's assassination has played no small part in the strengthening of the moral of the liberation army, and the results are already showing. All Africa expects Guinea-Bissau to be free this year, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the O.A.U. The rest of Africa can also learn an important lesson from the cohesion and integrity of the party-cum-army structure of Guinea-Bissau, seeing that there is a complete unity and sense of purpose between the two. The channels of communication are open and free in the party hierarchy, the army is integrated with the people and with the search for identifiable national goals.

The **Legon Observer** hopes that friendly countries will increase their material and moral support to the valiant forces of Guinea-Bissau — and indeed of other dependent territories — for with so little they have been able to achieve so much. It should be a matter of pride for the rest of Africa to be actively identified with the final thrust against the camp of one of our inveterate enemies.

There can be no better tribute to the memory of the fallen patriots than the complete liquidation of imperialism in Africa and the establishment of a just, free and equitable society of free and equal citizens. This was Cabral's dream. We trust its realization is now within reach.

Rhodesia: The Gap Widens

MR. IAN SMITH is rapidly losing his credibility. In most of the world he never did have any at all, of course, but unprincipled support of various kinds given to the chief Rhodesian "illegalist" from certain quarters tended to camouflage his real situation. Now the chemicals composing that false smokescreen are being blown away by fresh winds from the north. Britain, Rhodesia's main moral and material prop in her illegal dealings, has suddenly become a major problem for Mr. Smith. Britain's attitude towards the Salisbury regime seems to be now changing, in inverse ratio to the changes in the economic outlook of Edward Heath's government; kith and kin sentiments, as well as certain contemptible racial tendencies, seem to be weakening in the face of other realities.

Mr. Smith is in the habit of committing political blunders — many of them. Likewise his chief officers and functionaries, people like the all-wise and glib-tongued Lardner-Bourke, always ready with proof of white infalibility and rightness in Rhodesia. Well, two of the Smith regime's most recent demonstrations of wisdom and omnipotence seem to be turning out like two of their biggest blunders to date. The decision to close their side of the Rhodesia-Zambia border, and the one to try the journalist, Peter Nieswand, **in secret,** have so far had catastrophic consequences for the U.D.I. prophets. In the first place, the springing to the assistance of Zambia by so many countries around the world, though not perhaps the all-time solution to Kaunda's economic

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problems, had nevertheless been a far-reaching movement of relief to the Zambians and an unexpected blow to the Rhodesians, both psychologically and materially. In the second place the secret trial and conviction of Nieswand has led even hitherto kith-and-kin minded Britishers to denounce and renounce the Salisbury regime, in effect, as a "bush" organization sited incongruously at the very centre of the 20th century.

But there are even more important factors behind Britain's changing attitudes towards the U.D.I. leaders, and that was the starting point of this note. It is, that thanks to Nigeria's outpouring oil and to O.A.U. momentum towards greater and greater unity in political-economic aims, the fatuous old lies and pretensions about Africa's position in the world are again being effectively challenged. Now Alec Douglas-Home has to shift moral ground in order to accommodate economic reality. Nigerian oil is more important for Britain than Rhodesian blood attachments — or even, if you like, than Rhodesian tobacco.

Opinion

THE GOVERNMENT, THE PRESS AND THE MASSES

By

Ohene Okai

AN effective press in a developing country like Ghana is not only an asset but a necessity. A press dedicated to the course of constructive criticism of government policies and of certain sensitive issues, and able to strike balanced views in its columns, should not only be encouraged but must be relieved of certain unqualified pressures which are obstacles to its successful operation.

In an interview with a correspondent of an international journal (**Africa**, No. 10, June 1972) Col. Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the National Redemption Council, said among other things: "A government is fulfilling a basic democratic function if it is responsive to the needs and wishes of the people in whose name it exercises its functions. If the government is fulfilling this function and moreover is able to sustain a climate of freedom, with a free press, a free judiciary and an informed and articulate public opinion, there is no reason to think it is undemocratic simply, because it did not go through an election ritual".

Military regimes are often branded as totalitarian, but this statement by Ghana's soldier head of state assures us that there is some tolerance for democracy here, and that the press has a free hand in the dissemination of information to the masses. Lt.-Col. C. D. Benni, in an opening address to journalists (**Daily Graphic**, 17th March), stressed that "Ghanaians themselves are the pivot of the national effort to achieve self-reliance. We must reach them, and I believe you realise that on your shoulders lies the exacting responsibility of seeing to it that the people get the vital information which will enable them to give that popular support in the implementation of popular programmes".

These two statements complement each other. They both seem to drive home the singular point that there is a free press here. Yet I am inclined to put this question: How free is the press in Ghana? In my opinion the answer is in the negative. The pronouncement that there is a free press is a fiction. I have taken this extreme view because of the following existing circumstances.

In the first place a cursory examination of appointments to the mass media would show that most, if not all, officials are the appointees of the government. Secondly, the Newspaper Licensing Decree published recently and the provision of the Criminal Code, section 183, bring it to the fore more clearly that the government is the sole "managing-director" of printing, publication and circulation of information in the country.

If we take a glance through the above, the most obvious thing that comes to attention is that the press officials occupy a very uncomfortable position in our society. Though a decree protects them from law-suits, in one way or another the officials are in the pocket of the government, thus they have to sing laudatory hymns to their master. Most of the news items that are transmitted, published or, as the case may be, screened on T.V. are worthless; others tend towards sensationalism, which is the most dangerous way of educating the illiterate masses.

It is dangerous because it makes the people who should benefit have bad faith in the press concerned and pressmen in general, and they look upon the government with suspicion. In a country like Ghana where illiteracy is widespread and the information media feel gagged, communication on matters of politics and other sensitive socio-economic issues is liable to ricochet in many unpredictable ways.

Suggestions

In past regimes, those who dared write articles which were distasteful to the government were oftentimes thrown into gaol, others were deported, and even a regime which claimed to be the very "vehicle of democracy" threatened students with severe punishments simply because the students had not danced to their music. Any government afraid of criticism, as a matter of fact lives in fear of its own shadow and ceases to be the embodiment of the general will.

In a revolution the laws could be translated to suit the purpose of the revolutionaries. But I hope that Col. Acheampong and members of the ruling N.R.C. would pardon those open-minded people who are prepared to give sensible contributions towards policy formulation and other sensitive matters of national importance. I am happy to feel that we are not in a "reign of terror" and that the government promises not to put unnecessary impediments in the way of conscientious editors; thus they will make our press responsible and efficient.

I suggest: that (1) the laws and decrees governing newspaper printing, publication and distribution are either anachronisms or antagonistic to progress and efficiency. I call for an immediate look into them; (2) unnecessary adulation had not helped previous regimes and is not likely to help the present regime either. Rather, we should gear our efforts towards progress by

contributing useful suggestions and criticisms on important national matters, and desist from flattering the government; (3) something should be done about the pay structure of journalists so as to fire enthusiasm into the profession and thus attract more competent personnel.

AFRICA'S CULTURAL FREEDOM

By

A. Poku Achampong

WHEN a news item reported recently that the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity had produced a charter on the political and economic freedom of Africa, it also stated that the charter was "aimed at meeting Africa's growing role on the international scene". No mention was, apparently, made of Africa's cultural freedom in the charter. It is fervently to be hoped that either there is an O.A.U. charter on cultural freedom already or there is one in the offing.

Political freedom enables us to say yes or no to other peoples. Economic freedom enables us to supply our needs from our own coffers, and is the lifeblood of political freedom. The two kinds of freedom are buttressed and given concrete expression by cultural freedom. If Africans can demonstrate to the world that they have a way of life which satisfies man's personality no less than any other way of life does, then they are really independent, truly free.

On the African continent at the moment, there are certain white settlers who say they are determined to perpetuate in Africa certain transcendental phenomena called "Western values" and "Western standards of civilisation", such as I AM Smith—or rather Ian Smith, the white settler—noisily proclaimed last year.

Racialist Theories

Apart from white settler politicians, there are inside and outside the continent, certain racialist white people who, at this time of the day, spill calabashfulls of precious intelligence and energy trying to prove the grand theory that the white race is superior to other races, that the intelligence quotient of black and coloured people is invariably lower than that of any white person, no matter how stupid.

In "Race and Intelligence", an article in **Transition 40,** Mallory Wober gives examples of such people and discusses their monumental achievements in this singularly august field of research. In South Africa, says Wober, Dr. M. Lawrence Fick performed intelligence tests in 1929 and in 1939 on white, Zulu and Indian children, and proclaimed that "all objective and scientific estimates of the educability of the Natives . . . indicates a marked inferiority on the part of the Native in comparison with European pupils of the same age", and that this inferiority "limits considerably the proportion of Natives who can benefit by education of the ordinary type beyond the rudimentary".

In 1969, Professor Arthur R. Jensen, of the University of California, wrote to the **Harvard Educational Review** an article in which he claimed that blacks were good only at what he termed "associative thinking" but not at "conceptual thinking". In other words, black people can only "chew and pour" — like parrots. This view is said to have been gleefully paraded on 5th June 1970 by the British newspaper **Daily Telegraph,** admired by Lord C. P. Snow and supported by Professor Hans Jurgen Eysenck (London), author of over twenty books in psychology, including one entitled **Uses and Abuses of Psychology.**

Professor Eysenck himself is said to have written, in an article published in the British magazine **New Society** on 17th July 1971, as follows: "Why . . . are environmental hypotheses so firmly held . . . where no experimentally ascertained facts are allowed to impinge on their sacred image? If we want to help the Blacks achieve equality of **opportunity** . . . then we can do so only on a basis of factual knowledge . . . this, I think, must be the answer to all those who prefer not to experiment in this field, for fear of what they might discover". The **Argus,** a Ugandan paper, is said to have come out on 9th September 1971 with the hot news that one William Shockley, a physicist Nobel Prize winner, "who maintains that Blacks are less intelligent as a race than Whites, [had] suggested that the U.S. government pay bonuses to low-intelligence parents who submit to sterilization".

Self-sufficient Culture

Is it too much to suspect that these professorial ideas about the black race have been firmly riveted to the inner wall of the occiputs of Caetano, Ian Smith, Vorster, and those racialists who give clandestine aid to the die-hard colonialists in Africa? How else do we explain the continued incarceration of Joshua Nkomo and Ndabaningi Sithole? How else can we adequately explain the brutality of the Sharpeville massacre, the senseless murder of Dr. Amilcar Cabral? The open anti-African racialists are bad enough, but the undetected influence of the ideas of the hidden ones is pernicious. The gecko said: "I am hurt not so much by the person who threw the stone at me as by the one who stood by and said 'you are a good shot' ".

Yet there are many people—yellow, white, auburn—all over the globe, who feel warmly towards Africa and Africans and who believe that something more comes from Africa than gold, rough diamond, copper, chromium ore, petroleum and cocoa. The racialist white settlers on the African continent and their misguided allies outside must be made to see that Africans could live decently enough without adopting anything from anyone else's culture.

"Our bath was wet before it rained". If we cannot help being influenced by other people's way of life, and if international cultural rapport makes for international co-operation and the brotherhood of all men, still anti-African racialists ought to be made to understand that Africans are not **bound** to adopt the culture of the racialists, and that on the contrary they are free to pick and choose anything they consider worthwhile from the culture of any people and adopt it.

To edify our many yellow, white and auburn friends all over the globe, it would be good to let them see and hear more and more about our smocks and **batakari,** our **kente** and **chawchaw,** our music, our festivals, our ideas on life, birth and death, the many facets of the wisdom of our ancestors. It would be good to let them know that our culture is relevant to modern times, not only in the sense that it may be studied at Berkeley and in London as a curio, but also in the sense that it can be lived. It would be good to let them know how African culture can enrich the human spirit and adorn the ex-

tended family of man.

In his opening address at the twenty-first session of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee on 8th January 1973, Col. I. K. Acheampong declared: "Ghana believes in a new world order based on peace, justice and equality . . . and shall work hand-in-hand with any nation, great or small, weak or strong, that believes in the establishment of this new world order, based not on the exploitation of the weak by the strong, of the poor by the rich, but constructed on a fundamental faith in the worth of the human personality, regardless of race, colour and creed".

Yes, the African Revolution must establish the fact that Africa can positively help to re-create and reform the world.

Letters

Giving unto God and unto Caesar

SIR—Jehovah's Witnesses do not participate in saluting the flag of any nation because they regard this as a violation of their Christian conscience. They regard the flag as an image of the state. Flags also carry representations of things in the heavens, such as stars, as well as things on earth and in the waters. Therefore, performing an act toward such, like bowing or saluting, is considered by Jehovah's Witnesses to be a violation of the second commandment in the Bible, at Exodus 20:4, 5, which states:

> You must not make for yourself a carved image or a form like anything that is in the heavens above or that is on the earth underneath, or that is in the waters under the earth. You must not bow down to them nor be induced to serve them, because I Jehovah your God am a God exacting exclusive devotion. (See also I Corinthians 10:15; I John 5:21).

Some may object and say that flags are not religious in nature, so worship is not involved. But the point here is that, while it may not be regarded as religious by someone else, it is regarded as religious by Jehovah's Witnesses. It should not seem strange when one group views a matter as religious and others do not. It should not seem strange when some churches in Christendom do not work on the Sabbath. It should not seem strange when other religious organizations condemn raising pigs and eating pork. Therefore it should not seem strange when Jehovah's Witnesses do not salute the flag. And besides, they do not prevent others from saluting it.

A nation should be proud of citizens who have high moral traits, a people whose religion teaches them to live peacefully and to be obedient to law and order. Such ones do not drain the resources of the nation by engaging in subversive activities or committing crimes that make large police and military forces necessary, and thus require the diverting of money that could be used to help lift the living standards of the people instead.

Jehovah's Witnesses are submissive to the state. They show their respect by their fine conduct and their obedience to the law of the land. But when Caesar demands God's rights from them, this they cannot give. Such a stand constitutes no threat to the state.

P.O. Box 760 **Maxwell Adjei**
Accra

Military Training in Our Varsities

SIR—My letter may be a little late but it may yet have an impact on a few consciences. It is difficult to satisfy myself that intensive (so it should be) studies in the university can go alongside military training. The saying that "one man cannot effectively serve two masters" is going out of Ghanaian contexts, but the truth is that either the military training will be necessarily limited to marching, saluting and some exercises, or the intensity of studies will have to be reduced. Obviously the end product of this sort of thing is going to be a half soldier and half graduate. Where is his field of specialisation, which developing Ghana needs? We certainly need low-cost houses, but do we need low-cost graduates as well?

I do not see how a serious engineering student whose course, alias "discipline", is so tough that he could be asked to withdraw, "in your own interest", can hazard the addition of an equally tough military training. I believe this group of students should at least be given that time to do more practical work, so that they will in future be able to repair their own cars. Their work might then be easily identifiable from that of the illiterate fitter.

This military training, it is asserted, will give our graduates a new type of personality: "highly motivated, disciplined and loyal". They will then be in a position "to give better service to society". I do not know, but I do not think martial discipline, in fact military order, is compatible with civil professional etiquette. Many of us are yet to see changes for the better in those aspects of our life and economy where military personnel have been drafted.

There are more pressing needs than an imposition on our graduates called "discipline". They need full time to train for the high-level manpower needs of Ghana. The mischief of under-invoicing and over-invoicing, for instance, is a thing of the conscience which no amount of marching and drill can influence. Please, every soldier is not necessarily honest, so let us stop symbolising him as virtue.

A subsidiary aim or hope is that some of these military-trained graduates, who may desire it, can easily fit into the professional standing army. This is even more alarming. Can small Ghana sustain the myriads of Colonels, Lt-Colonels, Majors and other officers already in the army? Will diminishing returns not set in with any addition? War is not so imminent, and as for staging further coups, the general public does not greatly care for it.

Gbewaa Secondary School **Kangberee S. Basilide**
P.O. Box 124
Tamale

Education and Indigenous Culture

SIR—While there is ample evidence indicating that the colonial masters showed contempt for indigenous culture, B. S. Kwakwa (**L.O.** VIII/6) misrepresents Busia when he quotes him to support this position.

The point that Busia is making in the quoted section of the introduction to **Purposeful Education for Africa,** is that on his return to Wenchi after a year at secondary school he felt **alienated** from community life. This is a far cry from **feeling contempt** for Ghanaian culture, as the author suggests.

Towards the end of the article Kwakwa notes that at present there is an outcry for agricultural, technical and business education, yet he proposes "a thorough study of, and immersion of our pupils in . . . the indigenous culture".

May I suggest that educational planners pay heed to those areas mentioned in the general outcry. Once these educational needs are met, the country will be more prosperous and the citizenry joyful in their nation's accomplishments. And once this occurs, a reawakening of pride in indigenous culture is almost inevitable.

P.O. Box 129 **Dunstan Chicanot**
Winneba

"Kwame Nkrumah—Hero or Villain?"

SIR—The writer of the article with the above caption, which appeared in **L.O.** VIII/6, wished to know the stand of Ghanaians towards Nkrumah. To him it appears odd that Ghanaians should pay tribute to Nkrumah and in the same breath celebrate his downfall.

That Nkrumah has become an immortal of Ghana and Africa is beyond dispute. But as a human being he had his weak points, as well as the good deeds. This is seen in other immortal leaders, such as Caesar and Napoleon. If we hail or pay tribute to Nkrumah, we do so in memory of his good works to the entire black race all over the world. And if we celebrate his downfall, that is done in condemnation of his major weaknesses, without which he could have achieved his objective in his life time. This shows fairly the objectivity of Ghanaians towards their leaders.

The writer may therefore agree that it would not be fair to allow the good deeds of Nkrumah to be eclipsed by the bad ones, and then to damn him as a villain; or vice versa.

P.O. Box M.54 **Baffuor-Awuah Kyeretwie**
Accra

SIR—That one moment Kwame Nkrumah could be praised, and the next his fall celebrated, shows the puzzle that his life was. But one thing which must be remembered is that both aspects are historic and significant in Ghanaian history. No one would deny that when it comes to talking about the altruistic architects of the early African revolution and the emancipation movement, the African revolutionist would be insincere to himself by refraining from mentioning the name of Kwame Nkrumah.

Again, when it comes to talking about Ghana's insolvency position in 1966, one cannot refrain from holding him responsible; it is for this reason that the observation of 24th February is important. The unique logic of the situation is manifested by Ghana's desire to take perpetual custody of Dr. Nkrumah's mortal remains, and at the same time refuse to admit principles that negate the fundamentals of the 24th February coup of 1966.

Apart from the above points elucidating the phenomenon of "praise here and apparent condemnation there", another factor, perhaps more important but imperceptible as to why his exit from the political arena of Ghana should be observed, is that his claim as Founder of modern Ghana is indisputable. Had he died in any one of the numerous attempts on his life, or even peacefully under the first Republican constitution, his day of death would definitely have gone down as an important day in our national calendar of memorable events; the First Republican Constitution would still be operative, and the storm of his being a villain hover past unnoticed.

The charismatic nature of Kwame Nkrumah deserved to leave an indelible imprint of his political life on Ghanaian history, and he does not take part in how it is done but as his countrymen would do it. The 24th of February therefore is an occasion to recall his final exit from the momentous drama of the early and exciting Ghanaian political scene, of which he was the central figure.

I am sure his ghost will only be too happy to know of the sweet-bitter position he enjoys in Ghana and the world at large today.

P.O. Box 70 **Titus G. K. Owens-Dey**
Legon

Thanks for Rescue

SIR—I wish on behalf of the peaceful citizens of Cape Coast to extend our sincere thanks to your editorial staff for the relentless "pen-mightier-than-sword" war you waged on our behalf, against the soldiers who had been harassing our life around here. We are now living again in our romatic freedom and peace, as a result of your rescue action. Please extend our thanks also to the military authorities, if they are in any way connected with the ceasing of the uniformed bullying in Cape Coast.

We hope that in your campaign for the emancipation of the Cape Coast populace none of your staff suffered any persecution. Otherwise, kindly extend our sympathies to them.

c/o 44/4 Kawanopado Street **Kofi Kent**
Cape Coast

The O.S.A. and Pensioners

SIR—"The management of the Omnibus Services Authority will with immediate effect stop payment of pensions and gratuities to pensioners". This was the opening sentence of a news item reported recently in one of our national weeklies.

Such an action by a government department, more or less, must surely shock the ordinary citizen who believes that the government's ultimate concern is the enhancement of the social circumstances of the governed, the diverse economic and political activities being just a means to achieving this ultimate. How then can an arm of the government suddenly remove the only source of "bread and butter" from a group who in their youth contributed their quotas to the society, the pension being indeed a recognition of this contribution?

The severe hardship that is likely to be inflicted on these pensioners must not be equated with that arising from, say, a redundancy exercise by a government department. In the latter case there is always a possibility of redeployment, no matter how meagre it is, and hence the difficulties may be temporary, even if equally severe. Pensioners, on the other hand, are considered to have reached an age at which their continued employment is neither economical to their employers nor socially desirable. Removal of their pension therefore imposes a grave and helpless situation on their lives. The autho-

rity's action therefore must be of great concern to the public.

How are they supposed to feed now, to pay their rents and sustain their families, while the authority seeks funds to restart payment of their pensions? If the authority sincerely believes that the government is responsible for the funds with which its pensioners are paid, why did it not ask for such funds at the time of incorporation? If their failure to arrange for financial provisions for responsibilities they were being saddled with is due to the authority's negligence, why burden some other group with the consequences of such negligence?

In any case how and from where the authority obtains funds to meet its obligations should not be the concern of ageing pensioners, and therefore the latter should not be asked to stay their meagre existence until "the government's decision on the authority's petition on payment of pensions and gratuities".

Most pensioners put in thirty to forty years of the active period of their life span to qualify for a pension. Considering that the financial value of most pensions is grossly incommensurate with the totality of the service rendered, the sudden suspension of what little money pensioners get, as is reported to have been done by the Omnibus Services Authority, cannot be justified. We would therefore urge them to continue with the payment of all due gratuities and pensions while it straightens out its financial sources.

Legon **S. D. Mark**

Radio R.S.A. Propaganda

SIR—Radio R.S.A. is a propaganda forum which is feeding the world with lies to enable her trip up our onward march to freedom.

South Africa could not discourage any country from giving aid to Zambia, that landlocked country. Nor should she have thought by this process to turn the gaze of the world away from the fomenting situation in South Africa itself. On the contrary, we are well schooled about her explosive conditions: industrial unrests in Durban and other cities, student demonstrations against her political and educational system, Nelson Mandela, the Franciscan priest Cosmos Desmond, the Ovambo workers . . .

Certainly South Africa and Rhodesia would have liked Zambia to keep her borders open, not for the benefit of the Zambians but for their own ends. Racist troops would then be able to get on to the other side of the river, cause mischief and retire safely home. Once more, the delicate Zambian hand would have been pushed right into their mouths to bite.

AB.503 Legon Hall **S. G. A. Nlary**

Which is more worthy—the Car or the Road?

SIR—By N.R.C. law all vehicles are supposed to have become roadworthy by the 7th of April. This is one of the two devils working against transportation. By that decree road worthiness is now under firm control.

Now what happens to the other devil—the road itself: is it for its part car-worthy? Just drive your vehicle from Korle-Bu over the Odaw bridge to Agbado, and you will realise whether it is your car that is not road-worthy or the road that is not car-worthy. Again, you can drive from Graphic Road, by the Club Brewery off the Accra railway station, to link with Liberty Avenue just opposite the police station, and you will find out which of the two devils is more dangerous.

It is a good idea increasing the coffers of the state by charging every driver ¢12.00 per half year, if only part of the sum collected will be used to fill up the pot-holes, regravel the roads, and smooth the dented roads and streets alike, our roads will be car-worthy and thus make the road-worthiness exercise a big success.

Imagine this situation. A driver passes his road worthiness test, and right out of the examination room he encounters a yawning pot-hole unawares. Trying to avoid it, he applies his well-tested brakes instantly. The other driver following him is not given sufficient warning to stop, so he runs bang into the stationary car in front of him, smashing his head lamps and the tail-lights of the vehicle in front of him. By the decree, the two cars have ceased to be roadworthy there and then! And who is to blame—the driver who applied his brakes instantly to avoid the pot-hole, or the P.W.D. which failed to apply therapy to the chronic sickness of the road?

It is my fervent belief that if the P.W.D., or whichever authority is responsible for the maintenance of the roads, the streets and the highways, does not make the roads car-worthy, the roadworthiness exercise would have been in vain.

Make the roads car-worthy, and the cars will be made road-worthy.

Census Office **Aduonum-Darko**
Accra

The Leyland Buses and Apartheid

SIR—To say that it is "nationally disgraceful", because of apartheid, to order buses which will go a long way in solving the transportation problems in the cities, to which more than 80% of the populace are heirs, is hard to understand. To me those who ordered the buses have done what is "nationally commendable", because they know what they are about. Zambia, after all, buys wheat and maize from Rhodesia and South Africa occasionally, and neither Zambians nor any other Africans, including Ghanaians, have dared to censure Zambia for that or accused her of flirting with apartheid.

P.O. Box 5686 **B. Okoe Laryea**
Accra-North

Asutsuare Sugar Underweight?

SIR—Recently I had the misfortune of buying sugar made at the factory at Asutsuare. Not only was this sugar grey in colour, but it was also sold in underweight packets. The weight was meant to be ¼lb **nett** (113.5 grams), but the weights of the six packets I bought were: 105.85; 104.35; 105.02; 104.1; 107.00; and 108.05 grams. Not one of them was the correct weight or above, as you can see.

It is true that sugar is a scarce commodity in this country, but this is no reason why a state industry should profiteer from it. I sincerely hope that this is a genuine error and nothing will be spared to correct it without delay.

P.O. Box 2978 **M. A. Adu**
Accra

Matters Arising

THE N.R.C. AND A STANDARD RENT FORMULA: A COMMENT

By

A. Amoah Baah-Nuakoh

IN THE 9th February issue of the **Legon Observer** (VIII/3), a writer, Kwame Frimpong, made an attempt to justify the need for a standard rent in Ghana. He argued that the introduction of a standard rent structure has "demonstrably proved the N.R.C's belief in 'deeds not words' ", and that "the N.R.C. in this bold measure have undoubtedly added one more credit to their judgement book". He was convinced that "with a keen observance of the measure and the punishment of the offenders", the standard rents "will be an immediate, if not a lasting solution to the high rents problem in the country . . ."

Frimpong attributes the high rents to the fact that demand is greater than supply in the housing market. Unfortunately he fails to realize that this disequilibrium state of the housing market implies that the rent being charged in the type of market he is describing is below that rental price determined by the interaction of supply and demand curves for housing units, and that the landlords were even receiving less than equilibrium price. Is he advocating that the disequilibrium price is still too high?

Frimpong recognises that the first and most effective method to reduce further the disequilibrium price at present being charged is to flood the market with housing units, so that the market system efficiently determines rent at a reasonably low level (even here we have to assume that the "flooding" of the market from the supply side is not outweighed by the "flooding" from the demand side). Frimpong finds the "flooding of the market process" to be slow in yielding results, and thus has a preference for what he considers to be a faster method —fixing rents by legislation—but which I consider to be very ineffective. I think that milder forms of rent control could be instituted while attention is paid at the same time to attempts at increasing the supply of housing units.

The government should be given all the credit for its recognition of the problem of high rents in "certain towns and cities in the country", and for its attempts at checking those rents. The attempts have taken two extreme forms: (i) the appeal to landlords for voluntary rent reduction, the unfavourable response to which could have been predicted, since the Ghanaian seller has never been a faithful believer in price controls but would always hail price increases; (ii) the recent method of fixing rents. Another method, which was adopted in August last year but which remained in the light for only a week, was the government's order asking tenants to pay 80% of their rents to their landlords. This method was not dissimilar to the present measure: there were only three insignificant differences. The August measure was put in percentage terms and did not take into account the size of the room and the material used in the construction of the house.

The truth of the matter is this: Ghana faces a housing problem which a standard rent schedule cannot solve, contrary to what Frimpong seems to suggest; it can only

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vices which Ghanaians demand we would be eiving ourselves to think that the end of the ortages is in sight. The shortages are an indication of the limit of the resources available for velopment. If in the past we have been living yond our means and hence did not know these ortages that is no reason for our unwillingness accept and live with them. A word of caution ere: the shortages would not guarantee development; they may leave free resources which if properly utilized would contribute to our development.

The public is not likely to acquiesce in the present situation. Governments know this but they also need to accept the shortages as a long-term phenomenon. From that point on their success and stability depend on their ability to ucate the public to accept **some** shortages; after rmies have been known to march on hafty stomachs.

Politics

SOME REFLECTIONS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN GHANA

By

S. A. Nkrumah

In the past two decades, several Commissions of Enquiry have studied local government problems and suggested reforms. One thing they have not done is to give us a clearly articulated concept of local government. Hence, there has been some confusion in our minds about the system we have been operating. We have spoken more of local government, but in practice we have had something else.

Local government implies local autonomy in certain things; not sovereignty though, but autonomy far-reaching enough to encourage and allow local initiative. The local government councils are empowered to perform certain functions of local significance and what is more, given adequate resources, legal and financial backing, to accomplish these tasks. Central government supervision er the performance of local authorities exists, purse, but it is selective and never frustrating. C perations of the central government agencies Import to augment the activities of the local but not to compete with them.

Rent

All Items

accent is on local administration, it of the central government that is calities. It is no longer the local ital role in moder-

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in the local government area, be he the District Administrative Officer, Education Officer, Health Officer, Social Welfare Officer, etc. In a system of local government, these officers must assist the local authorities; in local administration, they compete with local authorities and carry the goods straight to the people to enhance the image of the central government.

This competition has raged on over the years in Ghana. "Osagyefo has donated 100 bags of cement to village X"; "the N.L.C. is committed to a policy of good drinking water for the rural areas"; "the Ministry of Rural Development is constructing a feeder road from Y to Z". As a result, the public has come to realize that it is the central government, not the local government council, that is willing and able to usher development. Thus the apathy toward local government is partly the creation of the very central government which should realise the importance of local government.

Maybe it has been a deliberate policy to thwart local government. The support the governing party is capable of capturing from direct distribution of projects is immense. Political bribery aside, whether one adopts local government or local administration is related to the strategy of economic growth one believes in. Those, like Dr. Nkrumah, who believe in initially concentrating resources in a few strategic areas, e.g. Akosombo, Tema, later to spread the benefits from such projects to the rural areas, do not look very favourably on local government. The records indicate that the last few years of his rule saw progressive reduction from year to year in the grants made to the local authorities.

On the other hand, commitment to effective local government presupposes the acceptance of the philosophy of 'development from below'. Hence if Dr. Busia had ensured equitable distribution of his 'rural development projects' to all the regions, making use of local government councils in the process, he would have qualified as a friend of local government. The irony is that not only did he not have a specific Ministry of Local Government but also when he faced the question all he could do was to come out with an Act of Local Administration. Worse still, in a characteristically reactionary manner he planned to buttress his rural support by rewarding the chiefs with positions on local government councils.

It is from here that the N.R.C. government has taken over, and I suspect, on a wrong footing with the NRCD. 138 Local Administration (A

local governm

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feasible methods the Ghanaian tenant would have to live with the problem of high rents.

I shall limit myself to the analysis of some of the economic effects of the vertical aspect of rent control. Assume the housing market is in equilibrium, but the government finds the rent determined to be high. The government then sets the maximum rent below what prevails in the free market for housing. There is an absorption of available rental space, and a rush for new rental space as it becomes available at the controlled level. Pressure is imposed on aggregate demand for housing. Without a commensurate increase in housing unit supply, a condition of disequilibrium arises, that is, at this level of controlled rent the demand for housing space is greater than the supply. Why would a government prefer this disequilibrium situation to an efficient working system?

Rent control is one of the anti-inflationary controls. It protects low income recipients from sharp increases in housing rents. It prevents landlords from getting high and socially undesirable returns during periods of housing scarcity. It is argued that since landlords are richer than tenants, rent control has desirable redistributive effects. Decrease in rents may lead to redistribution of housing space, that is, this may cause a decrease in the number of persons per room. Thus equity is the name of the game. As one economist warns us, economic science cannot pronounce that the advocates of rent control are necessarily wrong, provided that they face the cost.

Militating "Costs"

Against the aforementioned benefits which might induce a government to fix rents by legislation, we can identify certain "costs" which might work against the measure achieving its objectives. The first and foremost problem is the implementation of the standard rent measure. Secondly, the benefits that may accrue to the tenants may be less than the penalties it may impose on the landlords, thus a welfare loss to society. In the third place, since the control applies to all private housing units, it is doubtful whether landlords are in fact always richer than their tenants. There are relatively poor tenants who rent from relatively rich landlords, but it is also true that relatively rich tenants rent from poor landlords.

Fourth: The measure can affect the future supply of housing units by reducing the incentive to invest in new residential buildings. Theoretically, a prospective builder would weigh the profitability of investing in residential buildings with investing in other ventures. If investors expect the removal of rent control in the near future, then the present existence of controls may not inhibit investment in residential units altogether. Herein lies the difference between a temporary rent fixing measure and what Frimpong considered a lasting solution.

Fifth: Because the landlord cannot raise his rents in response to an increase in demand, nor cut down the supply of housing units very drastically, he makes adjustments in his costs by reducing the quality of maintenance of existing units, thus hastening the deterioration of the units. Sixth: Fixing the nominal rent does not, of course, freeze the real rent; thus during periods of inflation the landlords are bound to suffer.

Seventh: It is possible that a landlord may convert some of his units for non-residential use, if he considers the controlled rent to be below what he hopes to get from the alternative use; or he may decide to give a unit to a son, daughter, or other, who did not have a unit to themselves prior to the imposition of the control, if he considers the monetary benefit the son or daughter would derive from owning his or her own room to exceed the controlled rent.

I would suggest here three categories of solutions to the high rent problem in the country: (i) a "voluntary choice system"; (ii) milder forms of rent control; (iii) increasing the supply of housing units.

The voluntary choice system allows the landlords to charge any rent he desires, but the excess of his takings over the controlled rent is confiscated by a 100% tax; the amount is then returned to the tenant as a subsidy. But it is very unlikely that this method could be effectively implemented in Ghana at the present time, unless institutions for efficient collection of the excess rent and transfer to the tenant are established.

For the milder forms of rent control, a Rent Review Board, working under the Incomes Board, would be established. This sub-board would act as an arbitrator between tenants and landlords; complaints would be made to it. There should be no arbitrary ceilings, but reasonable increments would be permitted by the review board where they are justified. This would permit new construction, and will retain the incentive of the landlords to maintain the upkeep of their existing buildings. An alternative method to this would be for the government to decide on a maximum rate of increase in rents. The landlords are then bound by law to notify tenants of proposed increase at least sixty days in advance. Some housing units should also be exempted from the standard rent, e.g. new construction in selected areas, on grounds of inviting investment or optimal geographical distribution of housing units.

Solutions to the Problem

Among Frimpong's method of rent control the only one that I buy is the one he himself admits to be most effective: "flooding the market with houses". But he has a preference for what he considers to be faster legislation. The only solution to our housing problem is for the government to ensure that housing units are increased in areas most in need of housing services. This could be achieved in a variety of ways, and I suggest here some of the methods. I must first admit that my list does not pretend to exhaust all possible methods of increasing housing units, but would be a basis for research into other or new methods. Secondly, some of the suggested methods might have been already implemented, but of which I might be ignorant.

(1) The principal obstacle to a greater volume of housing construction is financial—the non-availability of long term financing at reasonable rates of interest. There is a need for action by both government and private individuals to generate funds necessary for housing construction; (2) government should encourage private companies to invest in residential construction, by establishing a housing bank which lends funds to prospective borrowers at less than competitive interest rates; (3) government should help average income families to buy houses, by granting them long term mortgage loans with very low interest; (4) the profit from (3) could be used to subsidize housing units for the low income group; (5) public production of housing units should be pressed. This approach is not new to the

government. The State Housing Corporation was established for this purpose; but an unfortunate thing happened. The housing units erected under this scheme were designed for the needs of the middle class of salary earners. I think the emphasis should now be directed to the needs of low income workers.

(6) Low-cost housing using indigenous materials should be promoted. This approach to solving the housing problem was adopted before the 1966 coup. It was reported in the Two-Year Development Plan that the U.S.T. had "already made substantial headway in the identification of techniques required to build low-cost houses with a large component of indigenous material". Sixty low-cost houses were reported to have been completed in October 1972 and were awaiting renters. It is great news to learn that ¢883,000 is now to be spent on re-activating the low-cost housing project.

(7) The government through the State Housing Corporation could invest in large apartment buildings, instead of concentrating attention on houses. Let me give an example of the type of apartment building for low income families which I have in mind. Instead of going for high rise apartment buildings, the government could build large two storey types with one and two bed-room apartments, and with every five or six families sharing a common bath and kitchen. Thus an apartment building with about sixty apartments would contain about ten kitchens and ten baths.

(8) Has the government, or private investors, considered the possibilities and profitability of prefabrication (the industrial production of housing components)? But we should not discount such factors as public skepticism, assembly problems and transportation difficulties.

It is time we found real solutions to our problems, the real "problem", rather than always resorting to controls, which have never worked anywhere in the world. Controls are short run reliefs, not solutions. I hope our gallant soldiers would consider some milder forms of rent policies which would ensure an adequate supply of housing units, if an inadequate supply is the "real" problem facing the Ghanaian consumer.

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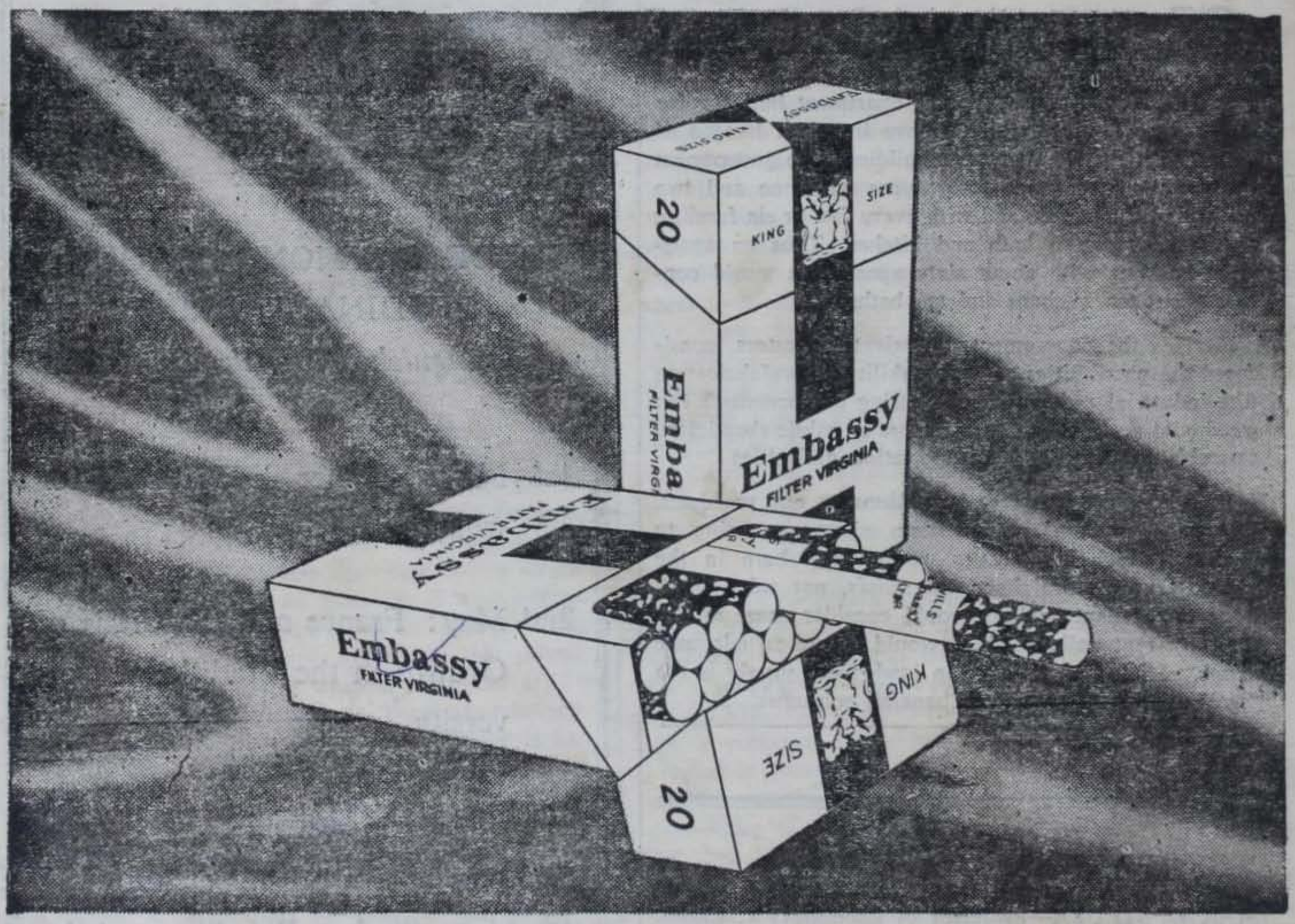
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Editorial

GOVERNMENT BY CONSULTATION?

THE policy adopted by Colonel Acheampong of holding "consultations" with various groups of people in the country is of course a sound and desirable one. To date the Chairman of the N.R.C. has met and talked to students, nurses, doctors, chiefs, market women and farmers, among others. Some of these meetings have been of the usual standard or routine nature: in other words the Ghanaian Head of State would sooner or later have been invited to meet chiefs at a durbar or students at some educational function or other. But others of these face-to-face contacts have been specially arranged in accordance with the Colonel's wish to hold "consultations" with the people.

In the absence of a regular legislature of constitutionally assembled law-makers, some form of consultation between the people and the ruling body we have now has become more than a mere necessity. So anxious indeed have many thinking citizens become about the absence of form in our political organisation, and about the absence of direction towards this goal, that one sociologist, speaking for the many citizens mentioned above, has earnestly advocated the establishment of a National Consultative Assembly. This is one which may or may not have impressed Colonel Acheampong and his colleagues, and to which they may or may not be devoting active consideration as to its feasibility. Our own immediate interest in the many implications of this important matter is limited for the timebeing to what is already given and does exist.

If the policy of "government by consultation" implied by Colonel Acheampong's words and actions is to be taken seriously and have any effect or even meaning, then we ought to enquire about the procedures and methods adopted in the effort to achieve any results. The question to ask is whether Colonel Acheampong and his advisers properly considered the nature of the consultation necessary to achieve the results desired; indeed whether the government is sure or sincere about the nature of the results desired in the first place. For it is our impression that so far most of what has happened between the head himself—particularly between the head himself—and the groups he has met, does not qualify for the description of consultation.

In one of his policy statements on this matter, this is how Colonel Acheampong explained what he had in mind:

> One way of doing this is by a system of Popular Consultations with the people, not only with their representatives but with peoples of all walks of life and of all manner of persua-

sions who can be brought together to hear and exchange ideas. . . .

"So I have brought you here, all of you, not just to address you, but also to assure you that we are prepared to listen to your own views, your personal views, expressed in complete freedom.

"I propose to do the same with all sections of our Ghanaian society — the workers, the farmers, the fishermen, the educationists, the market women, the engineers, the doctors, the nurses, and the rest of our people. . . .

"I will address each group and then leave them to discuss the issues confronting the nation and their particular roles in finding solutions to them. Your discussions, your contributions will be recorded, and shall be published, so that the world may know what constitutes Ghanaian opinion on the many issues before the nation and the world."...

Perhaps this is where the difficulty lies. In the nature of the situation there can be little give-and-take between the head of state and his audiences, unlike some other occasions when his "junior" colleagues have met other groups, notably the mass-media people. Consultation in the true sense with large gatherings is not possible for the Chairman, and small groups would occupy him day and night if it is to be true that he is giving an opportunity to "the people" to consult with him. This is no doubt why he talks to the groups, then leaves them to go and discuss the issues and record their reactions later. But this is only a species of consultation and not really what is intended.

Perhaps the emphasis should be shifted. The government has to have its channels of communication with the people left open, in order to receive feed-back. It is not necessary to put the onus of this on the head himself, or to leave interpretation and reaction principally to him. His colleagues and he must first school themselves in the aims and objects sought, then share the duty of facing the people among the members of the N.R.C., with the Chairman primed more to receive and sort out results than to be the principal weather-vane.

But any kind of consultation in the present political state of the country must essentially be make-shift and temporary. The major task is to find the direction to a restructuring of the political institutions of the country.

Africa

PAN-AFRICANISM REVISITED: THE ROAD TO ADDIS ABABA

By

S.K.B. Asante

ONLY a few years ago political writings on Africa were replete with references to "Pan-Africanism". Today, the watchword is African Unity. This change of designation is hardly accidental, nor is it brought about by literary niceties. In a very brief span of time Africa has travelled a long way from the days of "Pan-Africanism" to the dynamic reality of "African Unity". The salient points in the evolution of Pan-Africanism, and why and how changes occurred, will be some of the aspects we shall discuss in this brief review. The long awaited, forthcoming celebration of the Tenth Anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity—which is the most significant instrument of Pan-Africanism—has made such a discussion uniquely topical.

It is inevitable that we have to grapple with the question: what is Pan-Africanism after all? Those of us who have somehow thought that we have a ready-made, dictionary-type definition soon find that there really is none. For, briefly stated, this extremely important phenomenon of contemporary Africa defies clear-cut definition.

Its Various Forms

As recently as 1960, speakers at the Third Annual Conference of the American Society of African Culture failed to reach an agreement. Some saw Pan-Africanism as self-government or independence by African nations south of the Sahara. Others thought that it was a movement that promoted larger unities, but which remained fundamentally and more generally concerned with the advancement of the African cause, the liberation of its people, and the improvement of the quality of their lives. Delegates like the French-speaking West African and founder of the journal **Presence Africaine**, Alioune Diop, believed that each country or cultural region had its terminology. In France "we invented **negritude** (negro-ness); in the Anglo-Saxon countries, they invented Pan-Africanism; and, together, we launched another expression with the same perspective, the 'African Personality' ".

It is worth emphasising, then, that throughout the twentieth century the term Pan-Africanism

has meant different things to different people. For instance, to Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican whose racial Pan-Africanism became popular during his sojourn in the United States between 1916 and 1927, it meant the futility of the black man's existence in the New World, an exaltation of the race, and the need for a distinct black government in Africa. To cultural Pan-Africanists or advocates of Negritude, it means a doctrine—illusive to others—that black men, because of a unique experience vis-a-vis white men, have their own special qualities, distinctions and rights. And to functional Pan-Africanists, it means the solving of common problems by common efforts and treatment, problems such as transportation and communication. In short, Pan-Africanism is an umbrella term for a politico-cultural complex.

Two main phases and three principal periods of Pan-Africanism may be distinguished. The phases are Pan-Africanism as the **idea** and Pan-Africanism as the **movement.** The periods may be designated the American, European and African.

"Back-to-Africa" Movement

Pan-Africanism as the idea roughly coincides with its American period, both being practically nineteenth century affairs. It is the callous betrayal of the principles of the American Revolution, for which 5,000 blacks themselves had valiantly fought, that forms the background for an understanding of the origins of Pan-Africanism. In the post-revolutionary years, hopes that slavery would be totally abolished and that black Americans would win equality of opportunity were quickly dashed. Finally despairing of ever attaining a position of equality with the other citizens, such articulate black Americans as Paul Cuffee, John Kizzell and Lott Cary began to have visions of a regenerated black continent, and to think seriously of a return to their ancestral home, Africa. On the eve of his departure to Africa, Lott Cary, for instance, burst out:

> I am an African, and in this country, however meritorious my conduct and respectable my character, I cannot receive the credit due to either. I wish to go to a country where I shall be estimated by my merits and not by my complexion, and I feel bound to labour for my suffering race.

Thus Pan-Africanism in this period took the dominant form of a back-to-Africa movement, back to the fatherland. Behind this back to Africa impulse was the belief of the New World Negroes that it was their manifest destiny to regenerate Africa.

Pan-Africanism as a movement began in 1900, when Henry Sylvester Williams, a West Indian barrister, convened a Pan-African "conclave" in London, the first of its kind. This conference also dates the beginning of the European period of Pan-Africanism. The significance of this meeting was that for the first time a group of people, motivated by a common experience and the emotions that stirred people of their colour, were able to meet and think and feel in unison. The word 'Pan African' was coined and given currency at this conference, while, for the first time, the various strands of the nineteenth century—the criticism of imperialism and the fight against racial suppression in Southern Africa and the United States—were brought together in a public demonstration.

The death of Henry Sylvester Williams in 1911 put Pan-Africanism in cold storage until February 1919, when W.E.B. du Bois, who had attended the London Pan-African conclave, engineered another conference in Paris. This Pan-African "Congress", so-termed for the first time, was of particular significance at least in two respects: first, it was a conference at which Pan-Africanism emerged decisively from a stage of romanticism and became an instrument for political action. Secondly, it was a conference which brought together, in some numbers, again for the first time it must be added, the activist elements of Pan-Africanism from the west with some political elements from Africa, though not perhaps adequately representative of the whole continent.

Activation Gains Momentum

Yet a concern for the welfare of Africa was uppermost in the minds of all those who took part—American Negro officers, black intellectuals from the west, and Senegalese deputies in the French Parliament. Africa, it was declared, should in time be ruled "by consent of the Africans". This idea of consent was the forerunner to the principle of self-determination which became an article of faith to the Pan-Africanism of later days, and a corner-stone of the charter of African unity.

The 1920s saw a flurry of Pan-African activities in Europe and America. At least three congresses were held respectively in London and Brussels, 1921; London and Lisbon, 1923; and New York, 1927. All these are too well known in the history to require more than brief references in this context. With these conferences Pan-Africanism gained additional political momentum. However, the political demands that ensued were more re-

formist than revolutionary. On the other hand, the Pan-African scene was still dominated by men of colour from the New World. The struggle for survival in the long years of depression, the rise of fascism and the coming of the war in 1939 turned the attention of these American Negroes to other problems.

The end of the Williams–du Bois stage of Pan-Africanism in Europe also coincided with the end of the American leadership of the movement, and marked the passing of the initiative to Caribbean Negroes and a number of young and ambitious Africans resident in Britain. The key figures in this new and radical development were voluntary exiles and 'professional' political propagandists like George Padmore, C.L.R. James, Jomo Kenyatta, T. Ras Makonnen, I.T.A. Wallace Johnson and Sam Manning. Padmore, who had at this time broken with communism, found fertile ground both amongst African intellectuals and students, and West Indian workers who had organised themselves in Pan-African conscious groups such as the West African Students Union, the League of Coloured People and the Negro Welfare Association, on the one hand, and, on the other, among the British left and various groups who loosely co-operated with the African nationalists.

The Africans Move in

The Italian invasion of Ethiopia in 1935 focussed attention on Africa. As a result, James and the Pan-African associates formed in London in the summer of 1935 an organisation known as the International African Friends of Abyssinia (I.A.F.A.) to arouse the sympathy and support of the British public for Ethiopia. The Executive committee of this organisation included some Ghanaian stalwart nationalists like J.B. Danquah, S.R. Wood and G.E. Moore, who were in London at the time as members of Gold Coast delegations to England of 1934 and '35. In May 1937 the I.A.F.A. gave way to a more ambitious and militant Pan-African organisation known as the International African Service Bureau, and in late 1944 the Bureau merged into a new body, the Pan-African Federation, the organisation responsible for planning the famous 1945 Manchester Pan-African Congress. Thus although no Pan-African congress of the Williams-du Bois type was held, the period of the 1930s, as Padmore rightly said, was one of the most stimulating and constructive in the history of the movement.

The Manchester congress, which was held from October 15th to 19th, 1945, passed various resolutions on imperialism and colonialism, and demanded Africa's political emancipation. This congress was seen as the zenith of the Pan-African movement. Pan-Africanism attained maturity then, and it was visualised as the microcosm of "an inevitable world federation" of African peoples. This period also witnessed the entry and active participation of Kwame Nkrumah, newly arrived from America, in Pan-African affairs, and the beginning of Nkrumah's career as a Pan-African radical and revolutionary nationalist. After Manchester Nkrumah organised the West African National Secretariat in London to serve as a co-ordinating centre for the nationalist movements in West Africa.

From 1947 to 1957, the latter the year of Ghana's independence, it is fair to say that the dream of Pan-Africanism, though alive, was second in priority to the immediate task of establishing self-government, and then independence. There was no Pan-African centre during this period, not even a common journal. But soon after the first African state south of the Sahara became independent in 1957, Pan-Africanism re-emerged, bent on bringing about the speedy "national" emancipation of all Africa. Ghana was to be as Piedmont was to an amorphous Italy, and Accra the Mecca of Pan-Africanism. The vigour and inspiration of Pan-Africanism, stripped of any excess of American-Negro influence as expressed by black zionism or Garveyism, had now taken root in the land of Africa under the active and skillful leadership of Kwame Nkrumah.

Functionalism v. Revolution

The convening of the first Conference of Independent African States and the first All-African Peoples' Conference, both in Accra, in April and December 1958 respectively by Nkrumah, marked the transformation of Pan-Africanism into a movement for African unity. It also closed a long chapter in the political history of Africa and marked the beginning of a new one. Pan-Africanism was then raised to the level of inter-state relationship, as a concerted and conscious effort by the independent African states to forge a unity of action as well as of purpose among themselves.

The beginning years of the movement for African unity were not without their difficulties. There were differences among independent African states, differences more apparent than real, on how best to organise efforts towards the goal of African unity. The dichotomy, it was said, between the "functionalists"—the majority of the African countries who could only see African unity brought about through a gradual process of integration

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of economic and technical institutions— and the "revolutionaries", who would bring about a tight political union of African states, as it were, by a stroke of the pen. These differences were deepened by the attitudes each group adopted at the U.N. and elsewhere on a number of hotly debated issues, chief among which were the Congo, the Algerian war and the Mauritanian question.

Thus between 1961 and 1963 free Africa was divided into the Casablanca group and the Monrovia-Brazzaville group. But the grand opportunity came in May 1963, at the historic Addis Ababa Summit Conference which gave birth to the Organisation of African Unity, the O.A.U.

We have attempted in this brief review to scan the broad spectrum of the development of Pan-Africanism, and its transformation into the dynamic movement of African unity. As we have seen, Pan-Africanism had in its origin a distinctly international flavour—its early protagonists being American Negroes, West Indians, and African exiles in Europe. In the mid-fifties, Pan-Africanism was repatriated. It came home to Africa and was embodied to a great degree in the nationalism that served as the vehicle of the African thrust toward freedom. By 1963 when the O.A.U. was founded, Pan-Africanism could be said to have realised one of its aims—political independence for Africa—almost completely.

There are still two other basic aims left for the future: radical social change and modernisation on the one hand, some form of continental unity on the other. The birth of the O.A.U. was, however, a significant step towards the realisation of these other aims. It was Pan-Africanism's finest moment, and the form the old movement had now taken had the endorsement of every leader on the continent.

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THE RECENT RENT CONTROL LEGISLATION

By

Gordon Woodman

IN February of this year the government issued new legislation on the old problem of rent control. This was the climax to a series of events including statements of policy, a directive on rent reductions, a hasty withdrawal of that directive, and quite widespread public debate. The new legislation is primarily the Rent (Amendment) Decree, 1973, but mention should also be made of the Prices and Incomes Regulations, 1973.

While the legislation was the climax of this stage in the history of rent control, it is hoped that it was not the culmination. Now that the legislature has acted, it is necessary to observe and appraise the results. Indeed, if governmental action in general is to be effective, it will be necessary to study the effects which particular governmental action produces. Such studies should help to reveal which are the most effective means available to the government for producing the social changes at which it aims, and which methods are likely to be ineffective or to produce unwanted side-effects. Some studies may also reveal a need for changes in those measures investigated.

Are there Adequate Records?

With these constructive objects in view the following preliminary assessment of the recent rent control legislation is attempted. It can only be a preliminary assessment at the present time, because the legislation has not been long in force. A useful assessment will require a comparison of a number of factors existing over fairly long periods of time both before and after the legislation.

One hopes that this can be done one day; however, one wonders whether we have sufficient records, from the period before the legislation, of such facts as average rents for different types of premises, rates of house-building, numbers of new tenancies granted, and the extent of overcrowding in various localities. If this information does not exist, it may be impossible to discover what results, if any, the N.R.C.'s legislation has produced. Perhaps little can be done now about this lack of information from the past. However, it would be desirable to start collecting such statistics now, so that at least future governmental actions can be assessed.

To return to the present assessment, all that is possible as yet is a discussion of the terms of the enactments themselves, and public reactions to them, as shown for example in the press. Some recent discussion in the **Legon Observer** has questioned the basic policy of rent control. The present article does not discuss this question. Since no government of Ghana has sought to abolish rent control since it was instituted in 1942, it is assumed that it will remain. The present concern is to see how far the latest legislation furthers that policy.

The Rent (Amendment) Decree, 1973 (N.R.C. Decree 158) was enacted on 20th February 1973, and published on 27th February but took effect from 1st February. It amends the Rent Act, 1963 (Act 220). Its more important provisions lay down specified rents for certain classes of tenancies. For example, for a room constructed of sandcrete, and measuring 12 feet by 12 feet, a monthly rent of ₵7.50 is specified.

It may be observed, first, that the specification of rigid rates for particular classes of cases is a departure from the policy of the Rent Act. Under the act, rents are controlled, but the only general provision is that no rent can be increased unless a special assessment of the premises is made by a Rent Officer. In addition to this, if a tenant considers that his rent is excessive, he can apply for a special assessment in the hope that it will be reduced.

Changing Variables

In making assessments, rent officers are required to take account of a large number of factors, including "the justice and merits of each particular case". Thus two tenants might each be renting a sandcrete room of 12 feet by 12 feet, but their rents might be assessed differently because one enjoys amenities which the other lacks. For example, in one the walls may be elaborately decorated, while in the other they might be bare. (The Rent Act was discussed more fully in an article in **L.O.** VII/20).

The policy of the new decree is different. The two tenants in the example will now each pay ₵7.50 per month (unless one was previously paying less than this, in which case he will continue to pay the lesser amount). Presumably it was felt that if there could be tedious argument over the degree of beauty of the internal decorations, rents would never be reduced. It is, of course, in a sense inequitable for two tenants to pay the same rent for rooms of which one is more desirable than the other. But it is also inequitable for landlords to be able to delay reductions in excessive rents by interminable argument about what precisely are "the justice and merits of each particular case". The argument is that, if justice is to be done in such matters, it has to be comparatively rough and ready justice.

However, when one considers the scope of these provisions a different policy appears. The new rates are by no means universally applicable. In brief, they apply only if the tenant is a person whose income does not exceed ₵1,000 per annum, and who leases only a single, residential room of the type specified, in Accra, Kumasi or Sekondi-Takoradi. Generally, the policy seems to be to favour only the poorest tenants, renting the simplest living accommodation. The policy of the rent act, on the other hand, was to cover all premises. There was a legislative decision in 1963, when the rent act was passed, not to distinguish between premises used for residential and business purposes, between valuable and less valuable premises, or between rich and poor tenants. This decision has now been reversed.

Its Weak Points

The argument for the new approach is obvious. It was desired to protect only the lowest income groups among tenants. The wealthier could look after themselves. However, accepting this policy, one wonders whether it was necessary to place quite so many restrictions on the scope of the decree. For example, if a tenant is earning ₵1,000 or less annually, he does not necessarily benefit. For this, he must also be renting a single room only. The wage-earner who, because of his large family, is compelled to take two rooms, does not benefit, whereas the bachelor in the same earning group who makes do with a single room may find now that his rent has been reduced.

However, there is a more general objection to the new approach. Any attempt to distinguish between different classes of cases inevitably makes the law more complicated and more difficult to apply. Distinctions always produce room for argument over borderline cases. The law cannot always avoid drawing distinctions, but it is arguable that they should be kept to a minimum.

Instances of this type of difficulty can be forseen in the present case. For example, the landlord has to distinguish between tenants whose income exceeds ₵1,000 p.a., and others. How does he find out their incomes? Presumably he has to ask. I assume that if a landlord made reasonable inquiries, and found no evidence to show that a

tenant was below the borderline, he would not be punished for charging a higher rent if in fact it turned out that the tenant was below the borderline. But does he have to accept the tenant's word for it that he is below the borderline? And what of the tenant whose income fluctuates from year to year, being sometimes above and sometimes below the borderline?

Similar problems over borderline cases arise from the provision that the tenant must be one "who leases. . . a single room only." Does this mean that he must lease a single room only **by that lease,** or **from that particular landlord,** or that he must not be leasing any other residential property apart from this room, or that he must not be leasing any other property at all? Again, to what extent does the existence of other facilities (an entrance corridor, a staircase, a kitchen), perhaps shared with others, make the accommodation more than a single room? One fears that these questions may have to be determined by litigation, at the expense of litigants.

Restraints on Landlords

Then again, a distinction is drawn between "residential premises" and others. This distinction was drawn in some of the old rent control legislation, and gave rise to many disputes. It is particularly difficult to apply when many people, like traders and seamstresses, can carry on their businesses, or parts of their businesses, in the premises where they reside. The legislature decided in 1963 that the distinction should no longer be drawn, but now it has been re-introduced.

There is a further argument against this policy. Landlords will try to avoid the constraints imposed on them. Where the restraints apply to a narrow class of cases only, they will try to prevent their cases from entering that class. Thus they may try to compel tenants to lease more than one room at a time, and try to avoid taking tenants in the lowest income groups. The result could be in some cases to increase the hardship which it was hoped to alleviate.

The other important provision is designed to restrict the rents charged by persons who, having houses on hire-purchase from the Tema Development Corporation, the State Housing Corporation and similar bodies, sublet them. The policy here is to restrict such landlords to maximum rents 20% above their own outgoings. There should be fewer problems here as the distinction between cases affected by the decree, and other cases, will normally be clear. One possible anomally might, however, be mentioned. There is no allowance for improvements made by the landlord. Many such persons do make improvements to their premises. But the rent chargeable to a sub-tenant is based on the instalments payable to the Corporation, so apparently no extra can be charged by a landlord who has spent large sums in improving the premises, to the benefit of the sub-tenant.

Recent discussion in the press indicates that enforcement remains difficult. It is unnecessary to discuss this again at length (see the article referred to above), but a comment may be made on the problem of communication. If laws of this type are to be effective, it is essential that their provisions be known to those who are to enforce them. This in the present context means that the provisions of the legislation need to be communicated to landlords and tenants. It seems clear that there are still difficulties here. Letters to the press and private discussions with affected indiduals suggest that many of them do not know the provisions of the decree.

The Instruments of Publicity

Perhaps a personal note may be relevant. In the hope of reducing this difficulty, I wrote a brief account of the decree recently for one of the daily newspapers. I would like to think that this was of some use, but I greatly doubt whether this type of casual explanation of the law can completely solve the problem. In this case the account could not be written when the decree was first published and information was most needed, because the time was not available until the university term had ended. Further, an item appearing in a daily newspaper is published for one day only, so it is not available to each interested person at the time when he happens to need it.

A better approach to the problem would be to set up an institution which would have as its first task the writing and publishing of such information. One person, possibly working within the Ministry of Information, would probably be enough. This would, of course, cost something, but it might often make the difference between a decree taking effect and its remaining a dead letter.

Finally, we must look briefly at the other recent legislation, the Prices and Incomes Regulations, 1973 (Legislative Instrument 805), made on 13th February 1973 and taking immediate effect. As far as they are relevant here, the regulations provide that no-one shall increase the rent for

"any premises or land whatsoever" without the prior written consent of the Prices and Incomes Board, and that a person intending to let premises or land which he has not previously let at a rent must not do so until he has obtained from the board prior written approval of the proposed rent. Heavy penalties, including a maximum of two year's imprisonment, are provided for infringements.

Expression of Scepticism

To a certain extent these regulations overlap the rent act. Where premises are concerned, the act forbids a landlord to increase the rent without an assessment by a rent officer. Now he will presumably have in addition to obtain the written approval of the Prices and Incomes Board.

Apart from that case, the regulations break new ground. Here the only suitable comment seems to be an expression of scepticism as to their effectiveness. According to the regulations, a chief in the remotest part of the country commits a crime if he grants land to a stranger in return for rent, unless the Prices and Incomes Board first approves. A person who acquires land and then has it farmed by an **abusa** tenant commits an offence, unless he has written permission from the board.

It would be interesting to know how many applications for approval of rents have been received by the board since 13th February, and how many grants have already been made in disregard of these regulations. Here again the law is likely to be ineffective because affected persons are unaware of its provisions. But here one wonders whether ineffectiveness is not preferable, because a strict adherence might retard agricultural growth.

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Observer Notebook

Economic Community of Which West Africa?

AFRICAN nations are becoming increasingly aware that in order to safeguard their political and economic interests, they should act in larger groups, since as individuals they can hardly make any noticeable impact on the international scene. It is this realisation which led to the recent meeting here in Accra to define what sort of relationships should exist between African countries and the enlarged E.E.C.

Arising out of the same awareness, after such sub-regional groupings as the Conseil de l'Entente and the Organisation of Senegal River States (O.E.R.S.), there was recently inaugurated in Abidjan a new organisation presumptuously called the West African Economic Community (C.E.A.O.). This community comprises six countries of the former French West African Empire: Mauretania, Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta and the Ivory Coast. Guinea, which has been out on a limb after her break with France in 1958, is understandably out. Togo, which was only a French trusteeship territory and consequently never a part of French West Africa (A.O.F.), has been given an observer status. Dahomey has refused to be attracted into this new community as long as Ghana and Nigeria are not invited to participate; she has opted only for observer status.

The strong reservations made by the Dahomean delegation deserve the most careful consideration of the leaders of the C.E.A.O., if the community is not to become only a talking shop like similar previous formations. One of the most puzzling features of this new organisation is the very necessity for forming it at all. Puzzling because the O.C.A.M. (M.) has an economic wing which makes this new creation an incomprehensible superfluity. African leaders in general, and francophone ones in particular, have been accused of being foolishly fond of organisations and meetings, and it looks as if the critics really know what they are talking about.

Why go on allowing the creation of new multinational organisations in Africa which simply accentuate and perpetuate the divisive effects of colonial adventures on our continent? We should certainly reckon with history, but geography is a potent force, if not a more determinant factor, in any realistic regional cooperation. This is the lesson which the Dahomeans intended to teach their other brothers by the serious reservations they have made about the membership

of the C.E.A.O. If the community is meant to be a West African affair, there appears to be no reason why English-speaking countries sandwiched between French-speaking ones have not been brought fully into the picture.

The presence of anglophone countries in this new community have the salutary effect of first reducing any potential French neo-colonial influence, and of secondly helping to formalise the cooperation already begun between Niger and Nigerai, and Dahomey and Nigeria, on the one hand, and Ghana and Togo on the other. Guinea and Sierra Leone have also got quite close of late, and one would expect that any economic arrangement on a West African level should cut across linguistic and ideological barriers for the purpose of expanding the existing bilateral arrangements.

The French appear to have been particularly disturbed by the economic rapprochement between Niger and Nigeria, and they are very much aware of the powerful attraction that Nigeria holds over her French-speaking neighbours. It should not take any special gifts to speculate that the ubiquitous M. Foccart and his outfit will try to infiltrate the new organisation, the C.E.A.O., in one guise or another. The admission of other members who can demonstrate some independence vis-a-vis France can only help to strengthen the C.E.A.O. and make it a more genuinely West African affair. We trust that the lone voice from Dahomey will be seriously listened to on this point.

African Airspace

In the struggle against apartheid, it must be obvious to anyone enjoying the use of his mental faculties on a more or less permanent basis that direct military confrontation with South Africa, or even with Rhodesia for that matter, cannot be a serious proposition in the near future. This of course does not mean that we just have to sit back helplessly and watch the racists suppress our kith and kin further south. Every avenue should be explored that would enable us to exert some pressure directly on the racist regimes and indirectly on the countries that give moral and material support to Vorster and Smith.

It does appear to us that one way of exerting pressure on South Africa's collaborators is to deny the use of African air space to planes which have commerce with South African airports. Certain foreign planes are known to call at Kinshasa, Accra and Dakar airports in the course of their flights to or from South Africa. If African countries were to deny landing facilities to such planes or to refuse the use of their airspace to planes going to or coming from South Africa, this would be a further step towards the ostracizing of the apartheid republic.

Such a step would be considered extremely hostile, permissible only in time of war; our justification will be that we are normally locked in mortal combat with South Africa. In the event of such drastic step being taken, several noises will be made and threats of reprisals issued by the countries whose planes will be affected in this exercise. If all African countries decided to act in concert, such threats will be quickly swallowed, and our so-called white friends will be forced to make a choice between South Africa/Rhodesia and the rest of Africa, presumably excluding Malawi.

The next meeting of the African Civil Aviation Commission is invited to consider this suggestion as another combat weapon.

Liberia: The Sacked Minister

IN the March 1973 issue of **Africa** there is a review of contemporary Liberian affairs by the Nigerian journalist Peter Enahoro. This examination gives President William Tolbert a lot of credit for new looks and facelifts in Liberian politics, government, economic and social life, administration, and so on. However, Enahoro also finds that there is some skepticism among sections of the critical community about quantities and qualities in what amounts to change under Tolbert. Some also suspect his style of government and his approach to major problems as being more ostensible than real, his grasp more surface than deep, his measures more palliative than curative or preventive.

However, on balance it seems that most neutral students would leave the president with more credit than loss, and certainly in his approach to business his impact on the (official) working community has been explosive in the right places. The case of the sacked Minister of Education, Flamma Sherman, is a dramatic demonstration of the Tolbert approach to work and responsibility; it cannot but go on the credit side of the president's personal political account. In assessing the potential effect and value of this action of the Liberian Chief Executive, we must remember that Mr. Sherman was one of the country's longest serving, most experienced and most senior public servants, a former diplomat of senior rank and a

tremendously popular figure at home and abroad. Mr. Sherman was once Liberian Ambassador to Ghana for years and only recently his country's very welcome representative at the international observance of the 21st anniversary of the West African Examinations Council here in Accra. He had been made Minister of Education in Monrovia after his departure from Ghana.

For a Liberian head of state to dismiss a man of this stature summarily from his ministerial office is a rare enough occurence in that country: that the successor of William Tubman should sack an old Tubman hand, for only the crime of absence from office on two particular occasions, is of course sensational. But perhaps it is precipitate and foolish to crow long or loudly about this, instead of waiting patiently to see and measure effects and reactions; perhaps improvident not to wait and see whether this is the dawn of an era of real discipline in Monrovian offices or just a "flash in the pan". However, it is certain that in Liberia especially this action of the president is a rude jolt to the intractability of the "in crowd"; it ought to reverberate with equal menace, though, elsewhere in West Africa too. Indeed this is by far the greater value of the Flamma Sherman episode: that it points the way to so many other heads of state and government in black Africa, and should be a warning to those who feel so entrenched that they treat their public responsibilities like their private property.

Threats remain potent only as long as they are "undelivered" but are also felt, or even known, to be potentially real in effect if carried out. If official threats against indiscipline or public wrongdoing are made and merely repeated a thousand times, they lose their effect; and if a few are not carried out when clearly so indicated, the whole establishment becomes a huge joke to those "threatened". On the other hand crime and punishment must be based on law, on rules and regulations which apply to ministers as to messengers; so that when a minister is sacked we know he broke the rules and was not just the victim of, say, a presidential peeve. If a messenger is proved inefficient or a telephone girl is found incurably rude or disobliging, they must be disciplined without fail, according to accepted rules. If these conditions are satisfied in Africa, action such as President Tolbert has just taken cannot but benefit the cause of our progress.

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Matters Arising

EDITOR'S NOTE: The controversy now given a new dimension below was started in the Legon Observer as far back as December 1972, with our editorial entitled "The Future of Our Mines". This evoked a reply from the Professor of Geology at Legon, in L.O. VIII/1, followed subsequently by contributions to this conflict of views about the training of geologists, in L.O. VIII/3. Today's extension of the criticism of the Legon department by Mr. Ocran evokes a reply for the first time from a University of Ghana official.

LEGON'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN GHANA

By

Vincent Ocran

THE University of Science and Technology is going to start a degree course in geotechnical engineering as from next academic year. This is in line with Ghana's determination to use her own man-power to explore and exploit her mineral resources for her own use, and also to produce men capable of playing the essential role of providing solutions to geological problems that our engineers are bound to face with the ever increasing demand in locating, planning and constructing large civil engineering projects. It is, perhaps, not irrelevant at this stage to ask what the Geology Department at Legon has been or is doing all these years; and also, in view of the developments at the U.S.T., if there is any justification in its continued existence.

In the past geologists studied mineralogy, petrogy and palaeontology because these things were there to be studied, just as men climb mountains because the mountains are there; it was a matter of curiosity. Through geological studies, however, useful minerals and ores have been discovered. The structure and history of the ear this becoming more and more clear.

With the advancement of technology, mining, civil engineering and industries based on clays, have become expansive, and the geologist, since the earth is his field of study, is the most competent adviser in all these ventures. Indeed such subjects as mining geology, engineering geology, hydrogeology, geo-physics, geochemistry, applied clay mineralogy, and others, have become specialised professions stemming out of classical geology. Even in pure or general geology much emphasis is laid on applied geology. For this reason it has been found that the basic training of a geologist should include a working knowledge of soil and rock mechanics, geophysics, geochemistry, drilling methods, topographical surveying and photo-geology.

We can see then that any geological institution that only produces graduates whose heads are filled with just the theoretical principles of mineralogy, petrology and palaeontology, in the present day world, is simply being ultra-old fashioned and not living up to expectations. And the Geology Department of Legon is doing just that. The training in geology given at Legon and the challenges that the practising geologist now faces in Ghana are out of phase.

Matters are made worse by the fact that the Ghana Geological Survey Department, which is the appropriate body to advise Legon on the quality of geological training given at any time, has not been doing so because that department is second only to the Post and Telecommunications Department as the most unprogressive government department in Ghana. Sixteen years after Ghana's independence the Geological Survey directorate has not been able to rid itself of its colonial outlook. But advice or no advice, the fact still remains that the Geology Department at Legon has been a great disappointment to Ghana, and something ought to be done about it. With a minimum of planning we can overhaul that place without the necessity of calling in any foreign experts or sending any delegation to do summer shopping in Europe or America. Some suggestions would perhaps be appropriate here.

Crash Programme

The first is that a committee of representatives, from the University of Ghana Geology Department, the government Geological Survey Department, and the Geological Society of Ghana should be set up without delay. This committee would draw up a crash programme to train geologists in applied geophysics, geochemistry, engineering geology, hydrogeology, clay mineralogy and economic geology. The training should equip the men with immense practical drive coupled with excellent knowledge of research methods, and the men thus trained would form the nucleus of the teaching staff of a new Faculty of Geology, to be set up within a specified period.

The next suggestion is that there should be a very close association between the Faculty of Geology and the Geological Survey Department. The heads of the various departments of the Faculty of Geology should also head the corresponding divisions of the Geological Survey (without

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extra pay) and other establishments. In this way field and research works could be effectively co-ordinated, and the university would then be in a position to know what sort of geologists are needed in the changing times and conditions of Ghana. Graduates from the Faculty of Geology should be divided into university lecturers and field geologists. The field geologists will provide material for research to their colleagues in the university, and the lecturers in their turn will use their research results to teach future geologists.

Thirdly, it is suggested that the Faculty of Geology, Geological Survey and the Geological Society of Ghana should launch a well planned and concerted campaign to bring home to the general public knowledge about the geological wealth of the country, the industries that could be established from these resources, and what help would be forthcoming to the prospective industrialist. We should not forget that apart from mining, quarrying, construction of roads, dams, reserviors and the many earth-based industries, geology has an essential role to play in town and country planning and in environmental control.

A Complex of Projects

McCarthy Hill and the Shai Hills are being gradually quarried away; a number of fishing harbours are being planned; we need many dams and reservoirs in the north; underground mining is going on and will continue to go on; the Akosombo Dam has been built and another might be built at Bui; it is a certainty that a big dam will be built at Weija, and after forty years we might need to connect the Weija Dam to the Volta Lake by a canal. . . In other words, earth materials for development and geologic environmental control are going to be major concerns in the country in the near future, and geologists should brace themselves up to meet their obligations in such developments.

Finally, our young and energetic geologists should realise that geology should take its rightful place in the professions helping in the development of Ghana. But the Geology Department of Legon, where geologists are trained, is sick and needs nursing and nourishing. That place should be put right, and immediately too, so that our geologists could get on their way to rendering a mighty service to generations of Ghanaians yet unborn.

Reply by University of Ghana

"LEGON'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN GHANA" —A REJOINDER

By

D. A. Bekoe

I REFER to the recent discussions in the **Legon Observer** about the training of various types of geologists for the mining industry and other agencies. I should state from the beginning that the University of Ghana welcomes such discussions, especially in the sense that they give us the opportunity to explain our stand on various issues of national importance.

I should emphasise, however, that the discussions so far have had an unfortunate twist. There seems to be some sort of confrontation between Professor A. F. J. Smit, the head of our Geology Department, and Mr. K. Atobrah, Editor of **Geonews.**

Mr. Atobrah graduated from this university in June 1971. From the evidence that I have been able to gather so far, he has been hostile to the head of the Geology Department since he graduated, and has taken the opportunity to attack Professor Smit personally, and the staff of the Geology Department in general, both in writing and verbally on a number of occasions. I am not interested in the rights and wrongs of this personal confrontation at the moment; I would only like to point out that it is not fair that your reading public should base their judgement of our Department of Geology on information arising out of a personal fued between these two persons.

The latest article on this subject, and which appears in this current issue, is by Mr. Vincent Ocran, who is also an old student of the department. I am particularly worried that some alumni of the university should feel that the only way in which they can help improve their old departments, and the university at large, is through a process of condemnation. I should hasten to point out that we have had several fruitful discussions on reforms which they consider necessary for the improvement of the services provided by these departments. Some of these discussions have led to far-reaching proposals which have been accepted by the university.

Claim No Monopoly

It is also worrying that some students graduating from the university should feel that they are the best judges of what should be taught in the university. We on the teaching staff of the university do not claim any monopoly of the right to determine the contents of our syllabuses. But it is our duty to take all views into account in arriving at our final decisions. Any views from any quarter are welcomed and seriously considered.

Now I would like to take up some of the specific issues raised in the correspondence so far:

1. The impression has been given that the training given by the Geology Department of this university has not been relevant to the needs of Ghana. We believe that the area of the greatest need in Ghana at the moment is the detailed geological mapping of the country: this is essential to further geological work. The Depart-

ment of Geology is convinced that they have given their students the necessary training, including practical field-work, which would fit them for service in this all-important task.

No university in this country, at least, can at the moment afford to provide all the different types of specialisation in any given field. We necessarily have to be selective, and our main thrust has been to provide training at the honours level which we believe should make our products useful geologists in the Geological Survey and a few other positions. It is not economic, when numbers are so small, to provide a large number of specialisations.

As you are no doubt aware, student numbers in geology have been particularly low through the years. This is partly due to the fact that geology is not taught at school, and therefore students do not develop an early interest in it. By the time they appear in university most of them would have made up their minds about the subjects they wish to take. It is difficult for many students who have had no knowledge of geology to take the plunge into this "unknown". However, we have succeeded in attracting some students into that department, in the face of competition from other departments.

Mr. Ocran asks "what the Geology Department at Legon has been or is doing all these years?" Restricting ourselves to the training of geologists, the answer is that up to June 1972 we have produced two M.Sc. graduates and 11 B.Sc. Honours graduates in geology, and 65 B.Sc. General graduates, 23 of these with some specialisation in geology. It is to be noted that only the B.Sc. Honours and the M.Sc. graduates can be considered as qualified geologists. Nevertheless, a number of the General degree holders have been employed, with some satisfaction, by institutions other than the Geological Survey Department as "geologists".

Better Paying Jobs

2. It was pointed out at one stage of the discussion that many of the graduates from the department have had to be sent to other universities for training in various specialized areas. This is not unexpected, for we do not claim that we are giving any student at the first degree level all the training that he is going to need, especially in areas in which there is a wide diversity of jobs requiring a number of different specialized techniques.

3. It should be pointed out that many of our geologists have gone into jobs which bear much higher salaries and better conditions of service than are provided in the Geological Survey Department. We cannot blame such people from taking the best jobs available to them, even though these may not be the ones for which they are best qualified. We are aware of the fact that several attempts have been made to improve the conditions of service of scientists in the Geological Survey. These have not yielded much fruit so far, and the blame for it cannot be laid at the door of the university.

4. Concerning the provision of courses in applied geology, such as geophysical and geochemical exploration methods, hydrogeology, mining geology, etc., proposals were first put forward by the department many years ago. These have been revived only this academic year, in discussions with government, but negotiations have not yet been completed. Proposals to start graduate courses and research in geophysics and geochemistry were placed before the Academic Board of this university ten years ago. Even though they were approved, they have not yet been implemented because of lack of funds for supporting the extra staff and acquiring the equipment and other facilities needed.

Subsequent attempts were made in 1968, 1970 and 1971. In 1970 a report from a visiting professor to the university, Dr. M. W. McElhinny, of the Australian National University, recommended the establishment of a research programme and the training of geologists in exploration geophysical methods. These recommendations reinforced the long-standing view and proposals of the department. So far, they have not been pursued, mainly because of scarcity of funds. But an attempt has been made again this year to find financial support for these programmes.

The intention is to include courses in exploration geophysics in the undergraduate curriculum and at the proposed fourth year diploma level; to create the possibility of integrating geological and geophysical research in Ghana, thus widening the scope of field projects many of which cannot be successfully completed by conventional methods alone; and finally to make the study of geology much more attractive to students with technical interests, particularly in the quantitative approach to geochemistry, starting within the next couple of years.

Only Just Completed

5. The main problem with this plan of ours is the lack of funds. The method of financing departments in the universities over the past ten years or so has not been satisfactory. This problem was brought up as far back as 1961, when the University Commission recommended the setting up of the National Council for Higher Education. As you are aware, a chairman was appointed and a secretariat provided several years ago; it is only this year that the other members of the council have been appointed.

For many years now, it has not been possible to examine the specific needs of departments at budget hearings and, in any case, funds have only been available at best on a year to year basis. It has, therefore, been almost impossible to plan any long term projects. It is the hope of all of us that with the appointment of the full National Council for Higher Education the position will change significantly for the better.

6. Like many others, Mr. Ocran does not seem able or willing to see the difference between geology and geo-technical engineering. I believe the latter means, basically, engineering, but involves some knowledge of geology. The sort of programmes that we have in geology at Legon and in most other geology departments may be called "classical" or "basic" or "conventional". Indeed, these have always been the backbone of a first degree curriculum, and it gives the all-round type of preparation so badly needed in Ghana for the essential task of geological mapping which, as I have indicated

already, forms the foundation for **all other** geological investigations, including mineral geology, hydrogeology and mining engineering.

7. Mr. Ocran left this university with a B.Sc. General degree in 1965. It was only a few weeks ago that he came to the department to enquire whether he could be considered for admission to the M.Sc. course in our Department of Geology. This is the department which he, unfortunately, describes as "sick and needs nursing and nourishing"!

8. Finally, we have, over the past few years, been taking quite a close look at our programmes in the Faculty of Science, and, as I have indicated already, we have taken into account a wide range of views, including some from present and past students. We would still be glad tc have and consider seriously as many suggestions as possible.

Viewpoint

TAXI RATES: A BAD CASE OF CAPITULATION

By

Jawa Apronti

EARLY this year, the Commissioner for Transport and Communications announced government's intention to introduce a standard rate for the hiring of taxis within specified perimeters in metropolitan areas in Ghana. The announcement left us a free month in which to try the proposed system and consider the reactions of the operators and users of taxis. After a few weeks of experimentation, the system has been scrapped. Readers of my Uli article (**L.O.** VII/2) will recall that I argued there the case for adapting the Nigeria "tro-tro" taxi service to Ghanaian conditions.

As we are all aware, the introduction of the fixed rate system raised a great deal of controversy; it was loudly applauded by sections of both the user and the operator groups, but at the same time was utterly condemned by others from those groups. I think it is a great pity that the experiment was not given a longer period of trial, for various modifications of the same system have stood the test of time in such West African cities as Lagos, Ibadan (which are far bigger and more populous than Accra), and Lome and Monrovia (which are smaller and less populous).

Worst of all, this debacle has left us exactly where we were before: with a disproportionately large percentage of Ghanaian vehicles in the urban areas to the disadvantage of the rural folk, with arrogant and exploitative taxi operators milking the urban worker and minimizing the use of taxis, with hordes and hordes of patriotic workers having to stand for hours on end (in all kinds of weather) on their way to and from work. I consider also that to have capitulated to the taxi operators, at a time when they themselves had admitted that their previous rates were too high, is an unfortunate betrayal of the interests of the working masses.

What is the background to this recent experience? The taxi service has been largely run as a private enterprise in Ghana. The system involved hiring a taxi from point **A** to point **B**, and bargaining with the driver for a fair price for the longer trip. Originally, once a taxi was thus hired, no matter how many or how few people hired it, it went from the point **A** to the point **B** without picking up other passengers. Gradually, the "supremacy" of the operators over the users was asserted in a new-fangled right of the driver to charge the original (exclusive use) fee **and** also pick up other passengers along the route.

All such subsequent passengers were also charged as though they had the exclusive use of the taxi. Even worse, the driver reserved the right to take the first passenger, by a circuitous route, if necessary, so as to drop the later ones first. No matter how pressed for time the first passenger was, he had (and now has) no right to complain. For instance, at about 4.15 p.m. one day when I had an urgent appointment in downtown Accra I hired a rather characteristically dilapidated taxi at Legon. I agreed to the usual one cedi charge. When we got to Okponglo, the driver picked up two gentlemen going to Nima, for a charge of sixty pesewas. Witnout asking for my consent, the driver trudged along to Nima, ignored all my protests, and finally took me to my destination, arriving there twenty minutes too late for my appointment.

The matter of a fair price has been a long-standing problem. Clearly, the situation prevailing up to March this year, when the standard rate was introduced, was intolerable. In some countries, the problem is solved by the use of meters. Readers will recall that these were once tried in Accra and proved a disastrous failure. Besides, since we do not manufacture meters, it does not make sense to commit foreign exchange for their purchase, especially as we know how inept our maintenance services are. (Example? I bought a 23-inch Akasanoma TV set from the factory three years ago. It broke down in April 1972 and I took it back to the factory. There it stood for 366 days. Now it has been back for less than a fortnight, and has broken down again!)

Constant and Cheap

It is clear that one of the government's intentions in introducing the standard rate was to maximise the use of taxis. In the "tro-tro" type system that is in use in virtually all Nigerian cities, and which appears to have been the model for the Accra experiment, taxis follow more or less fixed routes and pick up and drop passengers along the route, much as our "tro-tro" trucks and buses do, for a fixed charge per passenger. That way, taxis are in **constant** use, their rates are cheap per **individual** passenger, and empty taxis are a rare sight. If one's route is very far or devious, one often has to change taxis along the route, just as we do for the "tro-tro" service at the moment. Also noteworthy is the fact that the Nigerian system still allows those who feel affluent enough to hire taxis for their exclusive use.

There are several advantages in this system. The cost of travel (in comparative comfort!) is low, the cars are maximally used, and the operators get a good rake-off. In a place such as Accra, it could also have released some "tro-tro" vehicles to go back to the rural areas, without any law having to be passed to ensure this simple piece of social justice. The calculation is simple: as taxi rates would now be low, fewer people would resort to "tro-tro" than now, business would deplete for them, and so, in response to the economic signals, some "tro-tro" vehicles would go to the rural areas.



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In my view, another sad result of the capitulation is the following. The rural population in Ghana (who constitute some 70 per cent of the citizens of this nation) are treated as though they were not part of it. They have hardly any decent water, lighting, or other social amenities. In my experience, transportation is one of the latter. How many of us do not come from villages where the few trucks (sometimes there is only one) that venture out to the "civilized" world leave at 4 a.m. and do not return till 6.00 p.m.? If you should oversleep in the morning, you may have to walk some five miles to the nearest junction! How many of us have not seen rural folk facing the choice of either carrying heavy loads five miles to the market twice a week, or sitting **on top** of a mammy wagon with 20 other people?

I can see no immediate solution to the plight of our brothers and sisters in the village, short of maximizing the use of a smaller number of means of public transport in the urban sector, and sending the rest to the rural areas. I would argue that it is not possible to spread these vehicles by a law promulgated to that effect, and that the liberation of the taxi service offered us a golden opportunity to have done this.

What are the lessons to be learnt from this experience? The first is that the publicity campaign was somewhat less than adequate. Moving from a situation when 100 per cent of taxi-use was by hiring, to another situation when only about 10% would be hired, requires structural and psychological adjustments which could not have been achieved within the span of one month.

Challenge to a System

Secondly, this capitulation should open the eyes of the government to the fact that an exploiting class of citizens should not be expected to acquiesce in the curtailment of their exploitation. High cost of spare parts or no high cost of spare parts, I challenge anyone to justify to me the ethics of a taxi driver taking four individuals from the G.P.O. to Labadi and charging each of them forty or fifty pesewas. I know his interest is in profit, but I consider that level of profiteering criminal. The natural ally of the government in a situation like this is the passenger. Care should have been taken to so thoroughly brief the passenger about his rights as to eliminate the kind of bullying to which taxi drivers have subjected our citizens.

Thirdly, what the government does not own it would have difficulty in controlling. We cannot keep the cost of living down if we allow the market forces the amount of freedom they enjoy now. By holding us to ransom the way they have done, taxi operators have left us worse off than we were ever before. They have acquired a false sense of power.

I am convinced that we have no alternative but to introduce more rationality into our transportation system. The lack of cheap and efficient transportation has made necessary the purchase of cars by individuals who would not otherwise need them, the private use of cars on a scale larger (and more frequently) than the realities of our economic situation would justify, the tying down of resources in vehicles that generate little development. What is more ridiculous than to have Ghanaians using these vehicles more than they are used in the (richer) countries where they are manufactured! In sum, the status symbol has become a masochistic form of distorting the true face of the economy.

One further point. In the discharge of its inescapable duty to be the guardian of the interests of the working masses, government is obliged to see to the ending of exploitation in our society; in other words, the equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation is a duty the government cannot abdicate. It is evident that despite the pious exhortations of **General Orders,** many civil and public servants in our country live in a chronic state of indebtedness, the more so those who live in an urban centre like Accra. Short of raising salaries and wages (which would simply rocket our current inflation to giddy heights), steps ought to be taken to reduce the cost of recurrent items of expenditure. Of these, transportation is a prominent constituent.

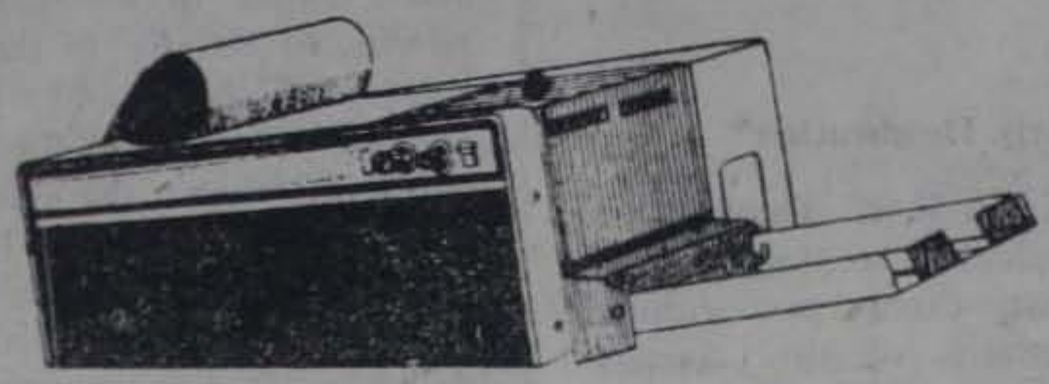
It is true that passengers complained that the charge per person under the experimental system worked against people travelling short distances in groups. This was a small disadvantage built into the new rate, and was a very small price to pay. After all, do people not hire taxis alone more than they do in groups? This was the only valid objection passengers raised. I refuse to believe that such people are happy again, now that the old rates are back. Unless of course they hire taxis **only** in groups and **only** on short routes. But even then the example of Monrovia, cited below, provides a model worthy of examination.

Great Temptation

Why must the worker spend an hour in a queue after work for the doubtful privilege of riding in a rickety mammy wagon, while scores of taxis cruise along in empty "grandeur"? It seems to me that we would be working towards the attainment of social justice only if we reduced the number of goods and services that are the exclusive privilege of those who happen to have extra money. The transportation situation in Accra is so bad that people are known **to walk** from, say, Achimota, to the ministries to work, and walk back. This, I submit, cannot possibly improve their productivity. Worse still, it increases the temptation to acquire money by less than legal means.

It is time we looked again at the fixed taxi rate. In a city like Monrovia, admittedly much smaller than Accra, there is a fixed hiring rate of 25 cents within the central city limits **for any number of passengers** (strictly, between one and four). In other words, **every time** a taxi is hired, the **fixed** charge is 25 cents, no matter whether 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 passengers do the hiring. Once hired, the driver has no right to pick up other passengers. Every four times the car gets hired, the operator makes a dollar. This way, pressure is reduced on buses and "tro-tro" vehicles, of which there are a few. When one hires a car beyond the central city limits, one bargains. This system eliminates the problem of the high cost of group travel over short distances.

From the above, it is clear that the capitulation of the government on this matter has not solved the problem of moving law-abiding citizens about on their legitimate business in our cities, cheaply, fast and in reasonable comfort. Nor has it opened the way for alleviating the problems of the rural population. There is still an opportunity to examine the experience of other West African cities and arrive at a formula that will safeguard the interests of both passengers and operators. For the moment, the system we are operating is too exploitative, ostentatious and dysfunctional



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Letters

"The Exploited and Lowly Headteacher"

SIR—The arguments raised by Mr. F. K. Tanyegbe in **L.O.** VIII/5 on the above topic are so logical and thought-provoking that I feel they cannot pass without comment. All free-minded citizens of this country would indeed agree with the writer that educational idealists have been omitting a really vital aspect of the teaching profession from their suggestions for a change in our educational system. The case of the headteacher is one of our glaring educational problems. As was rightly said by the writer, the fate of the headteacher is pathetic.

In any school, the pupils, the teachers, the equipment, and even the buildings, all form its component parts. These disjointed parts ought to be harmonized if effective learning is to be done. The task of co-ordinating and organizing them becomes the responsibility of the poor headteacher, and really this requires a killing number of skills if he is to succeed. Secondly, a school is a dynamic community by itself, accommodating active people with different sub-cultures and characteristics; and to hold all these people together as a wholesome and happy unit, an efficient organisation is needed—and the headteacher is held responsible for it.

The headteacher is expected to show good leadership and example to his teachers and pupils, and create purposeful activity in the school as well. In order to achieve all this, he has to use his whole mind, body and soul. To add to these, he is, by his position, the bookstore keeper, the accounts clerk, the administrative secretary, the supervisor. It does not end there. The head must write his own lesson notes and mark those of the other teachers too; and all the time he must continue to be an effective class-room teacher.

In spite of these demanding responsibilities, his meagre allowance is heavily taxed, while the highly-paid workers pay no taxes whatsoever on their heavy allowances. Are we really bridging the gap between the higher and the lower income groups? This is complete social injustice and must be eradicated forthwith. Why can't the headteacher's status be raised to be commensurate with his numerous responsibilities? Really, the injustice is intolerable.

In the light of the foregoing, I wish to suggest that headteachers should be detached as from the 1973/74 academic year. This would give them more time to do their numerous tasks more efficiently. Headteachers must also be given allowances, just as their counterparts in the Day Secondary and Technical Schools. For I feel that the responsibilities of these headmasters are not as tedious as those of the headteachers of elementary schools, because the former have accounts clerks, bursars,

TO "L.O." CONTRIBUTORS AND CORRESPONDENTS

THE **Legon Observer** would like to acknowledge with thanks and appreciation the services of those scores of our readers who also write for us, in the form principally of articles and letters. Without these contributions our various sections and columns would not be the source of instruction, interest and entertainment that we hope they are to many. If we, for our part, only rarely—and even then only indirectly—reproduce your own words of praise and commendation for our efforts, this is because we always preferred to let those efforts be their own commendation, not because we do not appreciate your encouragement.

There are a few ways in which you can help us even better to serve you and all our other readers everywhere, and which we should like to list here for you to that end. Your close observation of these guide-lines would reduce considerably the amount of time and trouble it takes us to prepare your material for publication. Here are the few but vital DOs and DON'Ts that you should work to:

1. Make your contribution as short as possible: **7-9 pages quarto-size** paper, or **5-7 pages foolscap** (about **17-21 paragraphs**), for **articles; 3-5** short paragraphs for **letters;** manuscript to be **double-spaced,** and typed wherever possible. Manuscripts that break this basic rule beyond reason get published only at our discretion, or late, or ruthlessly cut, or not at all—unless they are of exceptional merit. **Serialization** is, again, strictly at our discretion, not on request;
2. supply a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** for the return of your manuscript, in case it is considered unsuitable for publication and you would like it back;
3. follow the style of our "Letters" by beginning, simply, "Sir—", and ending with your name and nothing else. Of course your address would already have appeared in its proper place. Leave captions to us, however;
4. **do not send us carbon duplicates or syndicated** material (that is, as distributed to other papers). We do not accept such copy under any circumstances, and would not publish you again if we ever found ourselves caught unawares by syndicated material of yours;
5. **do not ask us to make you anonymous or invisible.** We use the privilege of pen names strictly at our own discretion and only in special circumstances;
6. **do not try to use us to get even with your favourite enemies, or to quarrel with another member of the Ghana press establishment, or to bring us in as a third party or a complaints board.** Write directly to the paper in which you read the original of the cause of your discontent.

Lastly, we should like to thank our own Legon community for their veritable flood of letters, articles, and opinions. We are doing our best to accommodate them, but have to adopt a self-denial policy over this Legon material, lest we become guilty of the crime of self-indulgence as well as of chauvinism.—**EDITOR**

messengers, typists, etc., to help in the day to day administration of their schools. Headteachers have none.

These adjustments, and they alone, will raise their morale and ensure more effective administration in the elementary school sector, which is the bed-rock of the whole educational system, and therefore the most vital to the taxpayer. Teachers, in general, have had enough; they cannot continue to be underdogs!

"One of Them"
(Name and address supplied)

The Ghanaian and the West

SIR—During the peak of British colonialism in our country, when the spirit of nationalism was yet dormant, we were made to imbibe all western thoughts with relish and without questioning. Anything English was supreme, and anything that had not the British stamp was fake! — Japanese! — Eastern!

The result of this indoctrination is a continuing epidemic of anglomania or "westomania". As a further result of this western craze, most of us tend to look down on our own culture. We feel names like Hayford, Blankson and Elvis sound better than Kweku, Adongo and Amable. Think of inscriptions on lorries and of public sign-boards, and you will readily perceive the extent to which our minds are still subdued and fashioned by the west. '**London** Boy is Coming', 'Cafe de **France**', '**Mexico** Bar', '**California** Restaurant', and '**Chicago** Night Club' are but a few examples. You also have beauticians and tailors advertising themselves as 'U.K. Trained', 'U.S.A. Expert Tailors', and the like. Those of them who have had their training here in Ghana or in the east are never proud to mention it, for fear that they would lose customers, who almost always have a strong desire for western products.

This is the time that we must make a conscious effort to shake off this western mania once and for all. We can select the best from either hemisphere and blend it with what we already have at home, instead of always importing everything wholesale. Ghanaian or African names are equally euphonious and romantic. **Amedzofe** Works, **Worikambo** Night Club, **Kilimanjaro** Bar, **Kalmenga** Restaurant, and **Ghanaian** Trained are examples of public inscriptions that should replace those emphasizing the enslavement of our mentality.

This change in our attitude has to be brought about now, moreover, if we are to build a stable economy. Some goods now being manufactured here, like textiles, utensils, soaps, pomade and perfumes, are as good as any from outside our borders. Some of these goods don't sell readily, not because they are of poor quality but because they do not bear western labels like 'Dutch Wax Print' and 'Made in England'. We have to patronise foods and drinks produced locally, and stop thinking or imagining that the foreign equivalents are always better. In any case it took the so-called developed countries centuries to reach their present stage of technological efficiency. We must be grateful that within our short space of independence we have attained our present state in general development.

Ghanaian, western, and eastern trained doctors ought to forget the fact that they have been trained in different places, and rather harness their experiences for the advancement of the medical profession. There ought not to be unhealthy differentiation between Ghana produced graduates and those who have had their courses in American universities or at Oxbridge.

In this crucial era, sheer professional or academic pomposity and pendantry will not help us to put our economy in good order, nor will it promote national consciousness in us. What is essential at the moment is that we should pick out only the best things of the two hemispheres and blend them with the best of our own. Our main pre-occupation should be to promote the good things of Ghana and Africa, at least to parity with their equivalents in the western world. It is now or never that we should arrest our insatiable tastes for everything western.

Bawku Secondary School **B. J. K. Kumasi**
Bawku, U.R.

The Trouble with Ghanaians

SIR—Much as Ghanaians accept the broad concepts of self-reliance, "Operation Feed Yourself", and the debunking of certain "false" foreign values, it seems to me that a healthier public opinion is not generated by excessive, if not exaggerated, harangues the likes of which one reads or hears in the public-owned press media in this country. (Surprisingly, some private-owned press organisations too are wont to follow the bandwagon of the public press).

A few specific cases will suffice. A local daily blared on its front page recently the report by the Chairman of the N.R.C. on subversive tendencies in certain persons, who were alleged to be buying foreign foods and destroying them in order to sabotage the efforts of the government. Instead of the paper calling on the government to investigate the matter fully, apprise the country with the full facts and, if necessary, prosecute the offenders, the paper, characteristic of some Ghanaian editorials, attacked these ghost subvertionists for "sabotaging the revolution". Why do we so persistently want to please those in authority, merely?

At the recent conference of the Economic Commission for Africa in Accra, there were a series of appeals to the Ghana government and other governments not to make any attempts to join the E.E.C. The advocates for non-association maintain that the E.E.C. will exploit African countries to its own advantage; others, so naively, said we should have nothing to do with this neo-colonialist organisation! This is the hollow, typical thinking in many quarters. Who are these imperialists and neo-colonialists? Who buys our cocoa most?

These self-styled anti-imperialists fail to convince fair-minded people about the ways in which the E.E.C. would exploit African countries. They do not even know the exact terms under which African states can seek association status, because the terms have not yet been worked out. It is even doubtful if certain "students" who are clamouring for non-associate membership have really taken the trouble to study the advantages and disadvantages, save that they are blinded by warped political and ideological anti-imperialist fanaticism. When shall we stop criticising issues for the mere glory of it, without critically analysing the pros and cons? This writer is not blindly advocating Ghana associating with E.E.C. What is needed is a general debate on the issues and the intricacies involved, to arrive at a general concensus on what action to take. Anything short of that amounts to short-sightedness and irrationality.

On the question of discarding certain foreign ideas, tastes, fashions etc., I fail to understand what is meant

or being suggested? One writer has criticised the G.B.C. for playing too much western music, as opposed to "high-life", and suggested a reversal of the trend. Others have advocated the dropping of our European or Christian names. Are we becoming a nation of funny people? Does listening to western music change our colour or culture? Or being called Robert or Smith make one cease to be an African? Do we want to play high-life music indefinitely to extreme boredom? Do we want to be insular, or should we keep pace with progress and international ideas?

As long as we continue to garb ourselves in kente and native cloth; eat fufu, plaintain, kontomire; maintain our homowo, fetu, dear-hunt festivals, and perform other native customs, no amount of foreign influence can make us European, Chinese or American. Or perhaps the "be-African" exponents would also have us reject the use of television, telephone, radio, car, lorry, upholstered chairs, spectacles and refrigerators—all foreign legacies and factors which promote "Europeanisation"? Let us condemn racial discrimination and undue exploitation, but we must not make a mockery of ourselves when pursuing those objectives.

c/o Dept. of National Lotteries **Elizabeth Asare**
Accra

Roadworthiness: Prosecute the Authorities Too!

SIR—I wish to associate myself with the views expressed in the letter headlined "Roadworthy Cars and Carworthy Roads" (**L.O.** VIII/7). The issuing of Road Worthiness Certificates is now in process and all motorists are by law compelled to obtain these certificates before their vehicles could ply on Ghana motor roads. There are penalties prescribed for those who fail to secure these certificates.

Ghana's motorists have done their best to get their cars and vehicles passed for road worthiness, despite spare parts difficulties. They have so far satisfied the government for this purpose. The question which needs asking now is: Have the authorities reciprocated this gesture of motorists? Can they say confidently that Ghana's roads are worthy of our cars and vehicles?

I feel motorists must in turn examine, as thoroughly as their cars were examined, the roads in Ghana and issue Carworthy Road Certificates to the authorities. If motorists who fail to obtain roadworthiness certificates for their cars are to be prosecuted, then the authorities must likewise be prosecuted if they fail to satisfy motorists by giving them carworthy roads. What is good for the goose should be good for the gander.

P.O. Box 6825 **J. W. A. Boateng**
Accra

SIR—The N.R.C. are well known for their willingness to rescind decisions previously taken, when these are later found not to be in the interest of the public. In view of this it is hoped that the current roadworthiness exercise will be scrapped and the quarterly licence reintroduced in its stead.

In the first place the whole idea of the roadworthiness test is a farce. I have personally seen vehicles whose tyres looked as if they could not stand another mile, but which proudly displayed their roadworthiness certificates! Also, it is the motor firms which alone have qualified mechanics that can really say whether a vehicle is roadworthy or not.

The current exercise was extended to 7th April when the clerks at the testing office could not cope with the number of vehicles they had to test as the deadline drew near. But the extension of time did not help. To start with, these clerks were never known to be particularly brisk about their business, and I suppose the mere thought of checking so many vehicles slowed them down even more. Many cars were still untested at the deadline, and those owners were then being made to pay double the cost, as a delinquence fee!

No one is against the government trying to raise revenue, but in their doing so the average citizen must not be over-burdened, as would seem to be the case at the moment. The same thing will happen in six months time, when all vehicles have to be retested again!

Please end this farce now and let's go back to the more practical, more honest quarterly licence.

P.O. Box 1934 **M. Charles**
Kumasi

West Indians and British Services

SIR—Many West Indians, particularly those married to Ghanaians, are told by their embassies to register with the British High Commission on coming to Ghana. This has been the case for all the islands except Trinidad, whose nationals were being taken care of by the Ghana government at the request of the Trinidad government.

But this is a most unsatisfactory arrangement, as the British High Commission has never at any time shown the slightest interest in the fate of West Indians resident here. A recent case in point is that of a Jamaican who sent her passport to the British High Commission to be renewed. After keeping it for a few months, the office returned it to her without even the courtesy of an accompanying letter explaining the delay and the fact that it had not been renewed.

Quite recently both the Jamaican and Trinidadian governments accredited to Ghana their ambassadors serving in other parts of Africa. Since we are from so many different islands, many of us feel that one representative from any island would certainly serve our interests better than this apparently one-sided arrangement with the British High Commission. Failing this, perhaps another commonwealth country could be asked to do things like renewal of passports, which sometimes need to be done quickly.

P.O. Box 849 **Y. M. Agble (Mrs.)**
Kumasi

No Newspapers "As Such"?

SIR—On Friday the 20th of April there were no "extracts from the Ghanaian papers" to be heard from G.B.C. The sweet-voiced young lady announcer said she wished to inform us that that day being Good Friday there were no papers published—"as such". This phrase left me wandering between two possible alternative interpretations: (1) whether she meant no newspapers had been published at all that morning, or (2) whether they had come out all right, but not as newspapers and not as Goodfridays!

Otublohum **Keen Reader-Listener**
Accra

For The Record

Monday, April 23

50-Mile Canal

A 50-MILE canal estimated by Kaiser Engineers to cost £128 million is to be built from the Volta Lake to the Accra Plains to irrigate the plains.

Meanwhile, massive communal labour is to be organised for July, when work on the canal is due to start. Particularly, the commencement of work nas been planned to coincide with school vacation, to enable students to participate fully in the project.

(Daily Graphic: Tuesday 24th April)

Wednesday, April 25

Commissioners Reshuffled

SEVEN Regional Commissioners and four Ministerial Commissioners are to change portfolios in a reshuffle announced today in Accra. The changes in designation will take effect from 15th May

According to the announcement, Major K. B. Agbo, currently Commissioner for Industries, will take over the Ministry of Labour, Social Welfare and Co-operatives, while Major Kwame Asante moves over to the Ministry of Transport and Communications.

Major Selormey, currently at Transport and Communications, now goes to the Ministry of Health, and Col. J. C. Adjeitey, the present Health Commissioner, takes over the portfolio of Industries.

In the Regional changes, Col. W. C. O. Acquaye-Nortey, of Greater Accra, takes over from Lt.-Col. G. Minyilla of the Upper Region, who in turn, moves to the Eastern Region.

Col. E. O. Nyante, of the Eastern Region, now moves to the Volta Region, whose present Commissioner, Major P. K. D. Habaddah, moves to the Greater Accra Region.

The Western Regional Commissioner, Col. P. K. Agyekum, now takes charge of the Northern Region, while Lt.-Col. D. A. Iddisa moves to the Brong-Ahafo Region.

Finally, Commander J. A. Kyeremeh moves from Brong-Ahafo to the Western Region.

These changes have been made by the Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C. by virtue of the powers conferred on him under the Proclamation (Amendment No. 2) Decree 1972.

(Ghanaian Times: Thursday 26th April)

Wednesday, April 25

Reconstruction at Nima

THE first phase of a scheme to give Nima-Maamobi, the famous Accra slum complex, a face-lift started today, when the Head of State cut the sod for work to begin on the construction of a ¢300,000 highway.

The two-mile, three-lane road, which will pass through Nima-Maamobi to link with the old Achimota road, is being built by the State Construction Corporation.

In a speech, Col. Acheampong said that the full scheme would include new houses, including blocks of flats and facilities such as sewerage, telephones and recreational parks.

(Ghanaian Times: Thursday 26th April)

Thursday, April 26

Harbour Congested

THE Takoradi Harbour is virtually congested, following the arrival of about 22 cargo ships to load cocoa and logs for overseas markets.

This congestion, which is the first in 12 years, is seen as a good sign for Ghana's export trade, especially in cocoa and timber.

According to Mr. R. H. Diamond, General Manager of Messrs. Liner Agencies (Ghana) Limited, who are in charge of Lighterage Services at the harbour, a record of about 70,000 tons of logs were expected to be shipped by the end of April alone.

(Daily Graphic: Thursday 26th April)

Friday, April 27

Trade Surplus of ¢11m.

GHANA had a trade surplus of ¢11.6 million in February this year. Provisional figures released by the Central Bureau of Statistics indicated that Ghana imported ¢40.7 million and exported ¢52.3 million worth of goods during that month.

(Ghanaian Times: Friday 27th April)

Friday, April 27

Chieftaincy in Volta Region To Be Probed

THE government has appointed a three-member committee to find out who, according to customary law, are the paramount chiefs in the Volta Region.

The members are Nana Agyeman Badu, Dormaahene, Chairman; Mr. James Quashie-Idun, a barrister; and Mr. K. A. Sey, a lecturer. Mr. E. W. L. Addy, Jnr., Senior Educational Officer, is secretary to the committee.

An Executive Instrument published in Accra today indicated that the committee will enquire into whether all such paramount chiefs should be members of the Volta Region House of Chiefs, and whether they are sufficient to constitute a house.

The committee should also determine how many divisional chiefs should be added to their number if they are not sufficient.

G.N.A. (Daily Graphic: Saturday 28th April)

Monday, April 30

Extend Railway to Brong-Ahafo

MAJOR Selormey, Commissioner for Transport and Communications, has called for the immediate implementation of the long standing plan to extend the railway from Awaso in the Western Region to Sunyani in Brong-Ahafo.

Major Selormey made the call to the new 10-member Board of Directors of the Ghana Railway and Ports Corporation, during an inauguration ceremony at Takoradi today.

The members are: Mr. E. B. Gaisie, a barrister, Chairman; Lt.-Col. N. A. Odartey-Wellington, Mr. W. Hanson Sam, Mr. F. Obed Kwami, Mr. J. R. Ussher, Mr. B. T. Adadevor, Mr. P. O. Aggrey, Commander S. G. Obimpeh, Mr. E. A. T. Mayne and Mr. J. W. K. Amenuvor.

(Daily Graphic: Tuesday 1st May)

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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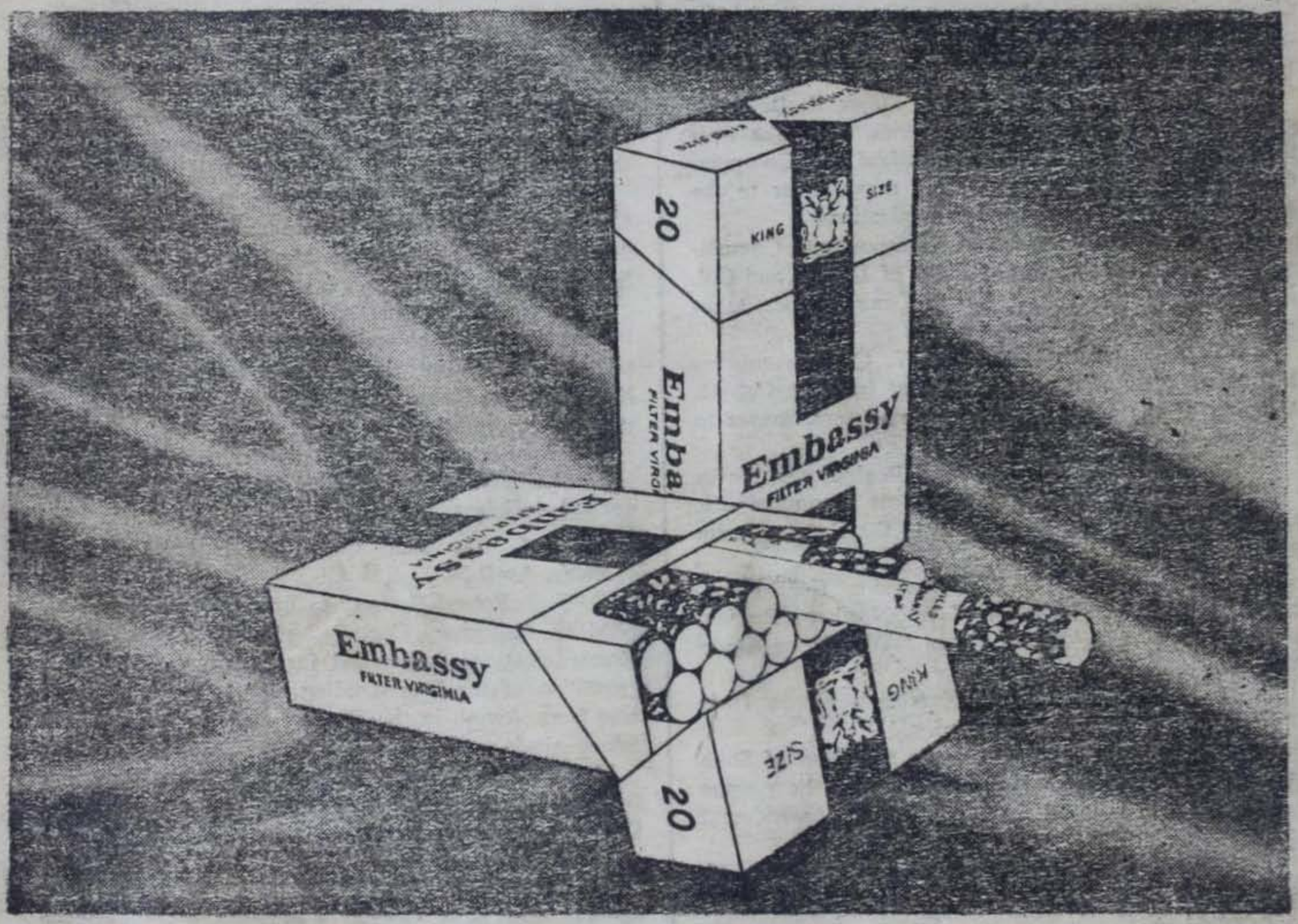
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VINCENT OCRAN—Scientific Officer, Central Materials Laboratory, Accra

D. A. BEKOE—Professor, Department of Chemistry; Dean, Faculty of Science, Legon

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Editorial

COCOA IN CONTINUING BOOM

Cocoa is still enjoying very good "weather" just now, thanks to a confluence of favourable factors. These have established a most welcome season of relief to the producing countries, including ourselves and Nigeria, the leaders. A correspondent assures us that all the "fundamentals point to a good return for Ghana for the crop years 72/73 and 73/74", and that the present phase is one in which cocoa can "easily be sold", as against merely "being marketed" for sale.

The other factors of the boom situation are, first, that prices continue to move upward almost daily, this trend being supported by (1) a shortage of immediately available supplies, (2) low estimates of production in most of the producing countries (due to the prolonged drought affliction), and (3) an increase in consumption of cocoa products in the consuming countries. Secondly, this favourable position is made possible, overall, by the "rather orderly manner of sales adopted by the producers", according to our correspondent. And this is one of the direct results of cooperation among the members of the Cocoa Alliance of seven producing countries.

Concerning the upward price trend, readers of this journal will remember that the Geneva Cocoa Agreement of October 1972, analysed for us by another correspondent in **L.O.** VIII/8, had fixed the range of prices to be observed by the signatories at from 23 cents (low) to 32 cents (high). But the boom conditions described above have outmoded this schedule completely even before it goes into operation: last week the selling price was 48 cents, with the experts at least half expecting it to rise to 50 cents in the next few weeks. The situation provides the curious paradox of sought ends being grandiosely superceded and dwarfed by already achieved results unconnected with the aims or methods or machinery of those original ends being sought. And to attempt to apply the terms of the Geneva Agreement in order to slide prices down and effect the stability situation which is the goal of the agreement would not only be an impossible effort but also a slightly ridiculous one. In any case the residual and enabling procedures of the agreement are not yet completed.

It is to be hoped that the producing countries will seize the opportunities offered by the present market situation to shore up against the normal state of their economy these days. For Ghana, especially, the facts of economic life are so grim that the cocoa boom seems like manna from

heaven. One of the reasons why such food must be harvested, distributed, and utilized to its optimum coverage is that the boom is not forever, and may even turn out to be short-lived; indeed one of its "factors of favour" is not only undesirable normally but a disaster in other respects, namely the drought. What the present sellers' market situation brings in as revenue in excess of recent normal hopes must not only help us clear up some of our outstanding financial embarrassments but also be used as seed money for selected short-term, middle-range investments.

Africa

THE BIRTH OF THE O.A.U.: THE EARLY YEARS

By

S. K. B. Asante

THE ORGANISATION of African Unity (O.A.U.) was born on 25th May, 1963, in Addis Ababa. It was the inauguration of the newest venture in regional organisation, the first tangible fruit of the dream of Pan-African unity.

Briefly stated, the O.A.U. was the outcome of a gestation that could be said to have taken at least six years. Its parent was a social movement, the movement toward African unity, which from 1957 onward expressed itself in many organisational forms. It represented a compromise between radically differing views of African unity: between those who thought of African unity as a symbolic and tactical aspect of a revolutionary movement, and those who thought of it as an alliance between sovereign states to protect their newly acquired status in the world community.

There is no doubt that the O.A.U. is, potentially, the most important advance that has yet been made in the domain of inter-African co-operation. The question that remains to be answered is whether this potential will be, and can be, realised. The first three years did not produce a definitive verdict, but a progress report can be drawn up by reviewing the O.A.U.'s actions during this early period of its existence.

The instrument signed at the momentous Pan-African Summit Conference at Addis Ababa in May 1963 is a melange of the ideas and provisions found in the charters of the United Nations, the Organisation of American States and the Monrovia group of African states. The Preamble reaffirms the principles of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The charter adopted created a flexible organisation of cooperation based on certain essential principles: the sovereign equality of all member states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, peaceful settlement of all disputes, dedication to the emancipation of the still dependent African territories, and affirmation of a policy of non-alignment with regard to all world power blocs.

Only Willing Cooperation

Four major institutions were provided for: the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, the organisation's supreme body; the Council of Ministers, charged with making recommendations to, and implementing the decisions of, the assembly; the General Secretariat; and a Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

Essentially, the O.A.U. depends upon the willing cooperation of the member states. There are no sanctions to threaten them if they do not give this. There is no organ with disciplinary powers. No international force is provided for, to intervene in their territories if they do not fulfil the purposes of the charter or comply with the resolutions of the Assembly or the Council of Ministers. The institutions are designed to promote cooperation, not to exact it; to urge collaboration, not to punish for its refusal.

The effectiveness of the organisation obviously depends, as in the United Nations, on the measure of harmony that can be developed among the states. The only power implicit in the system is that of the opinion of the other states. This could become a force to compel recalcitrant or aggressive members to pause. (This, for instance, manifested itself in pressures upon the states of the African and Malagasy Union (UAM) to dissolve their political bloc.)

Since the creation of the O.A.U., events have proved that the atmosphere of Pan-African amicability which reigned at the Addis Ababa summit

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in May 1963 masked a good number of conflicts of interest and differences of opinion. To a certain degree this was to be expected, for Pan-Africanism is a rallying cry whose cohesive qualities are more effective on the emotional than on the practical level. Like many another 'ism' in other parts of the world it has proved easier to talk and dream about than to realise, easier to maintain as an aggressive movement directed against colonial domination, than as a constructive movement working towards the harmonious cooperation of independent African states.

Among the most explosive of conflicting interests were boundary disputes. These territorial conflicts were often the traditional political, cultural and ethnic divisions. The units which they created were, for the most part, unstable —in some cases ridiculously small; in others combining different and often hostile ethnic strains or unequally endowed regions. It was not unexpected, then, that border disputes became one of the problems the O.A.U. was called upon to consider.

The Initial Tests

The first dispute to be brought before the organisation a few months after it was established involved Morocco and Algeria, when in October 1963 the frontier conflict between the two countries developed into active hostilities. This Algerian-Moroccan conflict provided the infant O.A.U. with the first test of its machinery and its procedures for peacekeeping and for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Who would mediate the dispute was itself a major element of diplomatic manoeuvring. The Algerians, far more committed than Morocco at this point to the O.A.U., did want O.A.U. mediation; they were also defending a position very popular in the O.A.U. —maintenance of existing frontiers. The Moroccans, on the other hand, were reluctant to have O.A.U. mediation.

After numerous formulas had been rejected, both sides accepted the mediation of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and President Modibo Keita of Mali. An extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers was called at Addis Ababa from 15th to 18th November, and this appointed a committee of arbitration which, in a series of eight meetings, helped to check tension between the two countries.

The considerable success which the O.A.U. achieved in its handling of the Algerian-Moroccan case during its first year of existence was followed by the organisation's involvement with such other border disputes as those between Somalia and Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya, and Ghana and Upper Volta. These relative successes constituted an example of effective action taken by an international organisation to safeguard regional peace and security. In the Algerian-Moroccan case, cooperation among African states was a valid and vital basis for action. The usefulness of the international organisation in this instance was hardly open to question.

However, the efficacy of O.A.U. action, and the faith which the member states placed in it, began a downward spiral in the summer of 1964 with the eruption of the Congo crisis. The O.A.U. had worked in disputes where only two countries were involved and the united pressure of the other members could be brought to bear on them; it had worked in cases such as that of the Tanzania mutinies of January 1964, where all that was involved was finding practical means of arriving at an end on which all would agree. The Congo question offered far less favourable terrain for negotiation.

The crisis was not a unique and isolated problem; the situation in the Congo represented an exaggerated symbol of what could occur in many other regions, where different races and disparate regions were pasted together to form vulnerable political units. The object-lesson aspect of the question, the presence of a nation torn by civil war at the very centre of the continent; of a regime headed by a leader who was considered controversial by a good number of African states; of an army led by white mercenaries; of a focal point for foreign intervention — these factors combined to create an extremely explosive situation.

Rhodesia's U.D.I.

It was a difficult test for the fledgling organisation, and in facing it the O.A.U. proved powerless to create and enforce harmony when a significant number of its members were in basic disagreement. Thus while the ability of the O.A.U. to mediate disputes within the ranks in the family is one of the proud boasts of the Secretariat, as evidenced in the third anniversary address of former Secretary-General Diallo Telli in 1966, the second Congo crisis illustrated the fact that in substantive terms the organisation is not politically in a position to keep non-African powers from being deeply involved in internal African affairs.

To this may be added the unilateral declaration of independence in Rhodesia, which came as a test for the O.A.U. soon after its Accra summit in October 1965. The crisis revealed both the



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extent and the limitations of African diplomatic pressure on the major powers. Rhodesia's U.D.I. was also important because it was the first major African crisis to take place outside the context of the cold war: the East/West divide scarcely affected the issue at all; consequently, a successful outcome, from the African point of view, was crucial, if their notion of an international order based as much on law established through the U.N. as on more traditional conventions was to have any credibility.

Unfortunately, however, U.D.I. threw the African states into a quandary. O.A.U. members were unanimous in condemning Rhodesia's move, but while some states felt that all initiative should be left to Britain, others spoke in terms of African military preparations and called for an O.A.U. conference. The Foreign Ministers of the countries of unity rashly decided on 3rd December 1965 that if Britain did not crush the breakaway Rhodesian regime before 15th December all O.A.U. member-states would cut off diplomatic relations with her. The conference unanimously agreed in principle to use military means to crush the illegal Smith regime if Britain failed to end the revolt. Here the radicals won the day, and the resolution adopted by the conference was strong enough to satisfy the most die-hard opponent of the Smith regime.

The Slips Show

But as the day of the threatened break with Britain approached, nearly all countries of the O.A.U. were in two minds. Upper Volta declared that it was not in favour of the break. Tunisia, Libya and Morocco questioned the wisdom of the O.A.U. decision. Ethiopia and Kenya indicated that they would not implement the resolution if there was no united action by **all** African countries. A new element was injected into the situation by Nigeria, which proposed a meeting of heads of government of the British Commonwealth to discuss how to end the Rhodesian rebellion. This heightened the mood of indecision in many African capitals.

In all, only 10 states carried out the terms of the 3rd December resolution, and the split clearly delineated the radical and the moderate camps. Thus, what had been planned as a grand flood of protest against Britain's half-hearted measures in Rhodesia became a trickle when the hour of implementing the threat came.

Despite such failures, however, the balance of the O.A.U.'s first three years of activity was fairly even. It is true that the member states could not agree upon a unanimous approach to the problem of Rhodesia, but that did not mean they drifted away from their aim of unity. There can be differences of opinion as to the way the African states should have acted after U.D.I., but there could be no doubt about their sincerity of purpose.

There is indeed much evidence to suggest that during the period under review, the O.A.U. achieved some appreciable successes in facing and initiating solutions to a number of pressing problems. Delicate administrative questions such as the choice of a secretary-general and the role of regional groups were settled. The organisation's prestige and the commitment of member states to cooperation within its framework endowed its charter and resolutions with much weight and influenced the behaviour of states. The possibility of recourse to the organisation has probably had a restraining influence.

Principle of International Law

Also, the O.A.U. was able to prevent explosive frontier disputes from degenerating into armed conflicts. Permanent machinery for mediation was instituted. The conferences of the organisation provided opportunities for contact between adversaries which have helped to reduce misunderstandings. The proclamation of the principle that borders existing on the achievement of national independence should be respected is certainly of first-rate importance, despite the reservations of some states. The resolution helped establish the primacy of a basic principle of international law over the pre-independence ideology which had challenged existing borders and threatened to disrupt the peace of the continent. The stabilizing influence of the resolution seems undeniable.

Above all, the decision of the O.A.U. to replace British troops by African contingents in Tanzania during the January 1964 mutinies was a step towards the achievement of full independence and an example of mutual aid. What deserves appreciation is the unanimous determination the group showed in preventing intervention in African affairs from quarters that were not African, and in settling international issues.

It is important to emphasize, however, that in other areas such as harmonisation of the foreign policies of the African states during this early period of the O.A.U.'s existence, progress was less tangible. But it must also be stressed, even **ad nauseam,** that in many respects the African states have a long path to walk before they reach unity.

The momentous Addis Ababa summit of May 1963 put heart into many of the less resolute,

thus enabling them to attempt this journey. When Emperor Haile Selassie formally registered the O.A.U. Charter at the United Nations during his visit to New York in October 1963, U Thant was not venturing into a polite exaggeration when he replied that the charter was "one of the historic documents of this century".

The Economy

DEVALUATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH: A COMMENT

By

Naseem Ahmad

IN THE article, "Why the Economy of Ghana is not growing and what can be done about it", published in the 20th April, 1973, issue of this journal, Professor M. D. Steuer lists over-valuation of the cedi as one of the six factors which in his view have tended to inhibit economic growth in Ghana. He then goes on to argue a case for devaluation of the cedi. In doing so he makes a number of ambiguous and sweeping generalizations which in my view are misleading and open to serious question.

Professor Steuer asserts that because devaluation ". . . does not make imports more expensive in terms of foreign exchange . . . it does not", therefore, "reduce the volume of imports coming into Ghana . . .". While it is true that a reduction in the value of the cedi in terms of foreign currencies will not lead to a rise in the prices of foreign goods in terms of, say, dollars, pounds, or marks, it is seriously misleading to argue that a devaluation of the cedi will not entail any reduction in the volume of imports by Ghana. Such a proposition conveys the impression that the exchange rate adjustments are immaterial to the volume of imports. This is clearly wrong.

To make the issue at stake clearer let us begin by asking the question: Why does a country devalue her currency? Devaluation is considered to be one of the weapons for correcting a persistent disequilibrium in the balance of payments. It helps to eliminate a balance of payments deficit in two ways: First, it makes domestic goods cheaper in terms of foreign currencies, and thus tends to encourage exports. Secondly, devaluation increases the prices of foreign goods in terms of domestic currency, and thus tends to discourage the domestic demand for foreign goods.

In other words, the case for devaluation rests on the argument that by causing a direct and sudden change in the ratios of domestic to foreign prices: (a) it encourages the outside world to purchase more from the devaluing country, (b) it encourages the devaluing country to shift its demand from imports to domestic substitutes. This simultaneity of a decrease in imports and an increase in exports is, according to its advocates, one of the main advantages of devaluation, viz-a-vis other methods of improving a balance of payments position, namely import control and export promotion.

Many students of economics who undoubtedly have learnt these basic and widely accepted facts about this two-fold effect of devaluation from their various textbooks will certainly be intrigued by Professor Steuer's insistence that "devaluation does not affect the quantity of imports coming into Ghana". The only theoretical justification for this unorthodox assertion is to assume that the coefficient of price elasticity of demand for imports in Ghana is equal to zero, i.e., an increase in their local prices due to devaluation notwithstanding, the demand for imported goods in Ghana will remain at the same level as before devaluation.

Unique Assumption

But, quite apart from the problem as to whether it is this heroic assumption from which Professor Steuer derives his conclusions (he does not, unfortunately, specify his assumptions), there is the all important question of the validity of such assumption for Ghana. Available information on the trends in imports into Ghana in the past does not lend support to this unique assumption. The reality is that in the past an increase in the domestic prices of imports, resulting either from increased import duties or the 1967 devaluation, was always followed by a fall in the volume of imports.

In fact the 1967 devaluation had led to a significant decline in imports, especially of capital goods and industrial raw materials both in 1967 and 1968—and thus turned out to be detrimental to economic growth. It is clear, then, that in analyzing the likely effects of devaluation on imports Professor Steuer ignored statistical evidence as to how the economy behaved in the past, and it is therefore hardly surprising that he jumped to wrong conclusions. In my view, the errors in his analysis spring partly also from his failure to distinguish between monetary and real consequences of devaluation, and his attempt

to overstress real effects without sufficient consideration of monetary ones.

Professor Steuer goes on to argue that compared to other means (tariffs and licensing), "devaluation is better for growth because it improves investment decisions". He prefers devaluation also because in his view whereas ". . . licensing favours the upper income groups . . devaluation . . . favours the lower income groups". In short, he advocates devaluation because it stimulates economic growth as well as promotes a more equitable distribution. There are involved in these assertions, I feel however, two serious misconceptions about the effectiveness of devaluation in a developing country like Ghana, each with no less awkward consequences than that which is implied in simply linking via devaluation the often conflicting objectives of economic growth and equitable distribution.

Danger in Removing Controls

Let us begin with the assertion that devaluation favours the lower income groups and import licensing is to the advantage of the upper income groups. Why? Because—this must be the assumption—the import licensing system permits the higher income groups to acquire non-essential and luxury goods of foreign origin fairly easily, and at low additional costs in terms of import duties, either not enough foreign exchange is made available for the import of basic necessities, or import duties imposed on these items are relatively high.

This may or may not be a correct hypothesis. But even if it really were a correct assumption, it is not clear how devaluation would alter this situation, unless of course one also makes the assumption that devaluation will necessarily be accompanied by an abrogation of the import licensing system and exchange control regulations. I hope, however, that Professor Steuer is aware of the dangers in the removal of administrative controls on imports and foreign exchange in Ghana.

I am on my part willing to concede that they have not been and perhaps are not being effectively applied. I hold the view, however, that it is possible to operate these controls according to more rigorous criteria. The danger in switching from control to liberalization, either with or without devaluation, is that the limited foreign exchange resources available to Ghana may be used to so override other considerations as to impart a consumption-bias to imports. Any such development, I am sure Professor Steuer will agree, will be detrimental to economic growth in Ghana.

Turning to the argument that devaluation is better for economic growth, there is in my view a certain reluctance—or is it refusal? — on the part of Professor Steuer to recognize some cold facts about the structure of the economy and the nature of the foreign trade of a developing country like Ghana. Like many other developing countries, Ghana derives her foreign exchange earnings largely from the export of commodities (cocoa, timber, diamonds, gold, manganese and bauxite) whose prices on the international market are determined by the interaction of demand and supply according to their respective elasticities and are quoted not in cedis but in foreign currencies.

Thus, for instance, devaluation of the cedi does not make cocoa from Ghana cheaper than cocoa from other countries. Moreover, both the demand for and the supply of commodities exported by Ghana are relatively inelastic, especially in the short run. Consequently, in such a situation a devaluation of the cedi cannot be expected to bring about any significant increase in foreign exchange earnings from exports. On the imports side, apart from her overriding need for certain categories of consumer goods (mostly food), Ghana requires capital goods and raw materials and spare parts in growing volumes, to achieve structural changes in her economy and thereby to lay the foundations for sustained growth.

Short-Run Effects

On this front too, devaluation offers hardly any solution; it would rather intensify inflationary pressure, partly because—as Professor Steuer admits—the domestic prices of imported goods will inevitably rise, and partly because as explained earlier, the volume of imports will necessarily fall. Another reason why devaluation will lead to a sharp rise in the domestic price level is that, given the high import content of the manufacturing sector in Ghana, the costs of production and hence prices of locally produced goods will also shoot upwards. And, to the extent that this sharp price inflation affects basic necessities, devaluation will raise the cost of living and thus impose considerable hardships and sow the seeds for social unrest and industrial disputes. All these short-run effects of devaluation are likely to impede rather than accelerate economic growth.

Turning to the long-term aspect of the problem of economic growth, it must be realized that, as elsewhere in the developing world, in Ghana any lasting solution to the problem of economic stagnation can only be found in structural changes in both production and demand

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it must also be recognized that a long-term structural solution necessitates a rising level of investment-goods imports. Given the relative inelasticities of supply of and demand for Ghana's traditional exports, it seems unlikely that devaluation would increase the capability of Ghana to import capital equipment essential to structural changes in her economy.

Far too long and far too often the advantages of devaluation to the developing countries have been inflated out of reality. Historical evidence in the developing countries, including Ghana, demonstrates that despite frequent resort to devaluation—largely under pressure from the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, etc. — their economies continue to stagnate. I have yet to discover the case of a developing country where devaluation, or even a series of devaluations, proved helpful in generating sustained economic growth. But perhaps Professor Steuer could cite an example.

I submit that devaluation is no answer to the economic stagnation in the developing world. What developing countries need and have indeed been demanding at the U.N.C.T.A.D. and other international conferences is a fair deal with regard to both international trade and international flow of capital, so that (a) the hitherto largely one-way movement of resources from the developing to the developed countries is brought to an end, and (b), the developing countries can acquire the necessary investment goods at reasonable terms and from the cheapest sources. It is only through measures aimed at removing certain anomalies and inequalities in the system of international trade and finance that the developing countries can accumulate foreign exchange and procure the investment goods they need to overcome the development gap.

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EFFECTING ECONOMY IN EDUCATION IN GHANA

By

J. K. Atta

THE AIM of this paper is to give a framework within which areas of effecting economy in education could be identified, and to discuss certain commonplace suggestions for effecting economy in education in Ghana. Criteria to be used and the problems involved would be evident by the end of the paper.

To the layman, effecting economy may look like involving only reduction in costs. Sometimes we refer to a person as not effecting economy in his spending, when he spends most of his income on, say, drinks. We say he makes uneconomic use of his income. The first meaning of 'to economize' (i.e., of those related to cost) is nearer the economic meaning than the second. Cost reduction is involved in any exercise aimed at effecting economy, but in the same way choosing alternative ways of spending one's income or using resources is involved in an exercise aimed at making the best use of resources, which is the definition considered appropriate for the term 'effecting economy' by economists. We are concerned with both of the two implications of the term as used in ordinary life, but to give them clearer meanings we will comment on them.

Attaining High Satisfaction

The economic view of economising stems from the eternal datum of economic life, which is the niggardliness of nature, including man's labour. In effect all resources are scarce. To economise therefore is to make the best use of resources available by choosing among alternative uses, after every effort has been made to increase the resources as much as possible. But what are the objectives for making a choice? Obviously for the purpose of attaining the highest satisfaction. The term 'satisfaction' is nonetheless subjective.

Indeed, economising implies two things: a standard for measuring needs, so that the 'greater' and 'more important' may be distinguished from the 'lesser' or 'less important'; and a suitable method of apportioning labour and resources in accordance with the results of this measurement.

The standard by which needs are measured may not always be immediately apparent. We often see people 'wasting' their money and 'ruining' themselves, in other words acting 'uneconomically'. But we must not conclude that because their actions are not in accord with traditional or conventional standards, they are not governed by any standard. The drunkard, for example, finds it

more important to drink than to eat well, and prefers to go hungry rather than deprive himself of means of his chief satisfaction—mollases!

Nevertheless some standard of comparison for distinguishing 'better' from 'worse' is involved in every decision in which one need is given priority over another. To say therefore that a person economises is to say that he chooses among alternatives on the basis of a standard of comparison according to which his needs are commensurable, not according to a second person's values. It is not difficult for an individual to set his own standards and make a rational choice by arranging his needs in a certain order of priority or a scale of preference, and expending his incomes on the items from the first one to the last.

A Common Standard

When we shift the analysis from the individual point of view to the national viewpoint, however, the problem becomes complex, because within an economy there are individuals, groups and institutions with diverse standards which cannot easily be aggregated to give a common standard for the country. When therefore we talk of effecting economy in education in Ghana, we are in effect saying that certain educational needs (or standards) must be identified for the whole country which would be acceptable to all. It is impossible to come out with a common standard (or a list of educational objectives) for the country which will not discriminate against any individual or group of individuals at all. I am therefore expecting much argument to be provoked by my attempt to identify a standard for measuring needs in our educational system.

I would like now to propose a common standard which could be used to judge the efficiency of any educational investment. This is essentially an economic interpretation and it must be viewed as such. The efficiency of an educational investment must be viewed according to the contribubution it makes towards the material well-being of the people. In economic language it is the contribution of the educational investment to the national income, often referred to as the Gross National Product (G.N.P.). We are of course aware of imperfectness in the use of the G.N.P. as the indicator of the welfare of a country.

We come now to a very important question. Should we select an educational investment for its short-run or for its long-run benefits? The answer is not all that clear, because it depends on several variables some of which might not be apparent at the time investment is actually being made. At the initial stages of a country's development, however, an educational investment must emphasise areas which would have immediate and effective impact on the productivity of labour. It must emphasise the type of skills which would enable the labour force not only to produce effectively and immediately but also to provide the conditions conducive for higher productivity in the future.

More specifically, I am saying that at such an early stage of our development, and taking into account the fact that our economy is presently like a war economy, resources mobilised for educational development must be geared towards equiping the labour force with technical, managerial, vocational and commercial knowledge, and some knowledge about how man should live with his fellow man, to the extent that a conducive environment is provided for economic activities to be undertaken smoothly. Little emphasis need be placed on such disciplines as ancient history, Greek, Latin, religion, and those belonging to such family.

Recognising that I could be accused of not seeing anything good in these disciplines, I would suggest that only their good (that is, productive) elements need be taught; this might call forth the need to abolish the system of separate departments for each, and the substitution of a general department for all, of them, so that their study is made subsidiary to main courses in other departments on an optional basis.

Their Disciplines Right or Wrong

We however face obvious problems: there wil be protests from all quarters, and one might even be called ungodly and quoted the biblical saying that man does not live by bread alone. We can ignore these protests, but then we face a yet more formidable one: Who is to identify the good elements in these disciplines? Obviously those who are well-versed in the disciplines. We cannot however expect them to be objective in their assessment, for academics are apt to defend their disciplines no matter how injurious the principles in them are to the economy.

This is so because they stand to lose if they work efficiently and objectively enough to cause the study of their disciplines to be discontinued or degraded to a subsidiary level; they face possible unemployment, or at best occupational migration, which might not be at all that convenient. Despite these problems, there is little doubt in the minds of many Ghanaians that the place hitherto accorded to the study of certain subjects is unjustified, and that it is time we accelerated the declining trend

in their popularity, which has already begun for some time in the secondary schools.

It is recommended that the Manpower Board, in cooperation with whatever agencies are involved in education and manpower development, should ascertain the manpower needs of the country in various categories. The results would help us identify those areas which must be emphasised and those which must be abolished; then the educational system should be restructured to suit the identified needs. In case it comes to light, for example, that economists have been overproduced, the government should not hesitate at all to reduce the emphasis on the study of economics, and teachers of economics would simply count themselves unlucky to face possible occupational migration.

Areas or Subjects?

Now, let us assume that a body has been allocated with a sum of money by the Minister of Finance to spend on education in the country, and that this body is faced with the task of making an optimum use of the limited amount if all the objectives laid down are to be met from the investment. Faced with this problem, they could simplify the task to that of first relating the various areas of the educational set-up to the objectives or goals set out, and emphasising various areas and determining their structure according to the contribution brought in by each area.

The contribution could be assessed by calculating the yield brought in by a cedi spent on each aspect of education. Theoretically, the country or the body charged with the investment would be effecting economy in education if expenditure in areas of lower yield (in terms of contribution towards the fulfilment of the stated objectives) is shifted to areas of higher yield. There is however the problem of breaking up the educational structure into areas. Should one identify the areas as primary education, secondary education, technical education, vocational, university, etc., or as teaching, administration, boarding, social welfare, and social interaction in the educational system; or shall we classify according to subjects?

I would like to run away from this problem by discussing certain general statements we make which imply measures which effect economy in education in the country.

Students, lecturers and other citizens alike have joined in making certain general statements, including the following: "Let us reduce the number of labourers in our schools, because the students can sweep their own rooms; in any case the labourers gossip and sleep all the time, and therefore have negative productivity"; "Reduce the cost of administration: the accounting staff could be reduced, the number of Assistant Registrars should be cut down, the number of lecturers in certain departments should be reduced"; etc., etc. On the other hand, at the same time we make general statements concerning increments in other areas: "Enlarge the library, both the size of the building and the number of books, the reading desks and other amenities"; "above all, increase the quantity and quality of our food."

These two trends of demand are not as contradictory as a casual look at them seems to suggest. They are indeed complementary, if viewed from the right perspective. If there is disguised unemployment among labourers in secondary schools, training colleges and the universities; among our lecturers and tutors; among assistant registrars and their clerks, in the chief Accountants' and bursars' offices, etc., then for the sake of economy reduce the sizes. If the administration is extravagant—extravagant in the sense that the expenditure it incurs could be reduced without sacrificing efficiency and productivity, then we must reduce expenditure.

High Cost v. Unemployment

The conclusion which I am drawing should now be simple and clear. Effecting economy in education in Ghana does not involve a mere reduction in the **cost** of education. Yet this is the connotation most of us imply when we plead for economy here. Economising in education involves a reduction in costs which would not have the opportunity-cost of reduction in productivity and efficiency, either in education itself or in other sectors of the economy. For example, if we assume that all labourers are sacked either because they are disguisedly unemployed or because students would like to perform the duties hitherto performed by them, the first thing to think about is the redeployment of these displaced workers.

Bearing in mind that there are already a large army of unemployed labourers, we have only succeeded in replacing the problem of the high cost of education with the problem of unemployment, which is of equal concern to the government. Secondly, how do we utilise the amount saved from the termination of the employment of the labourers: it should not be assumed that the amount would automatically be used to redeploy the displaced labourers in other areas of economic activity.

Finally, what are the economic implications

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of students sweeping their own rooms, washing plates, clearing their compounds, etc.? There are some good points: at least it would inculcate in them the idea that no job is mean. What one should be more concerned about, however, is whether the opportunity cost involved in a student sweeping his own room and washing up in the dining room is not higher than the educational cost saved! This might be a debatable argument; however, already students complain of too much work, at least in our universities. If this is true, then it means they have no time to spare. The use of their time for purposes other than what they are doing at the moment would definitely involve a forgoing alternative activity. Then of course we must be aware of the advantages of specialisation: the labourer and the student could learn to specialise.

Perhaps I have oversimplified the situation. The solution to the high cost of education might not lie in sacking all labourers en bloc; redressing here and there would perhaps do the trick. I have, however, intentionally elaborated this question of displacing the labourers in our educational establishments to bring home to the audience how delicate the problem of optimum resource allocation in education is. I am not of course saying that there is no room for economy in education in the country. There is plenty of room, but each case should be identified by using an economic criterion.

I have tried to provide a general framework within which ideas which would enable us distinguish areas of effecting economy could be formulated, so that educational investment in the country is made as productive as it ought to be. Manpower development is crucial for economic development. We have to economise in an effective way, by taking into account the inter-relationships existing between various areas in our educational system, and the relationship between an educational investment and the rest of the economy.

I am in effect advocating a comprehensive manpower programme, based on an overall National Development Plan for Ghana.

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Observer Notebook

THE boardroom squabbles taking place in the Lonrho THE boardroom squabble taking place in the Lonrho offices in London have had much wider repercussions in Africa than most people can understand. In West, Central and Northern Africa, governments, even including the self-styled revolutionary ones, have openly expressed overt and covert support for the controversial Mr. Rowland, chief executive of Lonrho, and the single most important shareholder, with 20% of the company's shares. Given the wide industrial and financial interests that Lonrho has in Africa, it is understandable that some interest should be shown in how the company is managed, but one wonders whether all the hyper-sentimental fuss being made in Africa over the fate of Mr. Rowland does not betray a basic naivete and simplicity of thought.

The goings-on in the Lonrho boardroom in London should have afforded us an opportunity of taking a cool look at our relations with that company in general; instead, we are creating the absurd impression that Mr. Rowland is the new-found patron saint of African economic emancipation, who must be defended against his less sympathetic or more ravenous co-directors. In the course of the court proceedings, Mr. Wheeler, counsel for Mr. Rowland, made the following revealing statement: "Perhaps the best way of contrasting Mr. Rowland and Sir Basil [i.e., Sir Basil Smallpeice, Lonrho's deputy chairman and leader of the group of directors, opposed to Mr. Rowland], the main protagonists, is to remember that for every £1,000 of profit or loss by Lonrho, Sir Basil stood to gain or lose rather less than threepence. Mr. Rowland stood to lose or gain just under £200".

This, in naked terms, is what the whole bickering is about: who gets what among Lonrho's shareholders. Whatever Mr. Rowland gets he does not dish out to Africans, so why should governments which have more serious problems to contend with at home be so interested in whether Mr. Rowland goes or stays. Would anybody suggest that we in Africa share any common interest with Mr. Rowland, so that his financial survival should mean so much to us?

Mr. Roland Rowland is reputed to have a flair for doing busines in Africa, and from the reactions shown in Africa to the difficulties he is facing now, he does appear to be the only person in Lonrho that African governments are prepared to deal with. The fear seems to be that if he is removed, the new chief executive may not be as amenable to reason, in African eyes, as Mr. Rowland. But there is no reason why we should be unduly worried. The important point to stress to whomever is on top in the Lonrho outfit is that we have our national objectives from which we shall not be deflected by anybody whatsoever. Whoever cannot arrive at an acceptable **modus operandi** with us has to be told where to get off.

Whether the case brought against Mr. Rowland by his colleagues has anything to do with his special talents as a businessman in Africa, or whether it is provoked by his allegedly individualistic style of management, it is clear that he is not fighting any African's battle, and there is no reason why anybody here should bother his head about the fate of Mr. Rowland as an individual. The personal qualities of Mr. Rowland should be deemed as completely irrelevant when we are dealing

with Lonrho, for however important the chief executive is, he is smaller than the whole Lonrho outfit. Our hysterical reaction to the threat of Mr. Rowland's removal seems to be out of all reasonable proportion to what is really at stake for us as Africans.

The government of Zambia is reported to have threatened that the removal of Mr. Rowland would result in the immediate nationalisation of Lonrho's assets there, worth about £7 million. The Governor of the Central Bank of Zambia, Mr. Bitwell Kurani, arrived in London on the eve of the last court case and confirmed this, and it is believed that it is this threat that has earned Mr. Rowland some respite up to the end of this month, when the full meeting of the shareholders will determine his fate, Now, without going into the merits and demerits of nationalisation, one is tempted to ask: if Zambia really feels that it is in her best interests to nationalise Lonrho's assets there, why should she want to do so only out of petulance, simply because Mr. Rowland would have been no longer in office as Lonrho's chief executive?

African leaders need to be told that in all the boardroom bickering in London, what is at stake is the fate of Lonrho, and **not** the future of Africa. One other fact which needs to be established is that Mr. Roland Rowland is nobody's hero in Africa and should not be made to feel like one. There is therefore no reason why we should be unduly interested in the petty squabbles among the capitalists of the City of London; our interest in the whole affair should begin **only** if the fight is brought to our own camp on our own soil. and at that point it should make no difference whether we have a Rowland, a Sandys, a Percy or a Smallpeice to deal with. The important thing is that whoever is on top should be made to feel concretely that we will not be seduced away from striking the best possible bargain in the interest of our people.

We certainly have not heard the last of the "Rowland affair", but in whatever direction it goes, it is to be hoped that African governments will stay a discreet distance away, maintain a dignified silence, and only react if there is the least attempt to tamper with our interests. It will be a sign of self-confidence and self-respect to demonstrate to the whole world that we need not catch a cold in Africa whenever some director in the City of London sneezes or coughs.

The Re-Shuffling of Regional Commissioners

This week seven of our military Regional Commissioners are expected to have resumed duty at their new stations, as a result of the transfer action announced by the government a couple of weeks ago.

Usually governments do not give reasons for re-shuffling, or even dropping some members of their cabinets; and therefore the public and the press are left to make their guesses as to why this or that minister has been assigned or re-assigned a particular portfolio. In the case of the re-shuffling of the seven regional commissioners, guesses are rife as to why a particular one has been moved from his region to another particular region.

There is one guess which is so plausible that the **Legon Observer** would wish to consider it in some detail. This is that there is a need for every commissioner to be familiar with conditions and problems in other regions, in order to broaden his outlook and to dispel parochial tendencies which a regional administrator may develop as the result of a long sojourn in a region. Indeed, as some of the commissioners have been in their "home" regions ever since they were appointed, there was a real danger that they could be contaminated by the cancer of tribalism that afflicts our bureaucratic processes. It is therefore commendable that the government should be seen to be "killing" tribalism in this manner.

Nevertheless, a question which is raised by this exercise is whether a non-Kusasi speaking regional commissioner (a situation in which Colonel Acquaye-Nortey may find himself) can really understand the problems of the common people in his region, who neither speak English nor any other Ghanaian language apart from their own. Can we assume that the rural unlettered folk will have confidence in their chief government representative with whom they cannot communicate directly, but only through interpreters?

We hope these reservations will completely vanish with the way that the commissioners discharge their duties, by letting their love and concern for the welfare of their people overshadow the language barriers. What would be highly desirable, however, would be to see a regional commissioner or any person in a position of leadership who spoke the same language as the people he is expected to lead and yet was able to resist the temptations of favouritism associated with belonging to the same ethnic group as the person or persons to whom one is showing favour. We need a man of the revolution whose family or tribal associations will not blind him to the faults of his "brother", but who would rather speak to his "countryman" in any language he understands, without fear or favour, and only for the common good of all Ghanaians.

Viewpoint

IDEOLOGIES ON SALE—WHOSE DO WE BUY?

By

G. Adali-Mortty

IT SEEMS to me that the start-off point in any discussion about the inter-play of differing political, ideological wooings of the N.R.C. must be with a reference to the policy declaration which the Chairman, Col. I. K. Acheampong, made when he addressed Principal Secretaries and Heads of Department in January 1972, and when he repeated the policy in his address on radio and television later the same month.

In the Chairman's own words:

> . . . this **coup** was not inspired and executed for any particular tribe or political party or section or group of people . . . no persons should take advantage from the **coup:** no person will be given unwarranted advantage.

In those welcome words the central figure in the present government cleared the air of gathering smog! The Chairman was understood, by implication, to mean that the N.R.C. stood for no brand of political ideology, either. By further extension, he was understood to be averse to imposing anybody's personal ideology on the good people of Ghana.

With pronouncements so definitive and so clear, one may be forgiven for exonerating the N.R.C. of appearing to have opened the gates to the corridors of power to certain people with certain sectional, political leanings in a way which tended to give a leftist colouring to some actions of the government.

The Lobbyists

It was not the fault of certain members of the N.R.C. that they were embraced by certain friends and former associates who happened to be people with an astute appreciation of opportunities in a political vacuum. Taking on the reins of power can carry an awesome loneliness. And those who found themselves suddenly invested with the vast powers of state must have needed the comfort and comradeship of loyal friends and associates. As it turned out, comfort and loyalty were freely forthcoming from the more courageous, politically-awake "friends" from a certain political camp.

Who is to blame the people who were not deterred by the corridors of power, and who closed in on some members of the N.R.C.? At a time when the new government needed support most, these people offered their services as advisers or counsellors. It is natural, too, that along with their services went their commitment to a bygone establishment, and their loyalty to a past leader. In other words, their political coloration and outlook were placed freely at the disposal of the government. Natural enough!

From the hustings and outer ringside of the arena of power, a section of the press was doing its own thing. Subtle and not so subtle pressures were put on, which sought to sell a certain pet ideology to the N.R.C. These pressures soon assumed the form of appeals to the government for a charter. Whilst some of the appellants for a charter did not pin their expectations and hopes on any set theories or philosophies, others did.

By and by, the N.R.C. did oblige with a charter. It turned out to be a most innocuous charter, if ever there was one. Which is as it should be. The contents and language of this document were such that various people could interpret them to suit their own ideological yearnings without in any way implicating the N.R.C., so nicely platitudinous was the charter. Fortunately, the N.R.C. has so far steered clear of formal commitment to the blandishments of ideological salesmen. The Armed Forces government knows the limits of its power, guns notwithstanding. They have not imposed any doctrine or ideology on the people.

The more this is so, the more raucous is the campaign for an ideology. We have noted in one or two of the state newspapers diverse manoeuvres designed to lobby the government to an ideological position. In the view of the campaigners, either **this,** or the "revolution" will have miscarried, or will have been derailed, or will have been betrayed.

Fair enough. If I had a pet theory of the good life, I would want to share it all around. There is nothing wrong in people peddling their personal convictions. It becomes mischievous only if the said peddlers forget that other people have personal pet convictions and philosophies too. You are at liberty to believe that your own brand of belief is superior to other persons'. But, the other persons will have nothing to do with an imposition of your own. It so happens that ours is a culture which admits of differences of belief, custom and religion.

Foreign Ideologies

Our experience of the N.R.C. so far has been that where they pronounce home-grown slogans such as **Self-reliance** and **Operation Feed Yourself,** they ring true. The people of Ghana understand home-grown and locally-produced slogans or social doctrine. And here I must express sympathy with those who hold that a country needs a stated course of future action, and a stated direction, in order that progress can be meaningful and purposeful. I would not quarrel with these people.

However, the best directional ideology or social philosophy is that which time, practice and national experience have distilled and documented into a body of guidelines. That was the way the national social order came about for Great Britain, France and the United States of America. And that is the way Japan has modernised without compromising her culture and social philosophy. The late Kwame Nkrumah proceeded along pragmatic lines like that for the first productive years of his rule. He defaulted when he began to dabble in the quagmire of a foreign ideology. His so-called Nkrumaism consisted in no more than an inchoate verbal barrage. It did not become coherent and defined before his ousting from the scene.

Since no two countries are the same in every respect, and since the circumstances of every country and its people are different from those of other countries and societies, foreign political ideologies cannot successfully be traded. Neither capitalism nor socialism—even if these could be defined in precise terms—can successfully be imported without considerable adaptation or dilution. The N.R.C. battle-cry of **self-reliance** should extend to the point of reliance on our own resources in formula-



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ting our own ideologies on the basis of our past history, our culture and our economic condition.

Here, let me make my position clear. I share with my countrymen a belief in individual initiative and individual choice among various alternatives. I share with my people a faith in the brotherhood of man. I hold as an article of faith the need for equal opportunity in basic formal education. . . . These things we share with the world's peoples. In so far as these are universal needs and yearnings, they are not partisan artic'es of faith. Nevertheless, if any one considered them to be partisan, he is free to opt out of them.

I do not believe in violent change, if it will bring avoidable suffering to the generations in whose lifetime the change occurs. If by radicalism we are to understand reckless progression, most Ghanaians will not stand for it. A "revolution" which moves with discretion and which builds on the sure foundations of the past, utilizing what suits the situation and discarding what does not, has a chance of mobilizing the loyalty and devotion of our people.

In certain countries, like France, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, revolutions were bloody affairs, followed by violent structural changes in the French and Soviet societies. From what one has read and heard lately, it seems that our mild "evolutionary revolution" is too bloodless for some people. If you ask those who most use the word "revolution" what they mean by it, you will be surprised what answers you will get! So with the word "radical".

Again, people campaign for socialism, knowing full well—or don't they?—that there is no uniform system of socialism. The Scandinavian brands are quite different from the British one, and these again are very different from the Eastern brands. The Chinese and the Russian people have engaged in bitter acrimony over the respective systems of each other, each denouncing the doctrine of the other. China, which has moved a long way from its early ideological moorings, will not forgive Russia for "deviationism" and "revisionism".

People make themselves look and sound ridiculous if they prattle "socialism", thinking they have said something. The word has ceased to mean anything. Unless, that is to say, the user stops to explain his special brand of socialism. Users of imported words such as these must remember that unwholesome associations attach to the words, besides their unintelligibility. What is utterly more fatuous is that the local pretenders to the doctrine of socialism know next to nothing about the works of Karl Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-Tung or Engels. Incomprehensible in the main, these works are hopelessly out of tune with our circumstances, and out-of-date in their own countries of origin or adoption, for that matter.

We would be brighter by far, if we would get together our own body of ideology, drawn from our peculiar circumstances. And, while we do so, we should keep an eye on the social systems of the sister African states with which we hope to unite one day. The system which we formulate in due course should be such that it will not prove too difficult to mix or blend with the systems of the rest of African societies. Ghana is too tiny a market to go it alone.

We would do well to avoid scaring away much-needed co-operation from countries with exportable capital and expertise. We have been clumsily messing ourselves up by our unguarded utterances and ideological peddling, many of which ideologies their crusaders have not even taken the trouble to read and understand.

Letters

Criticism: Constructive and Destructive

SIR—The argument I want to adduce is not aimed against any person or group of persons.

We criticise to build, we do not criticise to destroy. Anyone who criticises to destroy is a selfish and unpatriotic Ghanaian. If one criticises without offering alternative or useful suggestions, he is criticising to destroy.

Some people will oppose every measure taken by the government, but will not offer useful suggestions; such people are not good citizens. If one compares two regimes with the intention of stultifying, one is doing more harm than good to the state.

I hope I have succeeded in giving the critics food for thought.

Mampong-Ashanti **A. Kyereme-Antwi**

Recent Changes—Regional Commissioners

SIR—I should like to begin by expressing my appreciation for the work done so far by the N.R.C. I am particularly impressed by their courageous efforts to resuscitate our economy and also to make Ghanaians aware of their civic responsibilities.

However, I am not too happy about the recent changes affecting the various Regional Commissioners. The Chairman of the N.R.C. might have his reasons for making these changes. Probably he envisages an increase in efficiency or wants to erase any possible tribalistic tendencies in the old system.

But I wonder if he considered the problems associated with the changes. In the first place, as a Regional Commissioner one is responsible for the formulation of policies which would help the development of the area. The changes now will bring about a situation where the Regional Commissioner will depend completely on the advice of civil servants because he is not conversant with local conditions.

And the Regional Commissioner will now be the toothless bull-dog who will be manipulated by civil servants to satisfy their whims and caprices; in fact he will now be at the mercy of administrative bureaucrats.

Also the Regional Commissioner who does not understand the language and customs of the people will find it difficult to communicate with them when he visits them in the markets, hamlets and hospitals, for we must not lose sight of the fact that most of our people, including some traditional leaders, are illiterate.

If the Chairman has found out that some of his commissioners have not been sufficiently effective, the best remedy is to drop them and replace them with more efficient people who are from the same regions. We want Regional Commissioners who will be masters of their regions.

Finally, I want to assure the Chairman of the N.R.C. that the people are behind him in his effort to restore our lost image.

U.S.T. **G. A Gogo**
Kumasi

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Are you happy with your market potential – or would you like to expand? We at Barclays have never professed to know much about manufacturing or harvesting – and we don't really expect you to know too much about financing – but we do – it's our business. If you want to expand your market, come and see us for help and advice.

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GIVE A HELPING HAND

"Reconciliation and not Revival"

SIR—The letter written by Mr. Kwesi Manu-Acheampong (**L.O.** VIII/6) made interesting reading. There is no doubt that Mr. Manu-Acheampong has hit the nail right on its head.

The N.R.C. has repeatedly reminded the public of the ban on all political activities. This is, as explained, in conformity with national reconciliation and re-construction. But it appears recent events in the country are proving this false. For instance, one would have expected the N.R.C. to absorb all the useful brains in the country to help re-build the nation, be they C.P.P., P.A.P., P.P., or J.P. Events have shown that the N.R.C. is inclined to the pro-C.P.P.s and pro-J.P.s alone. Can this be an element of reconciliation?

The Progress Party members still in protective custody are another question which needs the attention of the N.R.C. Without doubt their continuous detention alienates both relatives and friends. After all, these people have been kept away for over one year, and it is expected that the government should now have a firm grasp of everything in the country. Their release should therefore not cause any alarm. Not only is their release wanted, but also the best of them must be utilised to the advantage of the nation. It is when the N.R.C. has been able to do these things that reconciliation will be a reality.

Meanwhile, the activities of some of the former C.P.P. members who have been absorbed by the N.R.C. should be checked, in order not to give cause for the people to think that the N.R.C. is really in to revive the C.P.P. The harm done by the C.P.P. government is still fresh in our minds. Had it not been that hardship inflicted on Ghanaians by them, events might not have led to the existence of the N.R.C.

Besease **Kwame Buadu**
via Ejisu

The Prophet in his own Country

SIR—It has been seven years now since Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown, and yet today, in 1973, Ghanaians are still not sure what were his contributions to present-day Ghana.

In a senseless attempted annihilation of the man, we destroyed his statue, closed down the Ideological Institute at Winneba, dissolved the Young Pioneer Movement, and burned everything that was likely to remind us of him. I remember I was a student at St. John's Secondary School, Sekondi, when the 1966 coup was incited. Soon after the announcement on the radio, the Headmaster of the School (a white Roman Catholic missionary of the Brothers of the Holy Cross of the U.S.) asked us to bring out all books written by Nkrumah and burn them, which we did. But these very books which were considered a crime to read in Ghana are now recommended as textbooks in many colleges here in the United States. Is Nkrumah's ideology more relevant to the American situation than it is to Ghana and Africa?

Nkrumah's ideology is the most relevant of our time. And any African leader who claims to be nationalistic and talks about revolution without studying the work of Nkrumah and applying its relevance to our history and our present day plight is a pretender. Nkrumah's revolution has had a more lasting and significant effect on our lives as individuals, and collectively as an African people, than most.

Students of goodwill, especially those of us studying political science, should observe and examine critically all the happenings of our time, so that in future we could judge, compare and make salient choices. A statue must be erected in Ghana in memory of the great leader, Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah.

Howard University **Yaw Owusu-Frempong**
Washington, D.C. 20001

Wanted: Ghana's Social History

SIR—From time to time I read scraps of the social history of Ghana published in your invaluable journal, the **Legon Observer.** Is it not about time someone took upon himself the burden of writing our complete social history?

I am inclined to think that the best deterrent on crime, oppression and all forms of malpractices is to expose such acts to the searchlight of truth and, like termites (that always enjoy life in the dark of their subterranean dwellings), such malpractices will die a natural death in the heat of the light of truth and the antagonism of public opinion. As long as the social history of Ghana remains unwritten so long will people continue to repeat the mistakes of the past in the fields of religion, economics, government, law, administration, agriculture, industry, etc.

Mr. Kwame Afreh, in the **Legon Observer** (Vol. VIII/8, p. 87), has given us what amounts to a few paragraphs from the chapter on "The Liberty of the Press". The full chapter in a social history would cover the subject from the time the first newspaper was published in the then Gold Coast to the situation of journalism today. Other aspects of our social history so treated to cover the almost 200 years of our contact with western civilisation will make most interesting reading. Anybody who doubts this view can refer to G. M. Trevelyan's **English Social History** and determine for himself the contribution which social historians like Trevelyan have made to their countries and to civilisation. Or are social historians people who wash the nations dirty linen in public and so must be hushed up by every means?

Asitsumanya Cottage **P. M. Desewu**
Dzelukope

A Classless Society?

SIR—It is often said that Ghanaian society has that great advantage over its "western" counterpart of being "classless". This may indeed to a large extent be true for traditional rural society, but what about the "modern" cities of this country?

I too read the pathetic story of an unemployed man who was found by an Escort policeman carrying a duck along Liberty Avenue, Accra, on Good Friday night. The policeman challenged him, upon which the man stated that the bird was given to him, but that he could not remember the name of the donor. The unfortunate man was arrested, brought before a Magistrate Court and on Tuesday following Easter was found guilty and condemned to 15 months imprisonment. The duck's owner could not be found, and it was therefore decided to sell it on behalf of the government.

The reporter on the case reserved comment, and what

did the average reader of the news of 25th April think? Possibly he may have concluded that "crime never pays": the conclusion the editor of the paper no doubt wished his readers to draw. But there are other conclusions possible: e.g., if you do not belong to the "right class", and have to walk through the streets of Accra at night, better turn around if you see a police man; if you happen to carry something under your arm, better have an excuse ready; if you are "unbeez", better disguise it in your dress; and, finally, if you want to steal, better do it in a big way.

But when are we going to read about accusations against and condemnation of such real "nation wreckers" as the managers of wholesale stores, who for many months have "managed" the supply of commodities like sugar in such a way that its price has remained more than 100% above the control-level, and who have enriched themselves with the value of tens of thousands of ducks? When they are eventually found out, I hope they too will serve thousands of months in jail?

Legon **A. Van Dantzig**

Was This Necessary—or Just "BIG"?

SIR—On the 29th of April, Ghana Airways could not fly it's passengers to Kumasi and Tamale, due to a snag in the plane which was to have done the service. It was really inconveniencing for a passenger that day, but I saw no reason why a Ghanaian top ranking army officer, who was to have flown on this flight, should have led about six other passengers to demand hotel accommodation at the expense of the air line (the tax payer, of course).

Why should this officer, who happens to be a Ga and would, automatically, have a house in Accra to sleep in, and furthermore with military facilities at his disposal, have asked to be and did get put up at the Continental Hotel on the day in question? Had he forgotten what Colonel Acheampong told Ghanaians—that they are to prove that they (soldiers) can also administer the country? Or is this how they are going to prove their effective administration?

This is a revolutionary era. Wither are we going: up or down?

Yen Ara Yen Asaase Ni Lodge **Abiri Kwabena**
Kumasi

"The Malam Shitta Case"

SIR—I refer to your **Observer** Notebook item "The Malam Shitta Case", which appeared in **L.O.** VIII/5 of 9th-22nd March, 1973, and shall be grateful if you will publish the following information which, I hope, will "clear the air" in respect of the above-mentioned case.

1. The Mercedes Benz Saloon car won by Malam Shitta

INTERNAL AUDITOR

Applications are invited from suitably qualified Ghanaians to fill the post of Internal Auditor in a large financial institution.

QUALIFICATION:

Membership of a recognised professional body preferably A.C.A., A.C.C.A., with a minimum of 5 years' experience in similar and relevant field of operation in a large financial or commercial establishment.

AGE:

Not less than 35.

SALARY:

Negotiable but those earning less than ₵4,000.00 need not apply.

Application letters should be marked "Internal Auditor", addressed to the Personnel Manager, P.O. Box M.149, Accra, and to reach him not later than 31st May 1973.

in the Golden Chance Raffle Event last November was not a "brand new" one, and the organisers never on any occasion claimed nor pretended that the car was a brand new one.

2. Before the Raffle the car was duly valued independently by competent valuers from the State Transport Corporation and R.T. Briscoe (Ghana) Ltd. Both valuers put the price at "about ¢8,000".

3. It was in keeping with the organisers' anxiety not to keep the public in the dark about the condition of the car that this value of ¢8,000 put on the car was made known to the public through Television and Radio Broadcasts, on 19th August, 1972, and I quote the relevant section of the speech for the benefit of the general public. (Copies of the speech can be verified either from GBC/TV or the Ministry of Information, Accra):

"Time will not permit me to give you the details of all the prizes so far received and their donors. But it is intended at a later date to give full publicity to these generous donations. I should like, however, to mention just a few to give you an idea of the variety of the donations received:

On top of the list is a Mercedes Benz 250 Saloon Car valued at about ¢8,000.00, which has been donated by the National Redemption Council:

the Bank of Ghana has donated one Massey Ferguson 165 Tractor worth about ¢7,000.00; each of the three commercial banks: Ghana Commercial Bank, Barclays Bank of Ghana Ltd., and Standard Bank of Ghana Ltd., has offered a ¢1,000.00 Bank Savings Account as a prize;

British Caledonian Airways has donated a round trip to London; the State Shipping Corporation has offered coast-wise trips, and the Volta Lines Ltd. has offered a return sea trip to Europe. The Guardian Royal Exchange Assurance (Ghana) Ltd. has donated personal accident policies, and Naja David Veneer & Plywood Ltd., has donated a ¢1,000.00 Bank Savings Account.

For these and many others not mentioned the Board of Trustees of the National Trust Fund are gratefully thankful".

4. In fact, R.T. Briscoe (Ghana) Ltd. negotiated and sold the car for ¢7,724.08 without charging any commision.

Ghana National Trust Fund **G. E. Twum**
P.O. Box M.48 **Ag. Administrative Secretary**
Accra

Peace with Cultural Honour

SIR—Being a culture-conflict debate fiend myself, I was fascinated by the diametrically opposite positions taken by your Mr. Kumasi and Miss Asare the other week (**L.O.** VIII/9). They argued their cases each with such passion of indignation and conviction that I found myself sympathising and siding with each in turn. "Correct!", I said to one; then to the other: "Exactly! Right!"

Indeed this personally tolerant — or perhaps you would prefer to call it ambivalent—position of mine in the culture-conflict war is proved by my own name. You know, I started out with a whole string of so-called "Christian" names stuck on to me—**seven** of them!—but indignantly shed them all once I became conscious of and responsible for myself. I then retained three of my four African "first" names, **Kwatei Asoasa** (being Ga) and **Brempong** (Ashanti, for good measure!). That decision will now no doubt retrospectively please Mr. Kumasi and infuriate Miss Asare.

But I have retained the Welsh grandfather's "Jones" in my surname, seeing nothing much wrong with part of my origin in the old boy's blood and his 19th century social activities at Osu—sorry, Christiansborg—no, Osu! So my Jones will no doubt in turn now offend Mr. Kumasi and please Miss Asare; and each can cry "Shame!" on the other in great righteousness.

But, Mr. Editor, when a Ghanaian football club goes as far as to name itself "Kumasi **Leeds United**", even my tolerance (or ambivalence) changes ideology, springs with clenched fist and **Osee-YEI!** to the side of Mr. Kumasi, and masses with his **asafo** against the khaki-clad forces of Miss Asare, ranged in decorous formation rank upon rank!

Legon **K. A. B. Jones-Quartey**

P.S.—Since I thus by blood belong to both sides, have contributed fairly to each here, and made confession to **Osofo** Kumasi as well as to High Priestess Elizabeth Asare, I henceforth voluntarily retire from the conflict and can now look forward serenely to the end, in peace with cultural honour.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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NASEEM AHMAD—Associate Professor, Department of Economics, Legon

J. K. ATTA—Lecturer, Department of Economics, University of Cape Coast, Cape Coast

G. ADALI-MORTTY—Senior Lecturer, School of Administration, Legon

BE ABREAST WITH THE TIMES, READ THE LEGON OBSERVER

For The Record

Friday, May 4th

Farmers to Receive Awards

TWENTY-SEVEN farmers are to receive awards totalling ¢8,000 in recognition of their contribution towards the first phase of "Operation Feed Yourself". They include Nana Kwakye Arhin XVII of Nduaem in the Central Region, and Alhaji Sulley, Gusie Na of the Northern Region. A cheque for ¢8,000 was today presented to Col. F. G. Bernasko, Commisioner for Agriculture, for distribution to the farmers.

Saturady, May 5th

Dawhenya Irrigation Project—Work Begins

COL. F. G. Bernasko today cut the sod for work to begin on the irrigation project at the Dawhenya Agricultural Settlement.

The project, which will provide water for the irrigation of rice fields and vegetable farms covering 1,200 acres, is expected to be completed in December with a work force of 4,000 men. This force will include students from the universities, and volunteers from youth organisations. In addition, Col. Bernasko said that he would invite members of the Armed Forces to take part in the project.

Monday, May 7th

Post Office Bank Houses Customers

THE Post Office Savings Bank is to operate a low-cost housing scheme to provide some of its customers with their own houses. An agreement under which the first stage of the scheme is to be implemented at Dansoman in Accra was signed today between the bank and the State Housing Corporation.

Under the first phase, seventy-four two-bedroomed houses will be built and sold to customers of the bank on hire purchase terms. Each house will cost ¢6,700, and any interested depositor is eligible to apply either to the bank or to the State Housing Corporation for allocation.

Wednesday, May 9th

Cement Situation may improve

THE Ghana Cement Works at Tema today started taking delivery of 11,000 tons of clinker from Norway to produce cement. The factory will, according to an official announcement, produce cement at the rate of about 14,000 bags daily for a little over two weeks, and will despatch about 8,000 bags of cement every day to its customers.

Thursday, May 10th

N.R.C. Declares Stand on Lonrho

THE N.R.C. declared in an official statement today that the government would not be bound by any decisions taken unilaterally in London which may be detrimental to the smooth and efficient operations of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation, of which Lonrho is a minority shareholder.

The statement said that the government of Ghana viewed with interest the struggle for power and control going on in the boardroom of Lonrho Limited in the City of London, and while it concedes the right of directors and shareholder to engage in internal wrangling for power, it wished to state unequivocally and categorically that it would not tolerate any attempt by such such a group to interfere with the sovereign interests of the Republic of Ghana

Friday, May 11th

Decree on Slot Machines

ACCORDING to a decree, the Gambling Machine Decree, published today in Accra, person under 18 years are banned from using a gambling machine or entering any place where a gambling machine is operated.

It will also be an offence for anybody to sell, hire or dispose of any gambling machine without authority from the Commissioner for Internal Affairs. Also, any gambling machines in the country are to be forfeited to the state, unless within 28 days from the 4th of May 1973 their owners obtained licences to operate them.

Saturday, May 12th

Vice-Chancellor calls for Scholarship Review

DR. E. Evans-Anfom, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Science and Technology, has called for a review of the award of overseas scholarships, especially those that lead to professional training.

Dr. Evans-Anfom, who was speaking at the prize-giving day of the Koforidua Secondary Technical School, said that the review was necessary because people who have been trained at public expense "want to be induced before they come back home to serve the country".

He said that there were some Ghanaians overseas for whom jobs are waiting here but who refuse to come back unless the conditions they are used to overseas are created for them locally.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT BANK

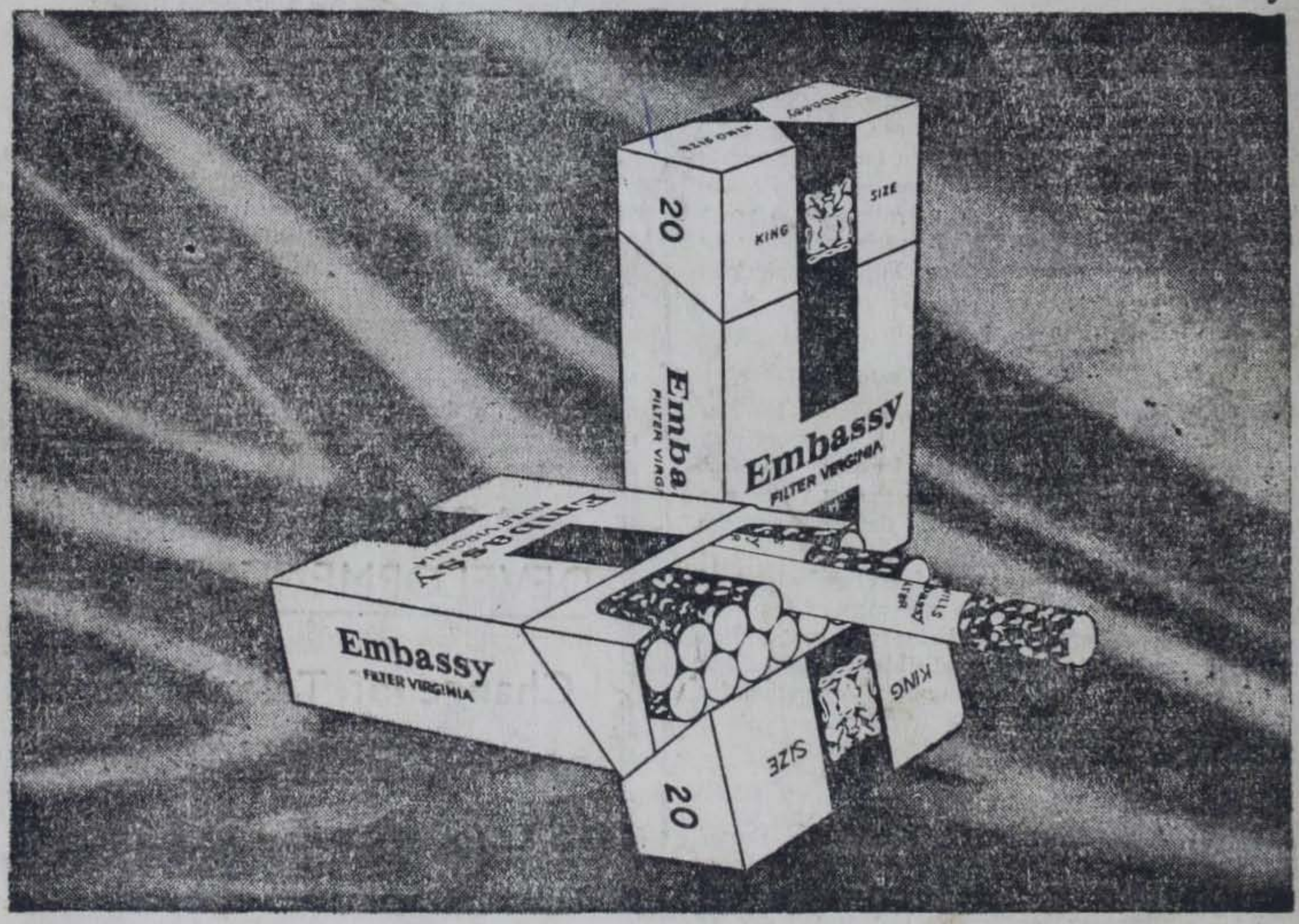
Change of Telephone Numbers

The public is hereby informed that with immediate effect the Agricultural Development Bank's telephone numbers have been changed from 28433 and 28473 to

28453 (4 lines)
automatic

This change will make communications with the Bank easier than before. Please take note accordingly.

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

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Editorial

THE O.A.U. "CELEBRATIONS"

WE PUT the word celebrations in quotation marks because that is not all that just happened in Addis. The O.A.U. should in fact have had little more to do at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government in May 1973 than celebrate May 1963, but as it turned out there was as much work for them to do now as there was then. And as on many previous occasions between the first and the last meetings, the organisation survived storms and threats and came out of it all, still intact.

It is not our intention here to add much more to the millions of words that have already been said and written by the analysts who have drawn up the balance sheet of gains and losses in O.A.U. history so far. What interests us are simply some highlights of the meeting, on which to make a few comments. The compromise struck in the stubborn Ethiopia-Somalia border dispute is one of these. The almost private truce arranged between Presidents Nyerere and Idi Amin is another. Then there was the remarkable diplomatic victory scored by the Arabs in swinging African summit support to their cause against Israel; also the surprise appearance and practically unbelievable words of Felix Houphouet-Boigny at an African summit meeting for the first time. There was, too, the election of Nigeria's powerful General Gowon as current President.

The call for the moving of O.A.U. headquarters should not be left out of this catalogue either, for it lent emphasis to the Arab operation as a whole and will obviously reappear as an issue in the near future. In all this, three major topics appeal to us most out of those that happened at Addis. The first is the position of the Francophone states, especially those of West Africa; the second is the phenomenon created by the Arab onslaught; and the third is made up of the East African complex of relationships more or less sorted out by the diplomats of the summit.

The French-African question is highlighted by the appearance at Addis of the Ivory Coast President. His call for aims in African cooperation to which the rest of us are so well-tuned and well-used struck an even stranger chord. It makes us wonder whether the great apostle of dialogue has had some sort of change of heart or mind; whether French dominance in their African "territories" is at last beginning to tell too heavily on some of its most distinguished and committed victims; or whether the wily and extremely able Houphouet has some more surprises yet for the rest of us.

His role may not altogether reflect the ramifications and complexities of France-Africa and Francophone-Anglophone relations. Nevertheless Houphouet-Boigny's movements and words in both areas should not be taken lightly.

The only comment we should like to make about the Arab triumph at Addis is that we hope black Africa is going to get as much quid-pro-quo from Pan-Arabism as Pan-Africanism seems to be willing to give up in making common cause with the Arabs against Israel. As long as black Africans, with South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal on their backs, are not expected to do more than give moral support to their Arab fellow-continentals, those who have committed themselves to this principle can no doubt meet its obligations in their own way. We do not, however, forget help and declared support for the liberation movements of black Africa from some Arab countries.

We hope that the truce and holding agreements reached by the O.A.U. intermediaries for Ethiopia and Somalia, as well as for Tanzania and Uganda, will gradually develop into real peace pacts. That is to say, we hope permanent formulas for settling the disputes between each of these pairs of neighbours will soon be worked out. There are serious enough problems of survival and progress facing African countries, without the addition of internecine wars and quarrels to the number. In the case of Tanzania and Uganda the quarrel has already made deep erosions into the structure of an economic groundwork which bade fair to become a model for us all.

One more accomplishment of the 10th Anniversary summit must be mentioned, the Economic Charter. When we have all had time to study the proposals of this document we shall be in a position to comment intelligently on it. Meanwhile it is sufficient simply to record every African's gratification that our leaders have at least and at last taken the first necessary step on our way to economic salvation. They have given open recognition to the reality that only united co-operation within non-white Africa will eventually free us from the obscenities and impertinence of external exploitation and domination. The new economic charter may not work, or it may take ages to yield any worthwhile results, or we may have to alter its provisions a hundred times in the practice. It will not matter. The ultimate goal will be reached some day: riddance of mean, determined external exploitation and suppression of Africa by non-Africans.

All strength to the O.A.U., its founders (not forgetting Kwame Nkrumah, Tubman, Balewa, and Nasser), its supporters and its friends.

Africa

THE O.A.U. AT TEN: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS

By

S. K. B. Asante

THROUGHOUT the continent of Africa the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity has been celebrated with pomp and pageantry. This anniversary is indeed a milestone meriting special recognition. That the O.A.U. has come thus far, despite the disappointments, problems, obstacles and other incidents along its path, is a tribute to the vision of those who drew the founding plans, a testimonial to the basic soundness of the guiding principles upon which the organisation is being developed.

It was therefore worth recalling in all solemnity that memorable day on which Africa's Heads of State and Government, meeting in the ancient city of Addis Ababa, signed the historic charter creating the Organisation of African Unity and at the same time laying psychological, political, institutional and structural foundations for cooperation among the peoples of Africa. Today, in spite of violent blows and many frustrations, the balance sheet is largely positive and testifies to the vigour of the organisation and the determination of Africans to remain faithful to the oath taken by the founders of the O.A.U. In this brief review an attempt is made to appraise the organisation in its tenth year.

The Big Question

Even a summary appraisal must take into account the *raison d'etre* itself, which is, first, to provide a framework for effective political and economic integration in Africa, and, secondly, to eradicate racial minority governments and foreign domination from the African continent. After ten years' operation of the O.A.U., the question that asks to be answered is whether the organisation has justified its existence by achieving these ends. In other words, have the hopes raised in 1963 been fulfilled?

Much has been said and written in recent weeks about the O.A.U., with considerable emphasis placed upon its shortcomings and its failures. The organisation has been discredited, for instance, by some who fail to appreciate the underlying causes of its present, perhaps 'unenviable', role as an international forum for conducting intra-African relations. Such critics appear to be impatient with the natural course of history, and

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strike out in any direction that may seem to offer a quick and simple solution to the problems of Africa's political unification and liberation. Thus to them the O.A.U. is Africa's first instalment of utopia, and therefore ridiculous. It is, however, easier to be derogatory about it than to measure the complex problems confronting the organisation and the progress it has made towards the goals fixed.

It seems to me that in making an objective appraisal of this great "African Experiment", we may have to re-examine our thinking about the broad spectrum of the organisation, its multi-faceted dimension, its assumption of the role of a monitor of sovereign governments supervising the exercise of their own authority in certain aspects, its expectations, hopes and purposes, as well as both the African and the general international political system under which it is actually operating. This calls for hard-headed scrutinizing of policies and events as they took shape in ten years under the influence of the O.A.U. charter. If such enquiries are undertaken it would be seen that in view of the novelty in Africa of such a conception as the O.A.U., the contemporary emphasis on national sovereignty, and the stormy context in which it sometimes has to operate, we cannot refuse the O.A.U. anything less than a passing grade.

Inbuilt Weaknesses

We would, in fact, do well to remember that the O.A.U., like all political innovations, must be judged not only in terms of what is ideally desirable but also in terms of what (in a given setting of African situations, forces, and dispositions) is possible. In other words, we should try to make clear what in the present condition of the international world, as well as the continuing political and economic dependence of many African states on Europe, we can legitimately expect the organisation to be able to do. If we refuse to admit the existence of "preconditions of weakness" in the way of the O.A.U., we may by over-demand strain the organisation to breaking point and impair its value as the meeting place where all African problems, political, social and economic, like those to which the progress of humanity gives rise everywhere, may now or in the future find their solution.

Disappointment with the performance of the O.A.U. has recently been centred on questions about African unity and African liberation, the two primary objectives of the organisation. African unity is indeed desirable, as without unity the peoples of Africa "will have no future except as weak and perpetual victims of imperialism and exploitation". However, a hard recognition of the problems in its way is necessary. To close one's eyes to these problems is to use "African unity" only as an insincere political catchword, a political emotion and a peroration. Unless we are prepared realistically to appraise the African situation, then, as this journal once rightly stated, only the "Don Quixotes can achieve African unity". For there are formidable roadblocks in the way of true African unification.

Some of these stem from the cultural heritage of the continent, some have been created by the colonial powers, and some are the creations of the new nationalist governments themselves. With the task of nation-building far from over and the very existence of the states still fragile, the African leaders are in no mood to support a heavier continental structure. President Nimeiry of Sudan was indeed speaking the minds of his fellow African leaders when he frankly told an interviewer quite recently that there was no substitute to putting "our houses in order prior to overall political union".

An Epidemic of Coups

The internal insecurity of many member states of the O.A.U. has been reinforced by the epidemic of military takeovers. Between the overthrow and murder of Togo's Olympio in January 1963 and Obote's recent fall—not forgetting the military drama in Dahomey — Africa south of the Sahara has been the unhappy scene of a confusing carnival of coups and counter-coups. Conservatives like Nigeria's Balewa went the same way as did extreme progressives like Nkrumah. The result is that in this kaleidoscopic atmosphere, African heads of state, whether military or civilian, progressive or conservative, all feel unsafe. Even a 'reputed sure horse' like Nyerere was put sufficiently ill at ease by Obote's overthrow to take anti-coup measures in his own country.

Thus, whatever deficiencies the present structure of the O.A.U. may have, the fact remains that it is indicative of the degree to which African states, at this stage of their development as members of the international community, and as countries which have just emerged from the torment of a colonial era, are prepared to go in creating a unified Africa. The O.A.U. goes as far as any non-supranational body can go—but no further.

On the issue of liquidation of colonialism and racial minority governments on the continent, it is indeed a bitter truth that no single territory under colonial rule has been liberated since the establishment of the O.A.U. Yet, as an entity

Africa has no other problems as urgent as those posed by the humiliating persistence on her soil of colonialism and racial minority governments. When the Heads of State and Government met in Addis Ababa in May 1963, their first concern was to ensure the fullest political, diplomatic, economic and military aid by independent Africa for African liberation movements.

In spite of this undertaking, interest in and support for the liberation struggle in Africa had been regrettably disappointing until the June 1972 O.A.U. Rabat summit. Contributions to the liberation fund, meagre as they are even on paper, have remained consistently and hopelessly in arrears. The recent "Accra Declaration on African Liberation" regrettably confirmed that the total assistance so far provided to the liberation movements by the African states had been negligible, compared with the totality of aid received by these movemen ts from outside the African continent.

The Role of N.A.T.O.

Here again, while we should blame African states for not providing the fighting liberation movements with all the material support within their power, it would be unrealistic not to admit that the enemies which Africa faces in these territories, that is, the Pretoria-Lisbon-Salisbury axis, with its military might and N.A.T.O. support, are formidable. The liberation movements are not fighting against the forces of only one country, such as Portugal, Rhodesia or South Africa, but against the combined troops of all three of these racist and totalitarian regimes. The N.A.T.O. member powers give this politico-military bloc their protection and support. In effect, the liberation movements are fighting a racist, complex, international system which has developed sophisticated mechanisms to sustain itself.

It is against this background that all the U.N. and O.A.U. intentions to carry out any reforms have became ineffective. The countries that could, within the U.N., assume the responsible leadership for the liquidation of inhumanity in southern Africa, are the same countries linked with Portugal in N.A.T.O. and the whole of their political, strategic and economic interests demand that the *status quo* in southern Africa remain unchanged. It is not without significance to observe that the critics of the O.A.U. in recent weeks on this issue have subtly shelved discussion of the crucial role of the N.A.T.O. complex in the African liberation struggle.

In spite of these formidable problems, the diplomatic and political offensive of the O.A.U., through its campaign to isolate Portugal and South Africa from the international community, and to stir world opinion on the problem of colonialism and minority racist governments in Africa, has achieved some measure of success. The United Nations has recognised the legitimacy of the liberation movements, and the liberation struggle is gaining considerable momentum. Apart from anything else, this internationalisation of the liberation struggle is another effective weapon which Africans can use and the achievement in this field is not at all negligible. In February 1972 the Security Council met in Addis Ababa, its first time since 1946 to meet outside of New York, and the agenda items were exclusively African: decolonization, Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa.

The liberation struggle is indeed commanding everyday increasing support from world opinion. Who would, for instance, have expected in 1973 that 'white' Australia and New Zealand, of all the Commonwealth countries, would, after ten years, reject outright the policies of the racist white minority regimes in Africa? Who would have dreamt that far away in the Scandivanian countries the issue of African liberation would find a welcome forum? And, again, who a few years ago would have thought that trade unions, youths, representatives of churches in countries which maintain relations with the South African government, would all admit the inhumanity of apartheid and express sympathy for the oppressed in their struggle to secure legitimate rights?

Promoting Solidarity

Another level of success is the fact that the O.A.U. has assisted in some ways to bring about greater mutual understanding among antagonistic liberation movements operating in the same territories. The best examples of this are the reconciliation between the M.P.L.A. and the F.N.L.A., and the very recent agreement between Z.A.P.U. and Z.A.N.U., the Zimbabwe movements. It is particularly noteworthy that the liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola have scored successes which Portugal cannot deny.

There are other equally significant issues worth evaluating. The first among them is the question of promoting solidarity among the African states. Unity and solidarity among African states was put to the test on many occasions during the period under review, particularly during such crises as the Nigerian Civil War, the issue of 'dialogue' with South Africa, and the coup d'etat in Uganda. Despite the division among member states, the O.A.U. weathered the storm and maintained its unity. As a corollary to this are the efforts

which the O.A.U. has made to defend the sovereignty and territorial integrity of member states. Apart from settling delicate border disputes among member states, the moral and political support of the O.A.U. contributed in no small measure to the success of Nigeria in preserving its sovereignty and territorial integrity when these were threatened by the forces of secession.

In certain other important areas, the impact of the O.A.U. has been negligible. For instance, the organisation has still not made any appreciable efforts on the issue of co-ordination and intensification of cooperation to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa. The meetings of the Economic and Social Commission set up by the body to coordinate economic development have been few and far between. It has not been able to formulate concrete plans that would promote economic and social development in member states. It is almost a dead horse.

Abdication of Role

Another disquieting tendency is the habit of the Council of Ministers of shelving major decisions and passing them on to the Assembly of Heads of State, a practice which threatens to turn the O.A.U. into a facade rather than an active instrument of cooperation. Required to meet in ordinary session at least twice each year, and in extraordinary session on the approval of two-thirds of its members, the council was conceived to provide a permanent safety-valve for the tensions which are bound to arise among new states still seeking their equilibrium. Its abdication of role on a number of important occasions marks a failure to make the organisation work on a day-to-day basis, and a reliance instead on diplomatic manoeuvring among individual leaders of separate states.

The problem is not particularly peculiar to the African states, as many U.N. crises demonstrate, but this is a negative comfort at best. Cooperation at all levels must be maintained in order to build a truly viable organisation. And, above all, member states must agree to delegate enough of their sovereignty to ensure that the O.A.U.'s decisions carry the weight of authority.

But the most pertinent question worth asking—after ten years' operation of the O.A.U. charter—is this: How far are African states serious about the O.A.U. as a locus of authority? Evidence would seem to suggest that African Heads of State and Government have not been serious with the O.A.U. as a symbol of authority, as they should, particularly when judged by their attendance at summit meetings. With the exception of Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, the late William Tubman of Liberia and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, most Africa heads of state have tended to regard the summ meetings of the O.A.U. as deserving less than sur mit treatment.

Malawi's Kamuzu Banda regards the O.A.U as an upstart, and although he does not with draw from its membership, he refrains from atte ding the summit and reserves his vehemer fire for attacking the resolutions of the O.A.U that are either anti-South Africa or pro-Ara Ivory Coast's Houphouet-Boigny had never unt this 10th year attended the summit meeting not even to defend his position on the issue dialogue with South Africa, which he had le very actively before the summit meeting of Jun 1971. Kenya's Mzee Kenyatta has also neve attended the summit meetings. Tanzania's Julius Nyerere has not done so since 1966, the year follow ing the fall of Nkrumah and the disappointin handling by the O.A.U. of the Rhodesian situation

There are other specific reasons for the absenc of some African heads of state at these meetings Under the plea of economic mismanagement but sometimes for their own special motives, som of these old heads had unexpectedly overthrown properly constituted governments' and taken power themselves. African leaders of this cate gory do not feel secure enough to leave their shores, for fear of possible counter-coups or reprisals in their absence. This question of non-attendance at summit meetings by many African heads of state is most damaging to the image and prestige of the O.A.U., for if the organisation has little authority, it is at least generally accepted that some effectiveness and authority does reside in the personal contacts of the leaders at the annual meetings. Considerable authority from the leaders is very necessary to enable the organisation to legitimize certain positions on controversial intra-African and extra-African issues.

Two Serious Threats

The future of the O.A.U. is today being se seriously threatened by two most urgent issues: the differing attitudes of member-states towards the E.E.C. and the extension of the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict to intra-African relations. Despite forebodings concerning neo-colonialism, many African leaders seem more concerned with the future of their relations with the European Common Market than they are with a potential intra-African common market. Member states of the O.A.U. have not yet arrived at a common denominator, as indeed they should, to ensure that a united Europe deals with a united Africa and not with balkanised African groups.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has exacerbated other conflicts within the O.A.U. Certainly it has widened the gap between Ethiopia and the Arab states, and is threatening to split the entire O.A.U. front. Whether our Arab leaders like it or not the state of Israel has many sympathisers among African leaders south of the Sahara, who would prefer to allow the present *status quo* to remain rather than capitulate to what some of them consider the whims and caprices of the Arabs. This was evidenced at the Kinshasa meeting of the O.A.U. in September 1967, when many member states indicated that they would not support a resolution strongly condemning Israel.

Not Perfect, But . . .

We conclude, as we began, that although the accomplishments of the O.A.U. have not been spectacular, and that the organisation does not augur a very bright future for many as desire such, we should not for that reason scrap it as a failure. It is certainly not difficult to say that the O.A.U. has failed. Many have said so quite recently, and bemoaned the tragedy inherent in the failure. But given that we are continuing to use international organisations as instruments of international order, and as one of the palpable realities of world politics, the saying is not very instructive and the bemoaning not very much to the point.

African leaders cannot claim that the O.A.U. is perfect. For theirs is no enchanted palace to "spring into sight at once" by magic touch or hidden power. But as the infant learns to walk by taking one step at a time, so it is with this instrumentality of nations. The present arrangement is but one step on a long road. And it is not without point that the leaders have been willing to agree, within three years of the gaining of independence by many African states, to take almost as large a step as the American republics were able to achieve one hundred and thirty years after Simon Bolivar had proclaimed his vision of unity in the Americas.

The record of the Organisation of American States, which has in its background impediments of a no less serious nature, has shown that over time results can be achieved with a relatively weak institution such as the O.A.U. We will probably be unable to find any short-cut to a United States of Africa. But whatever our rate of progress in this direction, the lessons learned from regional and functional collaboration in other parts of the world can be helpful to us on the way. Having come over the rough path of the first ten years, the O.A.U. must now move on to become a more effective centre for harmonising the actions of African states in the attainment of common ends and the forging of a stronger African community.

It is worth emphasising, even *ad nauseam*, that unity in a continent is a colossal affair. It cannot be accomplished in weeks or months. Many controversial issues are bound to crop up at every step and it will require time and patience to tide over the problems. Let us believe that our African leaders have the patience and prudence to seize upon the areas of agreement, and in due course project a distinct African personality.

Social Problems

VOLUNTARY STERILISATION AS A COMPONENT OF A FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME

By

C. E. Fiscian

UNTIL fairly recently, sterilisation was used either for eugenic purposes (in order to prevent the birth of physically or mentally inadequate children) or therapeutically (to protect the mental and physical health of a woman). However, sterilisation for purposes of family planning or fertility control has made rapid strides, and in India alone, where the method, both in terms of level of development as well as extent of use, is the most comprehensive, there are about 19.3 sterilisations per 1000 population; and on the basis of the demographic characteristics of couples seeking sterilisation, it has been estimated that this has averted at least 1.5 live births per couple, or approximately 16.5 million.

The percentage of sterilised persons of reproductive age, male and female, that is between 16 and 44 years, is between 1% and 8% for Canada, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, Thailand, Hong Kong and Japan, and over 8% for the United States and India. For Latin America, Africa, the rest of Europe, the U.S.S.R. and China, it is less than 1%. But even here there is every indication that sterilisation as a means of fertility control is rapidly gaining popularity. At the same time there is no denying that sterilisation poses a number of moral, legal and psycho-social problems. The purpose of this article is to highlight some of these problems, in the light of research data.

First of all, what is sterilisation, and what does it involve? This question will be tackled in two sections, namely, female sterilisation and male

sterilisation, since the techniques are different, as are the problems posed.

Female sterilisation is probably one of the oldest of the many fertility control methods. In simple terms it involves cutting (tubectomy) or blocking or tying (tubal ligation) of both fallopian tubes, in such a way that the egg released each month by the ovary cannot be reached and fertilised by the upwardly mobile male sperm. Until fairly recently this was a major operation, involving all the hazards of abdominal surgery and required days of hospitalisation and weeks of convalescence. Nevertheless, for women who had access to well equipped hospitals and who could not risk pregnancy, and who did not bother with diaphragms or whose mates would not tolerate other methods, sterilisation offered one solution.

Methods of Sterilisation

The technology of female sterilisation, however, has now reached a very high level of sophistication and many techniques have been spawned. Operations on the fallopian tubes include tubal ligation (Madlener operation), tubal resection (Pomeroy or Irving method), cornual resection of the uterus, fimbriectomy and culdoscopic and laparoscopic sterilisation, which may be carried out under either general or local anaesthesia.

Culdoscopy is carried out primarily by means of the culdoscope, an instrument which makes it possible for the physician to view the entire pelvic cavity and identify all the organs, making sure they are free of pathology. The actual ligation is then accomplished by the use of clips. This method cuts down on operating time, making bilateral occlusion possible in less than ten minutes. Generally speaking, there is less post operative discomfort and virtually no tissue reaction to the clips.

Laparascopic sterilisation is carried out with specially designed instruments, including a laparascope—a special instrument with fibre optic illumination which enables the physician to see directly into the abdominal cavity to cut or block the fallopian tubes, with only one or two incisions. This method is now extremely popular in many developed countries and can also bring safe, simple sterilisation in many developing countries.

Other female surgical methods of contraception are hysterectomy, castration and ovariotexy. Experimentation is now in progress for the use of chemical sterilisation, and one day the instillation of chemosterillants into the uterine cavity through the birth canal will provide female sterilisation with no abdominal incision or scars.

The sole method of male sterilisation is vasectomy, which is usually done on an outpatient basis. This usually involves either a clamping or clipping of the **vas deferens** and the removal of a segment of it; or the Korean method, where a reversible **vas** occlusion is obtained through the insertion of non-reactive and non-absorbable suture materials into the **vas**.

Traditionally, family planning has been aimed at women, probably out of the conviction that birth control is a woman's responsibility. However, there are now growing indications that men should not be excluded and that they should be given as much attention as females, and possibly more. In fact it has been argued that given the fact of male dominance, and the fact that fertility declines have historically been accomplished by means of male contraceptive techniques in many countries, males cannot be ignored. Moreover, "because of their generally higher literacy, prestige, sophistication and range of social relationships, they would not only be accessible to more new ideas, but more effective disseminators of these ideas" (**Stycos**, 1963).

The Ghanaian Situation

There is no doubt that vasectomy is the best contraceptive choice for couples who are sure they want no more children. It is a simple, effective procedure that is almost always done on an outpatient basis. The decision is made only once; thereafter the couple need no further measures for pregnancy prevention. Nevertheless, male sterilisation for purposes of family planning is not available in this country. What then are some of the considerations which should be taken into account before such a programme is implemented? No doubt there are certain social and cultural restraints which must be considered.

To begin with, there is the belief in the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church which forbids sterilisation as a method of birth control. It may be recalled that this prohibition was ratified by the **Humanae Vitae Encyclica** in 1968. This edict is what has often been advanced as an explanation for the high fertility rates in countries which are predominantly Roman Catholic, and since there is a sizeable proportion of Roman catholics in this country, the effect of this factor cannot be completely ruled out.

However, the influence and authority of the catholic church in these matters have been challenged by some experts (**Day**, 1972), who do not believe that the church constitutes an obstacle to family planning. Laymen are not as actively

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involved with the church as they have been in the past, and the influence of the church over secular affairs is diminishing. Roman catholicism does not appear to have had a restrictive influence on the practise of female sterilisation in Puerto Rico, or on the performance of vasectomy in Colombia, both of them bastions of the catholic faith. It may be added here that the Church of England considers sterilisation an ethical and reasonable procedure, if done responsibly (**Smith**, 1971)

A more formidable barrier is the possibility of a negative attitude taken by society, but it would appear that such an attitude stems from ignorance about vasectomy or misunderstanding of its consequences. Vasectomy often stimulates infantile fears of castration in all men to a greater or lesser degree. But as will be demonstrated presently most of these fears are unfounded, and in any case these negative fears should not blind us to the more positive aspects of the operation. A man can gain a sense of mastery when he takes his destiny into his own hands and the threat of unwanted pregnancies is eliminated.

Positive/Negative Ratios

In one particular survey (**Echeverria et al.**, 1973) in which respondents were asked why they had chosen vasectomy for the purpose of family planning more than half cited " the absolute security and effectiveness and the low cost of vasectomy, as compared with other contraceptive methods". Another reason given was concern about the possible serious side effects of "the Pill', and hence the need to look for alternative methods. The wife's health was mentioned by 31% of the respondents.

In regard to the degree of general satisfaction, 99% reported advantages from their operation, the most common reply being the absolute certainty that their wives would no longer run the risk of becoming pregnant. As a consequence they reported pleasanter and more easy-going relations. Another indication of their satisfaction was that 97% of the men reported that they would have the operation over again, given the original chance.

When asked if they had experienced any changes in their sexual relations in general, 47% reported no change, 46% reported positive changes, and 7% reported negative ones.

In relation to frequency of sexual relations, 51% reported no change after the operation, while 38% stated that frequency had increased due mainly to the assurance of no unwanted pregnancies; only 11% reported that the frequency of sexual relations had diminished. When asked to compare their present physical health with what it was before the operation, 19% thought it was better, 1% thought it was worse, and 80% thought it was the same. These results are comparable to those obtained in similar studies in Korea, Pakistan and India (**Presser**, 1970).

It may be seen therefore that most of the apprehensions about sterilisation as a means of fertility control are unfounded. On the other hand, security and contraceptive effectiveness are often major motivating factors in the decision to have the operation. Failure of other contraceptives may also be a factor, since in most studies most men have reported that a birth control method they were using had failed at least once.

However, there are many legal limitations of a restrictive character in many countries. Among these, the following criteria can be found:

Sex of the Patient: The U.K. law of 1972 is restrictive towards the sterilisation of women, while providing for possible government subsidization of operation for males, perhaps because of the comparative inexpensiveness and simplicity of vasectomy. Panama, on the other hand, allows contraceptive sterilisation to be carried out on a woman only.

Minimum No. of Children Required: In some countries an applicant must have a certain number of children before voluntary sterilisation is allowed. Japan requires "several", Panama requires 5; 4 (three if the woman concerned is over 35 years) are required in Czechoslovakia. These requirements are a clear indication that demographic considerations were not absent, or that each citizen has some national duty to bear children for the state.

Social and Economic Difficulties: Some laws require that a family have a large number of children to justify sterilisation. This is based on the assumption that families will have financial difficulties. In fact in a number of laws, a socially and economically difficult situation is provided as a criterion for allowing sterilisation, e.g.,:

> "Account shall be taken in reaching the decision of the condition of the family, from the point of view of health, housing, and income, and the number of children in the home, and also of the possibility that further children will result in an appreciable deterioration of the situation by harmfully affecting the state of health of the woman, markedly increasing her work load . . . ."

Authorisation of Sterilisation: Frequently by an official authority or board. This is a frequent prerequisite for the sterilisation ope-

ration. The procedure and decisions of such an official body are regular administrative matters, although often there are no provisions as to the extent of discretion given to the board and the extent to which a citizen has a **right** to sterilisation, or the right to review or appeal.

Finally, there are countries with legal provisions for punishing both the person performing the sterilisation and the patient, perhaps out of the conviction that an individual has a duty to procreate.

It has been pointed out that any ideal contraceptive must have at least four basic characteristics, namely, effectiveness, safety, acceptability and reversibility; but above all it must be implementable on a mass scale. That voluntary sterilisation is particularly effective is shown by the fact that the failure rate varies from 0.5% to 2% only, and even so depends entirely on the technique employed and the skill of the physician. A complete removal of the **vas**, which means that future recanalisation is almost impossible, ensures complete success.

Neurotics Vulnerable

Presser (1970) in a comprehensive review of the field has showed that mortality for vasectomy is zero, and 33 per 100,000 for tubal sterilisation. Morbidity is at a similar level, though difficult to evaluate, and often higher after delivery. Failures are higher for vasectomy. Even here it must be pointed out that the risks of mortality and morbidity are no greater for these operations, and further that psychological after-effects are relatively rare among those who are sterilised voluntarily. Neurotic and other dis-ordered personalities, however, may find sterilisation a profoundly disturbing experience.

The most nagging aspect of sterilisation is that of reversibility. In males, the chances of successfully reversing vasectomy and obtaining fertility are only about 25%. Several urologists have reported high success rates of reversing vasectomy and obtaining motile sperm, but reversals resulting in pregnancy (which is the only real proof of fertility) are much lower. In addition, sperm agglutinating and sperm-immobilising antibodies are a problem.

In the female, success rates, in terms of pregnancy, have varied from 20-80%. Some doctors feel that reversing sterilisation in the female is more dangerous than in the male, because one is working in the abdominal cavity. In sum, all currently available techniques must be considered irreversible; nevertheless, in any given situation how many sterilised individuals will seek recanalisation is an ill-defined problem.

The facts of sterilisation having been thus presented, the next obvious question to consider is whether it is an acceptable method for a country like Ghana. It can be said that as a means of fertility control, voluntary sterilisation has a tremendous potential in a developing country like Ghana. It satisfies most of the canons of an ideal contraceptive. Programme costs are lower and because of the single contact needed, campaign strategies stand an excellent chance of success. This is not denying that there are social and religious opposition as well as an ill-defined mistrust of the concept of sterilisation to contend with.

CIVIL SERVANTS AND PAY INCREASE

By

C. T. Zuolo

DEMANDS for wage and salary increases have always been a very delicate problem to governments all the world over, especially in the developed countries where one often hears of strikes, demonstrations and lockouts. And in Ghana, agitation for wage and salary increases is not a new thing. It came to its climax in 1971, culminating in the promulgation of the Industrial Relations (Amendment) Act, 1971.

In a recent press conference, the Chairman of the Senior Civil Servants Association, Mr. Kwow Amanfo Sagoe, appealed to the government to restructure the salaries of senior civil servants so as to reflect the present high cost of living. He went further to substantiate this contention by referring to the 1971 devaluation, which has rendered the Mills-Odoi salary proposals an anachronism. In spite of the fact that the National Redemption Council did revalue the cedi, it must still be borne in mind that the present high cost of living is completely out of proportion with the salaries and other emoluments that civil servants are "enjoying".

The chairman pointed out that the association had in the past sent several memoranda to the powers-that-were, demanding a restructuring of the salaries of civil servants. This means that civil servants are generally in a tight corner, and unless something is done about it morale will continue to ebb until a time when conditions might escalate into disastrous proportions. The chairman's appeal was based on the fact that the salary differential between public and civil servants is too great. This fact cannot be denied by anybody in Ghana, yet this humble appeal by the chairman of the Senior Civil Servants Association has become the subject of criticism in certain quarters.

There is no gain-saying that the economy is not as good as one would have wished. However, it must be remembered that property begets property. No country in the world can stick out its neck and say that it is happy

with the state of its economy. The recent world monetary crisis is a testimony to this fact. If workers are denied adequate remuneration because of the ever-nagging problem of a poor economy, one should not be surprised if conditions continue to worsen. A worker must be adequately remunerated before he can produce his best.

The argument that wages, incomes and prices have been frozen in an attempt to curb inflation is another attempt at theoretical rhetoric. It is true that the Prices and Incomes Board has, in its regulations, frozen wage increases. This is a policy which can be well controlled. The government, being the largest employer, would throw overboard all demands for increase in wages and salaries in defence of the regulations. The private sector is all too happy with this policy; the measure will increase their profit margins.

However, the biggest problem lies with the control of prices. Can the board effectively control prices? Past experience has shown that all measures at price control have failed. The nature of our economy, coupled with the unco-operative nature of purchasers, makes it very difficult for any effective control measures to be devised. Any attempt at effectively controlling prices will need the enrolment of a large number of price inspectors, who must themselves be beyond suspicion. The cost of such an exercise would be prohibitive.

In short, prices will continue to soar while increases in wages are effectively controlled. Thus the very manufacturer who has been effectively cushioned from increasing his wages and salaries bill will continue to receive higher prices for his products. This is nothing short of exploitation of man by man. In this case it is not that the exploited are wholly ignorant of the fact that they are being exploited; the fact is that they are just powerless—bare hands against decrees and regulations backed by instruments of war.

The Differentials

The argument that an increase in the salaries of civil servants would stir up those in the public and private sectors to demand a reciprocal treatment is baseless. In the first place the chairman pointed out that incomes in the corporations are already high, relative to the present cost of living. This cannot be denied. Two graduates leave the same classroom in the same year with the same performance. The one in the public sector, say a corporation, is on a salary scale of ¢2,600 per annum. The other one who finds his way into the civil service is on a salary of ¢1,956.00 per annum—a difference of ¢644.00 per annum or ¢53.66 per mensem.

Why this big gap? How much more productive is an Estate Officer with a public corporation than a Lands Officer in the civil service? How much more productive is an economist with the Agricultural Development Bank, or Ghana Rubber Estates Limited, or Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation, than his counterpart with the Ministry of Finance? If the one produces more than the other, what must be the cause? This is the puzzle that must be solved by the proponents of the idea that the civil service is a non-productive sector.

The contention that the "civil service is a non-productive institution and very often the cause of undue delays and failures of governments" must be received with horror and dismay by all right-thinking Ghanaians. How can one support the statement that the civil service is non-productive? As I asked earlier on, how much less productive is an auditor with the Auditor-General's Department than his counterpart in private practice? Is an accountant, economist, administrative officer, a lands officer etc., in the public and private sectors more productive than his counterpart in the civil service?

Statements of this nature, coming from the mass media, are likely to do more harm than good to the economy. What is going to be the reaction of a very hard-working accountant, state attorney, economist, or auditor in the civil service when he is told to the face that he is non-productive because he is in the civil service? Is the public sector productive because the various corporations are able to declare profits and losses at the end of every financial year? Must production be measured in terms of cash and physical gains alone?

There are institutions in the civil service which earn a lot of revenue and could stand on their own if they were made corporations. To mention a few: the Central Revenue Department, the Department of National Lotteries, the Lands Department, and the Customs and Excise Department, these are all revenue earners. Even if we base our definition of "production" on monetary as well as physical gains alone the assertion that the civil service is non-productive is fallacious.

Low Income and Morale

If the authenticity of my argument is doubted, I would only pray that the government retain a skeletal civil service comprising departments like the Attorney General's, Social Welfare, and Parks and Gardens; give all revenue earning departments autonomy, with the usual initial financial support; then watch progress.

There is in fact no department which is non-productive. If there were any, they would be disbanded. All establishments contribute in one way or another to the economic well-being of the state, no matter how remote their contribution may be. In some cases the services rendered are unquantifiable in money and physical terms.

The second contention, that the civil service is often the cause of delays, is rather spurious. It must be admitted that delays in whatever organisation are not conducive to high productivity. But the question is: Is it only with the civil service that delays are encountered? Has anybody ever sat up to ponder over the causes of such delays, if any? Can a disgruntled civil servant work efficiently?

Generally, if there is any inefficiency in the civil service at all, the root causes must be inadequate remuneration, suppression of initiative, and frustration resulting in the constant exodus of old hands, to be replaced by probationers who also escape at the least opportunity. In the light of this, civil servants want a lift financially. They are not advocating a reduction in the pay of public servants; better remuneration for civil servants is one of the ways by which morale in the civil service can be raised.

It is true that the National Redemption Council restored to civil as well as public servants some of the fringe benefits which were cancelled by the Progress Party regime. Among these are the restoration of vehicle maintenance allowance, the restoration of 10% rent charge for all government bungalows, and the abolition of the National Development Levy.

Which of these benefits are not enjoyed by employees in the public corporations? Does the managing director of a corporation not pay 10% of his income as rent for a government bungalow he occupies, just as a principal secretary does? Are employees of public corporations not paid maintenance allowances and transport claims for the vehicles they use in the discharge of their duties? Which employee in Ghana has not benefited from the abolition of the National Development Levy?

If employees in the public sector continue to enjoy the very benefits which civil servants enjoy, then the continued enjoyment of lower salaries by the latter must be looked into. Civil servants have a strong case in advocating an increase in salaries, if one realises that pensions within the civil service have been cancelled. Before this cancellation, many an employee did not mind rendering his services diligently as a civil servant, because he knew that he would have an income in the form of a pension and a gratuity to live on after retirement.

This element of security, both during and after employment, was viewed as a balancing incentive, and young men and women did not mind spending their youthful years in the civil service in spite of the low wages and salaries prevailing there. One is now forced to ask this question: With the cancellation of the pension scheme, why should civil servants continue to draw low incomes, compared with their counterparts in the public service?

Mills-Odoi Voided

Indeed one would be making a very great mistake if one felt that it is those at the top of the civil service ladder who are finding things uncomfortable. This is a myopic conception. Advocating a retirement of these men at the top will therefore not solve the problem. If a top civil servant retires as a result of discomfort at the top, one wonders whether his successor, no matter how youthful and energetic, would find it comfortable if the conditions creating the discomfort are not altered for the better.

The proposals of the Mills-Odoi salary review commision have now become an anachronism in the light of present economic conditions. But we realize it is not only in Ghana that the cost of living is rising; indeed we are encountering this state of affairs as a result of rising cost of living in the developed countries whence we obtain almost all our finished as well as semi-finished goods. We only ask for local consideration.

The appeal has been made at the proper time. It is therefore hoped that the National Redemption Council in its wisdom will take a bold decision on this issue at the earliest possible time. It is further hoped that the National Redemption Council will ignore any criticisms on this timely outcry of the financially over-burdened civil servants.

A call for fairness and justice does not necessarily mean an abatement in the tempo and spirit of the revolution. People must live to support the revolution.

Observer Notebook

Ghana's National Commercial Bank

MEASURED against the kind of money that bankers handle and talk about in Wall Street or in "The City" of London, the finances of most African national banks must be as a little girl-vendor's tray of groundnuts is to the entire stock of, say, Accra's main Kingsway Stores — perhaps even more. Certainly the Ghana Commercial Bank's quotations of various holdings during 10 years of life: ₵65,000 of fixed assets as initial operating capital in 1953; a life-giving ₵600,000 paid-up capital contribution by the state; an authorised capital stock of ₵2 million, increased in 1965 from that figure to ₵10 million and now fully subscribed; total capital funds standing today at ₵17.1 million — all these amount to no more than the well appreciated American expression: "Peanuts!"

But so let it be to others. As far as we are concerned in this country, these sums represent not only relatively substantial assets but a considerable achievement in terms of progress and success. The G.C.B., the Black Star Line, certain members of the GIHOC complex, and one or two other state enterprises and commercial interests (not forgetting the G.N.T.C.), are in fact revenue earners for the government of Ghana, the state as a whole and therefore the people; more than that, they are profit makers against high competitors most of whose interests are purely "private and personal". With its position so completely consolidated, the bank even claims to be now ready to move from small, short-term ad-hoc-like loans for retail, distributive and general commercial purposes of similar scale, to creative, "developmental lending". The idea is to make financial support available now to builders and developers, for factories and workshops, for employment and new business, in short, for economic development in Ghana.

This is all to the good, and there was particular emphasis on this aspect in the call on the bank which Colonel Acheampong made the other day when opening, in birthday celebration, a new branch building for them in Accra. We need a "native son" financial organisation like the G.C.B. to help us promote development and take us gradually out of our economic stagnancy. What ordinary mortals like non-economists — that is, the vast majority of us — would like to know, though, is whether the levels of successful business and of progressive profit making being thus ac-

hieved by the bank are the best that are possible for them; whether it is possible, on the contrary, that the success they have been achieving so far with their past and present assets and facilities is not as nothing to what is really possible if **a, b, c** other conditions prevailed or policies were in operation.

We outside the charmed circle of boards and directors would not know. But our greater point is that the charmers themselves may be running short of their real productive potential by reason of the seductions of success. In a vast complex like that, anywhere in the world but especially in **our** part and in our present circumstances, successful, hardworking executives, directors and managers could have their best efforts ruined everyday down-stairs without their knowing it, by junior officers whose conceptions and perceptions are totally different in size and colour. But the bank is making profit overall, so — let well alone: "E & O E" ("errors and omissions excepted")! We cannot know in what major matters of financial policy or economic principles the G.C.B. may be losing millions, and we do not conclude that there must be such. But we know how a vital establishment like that can have its image tarnished and perhaps lose some customers, as already suggested above.

The Ghana Commercial Bank is, as it was meant to be, a national financial institution of seminal importance to our economic progress, even survival. It is the trading arm of a national banking organisation that is part of the machinery of independent nation-hood. It should meet most of the basic support needs of Ghanaian business, which the non-national banks could not, or would not, supply previously. Its profits will always remain here, to be used for national development, and for this reason alone it deserves not only success but the popular Ghanaian patronage which would ensure it.

We commend the management of the bank for their achievements so far, and urge them to make sure there are no loopholes or drainpipes through which even greater profits could escape their ability to rake them in.

ADVERTISE IN THE

LEGON OBSERVER

Matters Arising

I. THE ECONOMY

THE DEVALUATION DEBATE—A FEW QUESTIONS TO STEUER AND AHMAD

From An ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENT

ECONOMISTS are notorious for their inability to agree on policy issues. Winston Churchill is alleged to have been so exasperated by the predilection of economists for endless debate as to have declared, in a moment of desperation, that whenever he called **five** British economists together he got **six** different opinions—**two** from Lord Keynes!

Controversy may be the very strength of economics, but that is no comfort to the policy maker, who cannot afford prevarication; nor to the layman, who expects action and decisive pronouncements from his leaders. Yet economic **questions** require **economic solutions!** The more complex the economic substructures become the deeper the controversy among economists, but then the more urgent it is to get the correct economic solution, and on time. Since both political and economic costs are involved, we dare not make the wrong choices. So, society has to put up with economists!

In this question of exchange rate adjustment, Ghana is not faring much better than Winston Churchill. Call in the Economics Department of Legon, and you get opinions so far apart as to be unbridgeable! Where does the truth lie? In the introduction to the early series of the **Cambridge Economic Handbooks,** Lord Keynes wrote:

> The theory of Economics **does not furnish a body of settled conclusions immediately applicable to policy. It is a method, rather than a doctrine;** an apparatus of the mind, a technique of thinking which helps its possessor to draw correct conclusions. (Emphasis mine)

Economics is not a **doctrine,** and it must not be made to appear as such. Textbooks certainly do **not** furnish a body of settled conclusions immediately applicable to policy. You can never find the answer to the question whether it was profitable for Ghana to devalue or not to devalue from any textbook, no matter how hard you search. The textbook merely provides the preliminary exposure of the subject matter to the student, and sets forth the basic scientific guidelines which should regulate the thinking of the aspiring economist in abstract problem-solution exercises.

Modern economics insists on empirical evidence and the verification of hypotheses. A useful theory must be testable. An assertion must draw its validity from and be firmly buttressed in a well organised set of statistical data and/or some relevant historical precedence. Fortunately, already there is a fair amount of statistical data on the economy of Ghana. We should therefore be able to confine the devaluation debate within the limits of empirical data, rather than on unverifiable or unverified assertions—no matter how pontifical or profound they may sound.

With this in mind, may I direct a few questions to Professors Steuer and Ahmad, the answers to which will help those of us on the sidelines to make up our minds on the issues in dispute.



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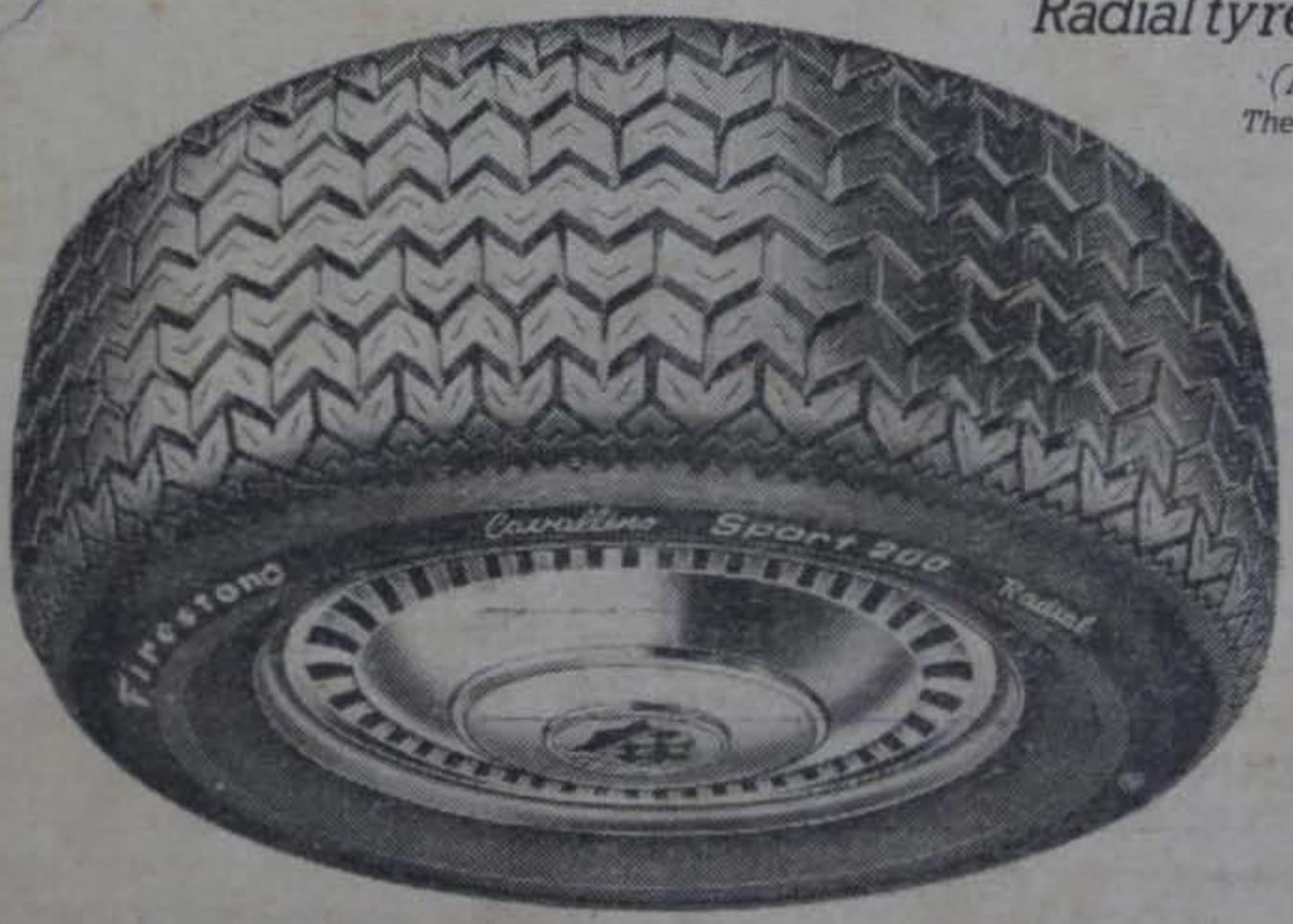
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To Prof. M. D. Steuer

(a) By your statement, "Devaluing the currency makes imports more expensive in cedi terms . . . It does not reduce the volume of imports coming into Ghana . . ." (**L.O.** VIII/8, p. 173), do you really mean that the elasticity of demand for imports in Ghana is zero? How would you justify such an assertion?

(b) "It therefore seems reasonable that a broadly based national committee be set up to study the question of exchange rate policy for Ghana . . . there should be the widest possible participation . . ." (p. 173). What possible precedence can you cite in support of such recommendation? Where in the world has the decision to adjust an exchange rate been made the subject of public debate before the actual adjustment was made?

To Prof. N. Ahmad

(a) "The reality is that in the past an increase in domestic prices of imports, resulting either from increased import duties or the 1967 devaluation was **always** followed by a fall in the volume of imports". (Emphasis mine: **L.O.** VIII/10, p.223).

Where is the evidence? Could you correlate for us the relationship between changes in import duties and the resulting changes in the volume of imports, **in a regime of import restrictions?**

(b) "In fact the 1967 devaluation had led to a significant **decline in imports, especially of capital goods and in industrial raw materials both in 1967 and 1968 and thus turned out to be detrimental to economic growth"** (p.223: Emphasis mine).

This is not only a most **categorical** statement but the main **evidence** upon which the whole argument for the rejection of devaluation is scafolded. **The Economic Survey** 1969 (p. 37) provides the following data: (see table below).

The data reveals the following:

(i) ALL major categories of imports classified by end-use **increased** from year to year 1966 through 1969.

(ii) TOTAL IMPORTS increased by **4%** (1966 on 1967); **20%** (1967 on 1968—**the first full year of devaluation!)** and 13% (1968 on 1969).

(iii) RAW MATERIAL imports increased by 16% (1967), **23%** (1968) and 14% (1969).

(iv) CAPITAL EQUIPMENTS imports **increased** by **30%** in 1968 and 6% in 1969.
There was a decline of some 20% in 1967. But that certainly cannot be blamed on the devaluation, which occurred in the middle of July of that year. It seems more reasonable to explain it in terms of the effects of uncertainties following the coup of 1966 and certainly by the fact that the N.L.C. cut back on a further investment in state enterprises.

IMPORTS BY END-USE 1966-69 (MILLIONS OF NEW CEDIS)*

	1966	1967	1968	1969
Non-durable Consumers' Goods	68.0	71.5	76.0	87.7
Durable Consumers' Goods	9.6	14.3	14.7	19.3
Raw & Semi-Finished materials	86.0	100.0	123.9	142.0
Capital Equipment	76.6	59.9	78.3	82.7
Fuel and Lubricants	10.4	15.4	21.2	22.7
TOTAL IMPORTS	250.6	261.0	314.0	354.9

*Figures rounded out.

The official published data therefore appear to be **seriously** in conflict with your positive assertions and the main 'evidence' around which the argument for the rejection of devaluation is constructed — to wit: "the 1967 devaluation had led to a significant **decline** in imports, especially of capital goods and in industrial raw materials both in 1967 and 1968 and thus turned out to be detrimental to economic growth".

On the contrary, the evidence as it stands would appear to point to a totally opposite conclusion, namely that **in spite of the 1967 devaluation total imports and all categories of imports by end-use, including capital equipment and raw materials, INCREASED significantly in 1967 through 1969. Therefore devaluation was** (by Prof. Ahmad's argument) **BENEFICIAL to Economic growth.**

(c) As it turns out, 1951-1961 was a period relatively free of import restrictions; 1961-1970 was a period with a complex system of economic controls in Ghana. Comparing these two periods, is it not a fact that Ghana achieved an impressive performance of growth and price stability in 1951-1961, whereas the years of restrictions, 1961-1970, were a period of virtual stagnation coupled with inflation?

(d) Is it ever meaningful to talk of an over-valued exchange rate in a developing country at all, or is that a species of animal found only in developed countries?

(e) May we know how an exchange rate comes to be fixed in the first place, the economic circumstances justifying the parity level; and why in your opinion once a parity level has been selected the developing country should **never** change it again, irrespective of any fundamental changes in economic relations, or even in the face of fundamental disequilibrium?

(f) Would not an "improper" exchange rate vitiate rather than help any fiscal-monetary policies to promote growth and divert attention from the need to promote long term policies for structural change, to the need to mount repeated rescue operations and other defensive short-term measures?

(g) Is the exchange rate **not** basic to the whole fiscal-monetary spectrum? And to the general price level of a trading country?

(h) If it is your view that a developing country can achieve structural change, growth of incomes and employment, price stability and equitable distribution, with any exchange rate under a regime of well-administered restrictions, **then would it not be even better for growth, price stability and income distribution to reduce the domestic price or foreign currency to near zero,** and impose even higher levels of controls?

(i) You appreciate the fact, of course, that whereas relative to the parity existing on 27th December 1971, Busia devalued the cedi by **44%** and proposed to abolish controls entirely, Colonel Acheampong **devalued,** not **revalued,** the cedi by some 26%. Relative to 27th December, therefore, we have had **both** devaluation and restrictions. Would that explain the shortages, the many complaints of businessmen, and the mounting unemployment in the country?

(j) Finally, you conclude: "I submit that devaluation is no answer to the economic stagnation in the developing world. What developing countries need . . . is a fair deal with regard to both international trade and international flow of capital" (p.226). Fair enough, but, my last question, in two parts:
(i) Is this a policy prescription?

(ii) In the face of the harsh realities of the international economy, **when** do you think that the developing countries will get the fair deal they need? In the meantime, what do they do?

II. SCIENCE EDUCATION

LEGON'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF GEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN GHANA— THE DISCUSSION SO FAR

From KOBINA ATOBRAH

Editor, "Geonews", Kumasi

MY summary of Professor Bekoe's article is a travesty of his powerful argument, but the latter is provocative enough to raise some obvious and difficult questions.

Paraphrasing his article in **L.O.** VIII/9, I find:

(i) that the Geology Department at Legon would very much like to introduce courses in applied geology, with the possibility of integrating geological and geophysical research in Ghana, and thus make geology "much more attractive to students with technical interests";

(ii) that proposals were first put forward about ten years ago;

(iii) that even though these courses were approved they have not yet been implemented because of lack of funds for supporting extra staff and equipment, and probably won't be implemented because of the unsatisfactory financing of departments in the universities;

(iv) hence, the Geology Department at Legon has concerned itself with training students for detailed geological mapping of the country, this being essential to further geological work.

If these points are the official views of the University of Ghana and not those of the eminent professor, then it is of interest to match them against that of Professor Smit's in **L.O.** VIII/1, in which he makes efforts to:

(i) dispel the impression that the applied subjects, such as geochemistry, geophysics, mining geology, etc., are NOT being taught at his department, and

(ii) to "draw your attention to the syllabus in force in the Geology Department at Legon", which include these aspects of applied geology.

I made it clear in my rejoinder in **L.O.** VIII/3:

(i) that the Legon Geology Department, having shown no resourcefulness in teaching the applied geology courses, and, in fact, an example of attempts at starting geophysics coming to nought some five years ago;

(ii) the Faculty of Engineering, U.S.T., Kumasi, should be encouraged to set up a Geo--Technical Department where students in engineering "who have shown promise in the 'basic' geology course in their first two years would have the opportunity to read specific courses in the field of applied geology";

(iii) that therefore it is wrong to claim that applied geology courses are taught at Legon, simply because the courses stand on the department's books.

It appears that certain points of Professor Bekoe's agree with mine, though it is clear by now that the two professors stand in contradiction to one another. The 'controversy' comes about when one becomes realistic on the issues at stake. Polemics aside, the questions which come out at this stage of the discussions are:

(i) Is the Legon Geology Department capable of handling aspects of applied geology courses relevant to the development of the country?

(ii) Is it worthwhile such courses being run at Legon?

From the statement attributed to the University of Ghana, it is obvious that the relevant applied geology courses are of no worth that are being undertaken at Legon, because there are no resources available for such a venture (the experiences for the past fifteen years being an adequate indicator). As to the first question, any person who has the interest of geology at heart and has passed through the Geology Department at Legon would tell you that the department is absolutely incapable of running relevant applied courses unless the whole place is reconstituted. (But this is no place to dwell on this very important aspect of reconstitution of that department).

Thus it would be in the interest of Ghana if the University of Ghana is encouraged to broaden the 'basic', 'classical', 'conventional' geology at present being covered at the department; or grafting related fields of relevance on to the present basic fields. The Legon department should then not live under the 'nagging' dilemma in which it finds itself now by claiming the impossible. Meanwhile, all relevant applied geology courses should be added to the Geo-Technical Department at Kumasi, to allow room for specializations to suit the demands of the country's extractive industries.

At this juncture it must be realised that there is much more at stake here than Professor Bekoe's technical innocence in the charge of one being "hostile to the head of the Geology Department". I think such comments only belittle the seriousness of the discussion at hand and draw the mind's attention away from the vital details.

READ THE
LEGON OBSERVER
ALWAYS

From VINCENT OCRAN

Central Materials Laboratory, Accra

"LEGON'S ROLE . . ."—COMMENTS ON DR. BEKOE'S REJOINDER

DR. D. A. Bekoe's rejoinder to my article on "Legon and Geological Education" (**L.O.** VIII/9) makes interesting and useful reading but certainly requires a few comments.

I am not aware of any personal feud between Mr. Attobrah and Prof. Smit. If there is, I appeal to the two gentlemen not to do anything that would give the appearance that they are washing dirty linen in public. However, I think it would be a useful exercise for Dr. Bekoe to conduct a little research into the question of human relations between lecturers and students in the Department of Geology, Legon. This could possibly lead to the important discovery that the sort of human relations existing in that department is also a formidable factor to be considered with respect to the present level of popularity or unpopularity that geology enjoys among students at Legon.

It is true that criticisms are sometimes very hard to bear, but that should not force us into drawing wrong conclusions about the intentions of our critics. I do not believe that some graduates of the university feel afterwards that they are the best judges of what should be taught there. They love the university and they have nothing but goodwill towards it. The important thing is, our criticism of the Geology Department should be taken in good faith, because they are made in good faith.

When I ask "what the Geology Department at Legon has been doing all these years?" I do not confine myself to the training of geologists alone. In the Ghanaianisation of the department, in the identification of the geological problems facing the country, and in the matter of the help in the solution of those problems necessary, the Department of Geology at Legon is dormant, and something ought to be done about that.

For nearly eight years after my studies at Legon I have worked with civil engineers on geotechnical and geological problems in building and in bridge and dam foundations, and there is not the least doubt that I know and I am willing to accept the difference between geotechnical engineering and pure geology. But I still maintain that considering the present state of Ghana's development, even a person trained primarily for geological mapping should necessarily have a working knowledge of soil-mechanics, geophysics, geochemistry, topographical surveying and drilling methods, or at least some of these. I do not think I am being ignorant or anything like that.

The overall fact that comes out from Dr. Bekoe's rejoinder is that the university authorities are not getting funds to expand the Department of Geology the way they want. But this should not discourage them from arranging to let students have some working knowledge in the above listed disciplines. Every year students from the department visit the Central Materials Laboratory once or twice, for a few hours; but effective arrangements could be worked out with the P.W.D., so that the students could take advantage of the facilities offered by the laboratory in the form of equipment and personnel, to get a fuller insight into soil mechanics and drilling methods.

Similar arrangements could be worked out with the Geological Surveys for geophysics and geochemistry; with the Survey Department for topographical surveying and photo interpretation; and there is also the Water Resources Research Institute, which could help. I am certain these establishments would be quite willing to assist in any way they can. It is a question of co-operation, but the university should make the first move. And there is no harm in trying anything, anyway, if the results can be beneficial.

Finally, I must correct the erroneous impression Dr. Bekoe has created about me and the M.Sc. (Geology) course at Legon. I remember telling Professor Smit once, during a very informal conversation, that I had been toying on and off with the idea of working for an M.Sc. in engineering geology, and wondered if facilities existed at Legon for that purpose. This does not mean I had gone to the department to enquire about the possibility of my being admitted for the "M.Sc. course" of the department. "The M.Sc. Course" at the Geology Department of Legon is not in engineering geology.

It could very well be that it was as a result of that conversation with Mr. Smit that I became firmly convinced of the nursing and nourishing the department needs. In any case I think Dr. Bekoe should ask Mr. Smit to tell him exactly what I said on that occasion and what the professor's reply was. Mr. Smit should also note that it is not profitable for him to exaggerate and dramatize trivialities, just because there is little or nothing more to offer in the current debate on Legon and geology education.

From J. K. AYETEY
Secretary
Geological Society of Ghana

Geological Training at Legon: A View on the 'Controversy'

THE Geological Society of Ghana has followed with keen interest the current 'controversy' in the **Legon** Observer concerning the training of geologists at the University of Ghana. The society wishes to assure your reading public that it also is concerned about this issue, which is of national importance.

It is being pointed out here that the society agrees with some of the points raised by Messrs. K. Atobrah and V. Ocran, namely that some aspects of applied geology which are relevant to the development of the country should be taught at Legon.

There is no doubt that it is time the University of Ghana turned out students in specialized fields of applied geology at the honours and post-graduate levels.

A committee of the society has been appointed to prepare and submit a memorandum on geological education in the country to the University of Ghana, and to the National Council for Higher Education.

From ABOTSIVIA PILOT KWASHI
P.O. Box 24
Bolgatanga (U.R.)

I HAVE been following the 'controversy' which has been sparked off since your editorial on "The Future of our Mines" (**L.O.** VII/25). I am not a geologist, but if you once step outside the charmed circle of intellectual freemasonry, many of the "academic" statements about the training of geologists, as suggested by the University of Ghana (**L.O.** VIII/9), have the aspect of a castle of cards, terribly vulnerable to a whiff or two of common sense.

How, for example, without twisting words out of shape, do we answer the simple charge against the Geology Department at Legon that it has failed to produce students in the relevant applied fields for the extractive industries in Ghana? As I see it, the failure of the University of Ghana to sense the speed of change makes the Geology Department prone to go ponderously on repeating the same old mistakes.

Finally, Professor Bekoe's rather loose attack on your two correspondents blinds him to a few fine details, just as a slum kid sees a blurred impression of the interior of a gracious home because his nose is pressing too hard against the glass. He may get the number of chairs or the colour of the carpet wrong, but the basic idea is crystal-clear—it's warm, comfortable and well-lit in there, and damn cold where he is standing.

Letters

Restoring the Balance?

SIR—Giving reasons for the military takeover in his maiden broadcast to the nation on 13th January, 1972, Col. Acheampong enumerated several causes one of which was that some of the amenities and facilities which the military men enjoyed, even under Nkrumah, had been taken away by the Busia government. I made a tape recording of the Colonel's maiden broadcast, and anytime I play it back I keep asking myself three questions: (1) What were these amenities?; (2) have they been restored since the 13th January coup?; (3) if not, when are they going to be restored?

To the first question I do not have any ready answer, because Col. Acheampong himself did not say what they were. The hazy ideas I have about military amenities and facilities have been learnt from classmates of mine who are now in the military. For instance, they say they enjoy free supplies of uniforms, unlike fitters, teachers, and civil servants; free supplies of water and electricity, unlike fitters, teachers, and civil servants; double pay for the month or months they are on leave, unlike fitters, teachers, civil servants; subsidized drinks at the officers messes (these being also purchasable on credit at the messes, just as Busia's ministers did at the duty free shop in the X'borg Castle). I do not know whether the chairman was referring to any of the above facilities and amenities.

The second question (i.e., have the amenities been restored?) is even more difficult to answer because the N.R.C. chairman has been surprisingly silent on this point since the first mention of it in January 1972. Since all the N.R.C. efforts are aimed towards repairing the shattered economy, I sometimes feel that they are putting the repairment of the economy first, and then afterwards to make good the losses suffered by the military men. But have these losses in fact been made good already without the public knowing?

Again, one of my military classmates (or classmates now military men) has almost convinced me that it is strategically advisable to do something positively and remain silent about it. Similarly, it is strategically in-

advisable to do someting positive, then get vociferous about the good work you have done. In the case under review, if the N.R.C. took the second alternative, the general public might be led to think that the military intervention on 13th January, 1972 was for selfish purposes, i.e., to restore their own lost prestigious amenities and facilities.

The answer to the third question is open-ended, because we don't know the answer to the second question. If the N.R.C. left the political scene without restoring these amenities and facilities, they would be passing on their own bounden duty to other soldiers who may wake up one day and decide to restore military losses. On the other hand, if they made this restoration, they would satisfy all their military followers, boost their morale, and rally them behind the wheel of the revolution.

In the meantime it would indeed be helpful to the public to know (1) what these amenities and facilities are, because they are paying for the cost of providing them: and (2) whether they have in fact been restored or not. On with the revolution. Long live Ghana.

Faculty of Social Science **Peter Osei-Kwame**
U.S.T., Kumasi

Plight of the Low-Paid Worker

SIR—Are junior civil servants doomed to suffer for ever? It would be recalled that Mr. B. A. Bentum was relieved of his post as Secretary-General of the Trade Union Congress by the ousted Busia regime for demanding better conditions of service for the junior civil servants. The T.U.C. was subsequently disorganised.

It is rather unfortunate that Ghana's junior civil servants are so poorly paid. The Nkrumah regime could not do anything to help them either. The Mills-Odoi Salary Commission, set up under the National Liberation Council, also failed to consider them except the junior technical officers, who were lucky to be placed on a salary of ¢792—¢1428. But the senior officers had their bread heavily buttered by the Mills-Odoi Commission.

The Busia regime introduced graduated salary increases for junior civil servants earning up to ¢1,000 per annum, and a labourer now receives a minimum daily wage of ¢1.00. The salary increases, popularly known as "COLA" (Cost of Living Allowance), were a temporary affair pending the final report of the Campbell Salary Review Commission set up by the Busia regime.

Strangely enough, when the N.R.C. took over the administration of the country in January 1972, it abolished the Campbell Commission without any substitute to continue the work. With the introduction of COLA, a G.C.E. 'O' Level holder with four credits, including English language and mathematics, is normally appointed as a clerical officer on a salary of ¢408—¢708, which is rather unfair. A clerical officer's monthly pay is barely ¢35.00, from which to provide for his wife and children and also pay rent. The labourer, for his part, receives about ¢27.00 a month!

We have often read in the local newspapers of the N.R.C.'s intention to review the conditions of service for border guards, the police, teachers, and other favoured organisations. But what about labourers, messengers, typists, and the clerical staff in the civil service? As the T.U.C. has been re-instated by the N.R.C., I hope it will continue to fight for the workers, for they are dying. The N.R.C. is the last hope of the junior civil servants, and I hope they will consider the matter with the urgency it requires. Mr. Bentum should come back to continue the fight for the workers, if he is sincere.

James Town **Osafo Kantanka**
Accra

THE "L.O." GUIDE TO CORRESPONDENTS AND CONTRIBUTORS

1. Make your contribution as short as possible: **7-9 pages quarto-size** paper, or **5-7 pages foolscap** (about **17-21 paragraphs**), for **articless; 4-6** short paragraphs for **letters;** manuscript to be **double-spaced,** and typed wherever possible. Manuscripts that break this basic rule beyond reason get published only at our discretion, or late, or ruthlessly cut, or not at all—unless they are of exceptional merit. **Serialization** is strictly at our discretion, not on request;
2. supply a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** for the return of your manuscript, in case it is considered unsuitable for publication and you would like it back;
3. follow the style of our "Letters" by beginning, simply, "Sir—", and ending with your name and nothing else. Of course your address would already have appeared in its proper place. Leave captions to us, however;
4. **do not send us carbon duplicates or syndicated** material (that is, as distributed to other papers). We do not accept such copy under any circumstances, and would not publish you again if we ever found ourselves caught unawares by syndicated material of yours;
5. **do not ask us to make you anonymous or invisible.** We use the privilege of pen names strictly at our own discretion and only in special circumstances;
6. **do not try to use us to get even with your favourite enemies, or to quarrel with another member of the Ghana press establishment, or to bring us in as a third party or a complaints board.** Write directly to the paper in which you read the original of the cause of your discontent.

Is the Closure Necessary?

SIR—Is it really necessary to close the Asante Collegiate School? It is one of the oldest independent schools in the country, and pioneered higher school education in the Ashanti Region.

Even if the headmaster acted improperly in the affair of the examination fees, closing down the school is hardly the answer. There is bound to be hardship to the boys and girls, some of whom are now hanging aimlessly around the compound and not being taught a temptation to them and a waste of time. Those who are lucky and find places in other schools will be faced with the need for new set of clothes, text-books, and new fees. Seventeen of the pupils are promising youngsters on scholarship: what will happen to them? The people earning their living from the school, teachers and cooks, administrators and night-watchmen, will presumably swell the number of unemployed in Ghana. Neither they, nor the boys and girls, are to blame, but it is they who are to suffer.

Is this really necessary? There are milder forms of discipline which could be tried first before using the final weapon of closure. We do not lead off with the ace of trumps, nor begin the war with the biggest bomb we have. Why was not the National Independent Schools and Colleges Association, to which the school belongs, asked to investigate the matter and discipline the school themselves? Or at least somebody could have inspected the school, or issued a warning, or set up a board of trustees, or some other method of putting things right before using the ultimate deterrent?

What does the law say? The Education Act of 1961, clause 19, paragraphs 1 and 2, says that schools potentially dangerous to the moral or physical welfare of the pupils should either be taken over by the government with due compensation, or closed with due notice. But where is the notice? Where is the compensation? Where is the moral or physical danger? There will be far more of this last if boys and girls are turned adrift in their G.C.E. year than if they are not.

The cause of the trouble is that the school is very short of money. Under the previous regime, the ministry came to take it over: took the furniture, the 'bus, the library, and the laboratory equipment to a new building and gave it a new name, and promised the headmaster ¢5,000 in compensation for this, but have not yet paid. It would help matters a lot if they would pay.

P.O. Box 6828 **Mark Diamond Nii Addy**
Accra-North

"Taxi Rates: A Bad Case of Capitulation"

SIR—Dr. Jawa Apronti must be congratulated for his critical analysis of our transportation problems (**L.O.** VIII/9), which have long remained a concern of the government and the people as a whole, particularly those in the cities. Definitely, our taxi drivers have acquired a false sense of power. The capitulation of the government to these "unpatriotic sons" has helped to accentuate their already unscrupulous behaviour towards passengers. This power, acquired illegitimately by the drivers, must be broken.

However, we must not forget this question: Why do people hire taxis at all? I can offer three possible answers. First, there are those affluent people in the society who, no matter the fare, would hire taxis and would instruct the driver not to pick up anyone else en-route.

Secondly, there are those who are forced to take a taxi by circumstances, like rain, or hurry to fulfill an appointment, or a private vehicle being in the workshop. In the last category are those who have no intentions to hire taxis but are forced to do so by delays and inconveniences in the public transportation system. I will neglect the first category and focus attention on the remaining two. In each of the two cases all I can say is that they would need little or no service from taxi drivers if the public transportation system were efficient and regular.

Commonwealth Hall **Ohene Okai**
Legon

Teachers and the Ministry

SIR—I do not hold a brief for teachers who are alleged to embezzle text book fees and other monies belonging to the state and are given summary dismissal, with the Ghana National Association of Teachers remaining quiet over the situation.

The Ministry of Education has said in a public statement that it has never been its policy to destroy any teacher, but this is unconvincing. Late last year, it appeared in one of our dailies that a 55-year old storekeeper in Tema was given 15 years to refund an amount which he had been unable to account for. But when a school teacher could not account for an amount of about ¢2.65, as one of the cases in the Eastern Region revealed, he was given "instant justice". The story was then heralded in bold headlines in our dailies. Again, when an on-the-spot check was being conducted and a headteacher could not account for ¢25.00, part of the fees he had collected, a subordinate teacher who happened to have that amount on him and lent it to his headteacher was transferred, as a means of punishment.

It is more than "destroying" (to borrow the word from the statement cited) when a headteacher allegedly accused of embezzlement is summarily dismissed without any consideration for his previous record, services and dependents, and then given such publicity. I am not suggesting that any misbehaviour on the part of any teacher should be given preferential treatment by the press or the ministry. My contention is that matters

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concerning teachers should not be given publicity which borders on sensationalism.

Much as I would advise teachers to stop any alleged malpractices which would provide material for sensationalism, the ministry, and for that matter the press, should stop shouting "wolf" about teachers and direct all energies to removing the bottlenecks in the educational set up, for therein lies the true redemption for us all.

Mensah Sarbah Hall **G. H. K. Amehia-Adugu**
Legon

Love-Hate Psychosis and the Rest

SIR—If you travel from Achimota to the ministries and report late for work, even though the chaotic transport situation is not unknown, you are daubed "an enemy of the revolution". If you smoke Rothman's king-size cigarettes, or attempt to buy Leyland buses, you are accused of hob-nobbing with South Africa; even though some other black African countries are said to be buying maize and machinery from that place, Ghanaians do not care to raise a voice about that. Because of nationalism and Pan-Africanism, whites should not teach in Achimota, and we should remove all European or Christian names from our country.

We invite foreign investments and then turn round to accuse the responders of exploitation, or of giving us aid with strings. But who parts with his money without expecting some yielding returns? It is pretentiously forgotten that those countries who profess to give aid without strings are for their part aiming at ideological indoctrination. Civil servants are accused of demanding higher pay, though, according to a daily paper recently, they do not bring in revenue, to justify their demand. So they should starve!

The above examples (there are many more), show the situation in contemporary Ghanaian political thinking. (I am not talking about political parties). The examples given have a basic hate-love flavour. But once the hate (or prejudice) has been established, it is extended to far-reaching ramifications. For instance, the perennial attack on civil servants; "bureaucrats", "experts in red-tapeism", etc., has earned them a bad name in most journalistic and commercial quarters. Since that bad name is ingrained, any credit to civil servants must be vitiated and maligned—a true reflection of the prejudice campaign.

A healthier political climate could prevail in Ghana if situations are not blindly coloured with politics: petty thefts, acquired laziness, minor rapacity and avarice—which are all universal human faults—should not be equated with **sabotage** or **treason**. We should not attempt to see ghosts in every tea-cup.

Korle Gonno **John Lartey**
Accra

Parking at the Airport

SIR—The recent announcement by the Directorate of Civil Aviation of reversion to the old method of collecting parking fees at the Kotoka International Airport, made interesting reading.

It is surprising that it took the Directorate over three years to find out that all the money that should have been collected was not being collected and that all that was collected was not being paid to the Directorate. To people using the car park this became known within months of the new terminal being opened.

Then having found it out rather late, the Directorate adopted a ridiculous system. Parking fee became AIRPORT ENTRANCE FEE!

The recent announcement threw the whole blame for the loss of revenue on the motorists who park anywhere and everywhere but in the car park. Why does not the Directorate confess that more revenue was lost by the acts of the attendants. I and my friends have had experience when the attendants hesitated giving the ticket having taken the 20 pesewas, or when asked for the ticket make a face as if we should not have asked for it or that we were depriving them of something they had come to look upon as their due. Or they took 10 pesewas, which, I know, some motorists welcomed.

The remedy is simple. At the beginning of 1972, to take a census of traffic passing the Giffard Circle, the police installed a temporary device across the road near the Military Hospital and every car passing over the point was registered. Why not install such a machine near the entrance to the car park? The car park attendants would then have to account for the number registered during the day at 20 pesewas a piece. A couple of attendants at the exit can issue the tickets.

Legon **C. N. Wadia**

"Soft—and not so Straight"!

SIR—The weird story of Britain's behaviour in the Rhodesian U.D.I. affair, and some of the equally fantastic responses of Smith and company thereto, have each generated a number of excruciatingly funny situations some of which our local reading public have unluckily missed. One notable example was when the Rhodesians were particularly infuriated at some declaration of Sir Alec Douglas-Home's which, characteristically, was carefully calculated to annoy one party and do nothing for the other. The reaction of one Rhodesian newspaper or commentator duly came, and ran something like this: "Well, you know the English. They are like a ripe banana: soft at the centre and not too straight".

When I heard this story—I believe it was over the B.B.C. itself, no less—I said to myself: If you stick around long enough in this world, my boy, you are certainly bound to hear and see just about everything. "The pot calling the kettle black" as a reproach we are all too familiar with, but I never thought I would live long enough to hear the bowl calling the basin white, with the same intention!

Otublohun **D. Nee Okine**
Accra

or The Record

sday, May 22

IBRD Loans for Cotton Development

E International Bank for Reconstruction and Deve-ment is to grant a loan to the Ghana Government the expansion of cotton development in the country.

his follows the completion of feasibility studies on projects by the French Government at the request Ghana and the IBRD.

he projects are located in the Northern, Upper, ng-Ahafo, Eastern and Ashanti Regions. And sources e to the French Embassy have revealed in Accra that French Government would also invest about ,000 U.S. dollars on a number of joint Ghanaian l French cotton projects in the Northern and Upper gions.

dnesday, May 23

Ghana Assists Cattle Breeding Countries

IANA will air-lift consignments of wheat pellets and -mixes for making cattle feed to Mali, Niger and per Volta.

hana will also serve within the next three weeks as major base for the transportation of relief goods the three countries already mentioned as well as uretania, Senegal and Chad.

hese six African states which are located in the anna Zone have been hit by the worst drought in 60 rs.

ursday, May 24

Former Chief Executives to be Probed

HE assets of Regional Chief Executives in the Busia vernment and the manner in which they were acquired to be investigated by a three man committee with r. E. S. Aidoo, a legal practitioner, as chairman.

Other members of the committee which is currently obing the assets of former Ministerial Secretaries are r. C. J. Otoo, supervisor of audits and Lt. Commander A. K. Adiku.

The committee hopes to complete hearing of evidences d addresses concerning the assets of the Ministerial cretaries by May 31.

Colonel Acheampong Honoured

HE Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C. is one the 150 African statesmen to be honoured in Addis baba, Ethiopia, as part of the 10th anniversary cele-ation of the O.A.U.

Departed African leaders who are also to be honoured clude Kwame Nkrumah, Gamal Nasser, William Tub-an, Tafawa Balewa, Patrice Lumumba and Amilcar abral.

Also included on the honours list is Mr. Diallo Telli, st Secretary-General of the O.A.U.

Government Acquires Shares

THE Government is to hold 55 per cent equity shares in a new bauxite mining company to be formed to take over the operations of a British aluminium firm in the country. This follows an agreement reached between representatives of the British firm, British Aluminium Company Limited and the Government Mineral Negotiating Committee.

The company will be incorporated in Ghana and the British principals will hold 45 per cent equity shares.

Friday, May 25

More Importation of Foreign Foods

PRIVATE firms have now been granted licences worth twenty million cedis to import foreign food items.

This was announced today by Major R. J. A. Felli, Commissioner for Trade and Tourism. Hitherto, the importation of foreign food items had been the responsibility of the Logistics Committee.

The Commissioner said that one reason for shortages, even though Ghana was making trade surpluses, was that, as a result of the government's repudiation of certain debts, many manufacturers and countries were refusing to sell to Ghana.

Licences worth ¢483 million had been issued for the importation of various goods into the country this year, and even though this was ¢183 million more than last year's total, many importers had not been able to utilise the licences either because they had no money to open letters of credit or suppliers were refusing to co-operate, the Commissioner added.

Ghana had earned ¢7.1 million from tourism last year and the indications, the Commisioner continued, were that the figure would be higher this year.

Monday, May 28

Subversion: Two Seek to Quash Sentence

AN ACCRA High Court judge, Mr. I. K. Abban, today reserved his ruling till June 13 on an objection to the court's competence to hear an application for an order to quash the sentences imposed on two persons by a Military Tribunal in November last year.

Raising the objection, the Director of Public Prosecutions, said the court had no jurisdiction to hear the writ filed by the two convicted persons, G. K. A. Ofosu-Amaah and Charles Adu Boateng, because the decree establishing the tribunal gave finality to its decisions.

Replying, Mr. W. Adumua-Bossman counsel for the two persons, argued that the Military Tribunal was inferior to the High Court, and therefore the court had jurisdiction to entertain the writ.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

S. K. B. ASANTE—Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Ghana, Legon

C. E. FISCIAN—Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Legon

C. T. ZUOLO—Employee of Lands Department, Cantonments, Accra.

The trend is to Embassy the milder, smoother cigarette



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Editorial

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GENERAL GOWON IN LONDON

WHAT was more important than the glitter and the gold of General Gowon's visit to London earlier this week was the political and economic significance of this occasion, long postponed previously by the General's withdrawal and withholding of his agreement to go to Britain as a state guest of Elizabeth II. The visit was significant politically because Nigeria is now definitely a world V.I.P. nation, **both** politically and economically; because General Gowon is a significant contemporary figure in his own right; and because it is the culmination of a process marking a changing of attitude in the British government towards Nigeria and towards the rest of black Africa, brought about by a careful calculus in enlightened self-interest.

That self-interest is based solidly on what makes General Gowon's visit economically significant. Nigeria's almost sudden leap into the senior league of world oil producers forces any major developed country already within her orbit to want to smile a little broader at her; and Britain is such a country, more so than any of the others. The facts and figures which force this situation are impressive. Nigeria is now rated 10th in the crude-oil stakes. At nearly two million barrels a day, this liquid gold was gushing out in 1972 at the rate, according to **Africa 1973**, of 3.334 million Nigerian pounds. This level of revenue has dwarfed, in value, the combination of cocoa, timber, vegetable oils, groundnuts, and hard minerals which used to form over 60% of the country's total volume of exports; and it is rising, if anything. Britain's needs in this hard-pressed power-source area in world economy are enormous and growing. So she has to smile at Nigeria a little broader now.

But after that has been said, comes the caveat. Not all Nigerians are happy about the visit, nor all Africans. The dissidents and the anxious ones both think that there is bound to be a catch in it somewhere, apart from the obvious one of straight economic self-interest on Britain's part. Some see a gloved fist in the outstretched hand. And so on. All this may be so, but the pessimists ignore the over-riding multi-lineal importance of such an occasion. In this case Anglo-Nigerian goodwill and mutual respect were restored, Nigeria's growing power and importance emphasised, the problems of African and Commonwealth immigration and nationality, of southern African politics, of Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal rehearsed, and O.A.U. interests redefined and restated for the rest of the world to hear. This was a lot. The General's visit was worth the agreement to make it.

Africa

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY SUMMIT MEETING OF THE O.A.U.

By

S.K.B. Asante

Note: This is the 4th and last instalment of Dr. Asante's series on the O.A.U., specially planned in honour of the 10th Anniversary—Editor

FOR most organisations a tenth anniversary session is a time for dwelling on the significance of past achievements while resolutely insisting that the best is yet to come in terms of new initiatives. The summit meeting of the Organisation of African Unity recently concluded proved to be no exception. In many respects, this tenth session marked a significant turning-point in the history of the O.A.U. In the first place, it brought home to the assembled African leaders that African unity was not something only to be proclaimed but something to be worked for, with all the give and take, renunciation and compromise necessary. Secondly, the meeting adopted common policy decisions which appear to be pregnant with hope.

Perhaps the most significant achievement of this tenth anniversary summit meeting was the adoption of a "Charter of Economic Independence" for the African continent. The quest for such a charter was not a new phenomenon. For years it has been argued in many quarters that African states should present a common economic front in order to unlock the door to her full development potential. For it is in the economic sphere that the continent's basic ailment lies. It is there that African leaders should direct the necessary remedial attention, the more so since economic integration is a necessary antecedent to political integration.

Significance of Charter

However, the bitter truth is that the Economic and Social Commission, which was set up as a specialised agency of the O.A.U. to co-ordinate economic development, has still not been able to formulate concrete plans that would promote economic and social development in member states. It has, in fact, never got off the ground. Confronted with a surfeit of political problems during the first decade of its existence, the O.A.U. appears to have entirely neglected the economic aspect of African unity and independence.

It is against this background that we welcome the new initiative on the part of the African leaders to draw up a common economic charter for the whole of Africa. Although details of this historic charter are not yet available for an objective appraisal, the fact that African leaders have at long last realised that economic co-operation is a sure road to political unity is commendable.

The charter would at least enable the member states of the O.A.U. to adopt a common economic approach to the continent's relations with such outside blocs as the European Economic Community. It would help African states to arrive at a common denominator, so as to ensure that a united Europe deals with a united Africa and not with balkanised African groups. As some observers have rightly argued, this united front should basically ensure that any arrangements aimed at should first of all be an instrument for more rapid economic development of the African region, and, secondly, not be a divisive element in the building of a stronger and more united Africa.

The economic charter is also important for the development of inter-African cooperation. Such cooperation could offer long-term solutions to problems of social, cultural and economic development by providing an antidote to the fragmentation inherited from the colonial era. It could mean intelligent exploitation of natural resources, broader and rationalised markets, the realisation of industrial and agricultural projects for which no single country could raise the necessary capital, sharing of scarce intellectual and scholastic resources, exchange of social and cultural experiences.

Reconciliation and Mediation

It is important to stress, however, that like the charters of such regional or international organisations as the N.A.T.O or the U.N. the economic charter is not going to be a self-operating mechanism. Its operation will depend, not so much on the words of the charter as on the way member states exercise their rights and meet their responsibilities. Some means are specified in the charter, but these are not necessarily exclusive. Within the widest limits other means are not prohibited. The charter is broad in scope and allows a wide measure of choice of means. It is for the African leaders to have the wisdom and imagination to choose the appropriate means and procedures for building up the economic unification of the continent.

Of special significance were the efforts which this tenth session made in settling such disturbing inter-state disputes as the Ethiopian-Somalian border conflict and the Tanzanian—Ugandan stalemate. At long last Somalia and Ethiopia have agreed to settle their differences in the true spirit

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of African brotherhood. In a similar vein, General Amin and President Nyerere have thought it fit and proper to sign an agreement of reconciliation and future cooperation. That such differences should develop among some member states of the O.A.U. are not unexpected features at this stage of the organisation's development. For differences between men, as between nations, will always remain. In fact, if held within reasonable limits, such disagreements are actually wholesome.

All progress begins with differences of opinion and moves onward as the differences are adjusted through reason and mutual understanding. This summit meeting has shown that the O.A.U. has provided workable machinery for the accomodation of these differences and the advancement of common interests. The O.A.U.'s political orientation is unique in the sense that African leaders always insist on brotherhood being maintained when there is a quarrel between two leaders which can lead to polarization. Thus, apart from the longer term objectives of unity and liberation, reconciliation and mediation can be considered as another important function of the O.A.U. It is hoped that the organisation will continue to make use of this machinery in order to serve again as the protector of peace in Africa.

Arab-Israeli Conflict

Another major issue at this tenth anniversary session was the common stand which the member states of the O.A.U. took on the protracted Arab-Israeli conflict. As we have once pointed out, this trouble had widened the gap between Ethiopia and the Arab states, and was threatening to split the entire O.A.U. front. Among other things, Ethiopia had noted with concern the support for the Eritrean Liberation Front by various Arab groups, and the Arabs had noted the role of Israeli counter-revolutionary trainers in the Ethiopian armed forces. It was thus a notable achievement that the summit adopted a common approach towards the Arab-Israeli conflict. In very strong terms the resolution on the Middle East called on Israel to withdraw from all occupied territories and warned, for the first time ever, that the Israeli's negative attitude might lead O.A.U. member states "to take, at the African level, individually or collectively, political and economic measures against it".

It is yet for us to see whether this common front can be translated into practical expression, since the state of Israel would appear to have many sympathisers among African states south of the Sahara. For it should be remembered that this is not the first time that the O.A.U. has taken a stand on the Middle East crisis. The organisation's Council of Foreign Ministers had once called upon its member states to immediately break off their relations with Israel, as had already been done by Uganda, Chad, Niger, Upper Volta, Congo-Brazzaville, and Mali. However, like the similar rash decision which the Council adopted towards Britain in December 1965 on Rhodesia's "U.D.I.", no efforts were made by the other member states to cut off diplomatic relations with Israel. The 1971 O.A.U. Mission on the Middle East was also not too bold an innovation. The report of the mission came out in favour of the U.N. resolution of the conflict and a continuation of the Jarring mediation effort.

What appears to be a breakthrough, or something new about this recent O.A.U. resolution on the Middle East is perhaps the sense of urgency, force and seriousness attached to it. This has been amply demonstrated by the very strong appeal which the current chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dr. Okoi Arikpo, Nigeria's Commissioner for External Affairs, made to Israel on the day of the Security Council's new debate on the Middle East crisis. In no uncertain terms Dr. Arikpo had urged Israel to "show some consideration for the legitimate concerns of Africa" and get out of Egypt. In a similar vein, Tanzania's Foreign Minister, John Malecela, at the U.N. under the O.A.U. mandate, led off the meeting with a call for enforcement measures to get the Israelis out of Egyptian territory.

Future Prospects

Taken together, it would appear that the member states of the O.A.U. have now arrived at a consensus on a number of very pressing issues. The new Addis Ababa spirit which emerged at this tenth O.A.U. summit should be helpful, insofar as it it can be maintained, in assisting the African countries to walk together along a friendly path towards improved social and economic conditions, political stability and peaceful settlement of disputes, and a higher dignity for man.

The next decade must indeed see the O.A.U. in a different light. The organisation should begin to give practical effect to African aspirations. It must now create and maintain some sense of value for the citizens of its member states. It must encourage some measure of regard and respect for the nationals of each member state as the basis for mutual understanding. Up to now it is still not possible for the citizens of many

member states to travel or work freely in some other states without stringent immigration conditions. The organisation must now settle down to the real business of reorganisation, it must redefine its principles in order to make them more realistic. It is not good enough for the member states to cooperate only for the signing of charters; there must also be wider social and economic cooperation.

Above all, in the political domain African states must learn to limit their sights and define their objectives more realistically. The various competing factions must learn that the O.A.U. will serve their interests better if they regard it, not as a prize to be won or rejected, but as an institutional framework for the harmonisation of contrasting positions.

Civil Engineering

URBAN PLANNING: TOWARDS BETTER CITY CENTRES

By

C. C. T. Blankson

THE 'central' areas in large cities are always easily distinguishable from the rest of the city. They have one or two distinct features. They are either the oldest sections of the city, with the most run-down buildings and a predominantly residential use; or they are the areas having most of the city's financial, commercial, civic and entertainment facilities.

In this paper only the second type of central area will be considered. This is not in any way to imply that the problems of the first type are not important; they are. But they are not being considered in this paper for reasons of economy of time and space. Our concern for the second type is derived from the fact that functionally it constitutes the most important of the spatial components of the total urban matrix. It is indeed no exaggeration to say that the smooth functioning of the urban and the national economy depends largely on the efficiency or fluidity with which the central area works.

One distinctive feature of the center is that it is the most accessible area in the whole city. Its accessibility makes it the most favoured place and logical choice for any activity which wishes to locate in the city. Consequently the banks, department stores, embassies, courts, libraries, cinemas and markets locate there. These activities are all traffic-generating and therefore induce a heavy constant flow of traffic, both human and vehicular, into and out of the area throughout the day. There is a vicious circle which reinforces the pattern. The more activities that locate at the center, the more people that are drawn there and the more attractive it becomes for potential investors both public and private.

One of the principles underlying public locational decisions in cities is that it should be possible for a person once in the city center to attend to several calls or perform several duties with a minimum waste of time moving from one activity to another after every transaction. For private investors the rationale is the exploitation of the market, assumed from the very massing of people within the area.

The resultant logical spatial configuration is the massing together of all urban activities at one single locus, with activities literally sitting one on top of another. With this arrangement every activity is within easy walking distance or elevator shuttling from another. In case this situation is thought ridiculous, it may interest some to know that this is exactly what the phenomenon of multi-storey buildings, very common in all major cities of the world, does. However, competition among potential investors, and the fact that not all activities can afford the extremely high rents of the central area, prevent all activities from massing themselves into a tower of babel, sitting in the center of the city.

Complex Problems

The central area's generative power therefore derives from its accessibility. However, the massing together of activities and the consequent pull on people and vehicles into the center, ad infinitum, generate some problems which should cause us to re-examine the whole concept of accessibility as it applies to the central area.

The question one would pose at this point is whether the central area beyond a certain point in the growth of the city does not cease to be the place with maximum accessibility in the whole city. In other words, how fluid and fast is the central area in accepting daily clients and users and emptying itself of them? The city center, like the human heart, is functioning properly if it is able both to draw and to empty itself of traffic, human and vehicular, without undue pressures on or delays in any of its systems. When pressures begin to mount on the heart, then attention is called for. The problem may lie with either the veins/arteries, or the heart itself. A few random situations around and inside the city center may serve to highlight the problem.

It is not uncommon for one to be caught in a traffic jam, with cars inching their way bumper to bumper, all making for the city center. In places where people have come to accept this situation as inevitable, a few are able to redeem the time by using their dictaphones and intercoms to communicate with their offices, as their cars crawl towards the city center. But this facility is enjoyed by just a handful of top executives who can afford to be chauffeur-driven. The vast majority of people who have to drive themselves cannot help but sit behind their steering wheels and gaze in front of them as the minutes tick into wasted hours. Or if one does not have a car and has to stand at the roadside to hail a taxi to take him to the city center, he suffers the misfortune of seeing taxis slow down before him only to accelerate and drive away when they are told where he wants to go.

Then when finally one gets to the city center, one has to drive round and round in mad circles looking for a place to park one's car. Taxis are more convenient because they would simply unload you anywhere and go away, but the sad fact is that one may not get the taxi to take him there to start with.

Solutions Tried Elsewhere

These problems are compounded by half-awake policemen standing at street intersections directing traffic. As if this is not enough, the traffic lights at some of the intersections are so poorly timed, if they are timed at all, that while it may be green for you at the rear of the traffic stream, it will be red for those ahead of you in the next second. Then with a round-about sitting ahead of all of you the chaos in the traffic is entire, as movement becomes virtually impossible.

The above situational examples are simplistic but nonetheless real. These situations have been described in a very few paragraphs, but the real life experience is nothing short of harrowing and nerve shattering in a rather subtle way. To bring the problem home, the central area of Accra, encompassing roughly the banks area, G.N.T.C., General Post Office, the central bus stop down through the Makola market, is suffering from the above problems and is calling for attention and surgery.

A number of solutions have been tried in quite a number of cities the world over, with varying degrees of success. And before we venture any remedies to ours it would be worthwhile considering these to ascertain what lessons could be drawn from them. In one case vehicle owners are encouraged to park their cars at the periphery of the city center. There is a cheap tram service within the central area which vehicle owners can board for that part of the central area they are going to. This is being tried in Los Angeles in California. This solution is not very successful, since people still prefer to drive their cars into the central area for one reason or another.

In another example, certain parts of the city center, very commonly the central shopping area, are literally cordoned off; and vehicular traffic is entirely prohibited within the area. Movement within the area is entirely by foot. It is apparent that this scheme is restrictive and cannot apply to a very wide area like the city's entire central area, which could extend over several square miles. An example is in Fresno, again in California, U.S.A.

Nodal Points Scheme

Yet another solution is the development of mass rapid transit, either above or underground or both. The development of such means in the major cities of the world has not been able to discourage private car owners from driving into the central areas any time they want to. Consequently, it has not been able to reduce the traffic congestion problem in the city center. Besides, the cost of constructing the underground facility is so prohibitive as to render it improbable for many governments.

Another solution has been the construction of more and more streets and freeways from the city center into all other parts of the city. The experience with this, however, has been in many cases the clogging sooner or later of even the multi-lane freeways with traffic, in a never ending spiral. It seems, without humour intended, that there is a very high correlation, a positive relationship, between the number and length of freeways as they are constructed and the number of cars that emerge to use them—almost to greet them!

The above solutions are by no means exhaustive, but they indicate how far we are from finding lasting solutions to these crippling problems. And these solutions deal only with the transport networks, and seem to take the rush to locate in the city center, by activists, as inevitable if not for granted. The reasoning would seem to be that if activities wish to locate in the city center there is no reason why they the activists should not. It is hereby submitted that this approach is, to say the least, negative and not at all responsive in helping

create a pleasant and a workable environment. Using the human heart analogy again, the problem, hence the solution, may lie either with the veins/arteries or with the heart itself; and therefore attention should be directed to both.

It would seem that it is the uninhibited concentration of several traffic generating activities all at one location which constitutes the crux of the problem. If this is true, then one could begin to tackle the problem from there.

One could visualise a situation in which potential central area activities would be directed into areas other than the one central area in the city. One could have several nodal points, over a period of time, with these activities distributed among them. The idea is not to create an equilibrium state among several nodal points, each vying and competing with the other for activities and supremacy. In fact one cannot even meaningfully talk in terms of achieving an equitable distribution of urban activities in any area, any more than one can talk meaningfully about trying to develop all the regions of a country to the same socio-economic level. The idea is to accommodate growth in such a way as to prevent any one area of the city from getting clogged up with activities, people and vehicles.

Our Future Cities

The location of the ministries near the Sports Stadium in Accra, rather than behind the Supreme Court buildings, is an illustration of this principle. It must however not be conceived as a single-shot decision. It must be viewed in a continuum. As new activities come into the city center, and existing establishments expand and the one city center begins to groan under the weight of too many activities, new nodal points will have to be identified and newly arriving activities directed there. One can use such common indicators as traffic congestion to determine the point beyond which no new activities are to be permitted into the central area. No hard and fast rules can be stipulated at this point as to how old one city center should be before the second central area is begun, for instance. Flexibility and foresight are of the essence here, if the scheme is to have any measures of success.

What does this solution imply, with respect to the present situation in the central area in Accra? It would be a mad policy indeed to ask any activity, once located in the central area, to relocate elsewhere. This will involve costs, among other things, which would be wholly unnecessary and unjustifiable. A more realistic policy would be to encourage new activities which wish to locate in the central area to locate in the projected central area. There is already the administrative machinery which could do this. The Town Planning Department is statutorily empowered to grant or refuse permits to developers, public or private, which wish to locate in any part of the city. This power could be utilised along the suggested policy lines.

If there is any advantage in being a latecomer in the world arena of social and economic development, it is, I believe, the ability to perceive what the future would look like and to act thereupon. The major cities of the world are models par excellence of what future cities will look like. The question is whether these are the kinds of environments in which we would like ourselves or our children to live.

I have already noted that the existing Town Planning Department is capable of providing the direction needed to bring about the desired state. This does not preclude the following statement: that the success of the solution being proposed here would require that the Town Planning Department be firm and forward looking. This should make it difficult, if not impossible, for operating departments and private developers to bulldoze their way through with makeshift development proposals which are not properly coordinated and laced within the total urban matrix of the projected city.

Last but not least should be the appreciation on the part of all and sundry, and the public makers in particular, that the much talked-about city of the future can either be fashioned by blind impersonal forces and rammed down our throats, as a result of our unwillingness or inability to make critical decisions concerning our cities now, or that the city can be charted along courses which we ourselves, in our wisdom, create.

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Observer Notebook

Quality in Local Products

THE NATIONAL Standards Board is being commended in some quarters for withdrawing its stamp of approval from two drug products of the Pharmaceutical Division of "Ghihoc", because of a detected fall in the standards of those drugs. While we join in this selective expression of satisfaction over this matter, we should like now to take the opportunity to protest at the same time against the low quality of some of our local products, especially manufactured foods. We have been afflicted with this situation over time that is now getting to be too long, and during which many citizens among us have remained silent about the whole thing, even about N.S.B. certification.

The silent ones are those who, rightly or wrongly, think it is a matter of loyalty, and of hope in eventual, assured progress, to give our "new" manufacturers a chance to improve as they gain experience; but those Ghanaians who are less concerned with philosophical considerations and more with practical issues and instant self-comfort have always reacted differently. They are the ones who would have nothing to do with "Made in Here" goods, and pour contempt on these things; they opt for "Made in There" products wherever possible, without even bothering to find out anything about local equivalents.

But the point is, one cannot blame all of these rebels for all of their attitudes; many of them are right, much of the time. For who but a dedicated, over-indulgent patriot would want to spend his constantly devaluing financial resources indefinitely on shoddy hardware and substandard food products? How long can philosophy and patriotism afford to continue with multi-coloured margarine that tastes like tallow and smells like refined axle grease; toothpaste that may well have some quinine in it, though it does not say so on the tube; sugar that often looks ready to go grey any moment, though not from old age; and soap that dissolves into high smelling mud almost at the mere sight of water. Who can consume these substances without worrying about their probable effect upon delicate human tissues? In heavier lines like furniture and upholstery, cloth, and travelling equipment, we don't do too badly, but in lower priced ranges and smaller items in utensils and tools, the standards of quality of material and workmanship are often outrageous; in food products like those named above they are appalling.

There is another serious aspect to this matter. While we are obliged to buy these poor quality products, especially the foods, out of our always dwindling funds and at crushing cost, the manufacturers are getting away with "murder" in the form of their unfailing, high margins of profit. For them there is no problem, for there is little or no competition in this country in the production and marketing of items like margarine, toothpaste, and soap of both kinds. And where there is little or no competition, and no state ownership, there is partial or complete capitalistic monopoly, therefore also uncontrolled profit making. Now why should hard-pressed, financially struggling consumers have to bear the brunt, both of losing on poor quality goods and of helping the manufacturers thereof to get away with over-commensurate profit?

The Standards Board cannot be serious if in the matter of our pursuit and maintenance of quality, for which they were set up, they continue to pass multi-coloured concoctions of grease for margarine, and only occasionally spot bad cases of substandard drugs.

Rogues Rendezvous

THE MESSRS Vorster and Smith, master-bully-and-pupil-united-against-justice, have been meeting, we are told, in secret. But how in secret, and why? Surely they cannot keep secrecy of that kind, apart from the fact that they do not need it? For aren't they the acknowledged front men of nations who use them for more serious long-term purposes, of which the present efforts at suppression of black Africans are only the continuing preparation? Are not all the necessary moves in this game of attrition known in theory and practice, or easily anticipated?

There can be nothing secret about Vorster and Smith having to meet constantly: to review strategy and tactics, to receive and calculate on the latest supplies and assurances from their western backers and their other trading partners, to tote up their victories and rage over their defeats, to reaffirm their commitment to and their conviction of the righteousness of the cause of white supremacy in Africa. . . .

We know it all, in theory as well as in what we see of it in practice. And what we don't know or cannot see we can imagine, conclude upon, or anticipate. But we also know that it is all an exercise in futility—to borrow a cliche. If Vorster and Smith really believe, because of present imbalances in power, that they and their dissembling principals are destined to remain supreme and dominant in Africa, they will all, principals and field workers alike, end up as the biggest laughing stock in history.

Matters Arising

I. GHANA'S ECONOMY

THE DEVALUATION DEBATE

From M. D. STEUER

Economics Department, Legon

THE ability of any country whose currency is not held as a reserve by other countries to import over a period of, say, a year depends on three things: the foreign exchange earnings generated over the year; the reserves with which it begins the year; its willingness and ability to borrow abroad, whichever is smaller. The sum of these three sets an upper limit on imports. Towards the latter part of 1971 it was clear that Ghana could not go on importing at the then prevailing rate because that rate of imports exceeded the sum of its foreign exchange earnings, its reserves, and its sources of foreign credit.

Faced with an unavoidable reduction in imports, the government had essentially four choices open. It could do nothing, in which case some applicants to the Bank of Ghana for foreign exchange would simply have to be turned away, even if they possessed both the cedis to acquire foreign exchange and the necessary official documents. What foreign exchange was available would then be disbursed according to the preferences of the Bank.

Alternatively, the government could tighten the tariff and licensing regulations and restrict the excess applicants for foreign exchange in this way. The action chosen was essentially to maintain the existing regulations but to raise the cedi price of foreign exchange and reduce the demand for foreign exchange in that way. And another option, the one chosen by the present government, was a combination of a higher cedi price for foreign exchange (compared to the pre-December 1971 devaluation) and tighter controls.

Wrong Deduction

Under any one of these options the volume of imports would have to fall, and fall to the same extent, provided the restrictive measures were not so severe as to generate a large increase in reserves. The fall in imports was inevitable because of the exhaustion of reserves and the reluctance to borrow. Devaluation would not have caused a fall in imports. This fall was coming in any case. Rather, it was one possible way, out of the alternatives mentioned above, to respond to the inevitable decline. The inability to import caused the devaluation (as one of the four possible responses), not the other way round, namely, the devaluation causing the fall in imports.

It is a straight and simple analytical error to deduce from the assertion that devaluation to a rate at or below the market rate implies that the elasticity of demand for imports is zero. Demand has nothing to do with the volume of imports when the exchange rate is over-valued. An over-valued rate means that the limit on imports is coming from the supply of foreign exchange, not the demand for it.

If a country has an under-valued exchange rate, then devaluation will reduce the volume of imports because then the demand side is restricting imports. But in Ghana we have plenty of demand for imports; the constraint is on the supply side. It follows that devaluation over the range we have observed it has no effect on the volume of imports. Devaluation reduces the **excess demand,** but the imports coming in are unaffected because they are limited from the supply (of foreign exchange) side. Had the government of the day done nothing, the same reduction of imports would have occurred. If the present government were to appreciate the currency to the level, for example, where one cedi buys two dollars, anyone lucky enough to buy a dollar at the bank would buy it cheap, but there would be just so many dollars in the bank, neither more nor less, and no more imports would come into Ghana as a result of that appreciation.

The official exchange rate determines only the rate at which the Bank of Ghana is obliged to exchange cedis for foreign exchange, not anybody else outside Ghana. The volume of transactions that they, the bank, can effect is limited by the foreign exchange they have. An over-valued rate simply means that other means than the cedi price of foreign exchange must be used to restrict the legal demand for foreign exchange.

Devaluation/Controls

Once this basic point is appreciated, then we can go on to the interesting and important point of whether devaluation, or controls, or some combination of devaluation and controls, is best for Ghana. While the volume of imports, measured in foreign exchange, will be the same in any case, both the composition of the imports and who gets them will be influenced by the strategy chosen. It is theoretically possible to achieve a better result in welfare terms through controls than through devaluation, and it is equally possible to do a lot worse through controls. It all depends on what the controls are. It is extremely doubtful if anyone knows how to design a set of controls for Ghana that have a fighting chance of improving on devaluation, and almost certain that if such a set of controls were designed, we still would lack the administrative machinery to carry them out.

Bela Balassa has calculated the degree of over-valuation of the currency for six low income countries in the Sixties (**Trade, Balance of Payments and Growth,** 1971). There is a strikingly regular relation between the extent of over-valuation and the slowness of the growth in real income in these countries, as can be seen. (The growth figures are from **Finance and Development,** March 1973).

Country	Degree of Over-valuation (per cent)	Rate of Growth of Real Income Per Person
Chile	68	1.6
Pakistan	50	2.4
Brazil	27	2.4
Phillipines	15	2.9
Mexico	9	3.7
Malaysia	4	3.1

These figures are, of course, far from being definitive. They are presented more or less for fun, and as possibly being suggestive to those who are convinced that an over-valued currency does not entail a cost to a country. While on the subject of figures, it should be noted that simply looking at figures for imports before and after devaluation, even if correctly done, cannot shed light on my contention that devaluation does not affect the volume of imports coming into Ghana. One would have to know, in addition, what would have happened to imports had Ghana not devalued.

To my knowledge, there are no economists who advocate devaluation **in general.** What most economists advocate, myself among them, is having the rate which is best for the country. The exchange rate is one among many factors affecting the performance of an economy. Having the correct rate helps. It does not alone insure good performance, and a country can do well even with an incorrect rate. But why should a country voluntarily impose this cost on itself?

There does appear to be a school of thought which is opposed to devaluation **in general,** at least for low income countries. These economists must believe that all low income countries have actual rates at or below the rates which are optimal for them. There is no reason to believe this generalization, and there are plenty of reasons not to believe it. For each country, high income or low income, the problem is to determine the rate which is best for it, and then move their actual rate in that direction. The political problem of how to do this last step is, in my view, best achieved by having wide participation in the policy, whether or not any country has done this up to now.

Those countries which try to maintain an over-valued rate for as long as possible will find that every exchange rate change is a devaluation. Those countries which keep their rate close to the market rate will find that sometimes they are devaluing and sometimes they are appreciating. This latter strategy is wiser, both from the economic and from the political point of view. Countries which employ it will be able to use their skilled manpower to add to welfare, rather than keeping them tied up in designing and administering import controls.

THE DEVALUATION DEBATE—A REPLY TO "AN ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENT"

From NASEEM AHMAD
Economics Department, Legon

IN AN earlier note in this journal (**L.O.** VIII/10, p.223) I stated that "the reality is that in the past an increase in domestic prices of imports, resulting either from increased import duties or the 1967 devaluation, was always followed by a fall in the **volume** of imports". I further claimed that "in fact the 1967 devaluation had led to a significant decline in imports, especially of capital goods and industrial raw materials both in 1967 and 1968, and thus turned out to be detrimental to economic growth".

In the succeeding issue of the paper (**L.O.** VIII/11, p.256), "An Economic Correspondent" asks me: "Where is the evidence?" He then goes on to reproduce data on imports for the period 1966-69 from the **Economic Survey,** 1969, to show that "all major categories of imports classified by end-use **increased** from year to year 1966 through 1969". Consequently, he informs me that "the official published data therefore appear to be seriously in conflict with your positive assertions. . . ." (p.257).

The purpose of this note is to present the statistical evidence in support of my arguments, to show that the counter-assertions by "an Economic Correspondent" stem from his failure to grasp the real meaning of the data he quotes from the **Economic Survey.**

The basic issue at stake is whether or not the 1967 devaluation had led to a decline in the volume of imports coming into Ghana. Strictly speaking, what we need to compare are the quantities of various types of goods, say food, textiles, vehicles, machines and tools, which were imported into Ghana in the years immediately before and after the 1967 devaluation. Since the list of various types of goods Ghana imports runs into several hundred, any such exercise involves "data mining", and would therefore be cumbersome and time-consuming.

Irrelevant Data

Moreover, any such procedure would involve the complications arising from the differences in the qualities of various imported goods. The way out to these problems is to express the values of physical imports in terms of a single unit of account, and to see whether Ghana spent more or less on imports after the 1967 devaluation. However, any such data on the values of annual imports can be meaningful only if the **same** unit of account is used for the whole period. Obviously the data on imports quoted by Correspondent is based not on one but **two** different units of account, viz., the pre-devaluation cedi (1966) and the post-devaluation cedi (1967-69), and are thus inconsistent and misleading.*

An example will illustrate the point. Let us assume that in 1966, when one new cedi was worth $1.40, Ghana had to spend N¢357 to import from the U.S. five cameras worth $100 each. Let us further assume that after the devaluation in 1967, which reduced the rate of exchange to N¢1—$0.98, to be able to buy **four** cameras of the same type from the U.S. an importer in Ghana had to spend N¢408 (assuming of course that the dollar price of the camera remained constant during the period). Now it would be certainly wrong on our part to simply compare the new cedi figures of total expenditure on import of cameras in the two years 1966 (N¢357) and 1967 (N¢408), and to argue that as a result of 30% devaluation of the new cedi, the volume of imports into Ghana went up by 14.3%, when in actual fact the volume of imports **declined** from 5 to 4 cameras, i.e., from goods worth $500 to goods worth $400.

It should be clear from the above example that the data on imports quoted by Correspondent are irrelevant to the issue at stake, and that for the purpose of a comparison of the flows of imports from year to year it is essential to distinguish sharply betweeen the values of imports in monetary and real terms, and to adjust the data on monetary values for the changes in the exchange rate due to the 1967 devaluation.

*"An Economic Correspondent" realized his mistake and has anticipated this critique of his analysis. Unfortunately, his retake was late for this issue—**EDITOR.**

TABLE 1
IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE (F.O.B.)

Unit of Account	1966	1967 [5]	1968	1969
I N₵ Million [1]	250. 6	261. 0	314. 0	354. 0
II. $million [2]	350.84	255.78	307.72	347.31
III. Post-Devaluation N₵ million [3]	357. 9	261.00	313. 9	354. 3
IV. Pre-Devaluation N₵ million [4]	250.53	182.70	219.73	248.01

Source: Economic Survey, **1969, table 16, p.37**

1. At **current** prices in new cedis.
2. Converted from Item I at the following rates of exchange:
   1966 : N¢1.00—$1.40
   1967-69: N¢1.00—$0.98
3. Converted from dollars into new cedis at the post-devaluation rate of exchange, viz. $1.00—N¢1.02
4. Converted from post-devaluation new cedis at the rate of: Post-devaluation N¢1.00—Pre-devaluation N¢0.70; i.e. by deflating the post-devaluation new cedi figures by 30%.
5. A complication arises with respect to the data for 1967: the new cedi was devalued on July 8, 1967, and therefore strictly speaking we must draw a distinction between imports before and after the devaluation on two different bases, i.e. imports before July 8 at N¢1.00—$1.40 and after July 8 at N¢1.00—$0.98. However, due to a number of practical difficulties, it has not been possible to follow this procedure. It is clear, however, that any such adjustment would not invalidate the argument that the volume of imports fell considerably after the devaluation.

Table 1 sets out data on imports of merchandise for the years 1966 to 1969 in four different units of account, viz.:

(a) in current N¢ prices (Item I);

(b) in $ prices (Item II);

(c) in post-devaluation N¢ prices (Item III); and,

(d) in pre-devaluation N¢ prices (Item IV).

It should be realized that in order to obtain a correct idea of the changes in the volume of imports over time we have to look at the figures given as items II, III and IV, because, unlike those given as item I, they are arrived at by using the **same** units of account for the whole period. (The choice among these three sets of figures is a matter of taste and convenience, and is immaterial to the present exercise of an assessment of trends in the volume of imports). Reading items II, III and IV in table 1 from left to right, we see that:

(a) the volume of imports in 1967 was considerably lower than in 1966;

(b) even though the volume of imports went up in 1968, and again in 1969, merchandise imports in the two years remained below the level in 1966, our benchmark year.

TABLE 2
INDEX OF VOLUME OF IMPORTS OF MERCHANDISE (1960—100)

1966	1967	1968	1969
100	72.9	87.7	98.9

Source: Derived from Items II, III and IV of table 1

To save readers from any possible confusion resulting from the use of three different units of conversion and to give more significance to the data given in the last three items of table 1, in table 2 I have converted these figures into an index of volume of imports. These index numbers are arrived at by dividing the figures for 1967, 1968 and 1969 by the relevant figures for our benchmark year, 1966, and multiplying the quotient by 100. Interpreting table 2, we can see that:

(a) the volume of imports dropped from 100 in 1966 to 72.9 points in 1967, i.e., by 27.1%.

(b) the volume of imports in 1968 and 1969 increased to 87.7 and 98.9 points respectively (largely due to the import liberalization policy which was in-

KINGSWAY STORES OF GHANA LIMITE

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN UPON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING HELD ON 6TH JUNE, 1973

STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN

LADIES & GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Directors, I would like to welcome you to the Annual General Meeting of Kingsway Stores of Ghana Limited. This is the Sixth Annual General Meeting since Kingsway Stores became a public Company in 1967, and I would like to extend a special welcome to any new Members who are present and to those others who may be attending an Annual General Meeting for the first time.

RESULTS:

As you will see from the Report, the Company has been able to achieve an increase in its turnover, though this was due more to an increase in the cost of goods rather than an increase in the volume of goods sold and as anticipated the level of profit margin was reduced. This has arisen from Kingsway's strict observance of price controls coupled with increased costs in almost every area of expenditure; nevertheless, the final net operating profit, though down on last year can, I hope, be accepted as a satisfactory result having regard to all the special difficulties which occurred.

The final net profit, transferred to the Income Surplus Account is in fact in excess of last year as a result of some favourable factors. Having obtained repayment of part of our investment in National Development Bonds, we also received accrued interest on these Bonds. There is also a large reduction in interest payment as a result of the improved liquidity of your Company, and finally, we had the benefit of a favourable tax adjustment which has substantially improved our final net profit.

Obtaining suitable merchandise was a major and continuing problem throughout the year, and I feel I must once again emphasize the overriding importance to your business of Kingsway's policy to promote and sell goods which have been locally manufactured or processed. In fact I particularly mention this again this year because we are currently running an in-store promotion, the objective of which is to give publicity to the products of the Ghana Industrial Holding Corp and I hope that those of you who have not seen be able to do so.

DIVIDEND:

The Directors have recommended a gross divi 40p share, which is the same as that declared in the previous year. I and my fellow Directors a very much aware of the fact that the amount deducted at source and the difficulties in obtain imbursement are of the deepest concern to many We have continued to make representations appropriate places and we strongly believe that mobilisation of capital is to be stimulated in to achieve the aims of the Government's inve policy, tax incentives will be needed to encoura participation of individual Ghanaian shareholde

You will note that the value of unpaid di has further increased, and I have to advise t remittances were made during the year to the o shareholders.

DEVELOPMENTS:

During the year major changes were made in t merchandise is presented in the Accra store. Som necessary to counteract the shortage of certain m dise but the prime objective which has been a our plans for a long time was to bring the appe of the Accra store more up-to-date by introduci retail practices, improve our use of the space av and provide greater convenience and comfort for mers. Accra store is also now able to offer the add facility of an optical service and improvement been made at other branches.

During the year under review, Mr. McGavi Pharmacy Controller retired after many years of service, and I am happy to report that his succe a Ghanaian.

al Managers attended training courses, and one attended a number of specialised courses and activities in Britain and in Nigeria.

E:

programme for the development of Ghanaian rs continues to accelerate and four new Managers ppointed with effect from the 1st of January. Two other Merchandise Controllers, Mr. P. L. and Mr. R. V. Broughton will be leaving this aving satisfactorily handed over their duties to an successors, and I think it is appropriate to our appreciation of their long and valuable ser- th the Company.

lts for the first half year of the current Financial ndicate the maintenance and improvement of pro- e have found the Prices and Incomes Board to be and sympathetic though as you will appreciate massive task to administer prices over a range s is handled by Kingsway Stores. I would also record our appreciation of the way in which location of import licences is being managed. n exchange must be conserved in these difficult but the administration of the import licence is better than we have ever known it.

eral development of the business is difficult under t circumstances, and any major expansion must a general improvement in the economy, but your will continue to consolidate and improve effi- with particular emphasis on cost savings. Your Board are also considering with great care the best way in which your Company can accord with, and implement, the Government's investment policy.

STAFF:

I am more than happy to report that the work performance of the staff has continued at an extremely high level, and that we have enjoyed substantial co-operation with the willingness to make greater efforts to support the Company through difficult times. Many of our staff have been with us for a long time and we greatly appreciate the loyalty which is proved by long service. We are sure that this state of affairs will continue into the future, and I would like to take this opportunity of thanking them for their contribution which is most warmly appreciated.

Finally, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of my fellow Directors and myself, I would like to thank you for coming here this afternoon and for your continued interest in the affairs of your Company. It is my pleasure to re-affirm the determination of the Board and the management of Kingsway Stores to give their every effort to ensuring the long term health and well being of the Company.

Thank you.

C. RICHARDS

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troduced in the middle of 1968 following the introduction of the Two-year Development Plan—1968/69-1969/70), but remained below the 1966 level.

It is clear then that contrary to the allegation by Correspondent, the official data on imports is **not** in conflict with my conclusion that "the 1967 devaluation had led to a significant decline in imports . . . both in 1967 and 1968". To rectify the wrong impression created by Correspondent, I consider it necessary to add that before coming to this conclusion I had very carefully analyzed the official data on imports published in the Economic Surveys for 1968 (table XI, p.127), and 1969 (table XI, p.118), as well as in the **Two-year Development Plan** (table 3.2, p.10) and the **One-year Development Plan** (table 2.2, p.4).

All these official sources present data on imports in terms of post-devaluation new cedis (i.e., after making the necesary adjustments for the 1967 devaluation) and thus support my conclusions. It seems to me that Economic Correspondent did not read these publications with necessary care. Had he done so, he would not have fallen into the statistical trap which exists in the official data quoted by him.

No further clarification on the evidence in support of my conclusions appears to me to be necessary, notwithstanding the various interpretations that Correspondent derives from his own statistical illusion. But since some of them may give rise to misapprehensions that my other conclusions need revision, two further remarks are pertinent. First, there is the issue of the impact of the 1967 devaluation on the level of imports of capital equipment and industrial raw materials. Economic Correspondent claims that "raw material imports increased by 16% (1967), 23% (1968) and 14% (1969. Capital equipment imports increased by 30% in 1968 and 6% in 1969". (**L.O.** VIII/10, p.256). Again, he arrives at these figures by using the wrong data.

TABLE 3
IMPORTS BY END-USE (F.O.B.)

($million)

Types of goods	1966	1967	1968	1969
Non-durable consumers' goods	95.20	70.07	74.48	85.94
Durable consumers' goods	13.44	14.01	14.40	18.91
Raw and semi-finished materials	120.40	98.00	121.42	139.16
Capital equipment	107.24	58.70	76.73	81.04
Fuel and lubricants	14.56	15.09	20.87	22.24
Total Imports	350.84	255.78	307.72	347.31

N.B. Figures do not add up exactly to the totals due to rounding off.
Source: Derived from the Economic Survey, **1969, table 16, p.37.**
(Source: Derived from the Economic Survey, **1969, table 16, p.37).**

TABLE 4
INDICES OF IMPORTS BY END-USE

(1960 = 100)

Types of goods	1966	1967	1968	1969
Non-durable consumers' goods	100	73.6	78.2	90.2
Durable consumers' goods	100	104.2	107.1	140.7
Raw and semi-finished materials	100	81.4	100.8	115.6
Capital equipment	100	54.7	71.5	75.6
Fuel and lubricants	100	103.6	143.3	152.7

Source: Derived from table 3.

The correct data on imports by end-use is presented in tables 3 and 4. It can be readily seen from these tables that capital equipment imports in 1967 dropped to about one-half of the level in 1966. In 1968—the first full year after the devaluation—the volume of imports of capital equipment was nearly 30% less than in 1966. And even in 1969—the first full year of import liberalization policy—capital equipment imports were only two-thirds of the volume in 1966. Figures of imports of raw and semi-finished materials, as given in tables 3 and 4, no doubt show a rise of nearly 16% in 1969 as compared to 1966.

This should not, however, mislead us. Not all the raw and semi-finished materials imported by Ghana are used for investment purposes. In the absence of reliable information on the economic use of imported raw and semi-finished materials, the usual practice in Ghana has been to treat only imports of construction materials as part of investment goods imports, and to consider the rest as part of consumers' goods imports. On this basis and after making the usual adjustments for the change in exchange rate we find that Ghana's imports of raw materials for investment purposes was as follows:

	1966	1967	1968	1969
$ million	55.9	28.9	26.8	36.3

(Source: Derived from the Economic Survey, **1969 table 16, p.37).**

The second remark is closely related to the first: available statistical information points clearly to the fact that the rate of growth in Ghana has so far been largely dependent on the level of **investment** goods imports. Thus, for instance, the rate of growth (in real terms) fell from 1.5% in 1967 to 0.3% in 1968. (**Economic Survey,** 1969, table 2, p.15). The virtual stagnation of the economy in 1968 must be attributed largely to the drastic fall in the level of investment goods imports resulting from the July 1967 devaluation.

Similarly, it was mainly due to the increased availability of investment goods imports in the next two years that in 1969 the economy was able to register a growth rate of 3.4%. No wonder then that the authors of the **One-year Development Plan** had to admit that there is a ". . . close relationship between the availability of imports and the growth rate which the economy can achieve, particularly in the non-agricultural sectors". (p.30).

I agree with Economic Correspondent that "Textbooks certainly do **not** furnish a body of settled conclusions immediately applicable to policy". I wish to add, however, that an unwary acceptance of statistical data certainly leads to wrong conclusions and disastrous policy decisions.

II. IDEOLOGY

"IDEOLOGIES ON SALE"—A REJOINDER

From JAWA APRONTI

Institute of African Studies, Legon

I AM afraid G. Adali-Mortty's "Viewpoint" (**L.O.** VIII/10) contained more muddled thinking than I for one can stomach. Reactionaries have made a habit in this country of using invective against progressives, where concrete argument demands that they should adduce points in support of their case.

For Mr. Adali-Mortty's information, there is no fetish about the word ideology. Indeed he recognizes the need for an ideology when he calls for:

> a stated course of future action, and a stated direction, in order that progress can be meaningful and purposeful.

The mistake he makes is to equate ideology with socialism, the anti-thesis to capitalism. The choice that faces all of us is between these two. If Mr. Adali-Mortty is a capitalist (as I suspect from his arguments and examples that he is) he should come out and say so. It is intellectually dishonest for capitalists to pretend that they occupy what amounts to an ideological no-man's-land.

The article under discussion cites the platitudes under which capitalists hide their nefarious profiteering and social oppression of the poor: belief in "individual initiative", "individual choice", "brotherhood of man", "equal opportunity in basic formal education". The question is this: What state apparatus exists to ensure that the economic and social conditions are brought into being which alone will give credence to these pious protestations? For the capitalist state is characterized by gross inequalities in the distribution of wealth, and therefore in educational and all other opportunities even the opportunity to drink clean water and live in healthy surroundings.

Where is Mr. Adali-Mortty's home-grown ideology, which will liberate us? Does it consist of the systematic demolition of the infrastructure for state-controlled economy that Kwame Nkrumah started? Does it consist in our leaving still a disproportionate share of our wholesale and retail trade in the hands of local branches of multi-national corporations who are well known to use sharp practices to interfere in the internal affairs of countries of the third world? Does it consist in failure to utilize known subversion of the economy by foreign and local agents as an opportunity for massive mobilization for the assertion of our national motto, Freedom and Justice?

The capitalists in our midst should not be surprised to realize that there are **brands** of socialism in the world. Indeed, do they not at the same time accuse socialists of aiming at creating a monolith? The truth of the matter is that there is a residium of irreducible principles in socialism which each progressive people embrace, keeping in mind the important consideration that local conditions will dictate strategy and tactics.

But the irreducible principles remain irreducible. So that if one is, that a person housed at subsidized rates by the state should not own and hire out to the state or any other agency a mansion built out of (borrowed) public funds, then we would jolly well ensure that it does not happen. Especially so where the workers who put up the two houses concerned are less decently housed than my car or Mr. Adali-Mortty's.

You see, Sir, there are ultimate human considerations in this debate. If we close our eyes to the objective conditions and go socialist-baiting, we would hasten the day when the "violent change" that Mr. Adali-Mortty fears so much (sorry, he merely does not believe in it!) will take place.

A PROPOS ADALI-MORTTY'S "IDEOLOGY ON SALE"

From SETH C. OTUTEYE

Law Faculty, Legon

MR. Adali-Mortty appears to have been caught in the contradictions of a certain kind of political and intellectual adolescence. Keen on practising his newly discovered potentialities of the intellect, he expansively demolishes the premises and conclusions he had himself created out of socialism. In an attempt to give Ghana and his united Africa a new, locally conceived and nurtured ideology, he does no more than remouth the "non-partisan" platitudes of the capitalism of the modern post-industrial society of Western Europe and Japan.

Mr. Adali-Mortty acknowledges the necessity of ideology in building a nation, especially when that task must be undertaken, willy-nilly, together with the other onerous burdens of building new political institutions and an industrial base. What he fails to realise is that phrases like "industrial initiative", "individual choice", "brotherhood of man", and "equal opportunity" alone are valueless as credos on which nations are built. These cliches are better left to hippies and the neo-Gurus of California and Woodstock.

Want of ideas is not Ghana's problem; it is our inability to do the best we can with what we know. Mr. Adali-Mortty falls victim to the "I-know-more-than-he-knows" syndrome when he wants us to believe that in spite of his commitment to capitalism he is more learned in the origins of socialist philosophy than the socialists themselves. As a living beneficiary of socialist planning he may be correct, after all. I would invite him to share with his readers the processes of his conversion. It may clarify the debate.

NO FOREIGN IDEOLOGY!

From A. IDDIRISU

Gbewaa Secondary School, Tamale

I WRITE to express my sincerest support of Mr. G. Adali-Mortty, senior lecturer at the School of Administration, Legon, on his article entitled "Ideologies on Sale —Whose do we Buy?", which appeared in the **Legon Observer,** Vol. VIII/10.

In this article, the writer has argued out, logically, why Ghana should adopt and develop her own ideology instead of adopting a foreign type. I do not understand why some Ghanaians should still yearn for foreign ideologies! If there were any people on African soil advocating foreign ideologies, I thought Ghanaians should not have been those people, or even support them. My reason is simple. Foreign ideologies have repeatedly proved unsuitable for Ghanaians. Nkrumah fell because of his attempt to plant a foreign type of ideology here, likewise Busia. In short, Ghanaians have openly rejected both the eastern and the western types.

I am against neither socialism nor capitalism. After all, the meanings of both words are subject to elastic interpretations. If by adopting a "Ghanaian capitalism" we can solve our problems and develop, I do not see anything wrong with it; likewise if we develop a "Ghanaian socialism". But to accept a foreign type at the moment is not only dangerous to both our economy and political situation, but meaningless as well.

I am utterly against the idea of preaching a foreign type of ideology for Ghana. Foreign ideologies are not universal. They were propounded by people to suit their own environments. I have the belief that Africans can also develop their own ideology, if they are serious. The N.R.C. has so far been able to stand by their promise to be uncommitted to any section. My advice is that they should beware of foreign ideologies, as these can disrupt their progress.

Viewpoint

GAMMALIN AND THE COCOA INDUSTRY

By

Dennis Leston

(Department of Zoology, Legon)

THE announcement (**Ghanaian Times,** 4th June) that Gammalin is to be put on sale to farmers at a subsidised price and made available at cocoa stations and buying sheds everywhere makes sad reading. Are we to understand that this potent pesticide should be sprayed by farmers in areas where cocoa-capsids—Twi, **Akate**—are resistant to it? If so, then a further decline in yield is to be envisaged.

When, in March this year, the end of mass spraying was announced, those of us concerned with problems of cocoa health in Ghana were pleased. Mass spraying had accomplished nothing in capsid control in the long term, and had contributed largely to the spread of swollen-shoot. Encouragement to farmers to spray **at routine times of year and as a prophylactic,** even in the absence of capsids, is also undesirable.

It is ironic that just when, following the Stockholm conference, scientists are beginning to look at environmental problems, a method of pest control in cocoa is being promoted which destroys just those ecological elements which make the cultivation of cocoa and other tree crops profitable in the forest zone.

Valueless Method

The past ten years have witnessed a global swing away from the routine spraying of a single insecticide towards integrated methods of pest and disease management, utilising chemicals only to reinforce natural controls and not to obliterate these. The problem of cocoa —the interaction of the tree wih light or shade, and the interaction of this and other agronomic factors with capsids, the defoliating complex, swollen-shoot and blackpod—is the most highly complex to have so far been elucidated in any crop. Simple methods, such as a blanket spray, can never work in these situations.

A modern scheme for pest control in cocoa has now been developed in Ghana, following upon about 18 scientist man/years of research. It makes full use of all the available information and combines short-term pest control with long-term agronomic methods for crop improvement. It utilises insecticides, but only at certain times and in certain circumstances.

To fall back, as official policy apparently does, upon a method of swollen-shoot control that is of dubious efficacy and more than 25 years old, and upon a method of capsid-control which is 17 years old and which at least three scientists have shown, independently and by different methods, to be valueless except for four weeks after use, suggests that the authorities are not receiving



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the best advice. And cocoa is too important in Ghana for any but the best advice to be followed; or else the authorities are ignoring it. Conservatism has never paid off in pest control: the pests change their habits or their genetic formulation, and always keep one jump ahead.

There is nothing wrong with gammalin, but it should be used intelligently and not broadcast in areas where, through resistance, it is useless; upon trees which have no pests and are naturally protected; and at times of year when the pests are absent. Unless a major change in crop protection policy takes place soon, and is allied to improved methods of cultivation, the decline in cocoa production, currently running at about 1 percent a year, will continue—and at an increased rate.

THE MEAT PROBLEM

By

C. K. Mintah
(Law Faculty Office, Legon)

OF ALL the economic problems we face, meat shortage is one of the most pressing. The price of meat, where it is available at all, is distressingly high. Beef, of which not long ago one could buy 10p worth for a meal, is now so expensive that butchers sometimes refuse to sell below a minimum of 40p. In fact the meat shortage problem is such that for a family of three to have a subsistence level—not even respectable—meal, they have to buy about ¢1.20 worth of meat. It is therefore obvious that meat is now outside the reach of a sizeable proportion of Ghanaians. Prices of chicken, mutton, fish and eggs have correspondingly spiralled, but since beef is the most staple and common meat item, this piece will concern itself with it alone.

The official cattle policy has sadly been inconsistent. A few months after the N.R.C. assumed power the Chairman of the N.R.C. charged the Bolgatanga Meat Factory to produce again the then unavailable Volta Corned Beef within a specified time. The management of the factory hurriedly produced some Volta Corned Beef, a part of which was symbolically presented to the Head of State. That was the last we saw of Volta Corned Beef!

For a certain period Regional Commissioners laid the blame of high meat price at the door of "middlemen" butchers, and ordered them to sell beef at 65p a lb. In some areas, such as Sunyani, the problem became so acute that at one stage soldiers were selling meat in the market. Later on there arose a rumpus in the camps of rival butchers associations, and eventually the Commissioner for Trade "permitted" them to sell at 85p. a lb. This was followed by a statement that butchers were owing the Cattle Development Board large sums of money.

Next came the time when slaughtered beef was to be airlifted from the Bolgatanga Meat Factory to the rest of the country. This obviously did not work, since it is clear that we do not have the resources (enough planes) to supply even all the regional capitals at convenient times. Even if we had the planes the cost of freight might outstrip the supply benefits sought. In any case, it was never certain whether there was enough meat at Bolgatanga to sustain the exercise in the first place.

The most recent government statement on meat, made by the chairman of the Cattle Development Board, was to the effect (1) that cattle would be supplied from Nigeria; (2) that frozen meat had been ordered from Norway etc., and (3) that because of drought most of our cattle had died. Reflecting on these statements one would ask: Whatever happened to our other traditional suppliers, such as Upper Volta and Niger? Why frozen meat from Norway, of all places, when meat could be obtained from neighbouring countries with cheaper transportation costs? Do we have facilities to preserve this type of meat for distribution to the whole country?

The statement attributed to the Chairman of the Cattle Development Board did not name which sources of our cattle supply had suffered from drought. Moreover the statement has to be taken with a grain of salt, since not long ago it was also reported that the meat shortage was due to the rinderpest disease that had hit the cattle in neighbouring countries.

These inconsistencies would lead us to surmise that cattle import restrictions in pursuance of the self-reliance policy is the most probable cause of the current meat shortage. If this is the official policy, as it apparently is, then it is regrettable. Meat cannot by any criteria be classified as a luxury. It is a necessary ingredient for the human body, and Ghanaians have enjoyed a constant and relatively cheap supply of it for a long time now. Meat is as important to the Ghanaian as it is to Chilean and U.S. housewives, who recently protested against a shortage of it, in the case of the former country, and high costs in the case of the latter. The present situation is clearly intolerable, and the following suggestions are put forward as an effort to help improve it.

Since the ranches which butchers have been asked to set up will take a long time to be able sufficiently to supply the whole country, we must resume cattle importation on the former scale. The present government's relations with the traditional suppliers are good. If there is any rift in respect of the cattle trade this must be patched up.

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Letters

Reply to Mr. Abiri Kwabena

SIR—Our attention has been drawn to your May 18 issue in which Mr. Abiri Kwabena's letter alleges "a Ghanaian top ranking army officer" made certain demands on the Ghana Airways for not being able to fly him to Tamale on April 29.

The matter is being investigated and, depending on its merits and desirability, an appropriate comment or explanation may be offered on the letter afterwards.

Notwithstanding the action this ministry is instituting into the matter, it must be said in no uncertain terms that no one quarrels with your reader for pointing out what he thinks to be irregular with the behaviour of an individual in the Armed Forces; however, we doubt the propriety of Mr. Kwabena's comments, in paragraphs three and four, casting veiled aspersions on the government.

Burma Camp **Major A. A. Enninful**
Accra **Ag. Director of Public Relations**

"Recent Changes . . ."—A Rejoinder

SIR—As regards the letter entitled "Recent Changes—Regional Commissioners" in **L.O.** VIII/10, I feel the writer's apparent objection to the said changes smacks of some kind of partisanship.

The R.C. need not "depend completely on the advice of civil servants because he is not conversant with local conditions". We believe all the commissioners are worth their salt and that they should not be swayed by the "whims and caprices" of any civil servant. Since civil servants have had a great deal of their once glorious image restored to them by this regime, we feel that their advice to the R.C.s should always be given in good faith.

Again, the commissioner does not have to be the fierce toothful bull-dog before he can discharge the duties required of him. The administrative bureaucrats are there to help and, if need be, guide him in his onerous task. As for his having to understand the language and customs of the people before communicating with them, this is not an indispensable requisite. The R.C. can always be helped by effective interpreters, and the civil servants can furnish him with all the vital information concerning the people and their customs. He will surely be learning; and I bet you, he will very much like it. Within three to six months in his new place, the R.C. should be quite conversant with his region and its people.

We Ghanaians are in the habit of publicly or otherwise identifying ourselves with leaders and high public officers who belong to our ethnic group, and go to great lengths to influence them to treat us favourably. The present reshuffle of the commissioners goes a long way to kill any probable tendency of courting nepotism from them. With these changes we can begin to hope for a united Ghana devoid of ethnic rivalry. We all want to feel that those who have redeemed us are first and foremost Ghanaians, and that they are responsible to Ghana, and should be prepared to serve in any part of the country.

Bawku Secondary School **B. J. L. Kumasi**
Bawku (U.R.)

Military Training in the Universities

SIR—I have followed with great interest arguments raised in favour of and against the above topic in the dailies and in the local leading journals, and bluntly refuse to agree with authors who subscribe to the introduction of training of the sort into the university curriculum. As far as statements on this issue from the authoritative sources go, I have the impression that the training is meant to instil discipline and awareness of civic responsibilities into the recipients.

The training would be a way of instilling discipline while on parade and in camp, but it is not a matter to be given such significant attention, as has been the case hitherto. There are major national problems which should receive closer attention than this. Why give it all that importance, when the youth have already showed signs of accepting responsibility and good comportment?

As is the case in the United States, if the corps is to be used as a reserve force in times of crisis, then it is worth the trouble involved; but if on the other hand it is only to teach discipline, the cost involved would be too great at this crucial period, when the poor farmer does not possess a cutlass of his own.

At the University of Science and Technology, the Officer Cadet Corps has been in existence since the early Sixties, and students flocked in their numbers to it because of the lighter side of the training—riding in army trucks, practice at firing ranges, and the allowance of 15 pesewas per parade, twice a week, plus a yearly bonus of ¢20.00. When the allowances and the bonus were cut drastically by the Busia government in 1970, the number reduced by 70%, which corresponded to the percentage cut!

The public should in no way be deceived into believing that students will readily take on this military training seriously without any reward. The student is already overloaded with both intra and extra-curricula activities, and will expect a gain in cash or kind for his efforts. As far as the universities are concerned, what matters most is the students' academic performance. Moulding of character at university level is not bad in itself but could be better achieved at earlier stages, say in the primary school.

Let military training, if at all to be pursued, start in the primary school and not at the universities, where more attention should be paid to technological know-how for our so much needed manpower requirements, rather than taking boring lessons on discipline, only to come out and join the undisciplined.

P.O. Box 6492 **Rodger Bekoe-Dawson**
Accra

SIR—I have, with some mixed feelings, read about the intentions of the present government to establish national service corps in the universities of Ghana. Like all ingenious ideas, this project is not without some demerits in the short or long term.

Of course the establishment of a national service corps is not a new idea. It is still in operation in several countries But several other countries which operated it have found it necessary, for divers reasons, to abolish the project. Naturally, these reasons differ from country to country.

A few weeks back, Dr. George Benneh, of the Geography Department, Legon, was widely reported as advocating, during a symposium, that the funds for the

project could be diverted into other development projects, particularly rural development. Since a recent report shows that the service corps project is still going on, one can only assume that the government has confidently taken care of these other development projects.

Some countries have managed to achieve national consciousness, and self-disciplined and responsible citizens without national service corps. There are several ways of achieving the same goals.

Department of Geology **A. O. Adjei**
Legon

Our Educational System

SIR—How many of the people who talk about "reforming" our educational system realize what "reform" means? It means to put something back into its original form. A good girl takes to a bad life, then reforms, and lives the same good life that she lived before, because she has been put back in her original form. If somebody really wants to reform the educational system, he must put it back just as it was some years ago, when there were fewer students and entry requirements were rigorous; they could put back the Latin requirement for a start.

If they want to change the system without reforming it, they could begin by removing the injustices that are being done to the Independent Schools (double taxation, customs to pay on educational material, candidates forbidden to enter for science in the G.C.E., and Peace Corps teachers forbidden to teach there), and so make things better for perhaps three out of four of the schoolchildren of this country. The Examinations Council should put ancient history on the O-level syllabus, for it is more relevant to Africa than the European history which is on the syllabus now.

One thing they should never forget: although it is a mistake to enforce academic education on too many people, there are always some people who want it and need it. They should be in secondary school doing academic, secondary work; whether the others are in the same school on the "vocational side", or in a different school, or apprenticed in some factory and not in a school at all, the secondary pupils should not suffer and should not be made to do vocational work as well. Education for everybody must not become education for nobody.

Accra **Daphne Hereward**

Street Names in Accra

SIR—I do not know which individual or authority is responsible for naming streets in Accra, and how they come by the names. Now Cantonments Street at Osu is renamed "Nelson Mandella" Street; another "Holden Roberto" Street; and another "Albért Luthuli" Road. Who are these people, and what contributions have they made to Ghana and Ghanaians?

Are we so base that we do not appreciate that the noble sacrifices made by our own countrymen, past and present, merit their names being used for our streets, instead of unknown foreigners who have never even set foot on our soil before?

Oh dear! Whom are we trying to please in Africa? Has something gone wrong with us?

P.O. Box 8 **Kwatei Quartey**
Accra

Action Not Words

SIR—While it is encouraging to observe a growing consensus amongst West African states, of the paramount need for a West African economic union, it is sad to note that no concrete steps are being taken towards the formation of a wholly West African economic grouping. We are only witnessing the formation of several 'nuclei' of such a union. We have also of late heard so many repeated calls for a 'W.A.E.C.' (or 'C.E.A.O.') from almost every West African leader that any new advocacy becomes only an echo.

We do not want to believe that it has suddenly become fashionable for African leaders to punctuate their speeches with grandiloquent phrases and sentences about economic union. We would like to believe that when our leaders advocate the formation of a West African economic bloc, they do so out of a deep conviction that it is only such a body that can promote and accelerate the socio-economic development of their countries.

If this is the case, then it is high time our leaders added some modicum of credibility and meaning to their declarations and affirmations about a W.A.E.C. (and finally an African Economic Union), by linking up those laudable declarations with positive action. Is it not time we plunged into serious negotiations and dissolved the several nuclei into one big nucleus? We should have learnt by now that the longer we wait and the more talking we do, the more elusive and impossible economic unity becomes—the more duplicating our efforts too, with conflicting blocs and interested groups springing up each day.

If we really and sincerely believe that economic groupings are the panacea to our problems, the time to have a W.A.E.C. or C.E.A.O. is now, and not tomorrow. Tomorrow will be too late.

Akuafo Hall **Lwanga Blay-Amihere**
Legon

Africa and the E.E.C.

SIR—Why do we Africans still go on pondering whether or not to join the European Economic Commission (E.E.C.)—a colonialist economic organisation which seeks its own vested and valued interests? Some reactionary economic theoreticians are out to confuse us about the need to have some form of association with the E.E.C. because of some microscopic advantages, and we should keep our minds sharp against them.

I too believe the economic salvation of Africa lies in a strong and virile economic union which would present a united and uncompromising stand against the interests of these neo-colonialist organisations, and I am happy to see that there are some signs of this unity (witness the stand of Kenya and Tanzania vis-a-vis the Lomé crisis, and the attitude of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (O.P.E.C.) towards the oil consuming countries of the West).

Once again I would like to emphasise with others that our economic emancipation can come only from self-generated viable economic union among African countries.

Ghana Institute of Journalism **George Asiama-Ansong**
P.O. Box 667
Accra

the so called 'foreigners' not
cause) what about the contributions they made toward the liberation struggle!

Ghanaian Architects and the Housing Problem

SIR—This country has "just" celebrated her 16th birthday as an independent state, and if Ghana has achieved any success at all it has largely been achieved by governments. Individuals, and professional associations like the legal and medical ones, the Academy of Science, and the rest, have contributed very little to the development of this our beloved nation.

We are all aware of the need to house the lower income group in this country, and yet people who claim to have acquired skills in designing and building houses do not seem to be able to come out with pragmatic ideas to solve the housing problem. It seems to me that Ghanaian architects are not hard working enough, and however intractable are their problems they need to come out with solid solutions to our housing problem.

Our architects seem to be unaware of "Acheampong's revolution"; as a result many of us are wondering whether the U.S.T. is producing the type of architects we need in this country. We claim to be rich in timber, bamboo and brick and tile materials, yet it is quite surprising that the State Housing Corporation has not started building houses in these local materials. One of the main arguments used against bricks is that it does not allow sufficient air to enter the apartments, which therefore tends to catch fire easily; but one expects that Ghanaian architects would be in a position to design and construct brick houses in such a way that sufficient air would enter the various apartments.

What I am expecting from Ghanaian architects is that they should be able to carry out research so that the cost of building houses is reduced drastically. They should be able to utilize local materials like timber and locally made bricks in building attractive houses. The question that one may be tempted to ask is this: Have Ghanaian architects formulated such policies to the government, and have they convinced the government of the advantages Ghana would gain if these local materials are used in building houses? If the government wants to speed up its housing project, then Ghanaians must be educated to accept houses built of these local materials, especially for the lower income group.

And if this country wants to produce first class architects to design them, then the government must attach our qualified architects to higher institutions in Italy and America. At the moment architects from these two countries are of the best, and if this is done our architects will gain practical experience and will be in a position to formulate pragmatic ideas to solve our housing problem.

P.O. Box 231
Accra

Labi Koi-Larbi

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For The Record

Thursday, May 31

Corned Beef Delayed at Bolga

MORE than 36,000 tins of Ghana made Volta Corned Beef are lying idle at the Bolgatanga Meat Factory because the National Standards Board has not issued a certification mark to enable GIHOC put them on the market.

This discovery was made by Colonel W. C. O. Acquaye-Nortey, Upper Regional Commissioner, when he visited the factory today; and, almost immediately, the Regional Commissioner sent an emergency message to the Board's headquarters in Accra asking them to issue the certificate.

Monday, June 4

Further Importation of Meat

A TOTAL of ¢1 million has been transferred to Mali and Upper Volta as part of arrangements to airlift beef from those countries to ease the shortage of meat in Ghana.

Further import licences worth ¢1.1 million have also been issued to commercial importers to bring in frozen beef.

Col. F. G. Bernasko, Commissioner for Agriculture, who announced this at a press conference today, explained that as a result of the drought which had hit the traditional sources of our beef supply, Ghana's import of beef had dropped from 3,500 tons per week to 1,000 tons per week.

Tuesday, June 5

Citrus Farm for Adansi

THE Ashanti Regional Development Corporation, in conjunction with the Agricultural Development Bank and the National Investment Bank, is to establish a citrus farm covering about 3,000 acres and worth about 2 million cedis in the Adansi Traditional Area.

Announcing this today at a Traditional Council meeting, Mr. Osei Kwaku, Managing Director of the Corporation, said that a feasibility study of the project was almost ready and that the project was expected to begin in the next financial year. Nana Kwantwi Barima II, Adansihene and President of the Council, praised the Corporation for the project and said that the Council would offer land.

Standards Board Withdraws Certificate

THE National Standards Board has withheld renewal of certification mark licences for 12 local manufacturing companies whose products have fallen below the prescribed standard.

Disclosing this in Accra today, Dr. Robert Oteng, Director of the Board, said that until the licences were renewed it would be an offence for the firms to continue to use the Board's mark. The firms, Dr. Oteng continued, had been asked to withdraw their goods from the markets as soon as their current licences expired.

Wednesday, June 6

¢1.5m Farm Tools for Upper Region

THE Upper Regional Development Corporation is to spend ¢1.5 million on agricultural machinery to help farmers in the region to step up food production.

The amount will be used to purchase seven land-clearing machinery, forty tractors and one combine harvester for the clearing of farm land and harvesting of rice. In an interview with the G.N.A. at Bolgatanga today, Mr. Fancis Badgie, Managing Director of the corporation, said that the corporation would enter both livestock and crop production.

He revealed that the corporation would acquire 500 acres of land at the Vea Irrigation Dam site for the cultivation of rice and tomatoes.

In addition the corporation is going to rear 300 sheep and 200 goats at Navrongo next month, in addition to other ranches at Bawku and Wa, and poultry and pig farms at Bolgatanga.

Thursday, June 7

Corporation Reduces Rent

THE State Housing Corporation is to reduce by 33⅓ per cent the cost of rental houses built by the Corporation for workers in the Upper Region.

This means that tenants living in rental units of one-bedroom and a living room now pay ¢10 per month instead of ¢15.

In addition, a concession of 30 years has been granted to people in the region who wish to own houses on hire-purchase basis thus extending by five years the original period of 25 years prevailing in other regions.

These decisions have come as the result of consultations between Col. W. C. O. Acquaye-Nortey and the Managing Director of the State Housing Corporation, Col. George Slater, at Bolgatanga.

Monday, June 11

Work on Canal Begins

COL. F. G. Bernasko last week-end led a team of experts and volunteers drawn from three voluntary organisations, namely, Voluntary Workcamps Association (Ebenezer Secondary School Branch), "Job For the Jobless" and the Rural Youth Foundation, to begin work on the Dawhenya Irrigation Project on the Prampram plains.

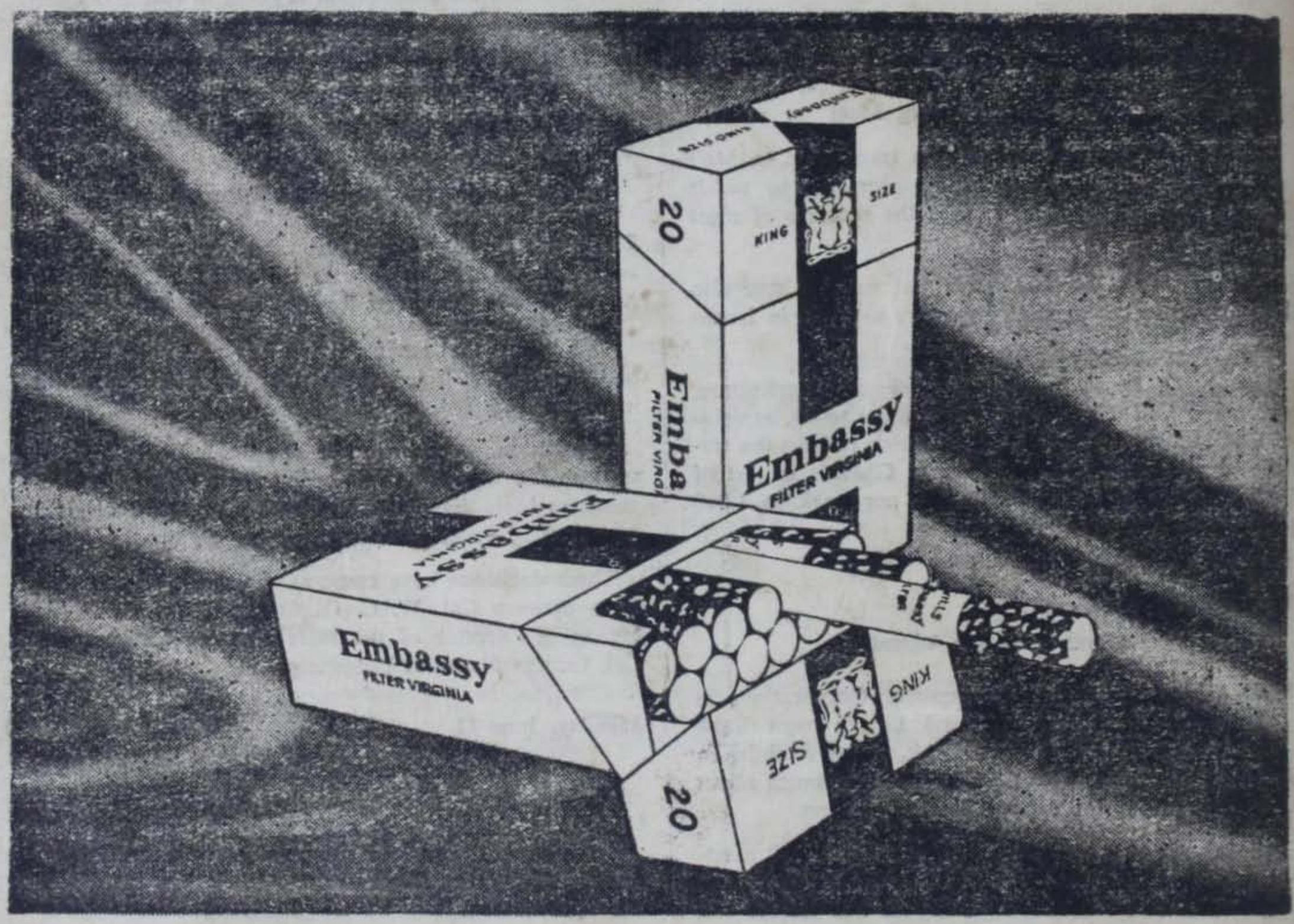
The project comprising a five-mile long canal will help irrigate a stretch of 1,700 acres of land when completed, and is a prelude to the construction of a 50-mile canal from the Volta River to irrigate the Accra plains.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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C. C T. BLANKSON—Research Fellow, Faculty of Architecture, U.S.T., Kumasi

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Editorial

SEVEN YEARS AGO

THE *Legon Observer* is seven years old with this issue today, but our commemorative number will be published next fortnight, as No. 14 of this Volume. It will not be elaborate: just sufficient for the purpose of acknowledging our own survivability. In any case we have never believed in "show business", even where the means exists. Today the means does not exist for indulging in conspicuous consumption in Ghana, for the country finds it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. As with the nation, so with the individual citizen. The cost of "living" soars for both, while the standard of living plummets; and the efforts of government to hold back the run-away horses of inflation get progressively frustrated by all sorts of factors. Some of these are inevitable, as effects of historical causes; some are due to anti-social behaviour, more or less the result of economic and political circumstances; and some are due to ineffective or wrong policy measures. All of them make life extremely tiresome for most people in Ghana today, and difficult for the processes of government.

But this is an accumulation. Our economic misery started with the regime which was put to an end seven years ago. Since that day, when the C.P.P. government fell and when the *Legon Observer* started —a few months later—the country has been going through a period of trial by hunger. Every government since the C.P.P., of which there have been three now, has been both a victim of a legacy and a contributor to its own political discomfort, as well as to the people's economic misery. However, no-one can blame the N.L.C., the P.P., or the N.R.C. for the central fact about our economy, namely that it collapsed between 1961 and 1965, from prodigality, mismanagement, and looting. In seven years we have really been made to suffer for the sins we committed before then—for we all now agree that we are each an inseparable part of the responsibility for those days. The N.R.C., like its two predecessors, is caught in an historical twin-squeeze.

Seven years ago the *Legon Observer* pledged itself to give what service its owners and publishers could

(*Continued on Page 311*)

International

THE ECONOMICS OF THE PAKISTANI PRISONERS-OF-WAR CASE

By

B. B. Quraishy

THE ROOT cause of constant armed conflict between India and Pakistan, and more recently the continued detention and maltreatment of Pakistani prisoners of war by India in defiance of its international obligations, seems to lie, not in the political consequences of the partition of the subcontinent but in its economic effects. The object of this article is to highlight the main causes of hostility between the two independent states, in the post-colonial era.

Before independence the region which now comprises West Pakistan (as large as France and Britain together, covering 310,000 square miles) was the food granary of India, supplying the best quality of wheat and rice to her rapidly growing population. In addition to that, it provided cotton as raw material to India's textile industry. This was possible because it had one of the best irrigation systems in the world. Similarly, East Pakistan, which is only about a sixth as big as West Pakistan, was the only supplier of jute to Indian jute mills; though at the time of partition seventy per cent of the world's jute was produced there, West Pakistan had not a single jute mill. Those that existed had been put up in British times around Calcutta.

Bitterness Over Loss

The sub-continent's main manufacturing areas all happened to be on the Indian side of the new 1947 frontiers. Thus, due to the economic backwardness of Pakistan and its lack of financial skills, Indian politicians and businessmen expected that it would collapse within nine months of its inception. This expectation could largely be attributed to their bitterness over the sudden loss of raw materials to their factories.

Contrary to Indian expectations, Pakistanis, infused with zeal, were determined to prove them wrong. By 1956, Pakistan had not only established the most modern cotton textile and jute industries but also made remarkable progress in establishing various industries, such as paper, glass, sugar, cement, rubber, fertiliser, insecticide, chemicals, woollen, heavy engineering, iron, steel, gas and electrical appliances. Each time western observers visited Pakistan, they found new industrial installations already built or under construction. Thus, it was unlikely that the expected collapse would occur. Indian pundits were made to look silly, rather like certain people in London in 1956, who painted a bleak picture of the Suez Canal after the withdrawal of the British pilots and the nationalisation of the canal.

Then came the international monetary crisis of September, 1949, when Pakistan surprised India and also the whole world by being able to disregard the rest of the sterling area and avoid devaluing, her stated reasons being purely economic: that she needed industrialisation, and that to lower her Rupee value would have made purchases of capital goods in the hard currency area much more expensive. India's extraordinary response in not recognising the Pakistani decision was in effect the imposing of an economic blocade. In the event, it took sixteen months for India to accept Pakistan's decision. This action was indicative of her revengeful attitude towards the new state.

Origins of Economic Breakthrough

By one of the many fortunate events that had attended Pakistani's economic success in its early period, it happened that the outbreak of the Korean War coincided with the boom in the world's commodity markets. Prices of Pakistan's raw materials (jute and cotton) soared. She accumulated large reserves of foreign exchange and, unlike India, was not bothered by food shortages. This was because of the fact that wheat in West Pakistan was in exportable surplus, though rice in the Eastern wing was slightly short in supply. But food supply was not a strain on her budget. Pakistan devalued her currency in 1955, after completing much of her dollar-area purchasing programme of capital goods for the first Five-Year Development Plan (1955-60).

As compared with India, Pakistan was poor in mineral resources. She had practically no coal, no accessible iron ore and very little oil. A vigorous search for oil was carried out but with no success. However, vast reserves of good quality gas at Sui in Baluchistan and at Sylhet in East Pakistan were discovered. This was exploited without delay. It not only reduced Pakistan's dependence on Indian coal but also removed shortage at small cost. Thus rapid economic development until 1955 under civilian rule put Pakistan on the world map. A country which had been expected to collapse, as Nehru confessed much later ("We expected that partition would be temporary, that Pakistan was bound to come back to us"), established herself well instead of collapsing.

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Having thus failed in exercising economic pressures on Pakistan's economy, India displayed her power in another way by inflicting a severe blow to Pakistani agriculture by shutting off, for several weeks, all water supplies to the rich lands around Lahore and Montgomery in the Punjab (West Pakistan). A bitter dispute over the Indus-basin water raged for years between the two countries. It could have reconverted fertile tracts of land into a vast desert. (There is a curious resemblance between Israel and India, because Israel also had an equally dangerous water dispute with her Arab neighbours about the Jordan river.) However, after long mediation by the World Bank an agreement was pressed upon India and Pakistan, which they eventually accepted.

It is worth noting that both India and Pakistan pursued the colonial economic system, i.e. capitalism, for achieving economic growth. This was continued even by the military government in Pakistan which overthrew civilian rule in 1958. First reactions from India to military regime were adverse. Mr. Nehru made pungent remarks (such as "naked military dictatorship", "despotism without a veil") and wanted to get Pakistan expelled from the Commonwealth. Britain, which later welcomed the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime by the army in Ghana, also joined in condemning military rule in Pakistan. But Nehru had no reason to show contempt for Pakistan's military regime; it was for the people of Pakistan to condemn it or not.

No Rational Motive

Ayub Khan tried to put relations with India on a better footing, but Nehru's mind had become so fixed in its anti-Pakistani attitudes that nothing could move it. He could easily tolerate Burmese military dictatorship in his neighbourhood, which did not allow a single year of civilian rule to its citizens after independence; but not in Pakistan. Yet the special role of the military regime had become all too common a phenomenon in many post-colonial societies. There was no rational motive behind Indian hatred other than economic ones.

For this same reason, Nehru's successors, Lal-Bahader Shastri and Mrs. Ghandhi, have continued an anti-Pakistan policy. Indian Prime Minister Shastri made a futile attempt by invading Pakistan in 1965. From that time relations with India grew worse. In 1959 an Indian aircraft equipped for photography flew as far as Rawalpindi (now capital of Pakistan) from the nearest point of the Indian border. Instead of an apology for a violation of air space, the Pakistanis got nothing but abuse from the Indian Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon.

In 1962, when the Indian army was defeated by China over a border dispute, her economy received a serious set-back. The government of India was overwhelmingly concerned with economic difficulties. The Indian bourgeoisie, through their political organisation, the Indian National Congress, tried to develop India along an independent capitalist path. This could not deliver the desired goods. Thus she was left with two alternatives: either increasing collaboration with foreign capital or an expansionist policy, like Japan, to capture markets in Pakistan for her manufactured goods.

The second alternative coincided with the wishes of all the Hindus of India to reunite the entire holy soil of Bharat Mata (Mother India) by force, regardless of international law or Gandhian pacifist teachings (non-violence). For this purpose Indian propaganda started infiltrating into East Pakistan through East Pakistani Hindus.

Inciting Secessionism

Furthermore, India exploited discontented and poverty stricken East Pakistanis, who attributed their poverty to military dictatorship and West Pakistani industrialists, by inciting secessionist tendencies among them. They failed to realise that West Pakistanis were as much under military rule as they themselves. In fact, West Pakistani farmers and workers were more exploited than their compatriots in the east, because of greater concentration of farm land in the hands of a few landlords and a greater degree of industrialisation in West Pakistan. There had been a corresponding increase of the working class.

There can be no doubt that the capitalist class of West Pakistan was concerned with its own profits rather than with West or East Pakistanis. The only difference between the two wings was that East Pakistan did not produce its own indigenous capitalist class, whereas West Pakistanis only filled the gap caused by the departure of Hindu businessmen after independence.

After the war in 1965, India, with the aid of the Soviet Union, built herself into a military power far superior to that of Pakistan, whose military aid from the U.S.A. had been cut off. This was because American weapons were intended to be used against socialist countries, particularly China, but not for the self-defence of Pakistan in the event of armed aggression from India. The interest of the Soviet Union in supplying arms to India was based on her policy of containment against China, as well as for her influence in South Asia.

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In such a situation, Pakistan decided to develop friendly ties with her superior neighbour, China.

It was precisely at that time that India chose to supply arms to insurgency groups in East Pakistan. East Pakistanis were also given military training in India and were armed to revolt against the central government of Pakistan. Clashes between guerillas (Mukti Bahinis) and Pakistan's army became a common practice all over the region. A situation similar to Nigeria's secessionist war was likely to occur sooner or later. In December, 1971, India launched an all out offensive against Pakistan, but this was denied by Mrs. Ghandhi, who said this was "Pakistani propaganda" and "wholly untrue".

East Pakistan was conquered by the Indian army. Pakistani soldiers and civilians numbering 93,000 surrendered to that army. At that time Bangladesh had not established itself as a separate entity. Later on, it was created by India, with the help of moral and military support by the Soviet Union. This has set up the dangerous precedent in modern times that any sovereign and independent state could be dismembered by a neighbouring state on one pretext or the other. Tanzania in Africa was quick to follow India's example. Uganda was invaded by the guerrillas bordering Tanzania simply to bring down the military regime of Amin, though this failed to achieve its object.

'Positive Neutrality'

Pakistan had broken apart; the great Indian "democracy" viewed with indignation the betrayal of democratic promises by Yahya Khan; it viewed with horror the atrocities of its army and gave its fervent sympathy to the "rebels" in East Pakistan, while at the same time giving support to Mrs. Bandaranaika in her campaign against the "rebels" in Ceylon—a complete contradiction in her policy of "Positive neutrality". This, in essence, was the official line supported officially by all the parliamentary political parties in India, from right to left. Day after day, the Indian, East European and West European presses produced a steady diet of non-facts about the Pakistan army, which was fighting for the unity of the country like that of the Federal army in Nigeria.

With the conquest of East Pakistan, India captured a market of 75 million people for her manufactured goods. But Mrs. Gandhi, like Mrs. Meir obsessed with victory over her neighbour, will not stop her expansionist designs. This is further exhibited by the continued detention of 93,000 Pakistani prisoners of war. Meantime, American prisoners of war, who committed crimes unparalleled in the history of warfare, were being released within fifteen days after the Paris Agreement.

In the light of the above analysis, it looks as if India has serious reasons for keeping the Pakistani P.O.W.s. She will not be satisfied with anything less than a complete dismemberment of Pakistan, for the further expansion of her markets. The more the food shortage and the greater the industrialisation of India, the stronger the economic incentive to conquer Pakistan.

Civil Engineering

SOLVING THE TRANSPORT PROBLEM IN ACCRA—I

By

Emmanuel K. Vorkeh

It will be argued in this paper that the root cause of the transport problem in Accra lies in the very structure of the city, and that for an effective and lasting solution a fundamental approach is necessary.

The introduction by the government of the mini-bus service is a welcome relief, but this cannot serve more than as a temporary palliative. Ad-hoc measures such as this can only have the effect of concealing the problem for a short while, only for it to re-emerge more complicated than before. An index to the gravity of the problem is the fact that for the greater part of the day most taxi drivers refuse service on some specific routes, namely the roads around the central lorry park, the Makola markets, the General Post Office and High Street.

The root cause of the problem is that, as at present, we have a situation in which the entire pressure of the city, and indeed of the whole country, is relentlessly concentrated on one small area. This is the area that is within a mile radius of the central lorry park. Let us call it "the Central Pressure Zone".

When Accra was adopted as the capital of the country, large stretches of land were acquired for public use. The area we have designated as the central pressure zone has since been developed into the commercial and administrative centre, while the others, like the Ridge, Cantonments and Airport, have developed into residential quarters. This is the pattern that has persisted ever since.

The city has undergone phenomenal growth. In fact it was, in the early 1960s, reckoned to be

the fastest growing city in Africa. But this growth has been, in the greater measure, by way of providing residential accomodation. Apart from the industrial area at Kaneshie, almost all other outward expansion has been due essentially to the putting up of residential dwellings. The big offices and the large shops continue to be sited in the central pressure zone.

Each morning, at precisely the same time, almost all workers and traders are moving in exactly the same direction; and in the evening at precisely the same time almost everyone is moving away from exactly the same direction. This is a situation which is bound to create transportation difficulties, irrespective of the width of the roads. The solution to this problem in Accra is therefore a fundamental and long-term one. The city must be re-structured in a way which would take some of the pressure off the central pressure zone:

(*i*) Offices and marketing centres must be re-distributed in the city in such a way as to avoid the present situation where most people have to move in the same direction at a particular time during the day;

(*ii*) the distribution of the offices and commercial centres must be such that the majority of people would not find it necessary to move very far from their houses in order to get to their places of work;

(*iii*) the routes and the operational system of the municipal buses will have to be re-organized.

With Added Efficiency

Accepting that the transport problem is due in a large measure to the over-centralisation of services in the pressure zone, a number of suggestions come readily to mind. There are some departments in the pressure zone which can readily and very conveniently be moved to other parts of the city, with even added efficiency to their own performance.

On the top of the list are:

(*i*) P.W.D. Offices
(*ii*) A-TCC Central Bus Depot
(*iii*) State Insurance Corporation
(*iv*) The C.I.D. Headquarters and Motor Traffic Unit.

These departments employ hundreds of workers who join the thousands of traders both from within the city and outside to converge on the pressure zone every working day.

People go to the pressure zone to do certain things which they must do. If by a re-arrangement they could be made to go to other parts of the city to do those things then there will be less pressure on the zone. For example, if the departments mentioned above were re-located, some at Adabraka, some at Cantonments or somewhere else, then the number of people wishing to travel to the pressure zone would be reduced, and to that extent the flow of traffic within the area would be smoother and more efficient.

The relatively strict division of the city into residential, commercial and industrial zones is the ultimate cause of the problems that we have been experiencing. The division is no longer necessary because most industrial establishments now use electricity and produce very little smoke these days. The pace of economic activity in Accra is the surest index of the performance of the entire national economy. For Accra is not only the capital, it is also the industrial and commercial heart of the whole country.

There is certainly a strong case for developing an industrial area at Kaneshie, but it is plain that the advantages of concentrating most industries in that area have been heavily negated by the persistent and nauseating traffic jams at the Kaneshie round-about. When traffic is at a standstill, a large part of economic activity is at a standstill, and to that extent economic growth is held up. Because of the strategic importance of Accra, the low-level performance of the country's economy is attributable in some measure to the traffic difficulties in the city.

Lopsided Development

According to market women in Accra, selling at Makola is something totally different from selling at Kaneshie, New Town, Mamprobi or any other market in the city. Therefore every trader wants to go to Makola or any place in the pressure zone because this is where everybody comes to do business from all over the country. This situation has led to a very lop-sided development of the city. The solution would be to ask some of the big merchant houses to remove some of their wholesale stores to other parts of the city in order to attract traffic and commerce to those areas.

We seem to have reached a point where further siting of business in the central pressure zone will bring only diminishing returns. The individual business may gain but the whole economy will suffer in diminished efficiency because of the aggravation of the traffic problem that the siting would lead to. It is a historical accident that many important services have been sited in this single small area thus producing the present congestion. But the mistake need not be maintained. Measures

must be taken now to ease the flow of traffic and thereby quicken the pace of economic activity in the city.

Four major car dealers have their shops and large garages located in the pressure zone: Africa Motors, Ford Motors, UTC Motors and R.T. Briscoe. Their presence is one important factor responsible for the heavy traffic in the area. But they are companies that have already made names for themselves; if they were therefore to move out from the pressure zone, they would suffer only very little dimunition of trade, if at all.

The problem that we have been trying to solve is how to make transportation within Accra quicker and smoother. One way of doing this is to reduce the number of vehicles on the roads by reducing the demand for them. This would be achieved if more residential dwellings could be built in the pressure zone. If this is done then many offices would be within only walking distance of the homes of those workers who would stay in the new residential dwellings.

Unless there is an increase in residential dwellings in the central pressure zone, there is hardly any justification for keeping the Bishop Girls' School and the Rowe Road Middle Schools in the area. In the mornings and evenings most of the space on buses is taken up by pupils going and coming from these schools in the pressure zone. Since these schools are situated in an area that is purely commercial, they are obviously far from the homes of most of the pupils. It is a pity to see these pupils struggling with grown-ups to get on the buses and "tro-tros" to come to school.

Observer Notebook

Southern Africa Again

We are compelled by the worsening position in the southern parts of our continent to turn our readers' attention once more to the explosive situation which is unfolding itself there. Hard on the heels of the meeting between Vorster and Smith to which we drew attention in our last issue, there comes the announcement of apartheid-style laws in Zimbabwe forbidding blacks and whites from visiting each other's "areas" without official permission.

We add our voices to the protests launched by the churches in Zimbabwe and fully support their determination to defy this diabolical law. To say, as some of the chirch leaders are reported to have done, that the ground for the defiance is that the new law would hinder missionary work is only the church's euphemistic way of avoiding a direct challenge to the state in political terms. But the plain fact is that such laws are repugnant to human conscience, social progress and all the canons of decent living. This new situation calls for renewed international pressure on Britain, a strangely silent observer of this wanton prostitution of all legality, to exercise the necessary power she claims to be her sole right so as to bring the illegal regime to heel. Renewed missions to Rhodesia from London, secret or open, will do neither Britain nor anybody else any good.

Independent Africa, for her part, must show more bite than bark in this matter. For a cardinal aim of the O.A.U. charter—can we not still hear echoes of the recent **tenth** anniversary celebrations? —is the total and expeditious emancipation of white minority-ruled areas. Either we are serious or we are not. How indeed can a white regime, with a population hardly bigger than that of our Swedru or Nsawam, be allowed to defy the U.N. and the whole world, to the point—in 1975, which is just around the corner!—of celebrating the **tenth** anniversary of her U.D.I.? The thing is just a bad joke.

From Geneva came heart-warming news recently, however, that 180 trade union organizations from 100 different countries have called for a strict embargo on the handling of any ships or aircraft bound for or coming from South Africa. Strange as it may seem, precisely this kind of embargo has been operating for some years in Australasian ports. In Africa itself—indeed in our own Accra—the level of political consciousness is so low that we blissfully service such craft, to the detriment of the heroic struggle that our kith and kin are putting up in the apartheid dungeons. It is the hope of the **Observer** that African trade unions will take note of this universal resolution; for the funeral belongs to us in black Africa, and we ought to be ashamed that far-away strangers are weeping louder than ourselves.

Public Works Deterioration

FOR some weeks now, quite a number of citizens who have travelled between Accra and Cape Coast have been wondering whether a new government Department of Public Works Deterioration has been set up. Considerable anxiety has been expressed about stretches of road which have been dug up for resurfacing. To the non-specialist eyes that we have, those portions that have been dug up are not any worse than those that have been left intact. After annoyingly long delays these roads are resurfaced, but it is clear that

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the portions that have been so treated are decidedly worse than what they used to be before the contractors, the P.W.D., or the S.C.C. decided to intervene.

One cannot too easily understand why whoever is responsible for this apparently deliberate and calculated assault on roads cannot deal with one portion, even if only to make it worse than before, before passing to the next. And another question yet is, why these works are undertaken at the onset of the rainy season.

Sometimes one wonders by what criteria a decision is taken as to which road or which portion thereof needs further treatment, for better or for worse. Recently, part of the road between the Airport junction and the gigantic roundabout on the way to Legon was resurfaced. This appears to have been a most unnecessary exercise, because by our Ghanaian standards that portion was not worse than any other part of the road; in the judgment of many ordinary mortals the finished work was worse than what it was meant to improve, and the whole futile exercise had the extra nuisance value of making it necessary for some motorists to acquire new windscreens. Paradoxically enough, most of the side roads leading to the airport residential area stand in greater need of attention than this main road which, so to speak, has been so cruelly violated. There are times when one has the almost comfortable feeling that those charged with the maintenance or deterioration of public roads have some surplus bitumen, gravel and manpower which they just want to dispose of. If this is the case, let them just go to the areas around the Ridge in Accra, or to Kaneshie, where they can dispose of these resources in a less incomprehensible and perhaps more competent manner. Or if they do think Accra is well provided for, they can send these to the Sekondi-Takoradi area, where the roads are a sorry sight and a crying shame.

"The Rains Came"

"THE RAINS Came" is the title of a movie which was considered a classic in its day. This was because of the picture's relentless realism in depicting both the blessing and the curse of a rainstorm which, coming at the end of a long period of drought, was at first the answer to fervent prayers but eventually developed into a pure horror, as it swept all before it and left the little community smashed, homeless and destitute. Of course there were compensations later...

The rains which fell on the Accra plains, the city itself, its coastal satellites, and other parts of the country during the last weekend were for many Ghanaians like the experience of the people of the little village in India (?), when the rains came after the drought. The floods caused by the historically rare volume of the downpour have left in their wake a great devastation. Houses, roads, bridges and drains have been smashed up and washed away; as in 1967/68, cars have been trapped in the rushing torrents created particularly at bridgeheads and conducive junctions, with some passengers and would-be good Samaritans dead or missing; the city of Accra—ramshackle enough and insanitary in many areas at the best of times—has been left in a state of advanced delapidation. Some of its streets are best described as more pothole than roadway.

What to do? The Nkrumah regime spent millions on flood control in Accra. We heard popular reports about Dutch engineers and other foreign water experts being engaged to instal flood control works, at mountainous cost; we saw huge, four-square concrete trenches being constructed from the city down to the sea; we saw and heard the great mechanical diggers and earthmovers working night and day.... During the succeeding regimes more attempts were made to counteract the effects of the flatness of Accra and arrest the menace of floods caused by heavy rains. In other words, more millions have been spent, since the C.P.P., on this project. All to no avail.

Yet Accra must be rescued some day from this menace, not because it is at the top of the over-privileged urban development cause-list but because, unfortunately, so much of the commercial, political and diplomatic life of Ghana is headquartered and concentrated here. General development for the whole country is a policy which we all advocate and support, on pain of perpetual trouble otherwise. That is one problem, and a serious one. Quite another, though, is a phenomenon like floods which cause death and depopulation when they come, or tie up commerce and industry at important centres.

The position in Ghana must be surveyed, or reviewed. And we must call on Kumasi to lead us in this—absolutely. That is, even to the point where we shall accept only **their** word for it that perhaps we need further international consultation and advice on the matter, if **they** don't have the resources. The heavy rains are only just beginning this season, at least at that rate. And there are a thousand more seasons to come.

Viewpoint

NIMA AND THE REVOLUTION—AN OPEN LETTER TO COLONEL ACHEAMPONG

By

Rolf Gerritsen

(History Department, Legon)

DEAR Colonel Acheampong—At last a government of Ghana has shown evidence of a real concern for the less privileged. Consistent with its endeavours to grapple with the basic problems facing Ghana, the N.R.C. has shown a desire to remedy the condition of the residents of Nima. You have cut the sod and work has already begun on the major access road linking Nima to Ring Road.

But what does your government have in store for Nima? In a word, **eviction.** It promises to bulldoze Nima flat to the ground and then to rehouse the residents in high-rise flats. In your speech at the sod-cutting (as reported in the **Ghanaian Times** of 26th April), you called upon Ghanaians to form syndicates to raise the capital to build some of these blocks of flats.

I beg to say that this is not a revolutionary method to apply to the solving of Nima's problems. The people of Nima live there because accommodation is cheap. It will not continue to be so when private landlords seek to re-coup their massive investments in the newly built flats. Apart from the objections to these types of flats as such (and experience in other parts of the world in the past indicate that this as a mode of slum clearing encourages economic and social disintegration, as well as evils like juvenile delinquency), the inevitable result of this policy would be that the urban poor of Nima will be evicted and, unable to afford the higher rents of the new flats, will drift to places like Madina —thereby compounding **that** area's own problems.

Not The Thing To Do

Sir, I realise that Nima is regarded as a rather unsavoury place—its reputation due in the main to the ubiquitous "drains" that flank its "streets", and the odour emanating therefrom. But is the solution to the problem of the Nimas of Ghana merely to shift them further away from the residential areas of the more fortunate? I feel that that is not what a revolutionary government like your own should do.

The problems of Nima have largely been compounded by governmental neglect: the drains and the streets are not the primary responsibility of the residents. And it is these that create the unsavoury public image of this unfortunate place. The majority of houses in Nima are compound houses in the typical Ghanaian village style; perhaps not as salubrious as Airport Residential bungalows but adequate and within the income range of the occupants. If those who are responsible for the plans to destroy Nima had been inside any number of these houses, they would have seen that they are clean and well-kept.

Colonel, it is not enough for me merely to criticise what I feel is a distinctly unrevolutionary policy; I must suggest an alternative, and I do have one, which would also cost your government **less,** not more, money. I would suggest that your government carry out the simple work previous governments of Ghana neglected, namely to grade and seal the roads throughout Nima, and build a proper street drainage system. Also the public latrines are inadequate in number and quality. With these simple improvements the whole aspect of Nima will change completely.

After this improvement in the environment of Nima you will find developing a spontaneous urban renewal, of the type that is the laudable aim behind your government's otherwise misconceived plan. Landlords will notice that Nima is a better location and begin to improve their properties in order eventually to get greater profits. Commercial companies will begin to realise that Nima represents a good future investment and buy land there (as in Adabraka) for future construction. You will obtain the urban renewal your government wants, but it will be from the people themselves (thereby costing your government less money); and it will be **gradual,** thereby minimising the social dislocation a large scale development, with its inevitable resettlement problems, would cause. Making Accra beautiful should not be achieved at a high cost in human misery.

In conclusion, Sir, I would urge you to reflect once more before your government sends in the bulldozers. Sometimes it is revolutionary for a government to do only a little and leave the rest to the support of the people concerned.

Matters Arising

THE DEVALUATION DEBATE: STRONGER EVIDENCE NEEDED

From B. W. K. CAIQUO

(Management Development and Productivity Institute, Accra)

IN HIS article in the **Legon Observer** on "Why the Economy of Ghana is not Growing and What can be Done about It" (**L.O.** VIII/8), Professor M. D. Steuer enmerated six factors which he considered were mainly responsible for the slow growth of the Ghanaian economy. These are: inappropriate borrowing from abroad, low returns on government investment, interference in private markets, a wage and income structure which does not reflect productivity very accurately, an over-valued exchange rate, and (I am not sure whether the sixth is) absence of African economic co-operation, or, by implication, the smallness of the Ghanaian market.

It was the analysis of the fifth factor, over-valued currency, which brought Professor Steuer into sharp controversy with Professor Ahmad. Professor Steuer made certain assertions about the effect of devaluation in Ghana which he did not support with evidence. Take this example: "It should be remembered that devaluation does not affect the quality of imports coming into Ghana ..." Should we remember this from what we learnt from

economic textbooks, or from the experience of the Ghanaian economic situation?

Professor Ahmad's reply (**L.O.** VIII/10) rightly pointed out that such a statement would have to be supported by empirical evidence. He went on to state that "in fact the 1967 devaluation had led to a significant decline on imports, especially capital goods and industrial raw materials both in 1967 and 1968, and thus turned out to be detrimental to economic growth". (**L.O.** VIII/10, p.223).

This position of Professor Ahmad's brought an Economic Correspondent of the **Legon Observer** into the devaluation debate. In an article in VIII/11 Correspondent pointed out that the evidence, as published by the Central Bureau of Statistics in the Economic Survey of Ghana, 1969, showed that "in spite of the 1967 devaluation total imports, and all categories of imports by end-use, including capital equipment and raw materials, INCREASED significantly in 1967 through 1969". (**L.O.** VIII/11, p. 257). One was therefore tempted to ask Professor Ahmad for the evidence he had to support his assertion that imports DECREASED in 1967 and 1968.

The devaluation controversy in the **Legon Observer** is not only of academic interest: it has important policy implications. One of the constraints on growth in the economy of Ghana has been, until recently, a chronic imbalance in our trade with the rest of the world. It was an attempt to get round this problem, among other things, which led to the institution of import controls, increased import duty, and finally devaluation. It appears that import restrictions will remain with the Ghanaian economy for some time. Therefore whether devaluation does or does not reduce the quantity of imports into Ghana will help the policy makers to select the "right" tools to combat balance of payments disequilibrium.

Terms Need Clarity

It is of utmost importance, in this connection, that the devaluation controversy be settled beyond all doubt. On the purely academic level too, there is need for strong evidence, if only to decide the winner of the debate. As Correspondent points out, a "useful theory must be testable. An assertion must draw its validity from and be firmly buttressed in a **well organised** set of statistical data and/or some relevant historical precedence". (**L.O.** VIII/11, p.254. Emphasis mine). I would like to comment, however, on the extent to which the data used by Economic Correspondent is **well organised** or not.

First of all some terms need clarification. When one argues that devaluation reduces the level of imports of a country, does one mean the absolute level or the **per capita** level? I think in a situation of rapidly increasing population it may be difficult to reduce the absolute level of imports of certain categories. It would therefore be naive to judge the efficacy of devaluation by its ability to reduce absolute level of imports. If the devaluation reduces the per capita level it would have achieved something. But even if it is agreed that the right concept to use in some categories of imports is per capita level of imports, we still have to decide whether we have to consider the **quantity** of imports or the **cedi value** of imports.

The level of import statistics published in the **Economic Survey** of 1969 and quoted by the Correspondent of the **Observer** is in cedi values. Since it is alleged that the world price of most of the items imported into Ghana have gone up, it would be necessary to quote import statistics in physical quantity, or where this is not possible the cedi value figures should be deflated by an appropriate price index. If this is not done we may be misled into thinking that imports have increased when probably they have decreased in physical terms. For both academic controversy and policy prescription, it is the physical quantity and not the money value which is important, since the world prices of Ghana's imports are largely beyond her control.

It is in connection with the foregoing discussion that I found it inappropriate for Economic Correspondent to have used the "raw" data from the **Survey** of 1969 in judging the position held by Professor Ahmad. The data should have been adjusted for increase in population and increase/decrease in the prices of the imported items (to mention only two adjustments) before the real effects of the devaluation of 1967 can be seen. Before this exercise is carried out we on the sidelines will continue to hold the position that the extent and direction of the effect of devaluation on imports into Ghana is unknown, because it has been proved **empirically.**

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Caiquo would have seen from Prof. Ahmad's second contribution in our last issue that the latter has answered the querry addressed to him by "Correspondent". As for the latter himself, his own second insertion in this issue has both answered Prof. Ahmad and anticipated Mr. Caiquo.

DEVALUATION REVISITED

FROM AN ECONOMIC CORRESPONDENT

PROFESSOR Ahmad's theories on devaluation, as contained in his original article (**L.O.** VIII/10) can be summarised as follows:

(1) That in the past an increase in the domestic prices of imports, resulting either from increased import duties or the 1967 devaluation, was always followed by a fall in the volume of imports. **The 1967 devaluation led to a significant decline in imports,** especially of capital goods and industrial raw materials both in 1967 and 1968, and thus turned out to be detrimental to economic growth;

(2) the structure and composition of Ghana's export trade are such that devaluation **cannot** be expected to bring about any significant increase in foreign exchange earnings from exports;

(3) devaluation would intensify inflationary pressures in this economy and therefore raise the cost of living, because

- (*a*) the domestic prices of imported goods would rise,
- (*b*) the volume of imports would fall, and
- (*c*) the manufacturing industry in Ghana depends largely on imported inputs.

Now the N.L.C. devalued the cedi by 30% in 1967. If Professor Ahmad's theories are correct, we would observe the following:

- (*a*) A reduction in the volume of imports as a direct consequence of the devaluation;
- (*b*) relatively poorer economic growth rates following the devaluation;
- (*c*) no change in either the structure of the export trade or of earnings from exports; and
- (*d*) an intensification of inflationary pressures in Ghana in the post-devaluation period.

The purpose of my earlier intervention (**L.O.** VIII/11) was two-fold: (*a*) to force Professor Ahmad to confront his own theories with the empirical data, in order to establish the validity of his assertions, and (*b*) to ask him to re-examine his general theory of "no devaluation" for developing countries, by reference to a keener appreciation of the meaning of the exchange rate and its role as the number one policy instrument to which every other policy relates in the system. I posed **ten** questions. Professor Ahmad ignored nine of them in his rebuttal by only extending the one question he answered to contain the other nine he would not answer, and then claiming to have disposed of the matter in one broad sweep of the pen.

Unfortunately, Professor Ahmad's last performance with the import statistics in **L.O.** VIII/12 exposed a misconception which leads him to base his theories on a fallacious assumption, namely that there is a unique relationship between the volume of imports and the cedi value of a unit of imports, and therefore a direct connection between devaluation and the volume of imports.

I should however like to concede the point, as I had done earlier (**Editor's Note**, p. 274, **L.O.** VIII/12), that the data on imports I gave in my first contribution were unfortunately not adjusted for the effect of the 1967 devaluation. The unadjusted figures would certainly give a misleading picture about movements in the volume of imports. The index to the true behaviour of imports is the **quantum index.**

Unfortunately, the **Economic Surveys** are not consistent on the matter. In paragraph 103, the 1967 **Survey** says: "The total imports bill of ₵261.5 million in 1967 was higher than the ₵250.6 million recorded for 1966 by 4.4%. There is, however, the fact that the devaluation of the new cedi resulted in a rise of import prices of about 13%. The implication then is that the **level** of total imports at pre-devaluation prices was 8.6 percent **lower** than the year before." (Emphasis mine.)

An Erroneous Thesis

On the other hand, the 1969 **Economic Survey** (par.311) concluded that "the need to reduce the trade deficit has also been necessitated by the persistent deterioration of Ghana's foreign trade in services, and the rapid rise of payments abroad. It was this, among others, that led to the devaluation of the New Cedi in July 1967, but **contrary to expectations the devaluation has neither decreased the quantum of imports nor increased the quantum of exports**". (Emphasis mine.) On balance, the evidence would point to a reduction in the **quantum** of imports in the three years immediately following the 1967 devaluation, and on this score Professor Ahmad is quite right.

The difficulty, however, is that he insists on identifying the devaluation of 1967 as the **cause** of the reduction in the volume of imports in 1967-69. But such a thesis is clearly erroneous. There is no such unique relationship. One cannot press the predictive powers of elementary price theory into service without an examination of the fundamental conditions which constitute the economic regime. The truth is that Ghana has, since 1967, conducted her import trade under a regime of controls. Import licensing was **not** abolished after the 1967 devaluation. The combination of devaluation and import licensing means the following:

(a) The government devaluing recognises the burden posed for economic growth and the balance of payments by an overvalued exchange rate. For political reasons, however, the government is unable to adjust the parity to the balance-seeking level. Therefore as a second best solution it seeks to support a **lower overvaluation** with import controls. The assumption is that under any circumstances it is better to be nearer the equilibrium rate of exchange than to be further away from it. If this were not so, there would hardly be any justification for any exchange rate adjustment at all. This is the case now with the N.R.C. **devaluation** of 1972 (relative to 27th December 1971), as it was with the N.L.C. devaluation of 1967;

(b) **a less than optimum devaluation only reduces the level of overvaluation.** This means that at the new parity level—which is less than optimum—there would be a tendency for demand for foreign exchange to **still exceed** both the available and potentially available supply. Therefore the government uses import licensing to ration the supply of foreign exchange. Since there is excess demand at the new price of foreign exchange, the only factor which regulates the volume and composition of imports (within the constraint imposed by foreign exchange availability) is the **discretionary control exercised by the import licensing authority.** This is the essential bond between devaluation-cum-controls and the volume and composition of imports;

Unjustifiable Claim

(c) the licensing authority would exercise its discretion to attain a number of economic and political objectives. One such objective in both 1967 and 1972 was to attain a favourable trade balance as an end in itself. In 1968 the N.L.C. talked as much as the present government is doing about a favourable balance of payments. But the point is that with controls you can always turn out a favourable balance of payments!;

(d) the above analysis established the point, quite obvious to me anyway, that the behaviour of imports after the 1967 devaluation is to be explained in terms of how the import licensing authority exercised their powers (within the foreign exchange supply constraint), and **not** on the price-increasing effects of the devaluation on imports. This point is further exemplified by the fact that even with the built-in 1967 devaluation and a generally higher level of tariffs and surcharges, the volume of imports increased considerably when imports were relatively liberalised in 1970.

Professor Ahmad's claim to have established a causal relationship between devaluation, total imports and the composition of imports is, I am afraid, quite unjustifiable, and propositions based on such a premise, no matter how attractive they sound, are essentially incorrect. My former exercise, though admittedly quite erroneous in its comparability basis, was intended simply to show how absurd any claim to a direct relationship between imports and devaluation would be.

The king-pin of Professor Ahmad's argument is that because there was a decline in the volume of total imports, and especially in the category of capital equipment and of industrial raw materials—which he causally attributed to the devaluation—therefore the devaluation was detrimental to growth.

I am even more exasperated by this theory. The learned professor does not establish the time-lags involved in his capital equipment-growth equation. You get the uncomfortable feeling that he means that capital equipment imported this year means growth this same year! He does not seem to be sentitive to the fact that even at the level of development of the country in 1967, the economy could, then, be over capitalised, and that diminishing returns had already set in.

Professor Ahmad seems to ignore the fact that a more intensive use of the already installed capacity would have more positive growth effect than any further acquisition of capital equipment, in the circumstances. Finally, to the extent that capital equipment was arriving in the country mainly under burdensome supplier-credit conditions it was good policy to cut back on further investments in unprofitable state enterprises. Anyway, where is the empirical basis for his forecasts?

The 1969 **Economic Survey** (table 2, p. 15) provides figures for the gross national produce as follows:

	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
GNP (N₵ million) at 1960 prices	1085	1093	1099	1116	1120	1158
Implied Rates of Growth	2.7%	0.7%	0.5%	1.5%	0.4%	3.4%

(i) Decline in growth rates, which started round about 1963, was arrested in 1967—the very year of devaluation,

(ii) 1968 was an abnormal year on account of the excessive rains, which did considerable damage to agricultural production; the low growth of that year is largely explained by that fact;

(iii) the average rate of growth for the two years **after** devaluation (1968-69) was **1.9%**, considerably higher than the average rate of growth of **0.6%** for the two years before devaluation (165-66);

(iv) on the average the economy produced N¢43 million worth of real income in each of the two years after devaluation than it did in each of the two years before devaluation;

(v) the average real rate of growth for the three years 1964-1966 (before devaluation) was 1.3%. The average real rate of growth in 1967-69 (devaluation years) was **1.8%**.

Economic performances after the devaluation were hardly impressive, but the fact remains that from the point of view of growth rates, i.e., the index of the measure of the performance of the entire economy, the **devaluation years** were relatively more successful than the preceding years. The trend towards zero growth was arrested in 1967. One should be cautious in ascribing the better economic performance to the devaluation, but then Professor Ahmad would need to establish that, but for the devaluation, even better results would have been achieved. As at the moment the official data appear to contradict him.

Whilst we cannot directly measure the effect of the 1967 devaluation on imports, there is moderately strong evidence to suggest that it had some positive and favourable effects on those types of exports whose domestic supply-cost determines our competitive position. There was also, for instance, considerable expansion in the volume of timber exports—both logs and sawn. (See **Economic Survey** 1969, table 18.) The position of exports in the category classified as "Others" showed a radical improvement from 3.4% of total export receipts in 1966 to 7.0% (1967), 10.6% (1968) and 13.6% in 1969. (**Survey** 1969, table 19.)

Perhaps, after all, the structure of Ghana's exports is to some extent amenable to a devaluation stimulus. There began in 1967 a most welcome improvement in the underlying structure of our export trade, a stimulus provided by devaluation. The category of exports anonymously called "Others" which hitherto had been so insignificant in the balance of trade — if we are to believe the figures — suddenly became, second only to cocoa, a most prominent component of trade.

We normally summarise the weighted effects of divergent price movements in the implicit index by which the current values of the gross national product are deflated to a base-year reference. Professor Ahmad's theory would have us experience an intensification of inflationary pressures on account of the factors listed in (3) above. This means that over and above the inflationary pressures existing in the system, devaluation would add further momentum. This certainly would be true if all things remained equal. But did all things remain equal?

The data position, for what it is worth, is as follows:

G.N.P. Deflation (From 1969 **Economic Survey, Table 2**)
1960 Base

	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Implicit Price Index	1054	112.7	124.0	145.4	162.0	157.4	181.1	197.3
Year-on-Year Change %		16.4	10.0	17.3	11.4	–2.8	15.1	–8.9



You can't see any insects in this picture – they're all inside the silos, inside the grain inside the silos.

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One is forced to the following conclusions. Generally, the inflationary pressures plaguing the economy were, paradoxically, mitigated after 1966. In the words of the **Economic Survey** 1969 (par. 69, p. 16):

> The slow-down in the rate of inflation is revealed by the G.N.P. implicit deflator. The implicit price index with 1960 as base increased by 9 per cent from 181.1 in 1968 to 197.3 in 1969, as compared with an increase of 15 percent between 1967 and 1968. The sharp rise in the implicit G.N.P. deflator during 1968 was partly due to the after effects of the devaluation of the new cedi in July 1967, and partly to the heavy rains in 1968 which hampered agricultural output and the transportation network.

If the **Survey** had been more discerning it would have noticed that the 15% price rise for 1968 was exaggerated by the fact that there occurred an actual reduction in the price level in 1967. And therefore the index moved from negative into positive. By comparison with 1966, the level of price rise in 1968 was 11.1%, which was lower than the average for 1963-1966. The rise of prices by 8.9% in 1969 was also the lowest since 1962. In 1967 there occurred an actual decline in the price level. That was a no mean feat!

I cannot deny that devaluation would necessarily have an upward effect on the price level. But such an effect could also be mitigated by other offsetting policies, and circumstances. Therefore Professor Ahmad has to do identification in quantitative terms to establish the magnitude of the inflationarily induced effect of the devaluation. So far he has not supplied us with any evidence that he has done any such exercise.

The End of the Matter

We can sum up the discussion thus:

1. The behaviour of imports is irrelevant to any discussion on the effects of the 1967 devaluation, because there is no causal relationship between the devaluation and the volume and composition of imports, because of the discretionary control exercised over the import trade by the import licensing authorities;
2. as far as over-all growth performances are concerned the devaluation years were relatively more successful than the pre-devaluation years;
3. exports of non-traditional commodities and timber responded vigorously to the devaluation stimulus;
4. inflationary pressures in the economy were rather **mitigated** in 1967-69, not **intensified.**

These are the four separate conclusions which appear to contradict the conventional wisdom of the textbook and are awkward for Professor Ahmad. Would he like to react to these in a straight-forward manner? Would he also like to react to my other nine questions, or at least to the following two:

(*a*) "If it is your view that a developing country can achieve structural change, growth of income and employment, price stability and equitable income distribution with ANY exchange rate, under a regime of well-administered restrictions, **then would it not be even better for growth, price stability and equitable income distribution, to reduce the domestic price of foreign currency to near zero and impose even higher levels of controls**?

(*b*) How does the exchange rate come to be fixed at all? What circumstances govern the choice of the parity level? And why is it that once an exchange rate has been selected, the developing country should have no right to change it again, even though economic conditions have radically altered, or even in the face of fundamental disequilibrium?"

There cannot be many economists who would subscribe with any conviction to Professor Ahmad's theory of "no devaluation under any circumstances". An inflexible attitude for the standard texts can only lead to the extension and popularisation of prejudices. The economics professor who would speak on real policy issues would need first to make sure of the data and then to appreciate the relationships among the variables in the system.

Miscellaneous

SOCCER LEAGUE SYSTEM NEEDS RECASTING

By

C. Boye

IT MAY not be too late to comment on the relegation and promotion of clubs between the Upper and Lower Soccer League divisions. Although the whole exercise may be in line with some laid down principle, it lacks any rationale. One would have thought that the upper league was meant for the top or best teams only; so that any team that is to be considered to replace another in it must prove that it is indeed a better team.

Hence the relegation of Hassacas and Vipers from the upper league, and the promotion of those four rather mediocre teams into it, may be in line with laid down principles; but it is an exercise which lacks any empirical aspects, or the guarantee that only the best teams have been included in the upper league.

Reviewing the Position

It would not have been too far-fetched to have asked those top teams of the lower league being considered for promotion to have played the bottom teams of the upper league being considered for relegation. This is perhaps the only fair way of ensuring that the upper league is reserved for the best teams only, irrespective of whether they were bottom in the previous league. For, at the moment, it is patently doubtful if some of these lower league clubs promoted into the upper league are any better than Vipers and Hassacas. They are definitely not considered by any team as much of a problem, as Vipers and Hassacas were; hence this tends to affect the keen enthusiasm that one may have in the upper league.

It is also possible that some Vipers and Hassacas players who could consider it **infradig** to play in the lower league may very well hang up their boots; and this, in the long run, would not be in the national interest.

Hence, G.F.A. may want to review the whole exercise of relegation and promotion in such a way that some kind of mini-league is arranged for the top lower league teams meriting promotion and the bottom upper league

ns threatened with relegation; whichever, and the teams which, emerge top in this mini-league should supplemented to the upper league. In this way, it be ensured that only the best teams play in the er league; and this would go a long way to improve standard of soccer in the country.

The other thing that G.F.A. may want to consider introducing a new soccer league exclusive to the rthern and Upper Regions, and perhaps with some W teams from Brong Ahafo and Ashanti (solely ause of their proximity to the north) being included. Northern United is allowed to join this exclusive gue, they would be saved the tedium and expense almost always having to travel rather long (and refore all the more risky) distances to play their tches.

Such an additional exclusive Upper League would p unearth more soccer teams and talents from Brong afo, Ashanti, and more especially from the Northern d Upper Regions; the number of teams in these re-ns, as compared to those in the south, may appear t to be reasonably representative of the vastness of ir regions, which may mean that there could well a lot of hidden talents in these regions.

The winners of this exclusive "Northern" league uld play the winners of the regular upper league to cide the overall champion club in the country. Any-y, this is just an idea G.F.A. could toy with, especial-if it has considered the problem of tedious, expensive velling of clubs to and from the north, and the rather minal numbers of clubs in these vast regions.

Letters

Price of Newspapers

R—I think you would have noticed, as I have, that e volume of our two national dailies has been redu-d. The reason given is that there is a shortage of wsprint. It has been known for some time that news-rint is difficult to come by, and when it is available is not as cheap as it used to be. I fully sympathise ith the managements of newspapers in this country on is score, and I sincerely pray that a solution will be und in the not too distant future.

But I have another reason for writing this letter. My nformation is that it was because of the high cost of wsprint and the general rise in production costs that d your paper, Sir, to announce a few months ago that e price of the **Legon Observer** was going to be in-reased from 15p to 20p. The same argument was used y the other papers—some in the private sector, like ours—to increase their prices by one hundred percent. am further informed that because your "threat" to in-rease your price was not carried out before the Prices nd Incomes Board legislation came into effect, you ere informed by the said Board that any increase ould be an offence, and some official of a certain onsumers Association is also said to have drawn your ttention to the law about price increases.

Now I wonder whether the P.I.B. and the Consumers ssociation would agree that by reducing the volume f their papers the national dailies have in fact increased heir prices. If they think as I do, I wonder how they re trying to protect the consumers' interests, just as hey saved them from your threatened rapacity! If these papers have not committed the offence of indirectly increasing their prices—even if this is, hopefully, a temporary measure—I would advise you too to get round the law by reducing the volume of your paper while the price remains the same. This will satisfy the law, the Board, the Association, and, I think, your organization.

And incidentally, Sir, permit me through your columns to draw the attention of the Prices and Incomes Board and the Consumers Association to the fact that they are expected to widen their scope to take in more than the level of wages (which are stagnant, anyway) and the prices of newspapers. If the Board is to have any meaning for the ordinary man, then it should also see to the control of the prices of meat, plantain, fish, kontomire, tomatoes, kenkey, etc., which are spiralling (despite statements about the success of "O.F.Y."). If they cannot do this, then I advise members of the Board to ease themselves out and stop boring us with press conferences and other such like humbug.

Dept. of Modern Languages **P. A. V. Ansah**
Legon

An L.O. Critic Writes.

SIR—Permit me to comment briefly on your editorial in Vol. VIII No. 7 of 6th-9th April, 1973, on "Government and Press"; and on the Observer Notebook entry of Vol. VIII No. 10 of 18th-31st May, 1973, about the firm stand taken by some African countries for Mr. Rowland, who was to be disciplined by Lonrho for allowing these countries to participate in the mining concerns of Lonrho.

X X X X

In the Notebook entry to which reference has been made, you considered it unreasonable or out of tune for Zambia and Ghana to support Mr. Roland Rowland, the Chief Executive of Lonrho, for the dispute between him and his co-directors in London about the participation of the government of these countries in Lonrho's mining concerns in these countries. This view is unacceptable because it had been reported that Mr. Rowland was being fired primarily because he had compromised with Ghana, Zambia and other African countries in their participation in Lonrho's mining concerns. It was further . . reported that once Mr. Rowland had been fired, the decisions between him and the governments of these African countries would be nullified. Why should these countries have been unconcerned when a fight was being waged because someone had accepted their interests in Lonrho's mining concerns?

Your counsel, therefore, that the countries concerned should have remained aloof until the battle was brought to their doorstep amounted to lack of courage and foresight. If the bickering in London should not have concerned them, then I do not know what else should have been their concern when they are so desirous to capture the commanding heights of their economies.

P.B. Arthiabah

Legon Hall
Legon

EDITOR REPLIES: The arguments put forward by Mr. Arthiabah in support of his case against the editorial cited were rather unfortunate, and we did not consider that they would do much for him or for our readers. So we have left out that passage of his letter.

As for Mr. Arthiabah's concern with our Notebook entry on Mr. Roland Rowland and Lonrho, it is bad luck that it had to be published so late, when the case of "Rowland V. The Rest" had already been settled, with Mr. Rowland the overwhelming winner. Still, let us answer the challenge by saying that the most important single point we were trying to make in our comment on this matter was only this: that whatever the relative merits or demerits of the antagonists, some African citizens and some African governments should not behave as if discussing the fate of Mr. Rowland, Lonrho, and their £60-million worth of business in Africa was somehow almost the same as discussing the future of Africa.

We still think in that way, and would end this brief note by simply referring to the only other comment we have seen on our attitude in the Rowland affair. It was by a columnist in an overseas paper, who said: "I much prefer the attitude of the *Legon Observer*, which advises Ghana to take no sides in the London dispute but to safeguard Ghana's interests against anybody. . ."

The Lady Can't Be Serious!

SIR—Elizabeth Asare's letter, which appeared in your edition of 4-17 May, 1973, makes interesting reading from the viewpoint of that lady's obvious lack of insight into the mentality of her own countrymen. (I have assumed, I hope correctly, that she's a Ghanaian). She reminds me of the chap who vehemently argues that ". . . if you say we should drop European names, then we should also do away with European clothes, European languages;. . . Indeed we should reject everything European and go back to the jungle. . ."!

"The trouble with Ghanaians" is their baseless and dangerous association of everything European with civilization and enlightenment, and everything Ghanaian (or African) with barbarism and backwardness. Following hard on the heels of these very wrong assumptions, which spring from a mentality shaped by the undesirable influences of colonialism, come our almost pathological affectation of western standards and ways of life. This trend kills initiative and self-confidence, a situation which accounts first for our preference for western products, and secondly for the uncompromising stand some culture-conscious Ghanaians take against any form of borrowing from any alien cultures, which latter seems unreasonable but is understandable. After all, how many westerners—even among the few who reside in this country—have Ghanaian names?

Another point. Does Elizabeth Asare honestly believe the present-day practice of bringing up our children in western mannerisms and insulating them against Ghanaian culture, as some misguided parents of the "been-to" vintage are assiduously pursuing, to be a good thing? In many of the homes of these types the speaking of Ghanaian languages is virtually forbidden. Would Elizabeth approve of this?

By all means let us borrow from other people's culture; but let us take pride, not in the extent to which we have merely succeeded in imitating it but in our ability to borrow things of real and lasting value, as opposed to things of fanciful and transient value only, and to adapt them to our circumstances for the latter's enrichment. Herein lies enlightenment and true civilization.

T. K. Impraim

P.O. Box 674
Accra.

The Proposed ₵3million Palace

SIR—The debate between the National Union of Ghana Students (N.U.G.S.) and the Kumasi Youngsters Club over the proposed three-million-cedi palace for the Asantehene should not fade away without a serious comment.

For some time now academics who are bold enough to question the role we now want our chiefs to play in our political and economic set-up, and ask for a serious review of the customary practices of our traditional rulers, have been attacked as subverting tradition. It is true however that rapid economic, political and social development in this country demands that certain traditional institutional set-ups be uprooted. This is because, invariably, efforts aimed at upholding certain traditions tend to reduce our capacity to develop.

If the construction of the palace envisaged is meant to uphold tradition, then the investment is not worthwhile, because it would appear the present residence is more suited for that purpose in view of the history attached to it. On the other hand, the new palace, judging from the colossal sum to be spent on it, is unlikely to have much tradition attached to it if only because it will most probably be of modern architecture throughout. If however the aim is to give the Asantehene a more decent place of abode, then we can do with a palace which would cost far less than the one proposed.

The question one would therefore like to ask is whether we can't have a less ambitious dwelling? Other questions come to mind. Does the country have foreign exchange to spare for the foreign content of such a big project, judging from our present economic plight? And even assuming that the foreign exchange component of the project is nil, can't we still put up an under-a-million-cedi palace, so that the two million could be used for more productive ventures like constructing more canals for irrigating arid lands? It must be noted that this assumption of no foreign exchange content of the proposed palace is unrealistic and must be relaxed. It is indeed suspected that the foreign exchange element which would be spent on the palace will be in the region of one-third of the total cost, i.e., about one million cedis!

Like the N.U.G.S., one sees in the proposal a conflict with the aims and objectives of the present revolution, because it is contrary to the aspirations of the people as contained in the Charter of Redemption. The size of the project ridicules the charter and all what the revolutionary people in Ghana stand for. The N.U.G.S. must be congratulated for coming out so boldly against this show of extravagance. It is rather unfortunate that one daily paper should come out to attack the students for taking this stand. The students owe no apology to anyone.

One should like to call upon the government to come out with a statement on this palace affair. If the government



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has given its blessing to this project, then it is very unfortunate. We must remember that extravagance has no place in an economic war. We must mobilise all resources for productive activities. A revolution is not a tea party!

Economics Department **J. K. Atta**
University of Cape Coast

Foreign Experts and Self-Reliance

SIR—We were very shocked by the leading news item which appeared on the front page of an Accra daily recently, part of which read: "a team of three **experts** from West Germany has also arrived . . to remap bus routes in the Accra cosmopolitan areas, including the suburbs" (emphasis my own). The completion of the remapping is envisaged to ensure "regular bus services at reasonable intervals on all the routes (and) help check the old system under which buses plied routes irrespective of passenger load."

One wonders whether after over sixteen years of political independence Ghana is still so destitute of human talent as to invite foreign experts to come and tell us that we need more buses on Accra Central/Newtown-Kotobaabi-Pig Farm-Maamobi-Nima routes, or on the Accra Central/Abossey Okai-Zongo-Kaneshie-Bubuashi and Odokor routes; also how to plan service on them.

One wonders whether the government is not in duty bound to request, say, Legon's Geography Department and Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research, the Road Research Institute, and the Survey and Town Planning Departments to jointly undertake such a simple traffic census or mapping. We are very much convinced and we shall always insist that it is only by using local talent and institutions to solve our peculiar local problems that we could boast of self-reliance in practice.

Legon Hall **Kofi Akwabi-Ameyaw**
Legon

"Ideologies on Sale"—Another Rejoinder

SIR—Ideological considerations apart, Mr. G. Adali-Mortty in his "Ideologies On Sale. . ." (L.O. VIII/10) certainly did not appear brighter even by the test of his own prescription that "We would be brighter by far if we would get together our own body of ideology, drawn from our peculiar circumstances". For, while he was insisting all along that the

> N.R.C. battle-cry of self-reliance should extend to the point of reliance on our own resources in formulating our own ideologies on the basis of our past history, our culture, and our economic condition,

he went on to urge in his very last paragraph that "we would do well to avoid scaring away much needed co-operation from countries with exportable capital and expertise." Quite revealingly, he ended his exercise on this note:

> We have been clumsily messing ourselves up by our unguarded utterances and ideological peddling, many of which ideologies their crusaders have not even taken the trouble to read and understand.

I submit that Mr. G. Adali-Mortty has succeeded, however clumsily, in messing us all up with his own ideological peddling for exportable foreign capital and expertise, at a time when, on his own admission, the N.R.C. battle-cry is self-reliance.

As a "crusader" for capitalism and its experts, Mr. Adali-Mortty would certainly have done better if he had taken the trouble to read and understand **capitalism** and to educate us all on its merits, rather than trying to run down socialism in order to prove his love for the other.

Stella Kusi-Yeboah

Post-Secondary Business Studies 1
Accra Polytechnic

University Students and Military Discipline

SIR—Sooner or later the N.R.C. government will be introducing officer training corps in higher institutions in the country. The training will be compulsory for all students in the universities, or so we understand. Before it is too late, it would be proper to analyse the whole issue and see what benefits the country would derive from it.

The points being advanced by the N.R.C. for the proposed scheme are the following:

(*a*) It will instil a sense of discipline into students who are considered by the society to be rude, swollen-headed and undisciplined;

(*b*) the scheme was demanded by the students themselves.

All in all, the training would make students eligible to take their proper places in the community through the discipline thus instilled into them, and make them aware of their responsibilities to the country. So the theory runs.

Students should not sit back unconcerned when such vital issues are at stake. The point is, one is at a loss as to what type of discipline this scheme will impart to students. In the army, when you are given instructions by your superior officer you are not expected to ask any questions or analyse them to see if there is any sense in what you have been ordered to do. In the army you dare not challenge your superior's order. "Obey before you complain" is the key slogan there. Is it this type of discipline students are to pursue under the scheme?

In the university, on the other hand, students are not taught to accept things just as they are told them, without any scrutiny. One of the basic principles in the university is to examine critically all that one is told or that one reads, and subject it to the criteria of rationality. The lecturers are here to impart their knowledge to their students, but in so doing students are not supposed to accept everything whether it sounds sensible or not. Therefore if military discipline is introduced into the universities one of the basic ideals will be defeated, and upon no grounds should students sit back for this important ideal to be tampered with.

The second question is: where is the country going to get the huge sums of money to start the whole scheme? Students are definitely not going to drill and trot in their games outfits: the scheme will involve getting complete kits for over 4,000 students, and finding money for allowances and for the salaries of the personnel who will be manning the corps. . . Or are we getting military aid from a friendly country, in contradiction to our policy of self-reliance?

isk this last question because apart from this alterna- I do not see how the nation, struggling hard to keep head above water, can afford to spend a pesewa on such heme, which is definitely not a priority of the society. re are so many problems to be tackled and we need ey for these.

G. Dua- Boakye,

afo Hall
on

New Police Order

—According to the new Police Order issued recently, Inspector of Police could not earn promotion to the k of Assistant Superintendent of Police (A.S.P.) after ears of age. In view of this, I would like to ask the fol- ing pertinent questions:

i) Will the new order not undermine the discipline of the Police Service?
ii) Will not members of the service disqualified by the age limit engage in dishonest deals?
iii) Would not members of the service slacken in their duties as a result of the age disqualification?

May I suggest that if after 45 years of age an inspector ld not reason as an A.S.P., then his continuous service the inspectorate rank until he retires at the age of 55 is less, and therefore he should be asked to retire as soon he fails to attain the rank of A.S.P.

appeal to the authorities to give this new order a second ug ht.

. Box 116 **J. B. Assani**
ra

Who Authorised Higher Rates?

SIR—It was considered very laudable when the Ministry of Transport decided to introduce the mini-bus service to ease transportation problems in the city, especially for civil servants, but we who travel on the Madina-Accra road do not know whether we should consider this service a blessing or a curse.

While the government has ruled that "tro-tro" drivers should reduce the fares they charge for journeys within the city, the mini-bus operators charge higher rates on the Madina-Accra road than do the "tro-tro" operators. For instance, the latter charge eight pesewas from Madina to Accra, while the omnibuses charge seven; but the mini-bus operators, for some reasons best known to themselves, charge ten pesewas for the same journey. The "tro-tro" operators charge five pesewas from Madina to the Military Hospital, as do the omnibuses, but the mini-bus men charge seven pesewas for that same journey.

We do not know whether these operators are acting under instructions from the ministry to charge higher rates than what the government has stipulated for "tro-tro" operators, or whether they are exploiting the situation to make a little on the side for their own pockets after they have made their sales for the day. Whatever the case may be, I think those of us who travel along this route need an explanation on these charges that are not in consonance with the declared policies of the government.

Institute of African Studies, **Sam Antwi-Baadu**
Legon.

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SEVEN YEARS OLD

THIS ISSUE

(WITHOUT SPONSORSHIP, CAPITALIZATION OR EVER A BREAK IN CONTINUITY OR REGULARITY)

"P.W.D. Mathematics"

SIR—57 + 1 = 60. Surprised? . . .

Some years ago "Carl Mutt" wrote an article captioned "P.W.D. Mathematics". In it he observed that according to the P.W.D. two straight lines drawn from the opposite ends of a road or street, and **meant to divide it into two equal parts**, do not necessarily meet! The P.W.D. came out with an explanation as to why these lines **should not** meet "on the brow of a hill". But Carl Mutt was not satisfied. . . . The above "equation" is another instance of the new mathematics referred to: 57 + 1 = 60! Is anyone surprised? He should be.

If you are travelling from Accra towards the Volta Region, just before you cross the Adomi Bridge you are informed by a milestone that you have done 57 miles from the capital. But when you have crossed the bridge and travelled only exactly one mile you are told by the next milestone that you have done 60 miles from Accra, and not 58 as you would expect. In other words you have done an extra, invisible two miles! However, if you move a mile from the 57th milestone towards Akosombo instead of across the bridge, the next milestone you come to is 58, as it should indeed be.

Incidentally, at that "60th" milestone across the bridge there are two notices, one informing you that Somanya District roads have come to an end, and the second that Ho District has taken over. Probably this fact between the signs explains the extra two miles! But then recently some new numbers have been written on the milestones (in red instead of the traditional black) and this time the 57th milestone bears the number 346, while the "60th" bears 347 (not 349).

So it is clear there has been a bloomer somewhere, and that what now reads 60 should in fact be 58. What is even more surprising about this error is that it has been there for about 16 years now (i.e., since the Adomi Bridge was constructed), and it has survived three changes of government, among them two coups; but nobody from the Ministry of Transport and Communications seems to have noticed it. If the correction is made, all distances beyond the Adomi Bridge will be reduced by two miles, so that Accra to Ho, for example, will be 101 miles, and not 103 as at present. I hope the ministry responsible will make the necessary correction.

And while talking about corrections, I would like to suggest to whichever department is in charge of making mileage charts that it is high time a new one was made, for since independence a few roads have been constructed, while some old ones have been reconstructed, resulting in the shortening of some distances between towns. These changes need be shown on the new chart.

Peki Secondary School **Kwadwo Opare**
Volta Region

"Rubbish Thrash"!

SIR—There was once a politician here who had some difficulty with aspects of the English language. He talked freely about the "pubric" interest and often wanted to "pubrish" things. He was at his best when indignantly lambasting his political enemies and describing all their works as "rubbish thrash"! . . This last and priceless phrase often comes back to me as I contemplate the standard of quality of many of the products inflicted upon the buyer/consumer in Ghana—and in West Africa generally, to look no further.

Take manufactured foods produced locally, for instance. Take measurement, and weight, and cut. Take anything—take the current supply of the "Air Letter" stationery sold to us at our local post offices. Thin, emaciated, transparent, slippery because of a kind of grease-proof finish, this masterpiece in design and manufacture—from abroad this time—is just the kind of thing my dead politician friend would promptly have called "a rubbish thrash"!

Legon **K. A. B. Jones-Quartey**

For The Record

Friday, June 15

Australian "Droughtmaster" for Ghana?

AUSTRALIA is considering supplying Ghana with a special breed of cattle, the 'droughtmaster' which, as revealed in a press conference in Accra today by Senator Donald Robert Willesee, Australian Special Minister of State, is believed to have strong resistance to drought and is suitable for Ghanaian climatic conditions.

A limited number of the breeder will be flown to Ghana on an experimental basis after initial arrangements have been completed.

Tuesday, June 19

Col. Acheampong Requests Brazilian Coach

THE Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C. has requested the Brazilian Armed Forces to provide a military football coach to train the Black Star Group.

The request was made to General J. B. Machado, Commander of the Superior War College in Brazil, who called on the Chairman today.

Col. Acheampong said it was time Ghana got a coach to train the youth to be enlisted into the Ghana Armed Forces to form the nucleus of the Black Star Group.

He said if the plan succeeded, the Black Stars would be put under direct military discipline "and all other things will not be so difficult".

Wednesday, June 20

GIHOC To Make Fridges

THE Electronics Division of Ghana Industrial Holding Corporation (GIHOC) will soon produce refrigerators and gas cookers.

This was disclosed by Dr. Emmanuel Boye, General Manager of the division, when participants in a two-month management course at the Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration, Greenhill, visited the factory.

The participants led by Mr. L. W. Fifi-Hesse, Director-General of Ghana Broadcasting Corporation, included high ranking officials for Government institutions, corporations, educational establishments and the Armed Forces.

Thursday, June 21

Helicopters to Convey Food

COL. F. G. Bernasko, Commissioner for Agriculture, mentioned today that foodstuffs will now be conveyed from the producing areas in the villages to the urban

ntres by helicopters.

He said that farmers who were experiencing difficul-s in getting their produce transported, should contact e nearest police station for onward transmission of eir problems to the Regional Development Corpora-ons.

The exercise is aimed at the prevention of food shorta-s in the urban centres as well as the prevention of e rotting of food on the farms.

At the Taylor Assets Committee

IR. Victor Owusu, Minister of Justice and Attorney-eneral in the Busia regime, today told the Taylor Assets ommittee in Accra that he paid ¢1,500 in July 1969 when he was a private legal practitioner) to become a hareholder in Speedway Tours Limited. He added hat the company's shares were floated in late June 1969.

Led by his counsel, Mr. J. K. Agyeman, he named the ther shareholders as a Mr. Campbell who has 1,000 hares of one cedi each, Mr. E. W. Edusei who has 500 hares and Mr. Ntiamoah who also has 500 shares.

Mr. Owusu added that since the company was set up, t had not declared any dividend, neither had he received nything from it.

Mr. Owusu also said that he started a private business, Ambra Twum Motor Sales, in 1963, which had ceased unctioning actively since 1967. He realised a profit of bout ¢9,000 from it.

riday, June 22

Nigerian Cattle—Regional Allocation Starts

OME of the 3,000 cattle imported from Nigeria are eing distributed to the nine regions of Ghana.

About 622 of the number which arrived early this nonth have been carted by train to Ashanti and the Eastern region to alleviate the meat shortage there.

Major G. Tagoe, head of the Military Unit of the Ghana Cattle Development Board, who revealed this in Accra today, added that a further 1,000 cut of total mportation would arrive by sea next week.

More Cement Soon

COL. F. G. Bernasko announced today at a press con-ference in Accra that firm orders had been placed for about two million bags of cement, and that a high-powered delegation had been sent to Ghana's traditional suppliers to negotiate for more clinker to help normalise he country's irregular cement supply.

Col. Bernasko said that 100,000 bags of cement already ordered from Egypt would arrive in the country to-norrow, and a total of 307,000 bags from Romania, the Netherlands and Ireland would arrive in August.

Col. Bernasko was acting for the Commissioner for Trade, Major R. J. Felli now in the United States.

Sentences on Mirchandanis Reduced

AN ACCRA High Court today reduced the sentences f eight years' imprisonment imposed by a circuit court n Accra on each of the two Indians found guilty of orruption charges.

The Indians, A. K. Mirchandani and B. K. Mirchan-lani wil now serve 12 and 18 months respectively. Both entences take effect from the date of the former senten-es which was in June last year.

The Mirchandanis were convicted of a conspiracy to orrupt Captain Samuel Akolor with an amount of ¢10,000 during an investigation into a tax evasion case against the Loyalty Garment Ghana Limited.

Mr. Justice D. F. Annan, an Appeal Court Judge sitting as an additional High Court Judge, said that he considered the eight-year sentence harsh and excessive and not warranted by the facts of the case, especially as the appellants were first offenders.

Mr. Justice Annan added that where a public officer was entrusted with investigation that might lead to the institution of proceedings against any person, it was improper for him to engage in social and personal intercourse with persons concerned in the investigation.

The judge said that the unusual behaviour of Captain Akolor and his personal attitude to the appellants must have contributed in no small measure to the decision by the appellants to offer him a bribe.

Monday, June 25

Floods in Accra

ACCRA is experiencing one of the heaviest rainfalls in a decade or two. According to officials of the Meteorological Services Department, the rainfall recorded this month has been grossly abnormal.

The worst affected area has been Teshie, which recorded 13.20 inches of rain during the last week-end, a higher figure than was recorded for the whole of last year.

As a result of the heavy rainfall, several parts of Accra have been flooded. The Odaw stream overflowed its banks during the weekend and claimed several lives.

At Abossey Okai, more than 600 people living in the Railway quarters have been made homeless and will be housed temporarily in schools and churches before they are resettled at the Dansoman estate.

EDITORIAL CONTINUED

give to the country and the country's leaders. Mostly we do this by maintaining a critical but unbiassed attitude towards public affairs. In so doing we are always hoping to keep whatever government is in power aware of the fact of a partnership in responsibility which we share with them. In the next seven years we expected to be standing on the same philosophical ground.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

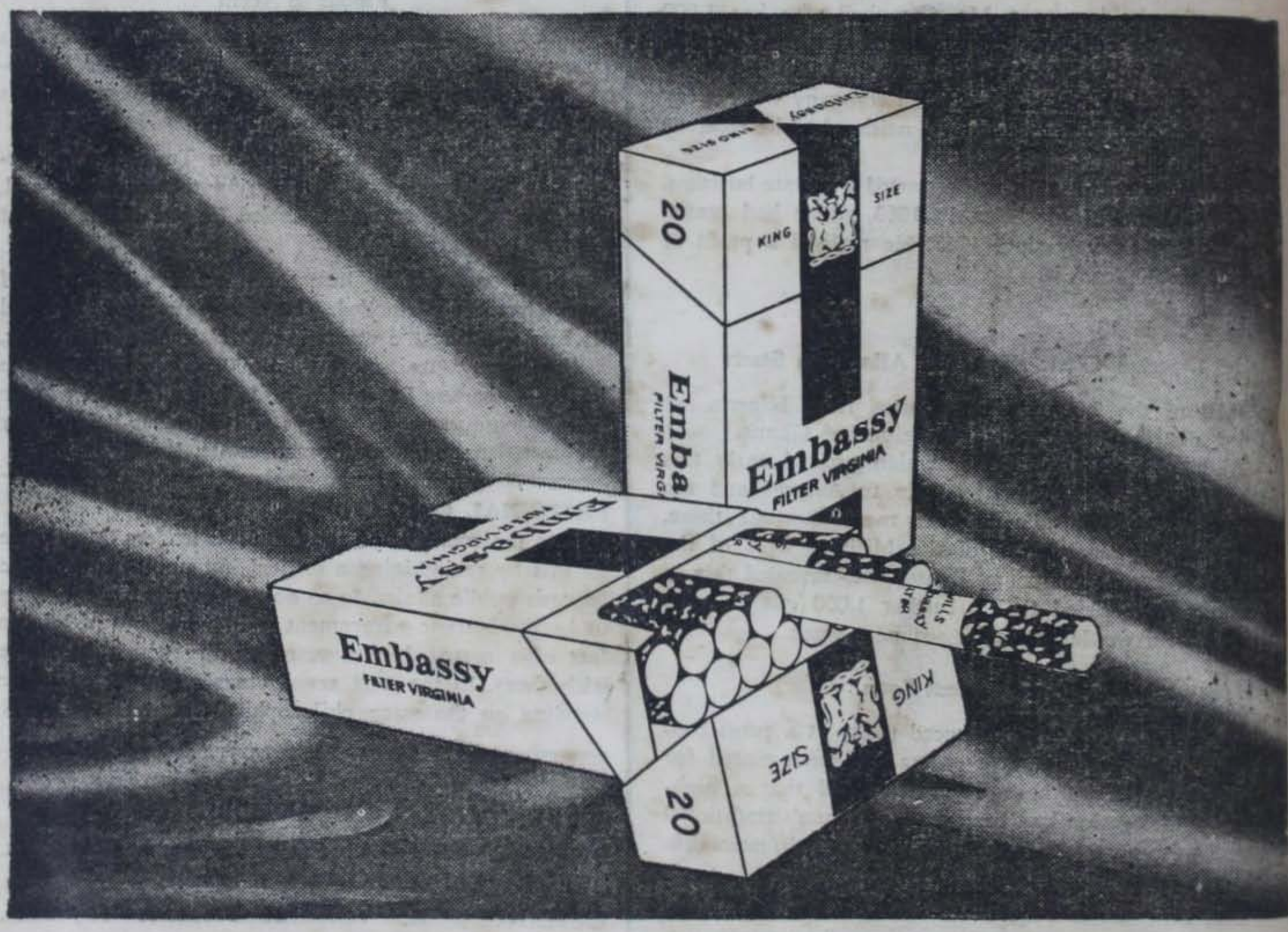
B. B. QURAISHY—Lady Senior Lecturer in Economics, University of Cape Coast.

EMMANUEL K. VORKEH—Freelance Journalist, Writer and Commentator.

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Embassy the milder, smoother cigarette

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SEVENTH ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

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Editorial

THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS

AMONG the highlight news, topics and issues which made July 1972 to June 1973 a period of reasonable interest to journalists were several that concerned or affected the Ghana press directly. At the opening of that **Legon Observer** year — saving our modesty!—the question of the nature of the ownership of major newspapers was again exercising men's minds in this country; the issue of the **Observer** covering the 6th anniversary of our founding carried an article by one of the leading editors of Ghana entitled "The Case for a Press Trust Again", a case which had previously been argued with cogency in the **Observer**.

It is not news to anybody, now, that the problem of government ownership of the press in Ghana and in other parts of Africa is still unresolved, and that it forms one of the more outlandish aberrations of independent political status that we have to live with for some time yet to come. The effects of state ownership of an important sector of the press on the journalists working for these papers are shown in the review which follows this editorial.

N.R.C.D. 67 of 1972 granted indemnity to editors and publishers of state-owned papers, and on 5th March, 1973, the N.R.C. issued a new decree requiring registration and permission before a newspaper of any kind could be published. It also put decisive discretionary powers in the hands of the Commissioner for Information, who could refuse such registration and licensing, or later withdraw it, and so on. This new measure was a kind of restoration of the situation ante-P.P. government, which in 1970 had repealed the oppressive C.P.P. law of 1963 under which all residual semblance of press freedom had been finally abolished.

In the most recently passed decree which could affect the press detrimentally, it is forbidden to publish any rumour which may upset public or government in a number of ways. This decree (No. 223) is not directly an anti-press law, but could easily trap unwary editors and proprietors. On the whole, however, though press freedom has been and is threatened by these laws and measures, the government has not made it impossible for newspapers to exist or to do their duty by government or people.

A dominant theme throughout the period was, naturally, Ghana's economy, and within it the aims of "Operation Feed Yourself", the ups and downs of cocoa, a still continuing debate among the economic experts on the pros and cons of devaluation, and, above all, the murderous price spiral. This last is at present such a worldwide phenomenon that some economists are wondering out loud whether there may not be another world economic debacle on the horizon somewhere. For Ghana it is particularly unlucky that we should have been in the position we are in when this general world condition of progressive deterioration set in. The need now is for economic advice to and economic measures of almost foolproof effectiveness by the N.R.C. government.

This thought leads us naturally to a topic which has been raised again and again during the last twelve months. We refer to the question of government itself. The burdens of government are great even under normal conditions; under a regime forced upon themselves—or so it always seems to them—by circumstances demanding a take-over, a military junta finds the burden almost intolerable. Here in Ghana it has been urged on many hands that the N.R.C. must at least arrange for some measure of civilian consultative participation in the process of governing the country in these most difficult times. Others are insisting that nothing short of an early return to full civilian rule would do to rid the present military group of their unequal burden and remove all the anomalies inherent in government that is not based on popular consent.

Whatever the argument against rushing things and for taking time to ensure stability, in political terms, it was obvious during the period under review that the question of constitutional government returning to Ghana sooner or later was not one which the N.R.C. could shelve. It was believed by many that in fact they are dealing with it on a systematic basis, though quietly.

Finally, the O.A.U. was much in the African news in 1972/73. And in May this year the organisation attained the 10th anniversary of its birth in Addis Ababa in May 1963. All around the world, newspapers, statesmen and public commentators drew balance sheets showing credits and debits in the accounts of the organisation. On the whole it was universally agreed that Africa was immensely better off with the existence of the O.A.U. than without it. If (a) the Economic Charter agreed upon at the very end comes to anything in the future, and if (b) under O.A.U. inspiration and stage-management black Africa should present a united front to the European Common Marketeers, then, it was felt, the organization would be on its way to saving Africa at last from many of its cruel disabilities.

Born free?



All he has ever known is a world of barbed wire. He is one of the 90,000 Pakistani prisoners of war. still captive in India.

These prisoners of war include about 20,000 civilians. Men. Women. And children...

... like the little boy above. He was born a captive. In the grim surroundings of an Indian concentration camp.

For the 14 months since the ceasefire between India and Pakistan, these civilians have been held as hostages. In brutal captivity. In defiance of UN Resolutions, International Law and all norms of civilized behaviour.

Suffering injustice. Torture. Death.

Waiting... ..

Wondering...

How much longer?

Will somebody please answer?

A plea by the women and children of Pakistan

The Press

THE PRESS SCENE SINCE FEBRUARY 1966

By

P. A. V. Ansah

ONE of the immediate gains of the overthrow of the Nkrumah government in 1966 was the creation of an atmosphere of free discussion, in which people could once more freely speak their minds without fear of being picked up for detention. The new atmosphere of liberalism saw the setting up of newspaper establishments at both the national and regional levels. Since that time the newspaper scene has become substantially different from what it was between the proclamation of the republic in 1960 and the demise of the Nkrumah government six years later. In this brief sketch, I propose to look at the fortunes of the newspaper world since it was granted the new lease of freedom.

At the time of the overthrow of the C.P.P. government, the only newspapers which had a nationwide audience were those owned and controlled by the government or the party. The editors were to all intents and purposes party functionaries; they had become so identified with the demagoguery of those days that, on the assumption that they were convinced about what they had been spraying on the public, they were duly relieved of their posts.

The N.L.C. Era

The two national dailies, the **Daily Graphic** and the **Ghanaian Times,** totally reversed their policies with the change of personnel, and the only point of resemblance between them and their predecessors was that the pre-February and post-February 1966 papers both uncritically supported the government of the day. The **Evening News** also naturally changed tune, and after plodding along wearily for some time, totally disappeared. Whether in the initial stages the N.L.C. actually directed the national papers as to what to print or not, the general atmosphere was such that it was not unexpected that the newspapers should be filled with denunciations of the C.P.P. and of the hypocrisy of its agents. The changes which took place in the written press were also effected in the radio and television networks.

But the restoration of the freedom of speech in February 1966 was too good an opportunity to let slip by. It was this propitious atmosphere that saw the birth of a number of newspapers and magazines. The most important publications established during this period, it was publicly agreed, were the **Legon Observer** and the **Echo.** A couple of other papers mushroomed in the Western Region and quickly withered without ever blossoming. Since that time more newspapers have been established, with varying degrees of seriousness and survival ability.

On the whole, the N.L.C. had an enlightened press policy. Very consciously reacting to the suffocating illiberalism of the previous regime, members of that interim government almost mounted a crusade inviting criticism from the public through the medium of newspapers. However, when some pressmen and individuals took them at their word and told them a few truths, their reaction was not always edifying. Open conflict between the government and the press occurred when the government dismissed editors of state-owned papers for daring to criticise the government on the Abbott Agreement issue of 1967. The only redeeming feature in this sad episode was the fact that the civilian Commissioner Responsible for Information resigned in protest against the government's action—a rare event in this country.

Under The P.P. Government

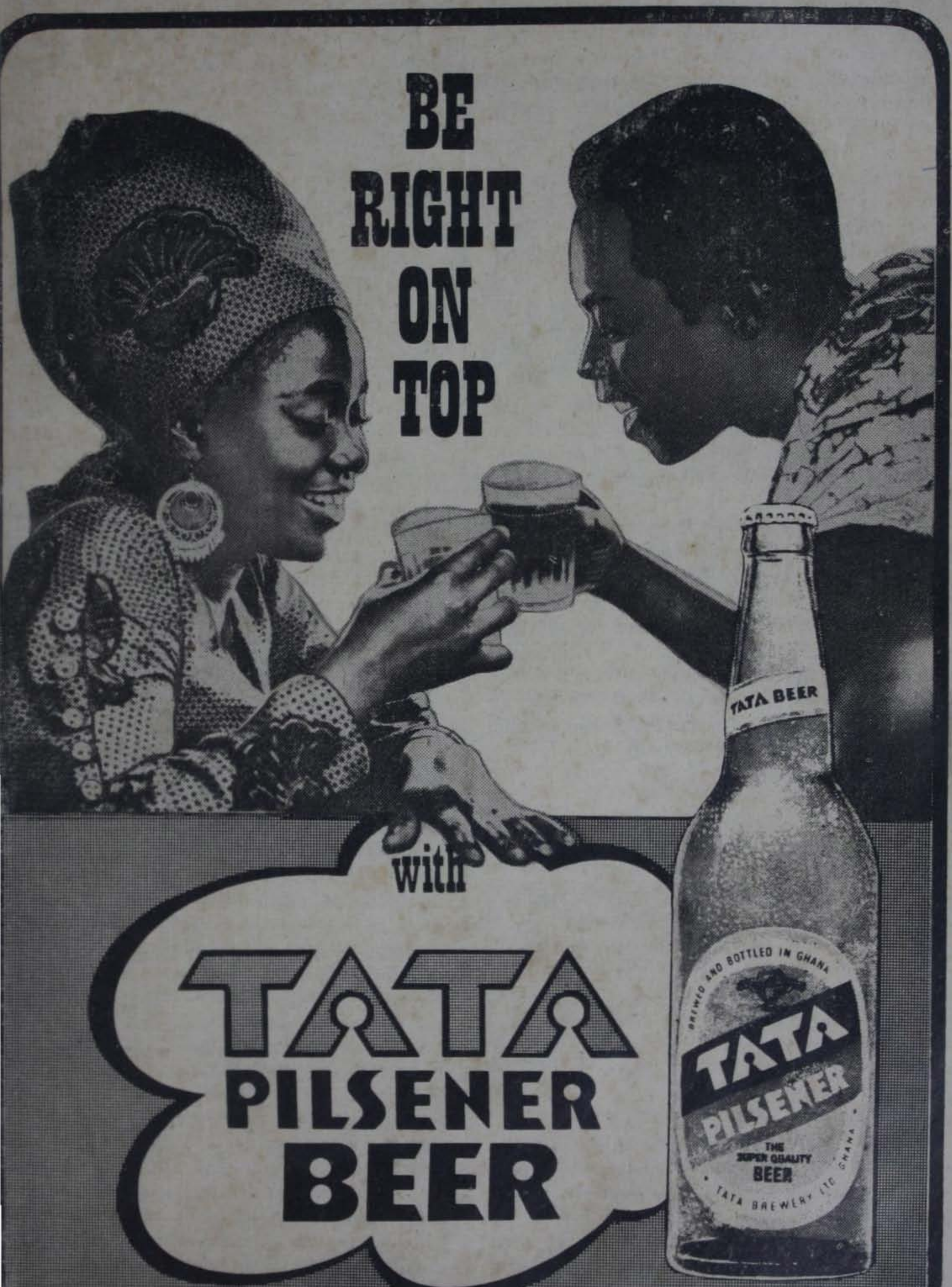
The lifting of the ban on party politics in 1969 saw the establishment of purely party organs for the two major parties in the contest: the **Evening Standard** for the National Alliance of Liberals (N.A.L.) and the **Star** for the Progress Party (P.P.). Though these organs were used primarily for the dissemination of party propaganda, they offered an avenue for the voicing of dissentient opinion, and the N.L.C. government became aware that its actions could be brought under public scrutiny. The very existence of these papers showed the distance which we had travelled on the way to liberalism since the dark days of Nkrumah's uncompromisingly intolerant regime.

This relative liberalism continued under the Busia administration. More papers, like **The Palaver,** the **Voice of the People,** the **Spokesman,** were established, and they generally operated without direct harrassment from the P.P. government. The state-owned papers characteristically toed the government line, and less than subtle methods were occasionally used to ensure that individual pressmen behaved themselves. Individual ministers, or their deputies, who felt aggrieved remonstrated with the editors of the papers concerned. Where the independent papers

BE RIGHT ON TOP

with

TATA PILSENER BEER



were concerned, criticism of government policies were met with savage attacks from the P.P. organ, the **Star**, or with vain threats of dire consequences: vain, because that government had no constitutional power to carry out threats of possible detention.

The major confrontation between the P.P. government and the press occurred with the removal of the then editor of the **Daily Graphic**, for having dared to oppose the disastrous "dialogue with South Africa" policy. On the whole, however, it cannot be seriously sustained that press freedom suffered much diminution under the Busia government. Those who had the courage to use the columns of the independent papers to attack certain aspects of government policy did not endure any physical suffering. It seems to me that when the final balance sheet of the Busia government comes to be drawn, it must be conceded that the allowed existence of the **Spokesman** should be added to the credit side.

True, the survival of that paper may have owed more to the perseverance and courage of its editor than to the tolerance of the P.P. government, but from the way things go in Africa it would not have been impossible for that government, with its huge majority in parliament, to have stifled it. What this also shows is that bold journalists, whether they have an axe to grind or not, are better guarantors of their freedom of expression than any institutionalized power.

Present Situation

Since the advent of the present government into power, the position of the press does not appear to have become any more secure. It is known that immediately after the government take-over of January 1972, editors in the public sector were requested to "clear" their editorial material with the appropriate government officer before publication, and occasional checks were conducted to ensure that the government papers said the right things most of the time. It is also well known that this government has not made too many claims to democratic processes, as far as the press is concerned.

Whenever an invitation has been extended to the press to be forthright and bold, a rider has been added reminding pressmen that after all we are under a military government. A few pressmen, both professional and amateur, have displayed some amount of audacity to their own discomfiture, and the boldness has been met with more or less unpleasant invitations to encounters that were variously described as interview, discussion or, even more ominously, interrogations.

It must be conceded that the N.R.C. government has shown considerable sensitivity to public opinion as expressed through the press. Ill-conceived or unrealistic plans have been withdrawn in deference to public opinion, and statements have been made clarifying certain issues that have exercised the minds of the public, even if such statements have not always been particularly enlightening. However, this sensitivity has occasionally provoked unnecessarily hysterical reaction from members of the government, resulting in rough as well as refined forms of intimidation.

This period has also witnessed the birth of another kind of press, namely, the student press. The **Missile** of Cape Coast University, **Focus** of the U.S.T., and **Forum** of the University of Ghana have concerned themselves with national issues of great moment. For example, the latest issue of **Forum** contains entries showing a degree of boldness that has not been seen in the national press for some time. The contributors have done some very plain speaking and driven home a few unpleasant truths which should provide food for thought to the government.

Major Difficulties

All this is not to suggest that this is the first time we have had a student paper in the country; the University of Ghana, Legon, has had one for a long time, but I think this is the first time that so much awareness has been shown of national issues. Articles of a more or less purely "academic" nature have ceded to articles dealing frankly with problems affecting the nation in all sectors. Thanks to these various student organs, it is now easy to get a fair idea of articulate student opinion; even if it is not on the level of the whole country, at least it goes from one university to another.

When all is said, there can be no doubt that since February 1966 we have made some progress in this country in terms of press freedom. However, it is also clear that governments since then have all shown a certain degree of intolerance towards the press, and have used one means or another to try to curtail press freedom. It is for this reason that we should not be complacent about the progress we have made in relation to the pre-February 1966 period. There is still a lot of room for improvement.

What are some of the major difficulties that have confronted the press? I think the major one is the government ownership and control of the press in the public sector. It is important to remember that the papers with the greatest pe-

At one with the Nation

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riodicity and widest circulation are in the public sector; and these are the papers that are subject to the greatest pressures. When pressmen are appointed directly by the government, discretion and boldness become confused, and the journalists so appointed start their careers with the handicap of having to toe a particular governmental line.

This limits their freedom of action and the inevitable result is the spineless, non-committal, colourless stuff offered to the public. The only solution, as I see it, is to give more thought to the question of a Press Trust; this is the only arrangement that will give the journalists enough self-confidence to say things as they are. As long as this is not done, the only rule that will guide press ethics and survival for journalists in the public sector will be the "he-who-pays-the-piper-calls-the-tune" principle.

One other defect in our newspaper establishment is simply the low quality of stuff produced in the papers. There is too much semi-literacy and pseudo-scholarship masquerading as enlightenment in the Ghanaian world of journalism. To improve upon the existing standards it is necessary to attract to, and retain in, journalism young men and women with a minimum of intellectual capacity and achievement, who can rightly have any claims to an ability to enlighten public opinion. We need people who have acquired the skills and tools for penetrating analysis of situations and events, people who will go behind the news and offer a deeper insight into things, people who will be able to judge which official hand-outs should be accepted on face-value and which should be accepted only with some qualification or some humour.

Further Weakness

There is another reason why having better trained journalists of high calibre will be beneficial to press freedom in the country. It is bad enough if journalists are appointed by the government of the day and hold office at its pleasure. Where the journalist has, for his whole qualification, only a diploma and some experience gained on the job, he is much more likely to succumb to external pressures in the execution of his duty. Where he knows that any resistance will result in a loss of job while there are not many alternatives open to him, he is not likely to err on the side of discretion.

On the other hand, when you have journalists who have a degree, for example, in addition to whatever qualifications they may possess specifically in the field of journalism, in case of external pressures they will find it easier to choose valour rather than discretion, knowing that in the event of dismissal their other qualifications will enable them to enter other fields. On this particular score, it is to be hoped that the new Institute of Journalism and Communication Studies will satisfy this need. It can help raise the quality of journalistic production, while also giving its trainees a sense of security and self-assurance, and reducing the tendency towards fawning and sycophancy.

One further source of weakness in our press is the fact that, generally speaking, Ghanaians do not write. It is too much to expect professional or amateur journalists alone to provide all the reading material in a newspaper. One expects the reading public to react to issues and opinions raised in papers, but what one hears all the time is complaints about deficiencies without making any effort to improve the general standard of our papers. In the absence of a national forum for free discussion and exchange of ideas, public opinion should be gauged from our newspapers, and it does the whole country no good if as a result of our own apathy and indolence, we allow the impression to be created that the voice of the editor and his staff is the voice of the people.

Room for Improvement

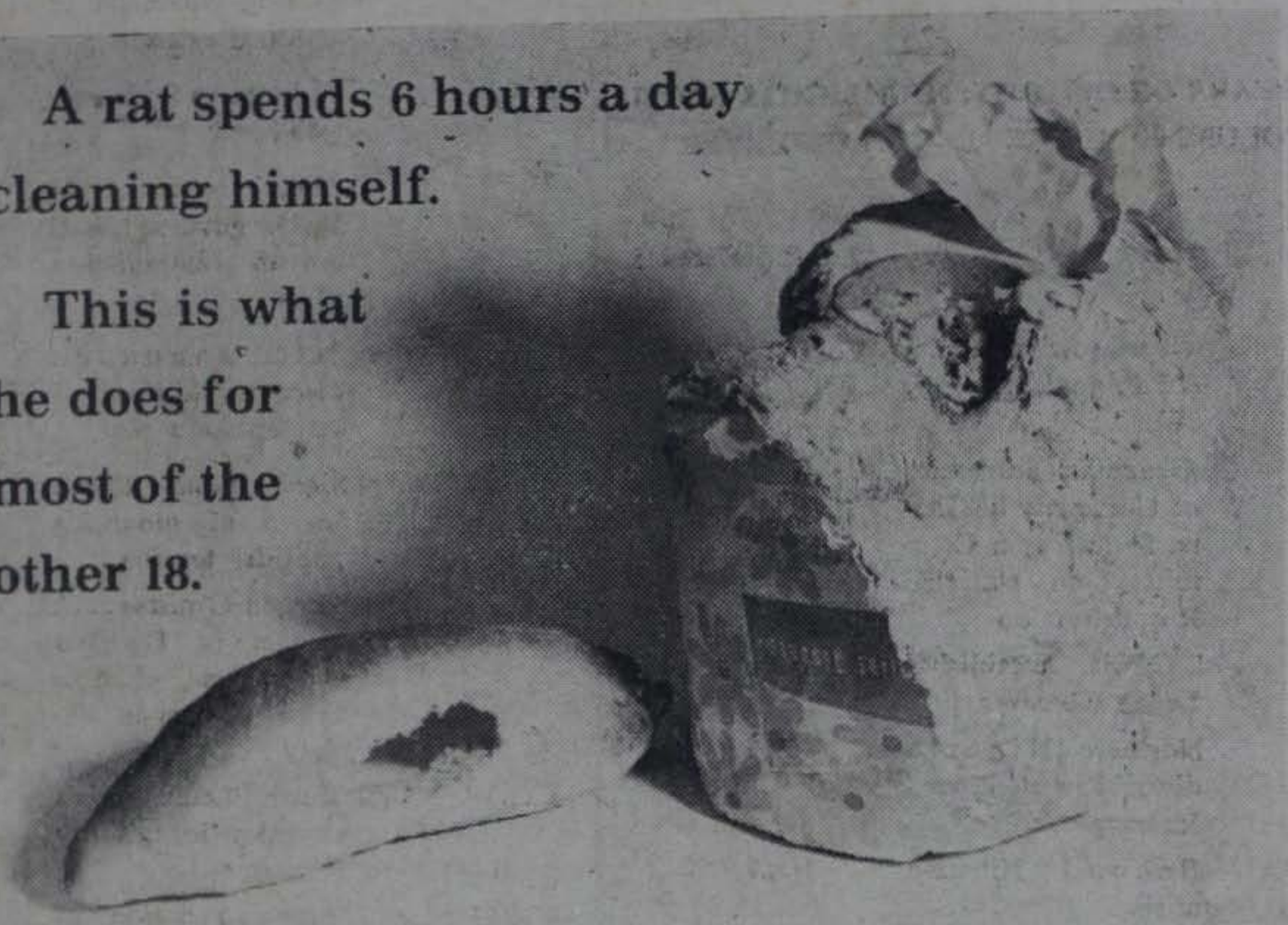
It is clear from the foregoing that whatever progress we have made since 24th February,1966, there is still considerable room for improvement. To obtain and maintain any real sanity or stability in our national life, it is of the utmost importance that citizens should fully enjoy their fundamental right of commenting on the manner in which the affairs of the nation are being run. It is in the interest of the government not to interfere with the enjoyment of this fundamental right either through legislation or intimidation, so that its attention can be drawn to what is going wrong while there is still time to do something about it.

That is the greatest service any journalist can render to his government and his fellow citizens. In comparison with the Nkrumah era, the press has achieved a better record and image within the last seven years, but I am convinced that this image can still be further refurbished.

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Date	Event	"L.O." Reference
24.2.66	Overthrow of the C.P.P. government by N.L.C.	Vol I/1; 8.2.66
1.3.66	Ghanaian academics of University of Ghana form Legon Committee on National Reconstruction	I/1; 8.2.66
8.7.66	L.C.N.R. establishes **Legon Observer**	I/1; 8.7.66
June 1966	Northern Nigeria disturbances (post-January coup)	I/2; 22.7.66
29.9.66	Second Nigerian crisis	I/5; 2.9.66
Sept. 1966	Assassination of Dr. Verwoerd	I/6; 16.9.66
1.10.66	Publication of Decrees 92 and 93 on "Rumour"	I/8; 14.10.66
26.9.66	New judiciary installed by N.L.C., consisting of Court of Appeal, High Court, and Circuit Court, E. Akufo-Addo appointed Chief Justice	I/8; 14.10.66
24.10.66	U.N. attains 21 years	I/9; 28.10.66
Oct. 1966	Maj-Gen. E. K. Kotoka represents Ghana under military rule at U.N. General Assembly	I/9; 28.10.66
Oct/Nov 1966	Ghana and Guinea in open conflict	I/10; 11.11.66
3/11/66	N.L.C. appoints Electoral Committee to delineate new constituencies, under chairmanship of K. A. Busia	I/10; 11.11.66
4.12.66	Constitutional Commission holds inaugural meeting	I/12; 9.11.66
Dec. 1966	Ghana & Western Creditors in 1st external debt renegotiations	II/1; 6.2.67
Dec. 1966	Roberto Holden, leader of Angolan govt. in exile, visits Ghana	II/1; 6.2.67
8.1.67	Ghana press reports meeting of Nigerian leaders at Aburi, seeking settlement of political crisis	II/1; 20.2.67
15.1.67	Subversion decrees published	II/1; 20.2.67
21.1.67	Ghana protests to British govt. re Kwasi Armah extradiction case	II/3; 3.2.67
21.1.67	N.L.C. announces discovery & defeat of counter-coup plot	II/3; 3.2.67
Jan/Feb 1967	Signs from Sierra Leone of mounting political tension	II/3; 3.2.67
1.3.67	"Legon C'mittee . . .", owners of **Legon Observer,** changes name to "Legon Society . . ."	II/5; 3.3.67
17.3.67	Sierra Leone crisis explodes in military take-over	II/7; 31.3.67
17.4.67	Assassination of Gen. E. K. Kotoka by "mini coup" army mutineers	II/9; 28.4.67
9.5.67	Lt. S. B. Arthur & Lt. Moses Yeboah publicly executed for attempted coup leading to killing of Gen. Kotoka	II/10; 12.8.67
7.6.67	Centre for Civic Education inaugurated by Gen. J. A. Ankrah	II/13; 23.6.67
August 1967	Nigerian civil war rages	II/17, 18; 18.8.67
Nov/Dec 1967	Ghana-Abbott Agreement controversy and termination	II/24-26
Dec. 1967	Editors of state-owned newspapers dismissed in connection with Abbott Agreement controversy	II/26; 22.12.67
Jan. 1968	Abbott Laboratories decide to leave Ghana & cancel drug agreement, as result of relentless press & platform campaign	III/1; 5.1.68
22.1.68	**Legon Observer** taken to court by the State for contempt	III/2; 19.1.68
26.1.68	New constitutional proposals for 2nd Ghana Republic published	III/3; 2.2.68

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Date	Event	"L.O." Reference
29.1.68	Publication of N.L.C. Decrees 221, 222, and 223, on Electoral Commission, Constituent Assembly and Disqualification	III/3; 2.2.68
4.4.68	Martin Luther King assassinated in U.S.	III/8; 12.4.68
13.4.68	Tanzania becomes 1st African country to recognise "Biafra"	III/9; 26.4.68
17/18.4.68	3rd military intervention in Sierra Leone by "Noncoms" restores civilian government & instals Siaka Stevens as Prime Minister.	III/9, 10; "
May 1968	Decrees 92 & 93 (1966) on "Newspapers" & "Prohibition of Rumours" repealed	III/10; 10.5.68
May 1968	Nine West African countries, including Liberia and Francophone territories, agree in principle to set up W.A. Common Market, in Monrovia, Liberia	III/10; 10.5.68
May 1968	Commonwealth Secretariat organises Nigeria-Biafra peace talks in Kampala, Uganda	III/11; 24.5.68
22.5.68	Announcement of time-table for return to civilian rule: May-September 1969	III/12; 7.6.68
19.7.68	Business Promotion Committee inaugurated in aid of Ghanaian businessmen	III/16; 2.8.68
20.7.68	Gen. J. A. Ankrah returns from O.A.U. promoted peace conference on Nigerian mey, Niger	III/16; 2.8.68

(TO BE CONTINUED)

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Observer Notebook

The Black "Tourists" Among Us

Not everyone is starry-eyed about the blessings of tourism, that modern Aladdin's lamp so beloved of starving ministers of finance. Indeed some quite sensible people consider that in small, underdeveloped countries the harm that tourism does to people is far greater than the economic benefits it brings.

In Nassau (Bahamas), Kingston (Jamaica), and, nearer home, little Banjul (until recently Bathurst, capital of The Gambia), some of the most scarring imprints of the tourist trade have either long been evident or are gradually being perceived: the enslavement of large sectors of the population to the insidious cult of the erstwhile "Almighty Dollar", symbol of western affluence; the servility it creates, the loss of human dignity, the susceptibility to increased prostitution—the whole process of orientation of a small society towards a servile dependence on financial favours from transients simply out to enjoy themselves at any cost. . .

This is our information on some of the places affected and which we do not know ourselves first hand; but others we do know, famous and infamous alike. However, we are not here preaching some old or new forms of "prohibition", on moral grounds. The City Fathers of Ghana will no doubt be able to sense danger if and when it threatens this country with the abuses that can arise from tourism. But we do have a concern: and it is about a rather different kind of tourist, namely the Black Americans in our midst, evident mostly during the season of tourism.

We wish to make a positive suggestion to the government of Ghana and the Ghana Tourist Board about these visitors. Why don't we establish some kind of reception centre for them at the Kotoka Airport, or nearby, and at some convenient spot in every other one of our principal urban centres? Here they can receive a first friendly word of welcome, some basic information on what is and what is not, some guidance—not just brochures and leaflets—on where to go, what to look for, what to pay, how to avoid social embarrassment and personal harrassment, and lots more of help that can be given to these visiting relatives of ours without too much expense or trouble. This is mostly what is done in real tourist countries, where no kith and kin considerations are even involved.

In the absence of such services and courtesies, what is happening to and with American Blacks,

out in Africa to seek a reunion in physical and spiritual terms, is absolutely catastrophic for all the parties. To put it shortly: the majority of them just never **make contact** until they leave. They walk about, buy a few things—some of these being, of course, spurious artifacts passing for "African art"—make what they can of poor African food or expensive western menus, have bits of casual conversation here and there, and go back home eventually, still unknown in and unknowing of Africa: disappointed, disillusioned, depressed.

Those on scheduled and properly conducted tours do better, of course; those for whom university programmes are arranged and facilities available come out best of all. It is for the ordinary tourist-visitor, those who pay their private, unattached and unconnected way, coming out on faith and expecting the best but getting so little —it is for these that we plead.

---

7 Years Later: Work Habits in Ghana

WHEN the Kotoka-Afrifa coup of 1966 threw out the C.P.P. government and installed our first military regime, many different hopes were engendered in the hearts of many anxious Ghanaians. One was that the military characteristic of discipline would soon make itself felt and become effective in the whole country, not least among us as workers. But in the seven years that have elapsed since that first "revolution" and since the **Legon Observer** started business, no such hope of reform has been fulfilled. Particularly in the white-collar sector, the situation is still a cause for distress and embarrassment, if not for downright shame.

The N.L.C., the Progress Party government, and now the N.R.C., each attempted to establish or restore discipline among workers everywhere in the country, especially in the offices: most of all in government and public corporation offices. Watch-dog arrangements of different kinds were tried out by all three post-C.P.P. governments; junior ministers were assigned the duty of unscheduled visiting of offices, where they often caught and punished loafing, malingering officers; the military boys have applied "instant justice" in the form of drilling and fatigue chores;. . . All to much less than maximum effect.

Men and women come late to work and leave early; sometimes they don't come at all, or go out and don't return. To this day government offices and state corporations are chockful of clerks one-half to three-quarters of whose number are more often than not reading the newspapers, eating (in or out of the office), holding conversation or gossip sessions, or just "plain sittin' ", doing nothing. Girls in starched blue uniforms and large wigs sit in our national bank offices, for hours, conversing and gossiping; opening and shutting their drawers, opening and shutting their bags; picking their nails, picking their teeth, picking their nose; laughing, talking, whispering, giggling. . .

And one absolutely fascinating feature of this phenomenon is the way in which absorption into the system takes place, as an impregnable function of the African proclivity to gregariousness and to the "my brother" psychology. In other words, your stern-faced policeman or soldier, installed to keep order, preserve discipline, check wrongdoing, and apprehend where necessary, very soon becomes a loyal club member with his charges, identifying completely with them and being able, willing and ready to check or control none of them. Likewise the civilian supervisor, be he senior clerk or senior porter.

Always there are the expections, of course, in this case quite a large number of them: charming, consciencious young ladies giving of their best, in the selfsame banks and post-offices; earnest young men or experienced older ones trying hard, not just to do their duty but to please you as well; telephone girls who do better than ask you three times to repeat your number and quarrel with you if you protest. . . All honour to these. May their number increase during the next seven years of the **Legon Observer.**

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Matters Arising

EDITOR'S NOTE: The article following hereunder is an official presentation by the University of Ghana, following press statements over the last several weeks about the university's attitude on business education problems.

BUSINESS EDUCATION IN GHANA

By
Ebow Daniel
(Assist. Registrar, The University, Legon)

MUCH has been said and written about business education in recent times. Almost invariably and in needlessly intemperate language, the University of Ghana is accused of discouraging business education in the secondary schools because it would not accept holders of the Ghana Business Certificate to the university. The following excerpt, which appeared in an article in an Accra daily on Monday, 4th June, is typical of a lot of the opinions expressed:

> It is sad to see it [the University] failing miserably in fulfilling the purpose for which it was established —the light bearer of knowledge and development. As a matter of fact, Legon has for a long time followed a stereotyped system of education—a bizarre adherence to blind conservatism.

In the issue of a weekly which appeared on 2nd June there is reference to "dons who never write any textbooks but find all the time in the world to write meaningless essays on what somebody didn't do right". The weekly concerned, however, only intended this comment as an editorial preamble to a discussion of the urgency for bringing to court the case of a certain gentleman (not connected with the university) who allegedly was "under suspicion for trafficking in lotto". The reference to this comment should have no relevance to our subject either, except to amplify a view that was expressed the other day that "university-baiting" has become the fashion of the day in certain quarters.

But to return to the discussion of business education. The Academic Board of the University of Ghana did not officially know about the existence of the Advanced Ghana Business Certificate Examination until June 1971, when the School of Administration proposed that successful candidates from the examination should be accepted for admission in October, 1971. The board was inclined to dismiss this proposal, because not only had it not been informed about it previously but, even at this meeting (its last for the session), there were no supporting papers, no statement on the objectives of the course and no syllabuses. But the board learnt that some students had embarked upon the course two years previously in sixth form. on the understanding that they could enter the School of Administration on passing.

With much misgiving, therefore, the Academic Board decided that for those who had already taken the examination and those who were to take it in the following year, three passes in stated subjects, together with the General Paper, should be considered sufficient for admission. This concession, however, was not to apply to students who had not yet embarked upon business studies in the sixth form. To this category of students it was to be explained that the university preferred to have students of a broader background than could be acquired from sole concentration on business studies; therefore, at least one subject outside business was to

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be offered when they came to select subjects for sixth form. The schools were informed of the decision in July 1971. It was explained in this letter that the university was still considering the matter and would communicate further with the schools.

It is necessary at this point to explain the university's preference for broad-based 'A' level preparation for undergraduate work. For a long time a standard criticism of the university's undergraduate courses was that they tended to produce specialists of rather narrow type. The criticism seemed legitimate for, until recently, students who were interested in the physical sciences, for instance, considered it enough to study pure mathematics, applied mathematics and physics or chemistry; others who were interested in the biological sciences tended to offer, at the 'A' level, botany, zoology and chemistry; hardly physics or mathematics. It was possible then to enter the university with any two 'A' levels, pure mathematics and applied mathematics, for example, or zoology and botany; and once in the university, specialization in mathematics or botany or zoology was possible for such a student.

University Recommendations

The university did not consider this situation at all satisfactory and, largely through its intervention, biology in place of botany and zoology, and mathematics in place of pure mathematics and applied mathematics are now offered in the sixth form. The merger of botany-zoology and pure mathematics-applied mathematics into single subjects has meant that a student who is interested in biology now has to offer at least two of chemistry, mathematics, and physics to qualify for admission. Similarly, one who is interested in mathematics has to offer at least two of biology, chemistry, and physics to satisfy the entry requirements. Occasionally, a student has offered biology, chemistry, physics and mathematics.

The university is satisfied with the type of preparation discussed above as being more suitable and adequate. The majority of students must be of the same view too, because a preparation of the type discussed here makes them eligible to undertake many more courses than would otherwise be the case. For example, a student who offers mathematics, physics and chemistry may enter a medical school just as well as an engineering school. He may opt to study in the Faculty of Science or the School of Administration, or in the Faculty of Social Studies. He may indeed study law.

To ensure that candidates for admission to the humanities also have a broad background, it is recommended to students that certain subjects should not be offered together at sixth form, or, if they are offered, they may not be counted separately for purposes of satisfying the minimum entry requirements. For example, economic history may not be counted with either modern history or ancient history; ancient history may not be counted with modern history, while British constitution may not be counted with government; and so on.

This concern for a broader-based education has been carried into the design of the first degree itself. Since October 1972, students who have entered the Faculty of Science or the faculties of Arts, Social Studies, and Law have been obliged to offer three subjcts in the first year; two of these subjects have to be offered in the second year, and in the third year the same two subjects or only one of them may be offered. Specialization in one subject in this new degree programme is thus reserved for the third year.

The programme for the Advanced Ghana Business Certificate examination was appraised by the Academic Board when the relevant details were available, with similar concern for breadth. The university was satisfied that for students who wished to study business at the university pre-occupation with business studies to the exclusion of all others in the sixth form was most undesirable. The Academic Board, accordingly, decided that students who were intending to study administration in the university should study, not one but two subjects outside business. But to give ample notice to the schools, the decision was not to be implemented until October 1974.

Subsequent to this decision, representations were made to the university that the Academic Board had erred in thinking the Business Certificate programme to be narrow-based. It was alleged, for instance, that quantitative methods compared well with 'A' level mathematics, business communication with 'A' level English, and business economics with 'A' level economics. The suggestion, therefore, was that each pair of subjects was to be recognised as alternatives. The university was willing to accept this suggestion, subject to verification that the identified pairs of subjects were indeed comparable. The syllabuses and specimen examination questions for the Ghana Business Certificate were, accordingly, examined and compared with the 'A' level subjects. The following is the assessment of the Business Certificate Course by experts:

> **Business Communication:** The examination for this certificate is in two parts, Part I consisting of two papers of a duration of one hour and two hours respectively, and Part II of one 3-hour paper.

Academic Board Proved Right

Most of Part I is no more than the mechanics of composition such as might be (indeed must have been) taught in Form IV (if not earlier), certainly in Form V. Section D—"Speaking and Listening Techniques" —has an oral component which, doubtfully, may be new but is tested in writing rather than orally.

Part II is a course in techniques for very specific situations. A useful course, no doubt, but it has a strong vocational bias and is highly specialised. A pupil taking this course need not have the linguistic competence required for the 'A' level candidate.

'A' level teachers of English teach English; teachers of Advanced Ghana Business Certificate Communication teach very largely presentation of material, which is highly conventional, and the use of English in a very restricted situation.

It does not appear, therefore that the two courses and the examination are equivalent.

Quantitative Methods: A cursory inspection of the documents . . . shows that the paper Quantitative Methods (Advanced Part II) for July 1971 is far below the level of difficulty required for 'A' level mathematics. Indeed it is not even at the standard of 'O' level papers. I take for illustration the five questions from Section B (No, 327) of which the students in Business Mathematics and Statistics are supposed to answer three. These five questions scarcely amount

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July 1973

to more than one of the questions 8, 9, 10, 11 on Statistics in Mathematics II Advanced Level of the General Certificate of Education Examination in June 1971. Nor are they as difficult as corresponding questions in 'O' level. It is plain that no one in mathematics in the university, or in the West African Examinations Council, could have been consulted about the quality or the level at which this examination was to be conducted.

Business Economics: With regard to the proposed entry through the Advanced Ghana Business Certificate, I would say that the G.C.E. 'A' level paper is more interesting than the Business Certificate paper in economics, but that the level is about the same. (The better quality of the 'A' level paper may reflect better teaching).

In the light of the above assessment, the Academic Board confirmed its decision of March 1972: that students should be encouraged to offer two subjects outside business.

The University's Viewpoint

Subsequently, it was suggested that the solution to the difficulty was to upgrade the subjects discussed above to the 'A' level. But by this time the Academic Board had learnt of the objectives of the Ghana Business Certificate, which were given as follows by the Ministry of Education:

i. to prepare students to enter employment as assistants to junior management;

ii. to provide for those students who wish to have necessary background for furthering their education.

The university held that if the suggestion for upgrading the courses was accepted, the first objective would be frustrated, for the standard of training for junior managerial assistants would thereby have been put at a level beyond the competence of many students who could usefully be employed in middle-level management. The view of the university was that any student who was capable of performing well at the level of 'A' level mathematics or English might as well train for an executive position. On the other hand, the only disadvantage in not upgrading the courses was that students would arrive in the university without a background in business. But this was not considered, necessarily, a handicap.

It was suggested, nevetheless, that consideration should be given to devising another programme in business, on which students who were interested first and foremost in pursuing business studies in the university could train. In devising such a programme, the university's concern for breadth was to be taken fully into account. The university's representatives at the West African Examinations Council participated in the discussion of this matter at the Ghana National Committee, on which the Ministry of Education and other interested bodies are represented. A Ghana Technical and Commercial Examination Committee has since been formed and charged, among other objectives, with the introduction and approval of syllabuses in technical and commercial subjects. The School of Administration is represented on this committee and is actively pursuing this objective.

One should perhaps take this opportunity to discuss some of the many remarks that have been made about the university's position in this matter. It has been suggested that, if a student who is intending to read medicine in the university is not obliged to offer a subject outside science, it is unfair to impose on the would-be administration undergraduate an obligation to offer a non-business subject. The comparison here is not quite apposite. Indeed it is more pertinent to ask whether the university would approve as a suitable preparation for a would-be medical student a pre-university curriculum which featured the following, to be exclusion of all others: biology for medicals, English for medicals, medical physics, pharmaceutical chemistry.

The university is likely to say that such a programme is unduly specialised, because it does not give the student any room for manouvre should bet get disenchanted with medicine. Similarly, any preparation for studies in law which featured only legal English, legal history and one or two of tort, contract and criminal law thrown in is unlikely to be approved.

Finally, about the university's alleged contribution to the virtual collapse of the business courses. As stated earlier, the accusation is that because the university would not accept students who have taken the Ghana Business Certificate, the programme is about to fail. It is difficult to appreciate that approval of business courses for admission to the university is a necessary condition for the success of these courses. State Registered Nurses are not promised admission to the university on graduation from the Nursing Training Colleges; nor are Post-Secondary Trained Teachers. One does not see that this has affected enrolment to these institutions.

The real difficulty with the business courses, if our reading of the Accra daily of the 4th of June is correct, is that those who have passed out from it have not been satisfactorily placed in employment. We learn, for instance, that the Civil Service Centre has condemned the typewriting and shorthand courses of the Ghana Business Certificate, while the Technical Division of the Ministry of Education is not particularly enthusiastic about it either. One wonders how much consultation there was with the possible users of the courses before it was embarked upon. Readers will appreciate from the foregoing that at least with the University of Ghana appropriate consultation did not take place.

II—IDEOLOGY

"IDEOLOGIES ON SALE"—Response to Rejoinders

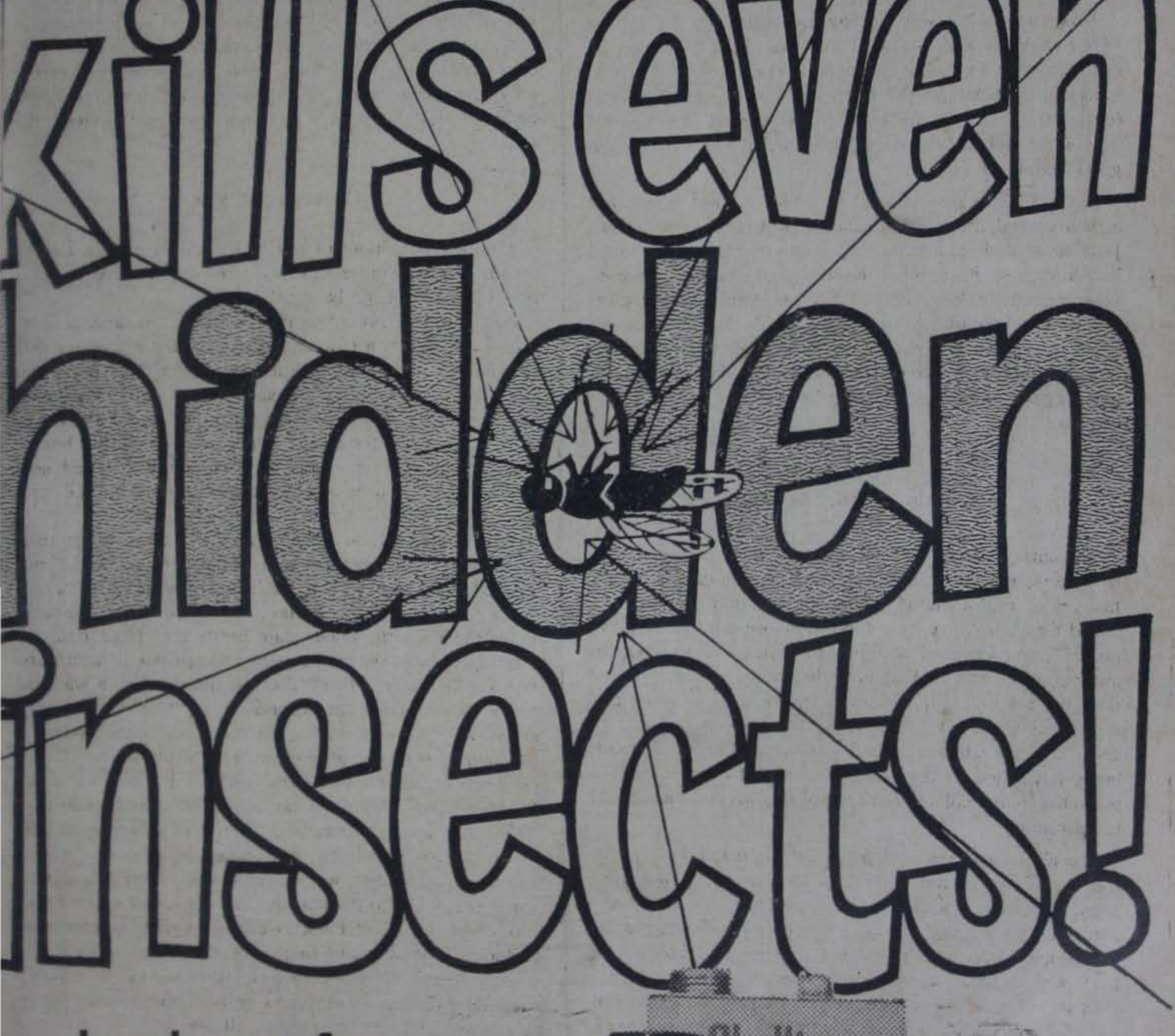
From G. ADALI-MORTTY
(Sch. of Administration, Legon)

I HAVE allowed time for the readers of the **Legon Observer** to chew the cud over the mild controversy stirred up recently by the original article bearing the above title in the **Legon Observer** (Vol. VIII No. 10).

I need hardly say how flattered I was by the attention of the writers of the rejoinders. It is something else again, though, what the substance of the rejoinders was! Not all of them need be taken seriously, welcome though they all were. The undergraduate attempts at adult criticism were quite commendable, and they require lenient reading! I shall therefore confine myself to the contribution of a peer.

Mature discussants, even of political subjects, are expected to stick to the subject of the discussion at issue, and not get

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emotional to the point of forgetting to address themselves to the subject. Similarly, intellectual discourse is, ideally, expected to be elevated and to rise above personal attacks. A certain choleric and fanatical salesman of a certain foreign ideology obliged by passing judgment on my article. He is at liberty to judge the merits of what he reads, but for my part, no, thanks. I would not care to go for judgment where emotion clouds the vision so. I would rather look up to the appraisal of clear and sober thinkers, responsible statesmen and men of affairs—to whom my article was primarily addressed. They are well able to distinguish between bellyful and "muddled" thinking and its opposite. And they know too well that the clouded, fanatical mind muddles itself even with translucent logic!

Now then, what was the central theme of the article, "Ideologies on Sale—Whose Shall We Buy"? It may be summed up in the following words. Everybody is at liberty to entertain his personal philosophy of life and his own ideology. No one should try to foist his personal ideology on others, or seek to impose again an alien ideology on the good people of Ghana.

A certain foreign ideology, of which certain people are so enamoured, arose out of needs and situations which were peculiar to their source environment. As such they cannot be duplicated in another environment, or be imported into another **locale** whose historical, cultural, psychological and social circumstances are different. To cite an instance: There never had been czarist or feudal or exploitative, early industrial barons in our country. Wherefore bilious citations and slogans, aimed at invoking bogies, are so much self-delusion.

What Have They in Mind?

The current policy of "self-reliance" must be understood to encompass self-reliance and self-determination in the fashioning of "a stated course of future action, and a stated direction". We have the brains, we are locally acclimatized, and we must develop our own guiding principles and course of action. Pragmatically, we must eschew what does not suit, and what does not work out, learning and refining as we go. It would be most puerile, most empty of content, if self-reliance in food, clothing and other essentials being advocated by the NRC government were to exclude self-reliance in ideology. Action, not slogans and ideological vituperation.

The above was the essence of the original article which was the object of the rejoinders. In advocating a home-grown ideology, I also advocated avoidance of costly experiments which might bring unnecessary sufferings upon the people. You should witness the price in blood and tears and deprivation which the leaders of certain sister African countries have inflicted upon the "masses". The test of the modernizing process is not only which system of development and industrialization gets the country there first; it is also, more importantly, which process is least costly in human suffering and human sacrifice.

I have asked and have not heard answered, what exactly t he peddlers of alien ideologies like socialism have in mind. Which brand of socialism are they imagining and cuddling in their hearts? Why not share their vision of socialism with the rest of us mortals? And must an outside prophet, who has a lot of work converting Nigeria to socialism, be imported to provide the doctrine?

Is it the sacred "communes", the "collectives", the expropriation of land and appropriation of the means of production, distribution, etc; and is it the metallic inflexibility of "one nation, one people, one ideology, one leader, forced-humble conscience" — is it, I ask, abolition of the right to choose and the withdrawal of freedom to believe or not to believe — is it the removal of freedom of movement—aye, is it the extinction of these which Maoist vest-fanciers wish to reintroduce into this country?

Have they forgotten so soon the degradation, the persecution, the imprisonment, of dissenters and political rivals? Are these the evils which they wish to reintroduce upon the hapless citizens of Ghana? Forgotten?

The arrogance of the unremovable power elite; the corruption of one-party officials secure in an absence of opposition; the pervading fear and insecurity of the rest of the people—the "masses" whom socialist agyefo (deliverers) have claimed to deliver from the exploitation of "capitalists" who "hide their nefarious profiteering and social oppression of the poor". (With acknowledgements to Jawa Apronti's articulated phlegm!) Extend the list.

Conditions of Woe

Are these conditions of woe which some capitalist baiters — who see exploiters in every tree—would have the citizens of Ghana to go back to?

And who told Jawa Apronti—he began the name-calling! —and his ilk that a new-state capitalist, the one-man ruler, in Flagstaff House would fare any better than Nkrumah did? Who would believe that such a ruler would not hound his helpers out of the country and or consign them to detention? How do the socialist star-gazers want us to believe that they would be corruption-free, greed-free and self-denying in the face of temptations, and under the corrupting influence of power?

And when we have not been able to work existing, relatively few, state ventures and public corporations, if not profitably at least with a modicum of efficient accountability, how are we going to run vastly multiplied business and industrial concerns under state capitalism! Need one cite the tragic specimens in this very Africa, some of which are not too far away, either? They should serve as a warning to us. Ghanaians want cassava, fufu, "high life", family access to land—not drilling, uniforms and empty slogans.

Strangely enough, proponents and protagonists of socialism and communism tend to be intolerant of other people's beliefs. They, the socialists and communists, and they alone, are "progressive", the rest of us are miserable "reactionaries". This does not bother us. They cry: scare! and see imperialist agents, saboteurs, nation-breakers, ideologically bankrupt "enemies of the people" everywhere. Profit, the reward of industry and enterprise, is anathema to them. If it is vitriol they understand and employ, vitriol must answer them! How I wish it were otherwise! After its throwing, however, let us be friends and countrymen, each wishing the best for Ghana.

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Letters

The Critics are Wrong

SIR—I am really surprised at the arguments put up by certain people against the proposed military training for university students. These people perceive military discipline only in the form of subjugating one's intellect to the control of unruly commanders.

If these critics would take the trouble to find out how many of the great world leaders have had military training they would realise the folly in their arguments. In many countries it is an honour to be given the opportunity to serve in the armed forces, and in the British navy, service in the officers corps is restricted to a privileged few, those belonging to the ruling class. I wonder whether Britain would like to make dunces of her leaders?

But here in Ghana, mention military training for the university student and it is considered intolerable, because the Ghanaian graduate in the making cannot extricate himself from the fantasy of unbridled intellectualism. This country has made a fetish of certain classes of people for too long, to the detriment of the nation. First it was the 'Been-to', then came the graduate, and even now among the graduates, certain classes are crystallising.

If the proposed military training would succeed in pruning down the arrogance and other excesses associated with intellectualism, so that what remains of the graduate is the Ghanaian in him and the knowledge he possesses, this country would make great strides. I would go further to suggest that military training alone is not sufficient. There is need for ideological training as well, so that the Ghanaian graduate would not only be highly disciplined and purposeful but would also be able to identify the interests of Ghana and of Africa, wherever he may be.

P.O. Box 406 **S. Boafo Akuffo**
Koforidua

A Volunteer Is A Volunteer

SIR—It is certainly a good thing that so many of our students have volunteered to help at Dahwenya. This is a very clear indication of the desire of students to be of service to the country.

However, it does appear to me from some of their remarks that the students want to eat their revolutionary cake and have it too. For instance, they have been reported as having urged the government to freeze vacation jobs so that all students would be able to help on projects such as the one at Dahwenya.

No matter what other motivations lie behind that statement, it does seem to carry hints of invidiousness. It seems as if the volunteers are saying: "Why must other students be allowed to do lucrative vacation jobs while we are sacrificing for the nation?"

Certainly, when it becomes urgently necessary, the government can stop vacation employment and deploy student power as it sees fit, but until such an emergency situation arises the government is right in encouraging students to volunteer, rather than coercing them in any way. And students who volunteer must see themselves as volunteers, i.e., as people who have opted to do something out of their own free will and who expect no reward other than the satisfaction one derives from useful voluntary service.

In my view, therefore, it is a counter-revolutionary reversal of the spirit of voluntary service for volunteers to ask to be awarded certificates in recognition of their services. If such certificates had come unsolicited, that would have been well and good.

P.O. Box 0118 **Paul Eshun**
Takoradi

We Must Examine Ourselves

SIR—At this moment we in Ghana (or at least our leaders) are in the vanguard of the African liberation struggle. Every statement issued from the Foreign Ministry seems to be on this subject. This applies in general to most of the African countries.

No-one seems to think it incongruous that in half the countries of Africa we either have military rule or one-party government. In other words, the people are being told that they are not mature enough to look after themselves, by a small easily identifiable group who have therefore taken power. The resolve of the whites to hold on to power is merely strengthened by the antics of a self-appointed Messiah of Africa like General Amin.

We in Black Africa must examine ourselves carefully and impartially before we accuse others of crimes of which we are also guilty. We must remember that democracy, like charity, must begin at home.

P.O. Box 2978 **M. A. Adu**
Accra

Scrap This Project

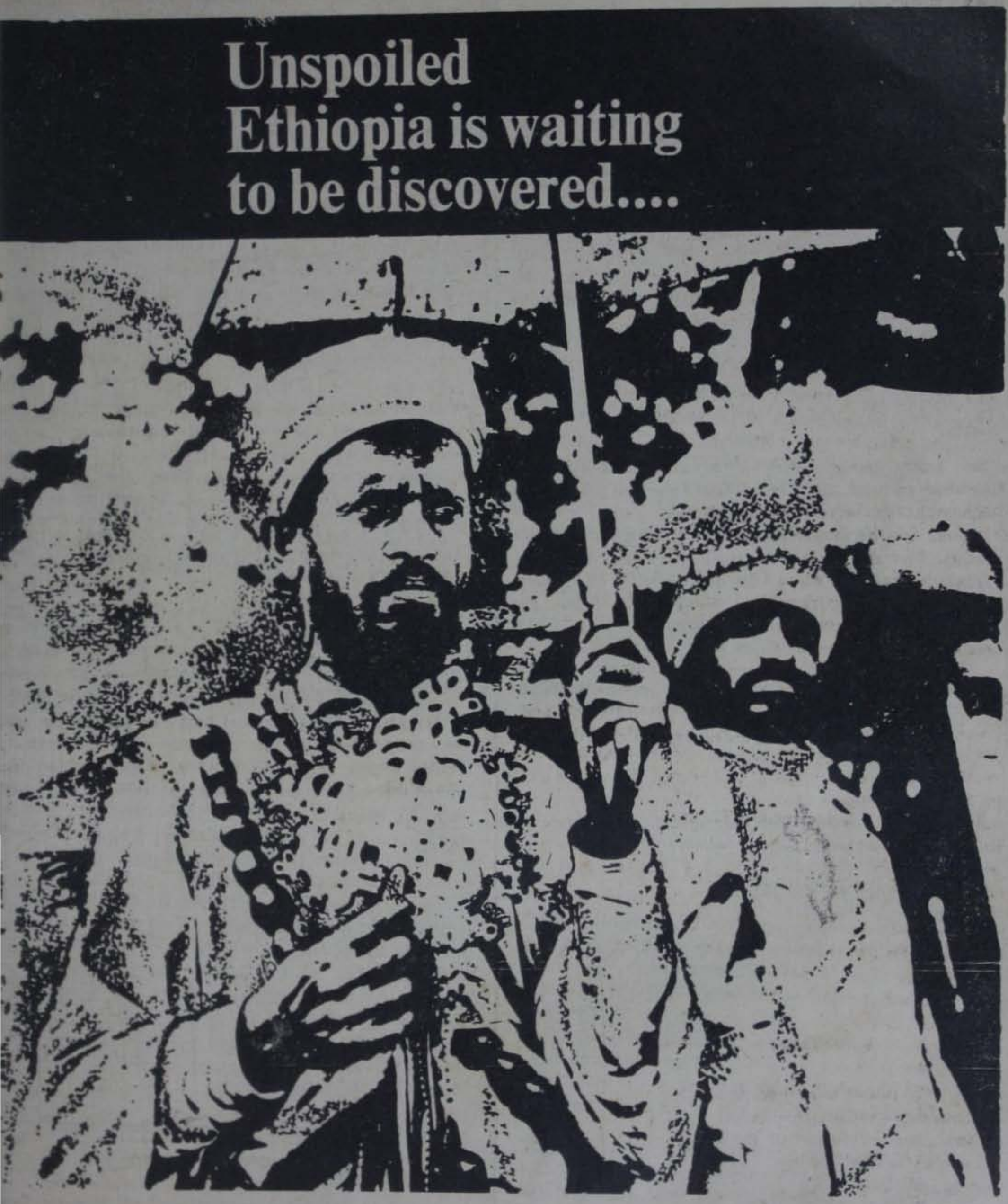
SIR—I implore the Ashanti Development Corporation to convince me of the feasibility of acquiring 2,500 acres of land for the cultivation of potatoes. Unless they inform me that their market survey for the project was conducted in Upper Volta or Lebanon, I shall not be convinced. And if they envisage a sizeable amount of foreign exchange from the export of their potatoes, would such an objective not be a deviation from the Operation Feed Yourself programme? For Heaven's sake let's feed ourselves before we feed others.

If on the other hand, the project is designed for potato consumers in Ghana, a triple acreage—of the potato farm—of each of our staple foods should also be put under cultivation by the Ashanti Development Corporation, for we are many and they are few.

Yam, cocoyam, corn and plantain are **sine qua non** to most Ghanaians. We need our staple foods. We cannot sit down, keep mum and buy a finger of plantain for 10-15 pesewas, while 2,500 acres of our land is used for the cultivation of potatoes. Cocoyam we know. Corn we know. But what is an Irish potato?

c/o P.O. Box 1957 **J. Kwantwi Adarkwa**
Accra

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Review

GIRLS AT WAR

By

Chinua Achebe

Reviewed by

Gregory Beyir
(Inst. of Management & Public Administration, Grenhill, Achimota).

A COUPLE of months ago when I read in a certain magazine that Chinua Achebe, the distinguished novelist of Nigeria and Africa, had just published another book, **Girls at War,** so great was my anxiety to get hold of it that I even failed to notice the sub-title: "And Other Stories". I guessed at what the theme of what I supposed was a full-length novel would be, having in mind that great human catastrophe that befell Nigeria a few years ago—the Civil War. To me personally Achebe is an idol as far as creative writing goes, and I believe that in the years to come when a literary history of Africa has accumulated, he will be counted among the Old Masters.

Small wonder that when I lighted on **Girls at War** in the Legon bookshop recently I immediately bought it. I was however disappointed (in terms of quantity of what I expected) to find that **Girls at War**—and Other Stories is really a collection of eleven stories written long ago, before the war, not having anything at all to do with that tragedy and only two stories, "Civil Peace" and "Girls at War" itself, pinned rather by force to the end of the collection of older stories.

Judgment On Theme

I read these last two stories first, hurriedly, and found, as expected, "Civil Peace" dealing with the immediate post-war situation in the erstwhile Biafra, whilst "Girls at War" treats the pathetically hopeless situation of destruction, starvation, disease and death in the fast crumbling, ill-fated republic at the height of the war. Speaking of the title of the book in passing, the least and only comment I would make is that for the publishers and readers it is an excellent commercial advertising device, even though Achebe is so serious a writer that one should not hastily accuse him of deliberate commercialism.

Both "Civil Peace" and "Girls at War" are (and would you be surprised?) excellently written in the typical Achebe tradition, which I dare not try to expound for want of authority on literary criticism. The main point I want to make in this article, however, is not about the beauty of Achebe's writing at all, which is an acknowledged fact, but specifically about his choice of the central theme of the last story, "Girls at War", which is clearly that of corruption in the centres of power of the falling Biafran nation.

Why did Achebe hasten to pick on this theme about the conquered alone, so soon after the War—something which is only one out of the several situations which any honest person knows, at least hazily, should form several themes on the whole Nigerian society? Why such treatment of themes which Achebe, with his ability, could, surely, turn into many full length novels for instructing not only the new and wiser Nigeria but also other immature African countries not blessed with the Nigerian experience and which therefore still toy with human sentiments, their centres of power looking nonchalantly on at decadent tribal aspirations growing against a background of fictitious past glories and myths?

By his unnecessarily cautious, play-it-safe, inadequate choice of the theme of "Girls at War", is the great Achebe not endangering his integrity as Africa's elder writer? Is he not laying himself open to the charge of double-standards, perhaps wrongly, by jealous and less successful writers who must know that, after all, Achebe was a Biafran? And I fear they would not be short of points to bolster up their argument.

For instance, why does Nwankwo (one of the chief characters in the story and obviously Achebe's mind) accuse the falling Biafran top men of feasting in the midst of suffering, of taking advantage of the war-beleaguered girls, of idleness, of cowardice and so on, when he is one of them (a top official of the Ministry of Justice) and actively doing that for which he condemns others? Does he spare the girl whom he picks up struggling along the road, abandoning an old woman in the process? Why does he not decline to attend the Lt.-Colonel's party? Does he not confess to Gladys, the vagabond beauty, that "Owerri is a real swinging town, and we live the life of gay bachelors", leaving their families elsewhere supposedly for safety sake?

And why does Achebe toy with the readers' sense of propriety by trying to justify the obviously hypocritical Nwankwo, as he hawled away "WCC" relief supplies of food, whilst a hungry crowd looks on grumbling, thus: "In such a situation one could do nothing at all for crowds; at best one could try to be of some use to one's immediate neighbours" —"neighbours"?, in the form only of a beautiful young Gladys, but not of an old woman? I should say in such a situation you don't preach, if you are not sure you are better off than others, morally, as Nwankwo does to Gladys.

I have discussed the Nkwankwo character thus at length, to aid in reflecting what I fear may be the judgement one can pass on Achebe turning round so suddenly to castigate the fallen Biafran leadership, leaving untouched the pre-war social situation in Nigeria as a whole, which naturally should have aroused his great literary talents first and more significantly. And I believe Achebe can handle this subtly, usefully—and still responsibly and safely!

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

P. A. V. ANSAH—Lecturer, Dept. of Modern Languages, University of Ghana, Legon.

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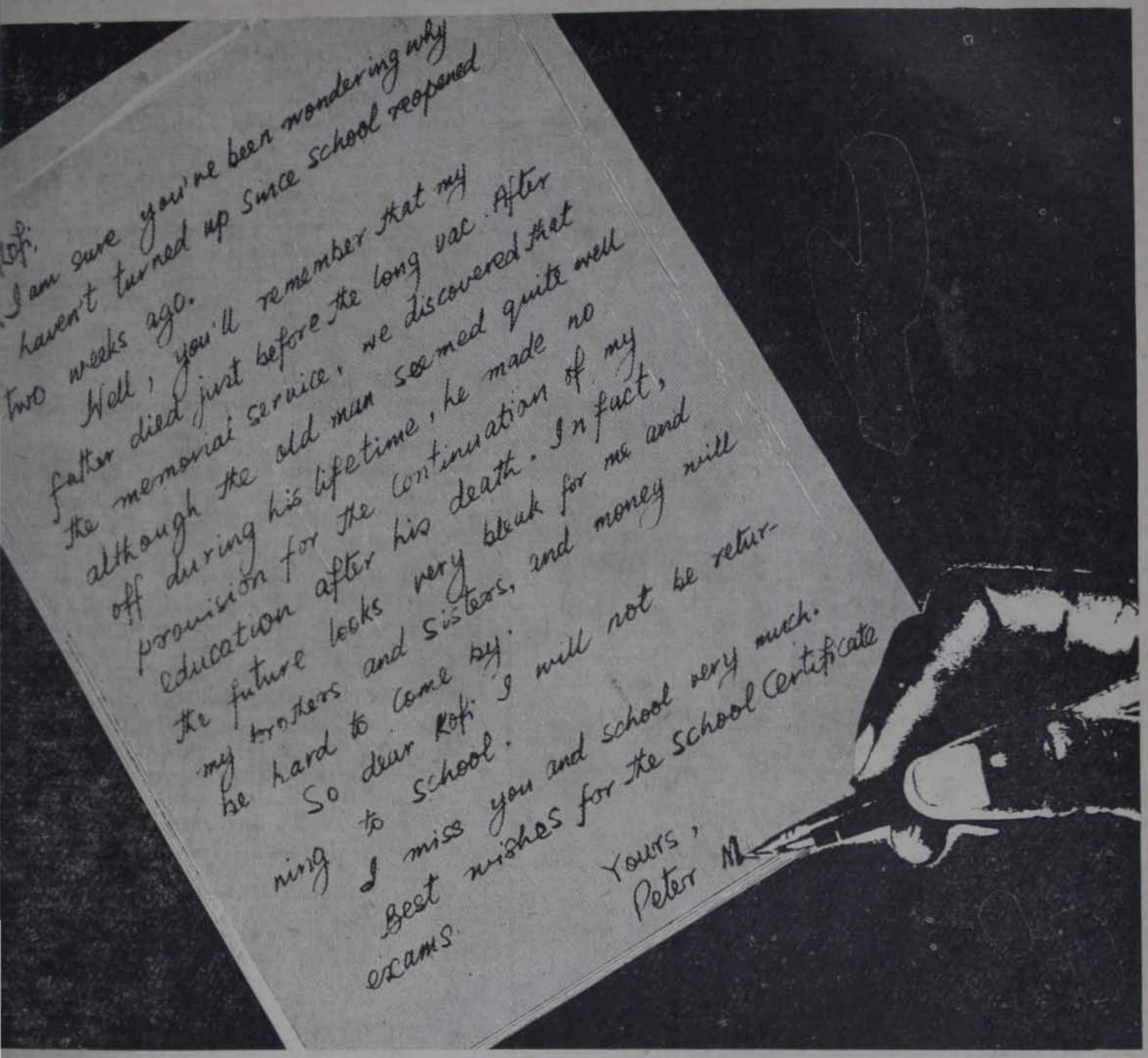
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For The Record

Friday, June 29

Rowland to Visit Ghana

MR. R. W. Rowland, Chief Executive of Lonrho, the company which holds a minority share in the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation (A.G.C.), is to visit Ghana shortly to pay his respects to the Head of State.

While in Ghana, Mr. Rowland will explain Lonrho's recent problems, which have somewhat impaired the company's image in Britain's trade and commerce. He also announced during an interview in London that the company was very happy with its relationship with the Ghana government.

Prof. Ewusie Acts at Cape Coast

PROFESSOR J. Yanney Ewusie, Pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Cape Coast, has assumed office as acting Vice-Chancellor of the University.

According to a circular issued yesterday by the Registrar, Mr. E. V. Dam Mante, to all sections of the University, Professor E. A. Boateng, former Vice-Chancellor of the University, handed over the administration to Professor Yanney Ewusie at 5.30 p.m. last Wednesday.

The circular said that Professor Ewusie would act as Vice-Chancellor until a substantive Vice-Chancellor was appointed.

Monday, July 2

Matchets from Bibiani

THE ¢750,000 Bibiani Matchets Complex will go into operation by September, and its products will be on the market by December this year,

This was announced today by Mr. L. A. K. Quashie, executive chairman of Menleo Enterprises Limited, who added that the company is expected to produce about 60,000 dozen Lizard Matchets a year, as well as spades, shovels, hoes, axes and prunners for plucking cocoa.

The complex, Mr. Quashie continued, would enter into an agreement with the State Mining Corporation to supply its requirement of shovels.

Government Urged to Freeze Vacation Jobs

VOLUNTEER students who are helping with the construction of irrigation canals at Dahwenya today called on the government to freeze all vacation jobs to enable students to give maximum voluntary service to the nation. They also said that certificates should be awarded to the volunteers working on the canal in recognition of their service.

Speaking on behalf of the student volunteers, Mr. T. N. Ward-Brew, President of the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS), said that if the government was really serious about utilising student man-power potential, then it must formulate a clearly defined policy. Mr. Ward-Brew added that he did not see the need for 250 foreign students to help on the canal project, when there was a student and pupil population of about two million in Ghana.

Tuesday, July 3

Decree on Rumours

ACCORDING to a decree signed by the Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C., and published in Accra today, any person who publishes or reproduces any statement, rumour or report which is false and likely to cause fear or alarm or despondency to the public, or to disturb the public peace or cause disaffection against the National Redemption Council and the Executive Council among the public, or among members of the Armed Forces or the Police Service, shall be guilty of an offence.

The offence carries a fine not exceeding ¢1,000 or a term of imprisonment not exceeding three years, or both. The decree, the Prohibition of Rumours Decree 1973, is deemed to have come into force on 27th June, this year.

Wednesday, July 4

Auditor-General Reports on State Hotels

SIX state hotels, three catering rest-houses, the Winneba Beach Club and the head office of the State Hotels Corporation made a total loss of ¢304,787, according to the audited accounts of the corporation for the year ended December 31, 1970.

According to the Auditor-General's report, apart from the Ambassador and Continental Hotels and the Kumasi Rest House, which made a total profit of ¢708,505, all the rest made substantial losses. Hotels which made profit were: the Ambassador, ¢194,813, the Continental, ¢508,116 and the Catering Rest House, Kumasi, ¢5,576.

The Meridian Hotel, Tema, which operated for two weeks during the year under review, made a loss of ¢865, while the Star Hotel recorded a loss of ¢60,793. The Airport Hotel made a loss of ¢51,121, the Volta Hotel ¢11,575, the City Hotel (Kumasi) ¢39,644, and the Atlantic Hotel (Takoradi) ¢32,644.

Final Batch of Detainees Released

THE government has released all the 23 remaining political detainees from preventive custody, and with their release all persons taken into custody after the 13th January have regained their freedom.

A statement from the office of the N.R.C. said that the detainees were released on 3rd July. They are: Messrs Kwaku Baah, A. A. Aboagye da Costa, S. K. C. Osei-Baidoo, G. D. Ampaw, Dr. K. Safo-Adu, A. Appiah-Menka, Fofie Bame Busia, Kwartelai Quartey, B. J. da Rocha, A. A. Munufie, N. Y. B. Adadc, Oheneba Kow Richardson, Alhaji B. K. Adama, Jatoe Kaleo, S. W. Awuku-Darko, R. R. Amponsah, Alex Abedi, T. D. Brodie-Mends, S. D. Dombo, R. A. Quarshie, J. H. Mensah, and Nana Toa Akwatia II.

The statement said the N.R.C. had decided that Lt.-General A. A. Afrifa should, on his release, be placed under open arrest for the time being; also that the N.R.C. had granted Mr. Abedi a remission of the remainder of the 18-month prison sentence imposed on him by the Aidoo Assets Commitee, subject to the payment of the fine of ¢500 in respect of his perjury.

Thursday, July 12

Col. Kerekou Visits Ghana

LT.-COL. Mathieu Kerekou, President of the Republic of Dahomey, paid a two-day official visit to Ghana on 11th and 12th July.

President Kerekou held talks with Col. I. K. Acheampong, Chairman of the N.R.C., and members of the Ghana government. He also visited places of interest in and around Accra.

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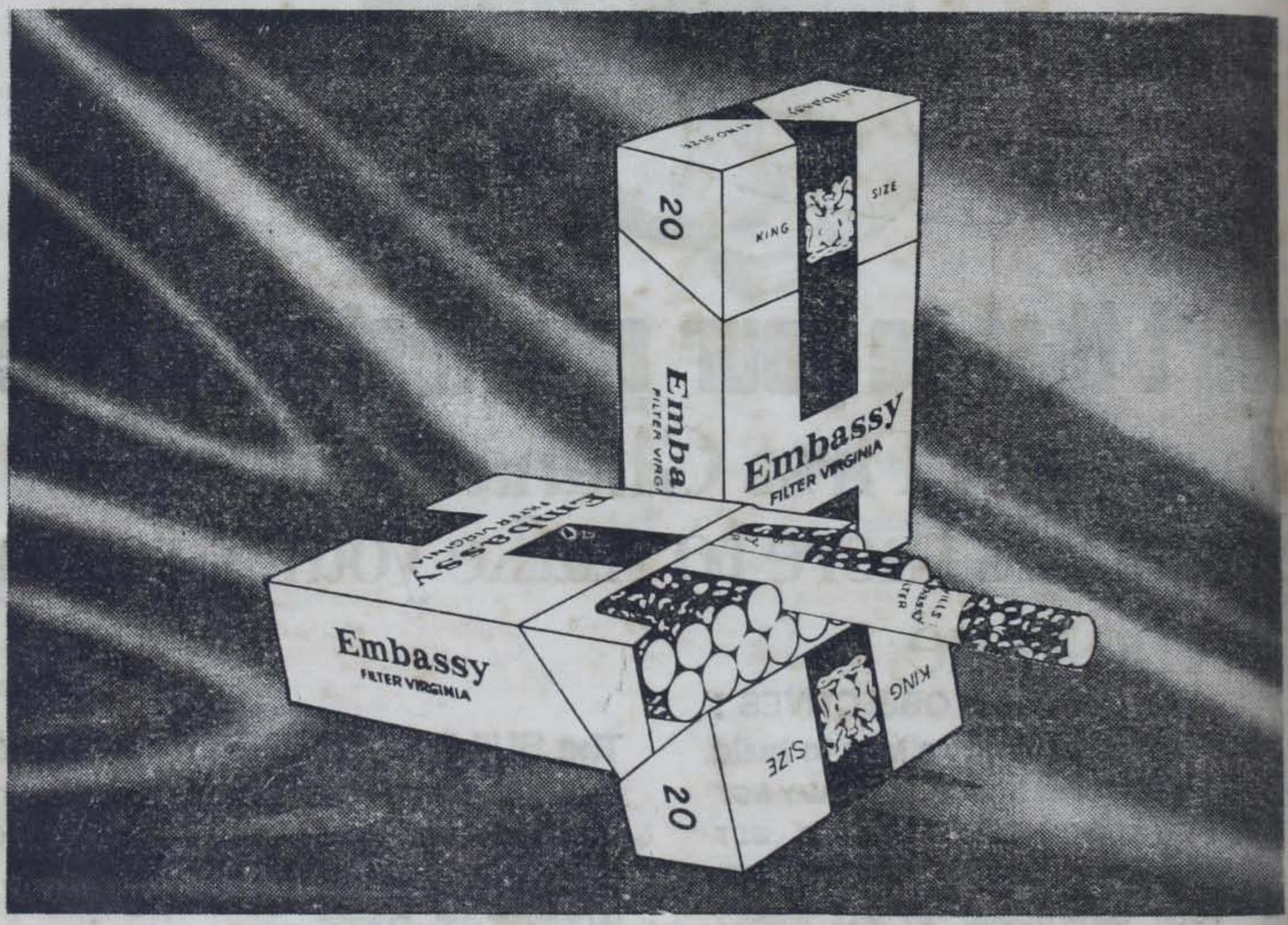
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Editorial

ABOVE THE "POVERTY LINE"

ABOUT two weeks ago, the Chairman of the N.R.C., Colonel I.K. Acheampong, announced that in view of the high cost of living which has been brought about by price increases in commodities all over the world, his government was considering a review of the pay structure in the country, and that a committee would soon be set up for that purpose. We share the government's concern over the fact that the continually mounting cost of living calls for urgent remedial action. We think, however, that the exercise proposed is a delicate one and must be approached with great circumspection in order that permanent damage may not be done to our fragile economy.

One school of economic thought contends that salary increases, whether general or selective, have a tendency to push the cost of goods and services even higher, thus frustrating the purpose of the increases. It is argued that even if salaries were doubled, the expected rise in the cost of food, clothing, housing and transportation can wipe off or even outstrip the additional income, and leave the worker worse off than before. There is something in this view, but in our particular case the cost of living has risen at such a fast rate within the last few years that it would be most unrealistic to make this comfortable and classic text-book response an excuse for keeping certain salaries at their present levels. We would therefore suggest that a "poverty line" must be defined below which salaries and wages must not be allowed to drop. Behind this concept of the "poverty line" is the conviction that people must be guaranteed a certain minimum on food, housing, clothing, medical care and education to maintain them in the dignity of a human being. This in fact is no abstract principle, and something like it has been made a guide for fixing minimum wage levels in some countries, even in South Africa. The determination of this is a complex exercise which requires time and care. So it cannot be the basis of policy decisions in the very immediate future. In the meantime we believe that there might be a case for making upward adjustments in the salaries of those in the lower income bracket, that is to say, for workers earning, say, ₵1000 and below per annum.

We make this suggestion in full cognisance of the possible undesirable effects of such a measure, but we are convinced that if this measure is taken in conjunction with others that we shall propose presently, we can somehow offset the inflationary side-effects that even selective increases might bring about. We believe, however, that a general increase for **all** salary earners will be most detrimental and self-defeating in our present economic circumstances. It is true that many workers in this country find it extremely difficult

to make ends meet, but some are more hard hit than others by the soaring cost of living, and it is to these that the government should direct its attention in the first instance.

But the solution to the problem of the high cost of living is one that calls for several measures applied simultaneously or progressively. It must be remembered that increasing wages, even if only selectively, will leave the vast majority of citizens who are not wage earners, like farmers, fishermen, minor artisans and petty traders, in the same predicament; the only way in which they can also increase their earnings will be to increase the prices of their commodities and wares, which will again send prices soaring. What are possible containing measures in this situation?

It is generaly agreed that putting more money into people's pockets is not the best or only means of increasing purchasing power. There are other measures open to the government to give the cedi in the worker's pocket greater purchasing power without courting any inflationary side-effects. Admittedly there is a general rise in prices the world over which affects the prices of our imports, but this is not the only factor that accounts for the high cost of goods and services in the country. It is a fact that prices are rising at a much faster rate here than the world average. One major contributory factor is the high level of import duties and various taxes. It seems to us that one obvious way of bringing down prices will be through a drastic reduction in import duties and taxes. This will, of course, reduce government revenue, but any salary increases will result in higher government expenditure. But the additional advantage in reducing import duties and taxes is that the benefits will be more equitably enjoyed by all sections of the community while wage increases will only benefit certain categories of workers, even if only nominally. In this context too, it may also be worth the government's while to seriously consider a reduction in the rate of interest. The present rate of 14½% is certainly excessive, and importers of goods or raw materials pass this on to the consumer.

One other source of drain on earnings is expenditure on locally produced foods, as is clearly shown in the consumer index. In fact, in spite of the alleged success of "Operation Feed Yourself" food prices have risen beyond levels that could hardly have been imagined two years ago. One way of bringing down the prices of food items is to give concrete incentives to farmers and fishermen whose welfare is forgotten by all except in moments of inadequate food supplies. In this regard, we think it will make more economic and social sense to transfer the subsidy on baby milk onto matchets and to take a more positive interest in the welfare of farmers and fishermen. There is a case for working towards guaranteed minimum prices for some basic agricultural products, to ensure steady incomes which can be forecast for reasonably long periods. Producers in the agricultural sector can then relate their activities to measurable expectations of income, especially if measures are taken to ensure adequate distribution. We often hear that while food is in chronically short supply in the urban centres they may be rotting in the producing areas for lack of transportation facilities. The construction of more feeder roads is at best a medium-term measure; as a short-term measure, and on the assumption that the food is available on some farms, we would propose that the government subsidize transportation so that the Food Distribution Corporation can cart food items from the producing centres to urban areas and sell them at lower prices. We talk of this particular type of subsidy in the light of the government's expressed intention to part with some money in the form of salary increases; we are only suggesting that it will be wiser to spend the amount so earmarked, or to be so earmarked, in this way rather than put it directly into people's pockets.

We have already observed that if the government is willing to reduce import duties and other taxes this should lead to a reduction in prices. But this reduction will not be necessarily passed on to the consumer unless steps are taken to ensure that this is done. This means controls. We are not unaware of the fact that controls are notoriously difficult to enforce, as our own experience shows. Nevertheless, we believe that with some probity and firmness, enforcing controls is a lesser evil than indiscriminately and directly putting money into people's hands to chase goods which are not there. One way of reducing the necessity for controls is to make goods available in the right quantities at the appropriate places, and it is to be hoped that with the foreign exchange surpluses we have accumulated it will be possible to provide supplies in such reasonable quantities as to frustrate attempts at hoarding, speculation and selling at exorbitant prices.

In short, we have suggested that an all-round increase in salaries will not be the best answer to our problem. Any long-term solution will have to address itself to fixing basic wages at a point that will guarantee a minimum that is compatible with living a decent human life. But immediately we think there might be a case for raising wages for the more hard pressed section of the wage earning population. This is to be taken together with a possible reduction of import duties, the guaranteeing of minimum prices to farmers, and a more efficient distribution of agricultural produce. These can best be handled by a permanent machinery. We understand that the Prices and Incomes Board was set up to play this role. These are matters of such magnitude and urgency that the Board will have to show a degree of seriousness in its proceedings which has not so far been apparent.

CORRECTION

ON page 342 of our last issue (**L.O. VIII/14**), under the title "Matchets from Bibiani" we gave the name of the executive chairman of Menleo Enterprises Limited, a company which plans to produce matchets in the country, as Mr. L. A. K. Quashie.

Our attention has been drawn to the fact that the executive chairman of the company named above is **Mr. Lawrence Kobina Quarshie** and not **Mr. Lloyd Adjei Kofi Quashie.** The error is deeply regretted, and we apologise to all those concerned for any inconvenience or embarrassment our publication may have caused them.—**Ag. Editor.**

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Civil Engineering

SOLVING THE TRANSPORT PROBLEM IN ACCRA—II*

By

Emmanuel K. Vorkeh

SO FAR, I have adduced arguments to show that the problem of transportation in Accra is the result of the over-centralisation of essential services and commercial activity in the so-called "Accra Central".

The problem would not have been as acute as it is if it were only the national economic activity which is focussed on this area; but in fact, the entire national administration is also carried on from this zone. It has always been a mistake to build all the ministries in one contiguous area. The argument that this is necessary to facilitate inter-departmental communication is, to a large extent, a big myth.

Departments communicate by written correspondence, and by intercom and telephone. For written communication they have their messengers, departmental cars and the postal services. The intercom and telephone are electronic devices to which distances are immaterial. If total city transportation is smooth, inter-departmental communications would also be smooth even if the ministries were all situated three miles apart from each other. The location of almost all the ministries in one area and in the pressure zone is another major reason for the traffic problem in Accra.

Delays

At present, in order to get to work on time most workers without departmental vehicles or private cars have to start from their houses at 6.30 a.m. and do not return until 6.30 in the evening. This type of life must surely take most of the joy from work. Some of the reasons for workers' poor attitude to work can easily be traced to factors such as the transport system which is beyond their control. Indeed, the transport situation is such that it is now often difficult to get even taxis. As for engaging a taxi and having it exclusively to oneself, this is completely out of the question. You either agree to others being taken aboard **en route,** or you get out yourself. In fact, one cannot refuse to allow the driver to take others because it is very rare these days on the streets of Accra to get a taxi that is not already engaged. So one cannot refuse to have the same kindness extended to others.

Even as early as 1 p.m., the Nima, New Town and Mamprobi **trotro** and bus queues are so long that it normally takes a person about 1½ hours to travel from the pressure zone to these places. And when the Ministry workers close four hours later the situation becomes hopelessly exasperating. Buying departmental buses is not the solution; the practice only provides a very good example of the under-utilization of resources. Departments such as V.R.A., C.M.B., Ghana Airways and Broadcasting Corporation are some of those with their own fleet of buses. The buses are clearly under-utilized because they are fully used for only one or two hours in the mornings and in the evenings. For obvious reasons, even if they are not fully booked they would not stop to pick other passengers on their routes. What we need is not this wasteful sectionalism but a radical improvement in the entire transport system in the city.

As I have said, concentration of the Ministries in one area is a major contributory factor. In the mornings, the buses and **trotros** are over-loaded bringing people to the pressure zone. For obvious reasons most drivers are reluctant to return immediately to convey workers who could not get places on the previous trips. Naturally, the drivers have to wait to get a few passengers before they start on the return journey. In the meantime the queues get longer and longer and time passes on. In the evening it is the same story; the buses and **trotros** have to go overloaded in one direction and almost empty in the other. If Departments and Ministries were distributed in the city in such a way that people were compelled to move in various directions during the rush hours the buses and **trotros** would more likely have passengers on both trips and would therefore move quicker.

Re-locating Ministries

For example, we could have a few Ministries located at Mamprobi; of course, they would be those Ministries which have most to do with each other. Then we could have some of the clerical staff who stay at Mamprobi transferred to those Ministries if they are not already working in them. In this way, many people would simply walk to their offices, and there would therefore be less demand for transport. In the long run we would make savings on the importation of vehicles, their spares and on petrol. There will also be fewer vehicles on the roads and traffic would move more smoothly. With a reduction in the importation of vehicles we would also be in a position to reduce taxes imposed on them, because most of the taxes have been imposed to discourage importation. Some of the Ministries which have related functions could also be moved to near Broadcasting House so that they would be within easy reach of Nima and New Town where most junior workers stay.

If traffic becomes less busy because of the reduced demand for vehicles, and the Ministries are within easy reach of workers, then the use of bicycles and motor cycles would increase. Indeed, most people who own cars in Ghana can hardly afford to run them and live decently. But instead of buying a bicycle or a motor cycle they go in for a car because it is safer than a motor cycle and indispensable for quick mobility. In Lomé (Togo) where most workers proudly go to work and move about on cycles it is easy to see that their houses are not much removed from their offices and the traffic is less dense than in Accra.

Some more ministries might have to be moved to join the Ministry of Information near the National Museum. Then some could also be moved to join the Department of Animal Health at Labone. Some of course, will remain at the present Ministries area. By now the Heads of Departments should have a fair idea of those Ministries which deal most frequently with one another so that they could be located close together. Thus we might have the Ministries relocated in five different places in groups of four or five. The idea is that no new blocks of offices be built in the present Ministries area, and the numerous annexes that have sprung up around the Passport Office near the beach should be incorporated back into the parent ministries and some of them moved

* The first part of this article appeared in **L.O.** VIII/13, p.294.

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to the places suggested above and for the reasons given. When the annexes are removed the Beach area could then be developed into blocks of residential flats or recreational grounds.

Strategically, it is also unwise to site almost all the ministries in one contiguous area. God forbid! But imagine what will happen if a stray plane should crash on the present ministries area, or there were an outbreak of fire, or some enemy country were to bomb that area. In any such event our entire national administration would be too easy and convenient a target. Dispersing the Ministries would help both, (1) in solving the transport problem and (2) in providing an insurance against disasters. For this reason it is seriously suggested that the proposed new High Court and Supreme Court buildings and the National Lotteries building should be sited at Roman Ridge or Achimota Forest Reserve area. All we would need is a map of Accra showing which Department is at which area.

One may wonder what would happen to the buildings to be vacated by the Ministries that may be moved to new areas. This is a real problem. But in fact, what is presently happening is that most Ministries have already grown too big for their present buildings. That is why bigger ones have been built in the past few years with plans for new ones to come. And that is also why we have the numerous annexes. The buildings to be vacated would be taken over by those Ministries that would remain just as the Ministry of Education took over the building vacated by the Ministry of Information when the latter moved into a building near the Museum. The annexes of those Ministries that would remain could also be accommodated in the buildings that would be vacated.

Omnibus Service

However, those new blocks of offices started by the government of the Second Republic near the Tema Station may now have to be completed since work on them is already far advanced. But it is suggested seriously that no new offices should be built in the open spaces left, but the area should be developed into residential blocks for the junior staff of those Ministries that will remain there, so that they too would be within walking distance of their offices. The Parks and Gardens' nursery and the national hockey pitch are incongruous where they are located near the Tema Station. The Department of Parks and Gardens could move their nurseries to the recreational grounds they have developed opposite the Ridge Police Post, and the national hockey pitch could be moved to the beach area near the Arts Council. Then the Tema Station could be expanded and developed into a first class lorry station and market.

As of now, workers spend a big chunk of their earnings on transport. But with some structural re-adjustments along the lines suggested above, we should make big savings in time and money, to the great advantage of the whole nation. There is currently a great deal of transportation up and down which really should not be necessary, if people can walk to their offices from their houses.

In spite of the **trotro**, private cars, and the taxi, the buses of the Omnibus Service Authority (OSA) continue to be the principal means of transportation within the city of Accra; but their organization appears to be quite outmoded now.

Viewing things critically, we should say that the present area that is called "Accra Central" is really not central to the city. It is true that the area is the commercial and administrative "centre" of the city, and indeed of the whole country, but geographically and in terms of the transport problem, it is not.

The National Liberation Circle area on the Nsawam road is more to the centre: it is even more strategic to make this area the central Bus Terminus. The present Terminus at the Post Office Square is too far from the many residential suburbs that have developed in recent years as part of the city. What we need is a relay service using the Circle as the central terminus from which traffic would radiate to other parts of the city.

Achimota, Bubuashie, Madina, Nungua—these are some of the suburbs which are far removed from the Terminus at the Post Office Square. The distances are quite long but there is usually only one bus allocated to each of the routes. If at any time one misses the bus that serves the Achimota route, then one would have to wait for 1½ hours before it comes again. This period of waiting is just too long. If, however, the bus were plying between Achimota and the Circle the time of waiting would be reduced by at least a half. In the first place, the distance is shorter, and secondly it is between the Circle and the Post Office Square where the traffic is normally congested and the buses have to move at a slower pace and take more time doing so.

Terminus at the Circle

From the Circle other buses would take on the relay to other parts of the city. Many **trotros** now make the Circle their terminus to the great convenience of everybody. They go from the Circle to Achimota, Aberka, Nima, Kotobabi, Korle Bu, Labadi and Kaneshie. The strategic importance that the Circle has assumed must be fully recognized and utilized. In any case, about half the number of people who travel on the Achimota, Aberka and Kotobabi buses do not go beyond the Circle; their destination is Adabraka or Kokomlemle. It is most frustrating when people going to Achimota or Kotobabi cannot get places on their buses because people going to Adabraka and the Circle have taken up the places. Making the Circle the principal terminus will eliminate this type of inconvenience. More buses should be allocated to ply between the Circle and the Post Office Square terminus because the passenger traffic on this route is quite heavy. Fortunately, there are large open spaces around the Circle area which can be developed into the new Central Terminus. If all the area now available is developed it would be about twice as big as the present terminus and very little demolition of buildings will have to be done, if at all.

If this is done, the Circle area will inevitably develop into an important shopping centre as it is now doing only half-heartedly. It will be an entirely welcome development for, as we have argued, the traffic problem in Accra is mainly the result of the over-centralisation of commercial and administrative activity in the Pressure Zone. If a self-sufficient shopping centre develops at the Circle as it is around the Post Office Square Terminus, then people at Kokomlemle and Adabraka would simply walk to do their shopping instead of having to go on a vehicle to the Pressure Zone to do it.

If the Circle were developed into the principal terminus it does not follow that the present terminus should be closed down. In fact, there is need to develop a few other termini in order to reduce the distance that any particular bus would do between two termini, and there-

by reduce the time it will take it to make the round trip. If the time of waiting for the buses is reduced more people will switch over to taking the bus. For example, the Labadi Central bus stop could be made into a relay terminus along the route from the Pressure Zone to Tema as it is already for bus No. 29 which plies between Labadi and the Circle via the Military Hospital. If the Labadi bus stop is thus developed it would mean that the buses coming from Tema and Nungua will no longer have to go all the way to the Post Office Square Terminus.

The open spaces near the Survey Training School opposite the Military Hospital could also be developed into another terminus. From here buses would go to Legon and Madina, Roman Ridge, Ablenkpe and Achimota, Accra Central, Burma Camp and Labadi. In other words, the Military Hospital area will be another relay point so that no bus would go direct from the Post Office Square terminus to Madina. From the Post Office Square to Madina is a distance of about 11 miles and it takes a bus over 1½ hours to make the round trip. Again, another terminus could be developed at Korle Bu and at some other places. All these sub-termini will have the effect of reducing the distance over which a particular bus would have to travel to make a round trip and hence, reduce the time it would take to do so. The long time that the buses now take for a round trip is most inconvenient, and is the principal factor which gives our bus service the appearance of being unreliable. (The above suggestion for creating new termini is one which can be implemented immediately, as it involves very little expenditure).

(To be Continued)

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Agriculture

THE "ORIENTAL COW"—CAN'T IT ALSO BECOME THE "COW" OF TROPICAL AFRICA?

By
E.V. Doku & E.F.G. Mante

IN the Far East, soybean is sometimes referred to as the "Cow of China". Up to the early part of this century, the Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Malayans and Indo-Chinese did not drink animal milk despite the abundance of milk producing animals such as cows, buffaloes, goats, etc. Instead, these Orientals utilized soybean in the form of liquid (milk) powder and curd to make various protein-rich dishes.

So great was (and still is) the influence of the West that the notion that there is no better source of protein than animal protein took hold in many tropical countries, most of which were colonies of European powers who exported (and are still exporting) various forms of animal protein to the tropics..

Soymilk vrs. Cow Milk

The Orientals themselves were also very eager to follow Western life styles and become westernized; and since one of the hallmarks of a Westernized Oriental Gentleman (WOG) was that he drank imported cow milk instead of soymilk, he switched from soymilk to cow milk. Thus, soymilk was almost completely abandoned in the Orient, whilst in other parts of the tropics the crop was grown mainly for export. The tropical countries therefore provided a stable and viable export market for the heavily capitalized dairy industries of the Western colonial powers. No doubt, the growing and especially the utilization of soybean was not encouraged.

Early in the century vigorous attempts were made to breed dairy cattle adapted to the humid tropics. As a result such breeds as the Jamaica Hope, Sahiwal etc. were developed, but unfortunately their impact on milk production in the humid tropics has not been felt to any significant extent for various reasons. Temperate dairy breeds like the Friesian, Jersey etc. are found in all parts of the temperate regions of the world. Ghana has not, so far as we know, tried to get the Jamaica Hope or Sahiwal; rather, it has decided to keep temperate dairy breeds in air conditioned houses at very high cost to the country but without significant impact on the country's milk production. Perhaps, unlike their temperate counterparts,

the Jamaica Hope or Sahiwal etc. are adapted only to the countries where they were bred.

Please don't misunderstand us; we are not against upgrading local breeds by crossing with temperate breeds in an attempt to develop a commercially suitable tropical dairy cow. What we are saying is that this approach should have been fully exploited in Ghana long ago. Also, another approach would be to increase milk production per unit grazing area by increasing the animal carrying capacity of the land (i.e. to offset low productivity per animals). Through irrigation, good management, etc., this is feasible since all year round fodder production can be achieved in the tropics under irrigation.

But have we got our priorities right? Surely the conversion of solar energy into plant material which is eaten by animals before it is of use to humans is an inefficient process, and it appears that even countries with more favourable climates for animal production will be compelled eventually by rapidly increasing population to find more efficient ways of obtaining their protein. The problem is not solely confined to the tropics; it is universal. It appears that eventually, **Homo sapiens** will have to become increasingly less carnivorous and more herbivorous if he is to solve his food problem. Recent developments in the U.S.A. where vegetable protein (mainly soybean protein) in the form of concentrates is being utilized for human consumption, are indications of future trends. Must other countries always take the lead in innovations, even with a crop in the production of which, it appears, we have a far greater comparative advantage?

Suitable for Children

It is time we said farewell to aping and started some original thinking. The Malaysians are, at least, gradually rediscovering their past and have again started using soybean in the form of milk etc.—WOG mentality is fast disappearing in the Orient, but when shall we start shedding our Westernized African Gentleman (WAG) mentality?

Generally, speaking, vegetable proteins do not contain all the essential amino acids necessary for human growth and development, and beef cattle, sheep, goats, poultry etc., which can be easily produced in the tropics and which have all the essential amino acids, must be produced. However, it is our humble opinion that so far as milk is concerned, the production of soybean milk should have precedence over cow milk simply because the former is cheaper by far to produce and a viable industry could be established within 5 years or possibly less.

The argument always raised, whenever a new food product is being introduced is that the consumer must first be educated to accept it. This argument we think does not apply in this case. One of the many points that WAG's always raise in support of milk importation is that we need it to feed the **children**. Very well then, a new born-child eats what it is given, and if we are really worried about Ghanaian babies when we advocate importation of milk, then we should certainly support the substitution of soybean milk for imported milk. A new born-baby does not have any pre-conceived ideas about the taste of milk. In fact anyone who has tasted soybean milk (as we have) will find that it tastes better than a nursing mother's milk and adults could easily get used to it. Powdered soybean baby milk is already available for children who are allergic to cow milk, and we do not as yet know a case of child allergy to soybean milk.

Uses of Soybean

In Ghana soybean can be grown anywhere maize is grown, and both crops could mutually benefit each other in rotation or inter-cropping. Soymilk can be produced at the village level; its preparation which is even less complicated than the preparation of many Ghanaian foods such as Kokonte, Gari, Banku, Abolo, Tuo zaafi etc., only involves roasting, soaking in water overnight, grinding, squeezing out the milk and boiling. This can be done at any village and school in Ghana.—**Operation Produce Your Own Milk!**

In our belated realization that we can after all feed ourselves, this would be an opportune time to introduce Ghanaians to the growing and processing of the crop—on a small scale for processing into milk and on a large scale for factory production of milk, oil, etc.

Soybean oil has many uses; apart from human consumption, the oil is used in plastics, paints, medicine and pill coatings, gasoline, anti-knock compounds, margarine, salad dressings, keeping sardines. Soybean flour is used in bread and other foods especially for diabetics. Breakfast foods, marcaroni, yoghurt and soy sauce are other popular products made from soybean. It is also a rich source of Lecinthin (2-3,.8%).

We therefore urge that a bold attempt should be made in Ghana to push the production of soybean and the utilization of its products, especially milk.

As would be seen from Table 1, the protein content of soybean milk is comparable to cow milk:

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TABLE 1—Amino-acids in gm/litre

Amino-acids	Soymilk	Cow's milk
Arginine	2.82	1.26
Histidine	1.01	0.91
Isoleucine	2.09	2.63
Leucine	2.93	3.43
Lysine	2.40	2.63
Methionine	0.56	0.84
Phenylalanine	1.95	1.79
Threonine	1.57	1.51
Tryptophane	0.56	0.53
Valine	2.00	2.52

On cost per unit weight basis soybean protein is by far the cheapest as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

Source	Price of food in US $ per lb	% protein	Price of protein in US $ per lb
Beef	0.70	15.2	4.60
Pork	0.50	11.6	4.30
Poultry	0.30	20.0	1.50
Dry beans	0.08	23.1	0.35
Soybeans	0.05	34.9	0.14

(**Source**: Nutrition Division, F.A.O.)

TABLE 3

Amino Acid composition: (Calculated to 16.Ogm of N.)

	Soybean	Peanut	Rice	Glutein of wheat	Whole maize	Beef	Egg
Arginine	7.1	12.4	7.2	3.9	4.8	7.7	6.4
Cystine	1.9	1.1	1.4	1.9	1.5	1.3	2.3
Histidine	2.3	2.6	1.5	2.2	2.2	2.9	2.5
Isoleucine	4.7	3.9	5.1	3.7	4.0	6.3	7.0
Leucine	6.6	6.3	9.0	7.5	22.0	7.7	9.3
Lysine	5.8	4.0	3.2	2.0	2.0	8.1	7.1
Methionine	2.0	1.3	3.4	1.0	3.1	3.3	3.7
Phenylalanine	5.7	5.0	6.3	5.5	5.0	4.9	5.9
Threonine	4.0	2.8	3.9	2.7	3.7	4.6	4.9
Tryptophane	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.0	0.8	1.3	1.5
Tyrosine	4.1	4.4	5.6	3.8	5.5	3.4	4.5
Valine	4.2	4.9	6.4	4.2	5.0	5.8	7.3

The essential amino acid composition of soybean is also comparable to that of beef, methionine being the only limiting factor in soybeans (Table 3). However, since the methionine contents of maize, rice and other tropical grain legumes are higher, a combination of soybean with these grains will improve its biological value.

It would be one of the greatest achievements of the Operation Feed Yourself Programme, if "Operation produce your own milk" becomes a reality.

Observer Notebook

National Service

THE recent announcement that the National Service scheme for new graduates of the nation's higher institutions would begin this September surprised many people, not least of whom were the fresh graduates themselves. This was because the plan, said to have been adopted last August, had slipped by virtually unnoticed by the general public, whose first reaction now is to wonder whether our bureaucracy can cope with this new phenomenon without any major dislocation.

But the scheme itself has a lot to commend it. The job expectations of the output of the terminal points of our educational system (middle school, 'O' level and degree) have fallen hopelessly out of step with present-day realities. The talk about unemployment at any of these terminal points is often a reflection of the reluctance of the outputs of the system to adapt to the new situation. Surely it is unrealistic for the 'O' level holder (or the fresh graduate, for that matter) to expect the job openings available to his kind 10 or 15 years ago to be still there? And the situation will get worse before it gets better.

Any scheme therefore that will give our school- and university-leavers the chance to find fulfilment

a realistic setting and help them to adjust to he needs of society is therefore commendable.

But the fears about bureaucratic problems re genuine and should be allayed by the autho-ities concerned. In the past, university entrants vere bonded to serve government for five years n fields to be specified at the end of their courses. While the system worked, there were no problems of manpower deployment, since the opportunity existed to plan this matter rationally in advance. It appears that that system which guaranteed a fair return of the tax payer's heavy investment in university education has broken down, hence the need for a comprehensive new scheme.

What we have heard of the proposals indicates that for some fresh graduates they represent no change in their career projections. For many do go to teach in the rural areas and do engage in social welfare work. The **Observer** hopes that the introduction of the scheme will lead to the swift phasing out in our schools of Peace Corps Volunteers and the like who introduce a foreign element into our schools at too early a stage. Surely this is a field in which we could easily be

SALE OF BEARER PREMIUM BONDS

THE sale of the Government Bearer Premium Bonds has started at all Commercial Banks and the Post Office Savings Banks throughout the country.

The Bonds will be drawn as in a lottery, but this is a lottery with a difference:
whereas stakers in lotteries cannot redeem their money, stakers in Bearer Bonds can redeem their money back after one year if they do not win any of the prizes listed below:

1ST PRIZE	**C10,000**
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In addition to the four top prizes there are 400 other prizes to be won:

100 PRIZES AT C50 EACH
100 PRIZES AT C20 EACH
100 PRIZES AT C10 EACH
100 PRIZES AT C5 EACH

The Bonds are redeemable at Bank of Ghana, all Commercial Banks and at the Post Office Savings Banks.

The Bearer Premium Bonds will sell at 50p each. Sales will close on 25th October, 1973. There is no limit to the quantity of Bonds one can buy.

self-reliant? The minds of our youth are our most important investments in the future, and should not be exposed to foreign influences without due consideration.

While urging the appropriate authorities to give early proof that they have done their home-work on this exercise and that it stands a chance of running smoothly, we wish to ask for a clarification of its relation to the projected military training for undergraduates, to the position of those who may wish to embark on post-graduate or other professional training, and to those who, after obtaining a first degree, enrol again to read law at the tax payer's expense.

High Prices In State Hotels

FROM all indications our hotels are performing much better than they were doing in the past. The waiters are smarter and prompter with services, and the general atmosphere is much better than before. Good business is being done, presumably, but it appears that the present level of business can be improved if the management is prepared to make certain adjustments. Casual clients, defined by one officer of the State Hotels Corporation as the non-residents who only go there to have a drink and relax to some music (that is not always cool), are not encouraged to take full advantage of all the services that the hotels can offer. The hotels serve drinks and snacks, but the prices of these snacks are so prohibitive that hardly any average "casual client" ever asks for them. An extract from their snacks menu reads as follows:

Toasted Chicken Sandwich	₵ 1.00
Fried Egg Sandwich	0.65
Assorted Sandwiches	0.75
Khebab and Chips	1.75
Hamburger	1.80
Cheeseburger	2.00
Club Sandwich	1.80

And this is not all. The last sentence on the menu reads: "All prices are subject to 10% Government Tax and 10% Service Charge".

Admittedly the ingredients that go into the preparation of the above items are not cheap or easy to come by, but this notwithstanding, it is clear that there is some exaggeration in the fixing of the prices. It is no wonder then that there is very little demand for snacks in these hotels. It is our conviction that if more realistic prices were charged, many more clients would ask for snacks and this would mean more profit for the hotels. There are clubs which serve khebabs for 40p or 50p, and it is reasonable to assume that they would not persist in this service if they were running at a loss. There is no reason why the S.H.C. cannot come down to about this level and still show profit.

When this question was broached with an official of the S.H.C., he defended his organisation saying that overhead costs were so high that any reduction in the prices of snacks would entail losses to the corporation. The weakness in this defence is that the cooks and waiters are around already anyway, and since very few people are asking for snacks the services of these waiters and cooks are under-utilised. If the prices were made more realistic and more reasonable, there would be greater demand, resulting in the full utilisation of the personnel and better business for the corporation.

If the P.R.O. of the corporation undertakes a survey, he will realise that most people enjoy their drink better and will stay longer if they have some snacks to go with the drinks. This is what the drinking bar owners have realised, and the S.H.C. can learn a thing or two from them, and provide snacks at prices reasonably within the reach of the average client, even if he is only "casual". For one thing too, it is much healthier not to drink on an empty stomach; we are convinced that the provision of snacks at realistic prices will help attract a larger clientele from both among Ghanaians and tired tourists who are not often tempted to ask for snacks with their drinks in view of the existing exorbitant prices charged for rather unsophisticated snacks.

And by the way, why do the State Hotels always appear to be short of regular sized bottles of beer? The only beer which is normally sold in the regular bottles is Tata which, incidentally, has no mini version. Star and Club are most often sold in the mini bottles, and our guess is that this is deliberately done to squeeze a few more coppers from clients. The regular bottle sells for 54p. One mini bottle sells for 34p (this is inclusive of the notorious 2p so-called cover charge), so that two of these which come up to one regular bottle in capacity sell for 68p, meaning an extra 14p from the client. The business arithmetic in this may be sound, but is it not a little too base for a respectable organisation like the S.H.C. to squeeze a few more pesewas from clients in this rather foxy manner?

ADVERTISE IN THE LEGON OBSERVER

Caetano's Visit to Britain

THE British Labour Party, in a futile attempt to look different from the Conservatives, have been making a great deal of protesting noises against the visit to Britain by Prime Minister Caetano of Portugal. It is strange that so much effort should have been made to isolate the incident of the murder of 400 peace-loving Mozambique villagers from the total picture of shameless Portuguese oppression of the peoples of the so-called "provinces" in Africa. Conceding that their crime is heinous, we would nonetheless ask whether Harold Wilson has been unaware of Portuguese atrocities of equal dimensions in Africa.

We are unimpressed by Mr. Wilson's pious protestations, for it is indeed questionable whether, were he Prime Minister, he would not have gleefully welcomed Caetano to London at this time and brought his bloodstained hands so close to those of the Queen at dinner, the way Edward Heath has done. And, in any case, which of the two major British parties can cross their hearts and say that their record in Zimbabwe entitles them to comment on the conduct of another shameless colonizing power? The **"Daily Telegraph"**, being unashamedly imperialistic, came out with a statement which rings true—because it is in the character of the nefarious establishment it upholds—that Portugal's record in the colonies is **better** than that of South Africa. As though Vorster's hell should be anybody's yardstick! But there at least is some honesty, and Harold Wilson had better learn a lesson from that.

This is what happens when a cockroach lives in your kitchen.

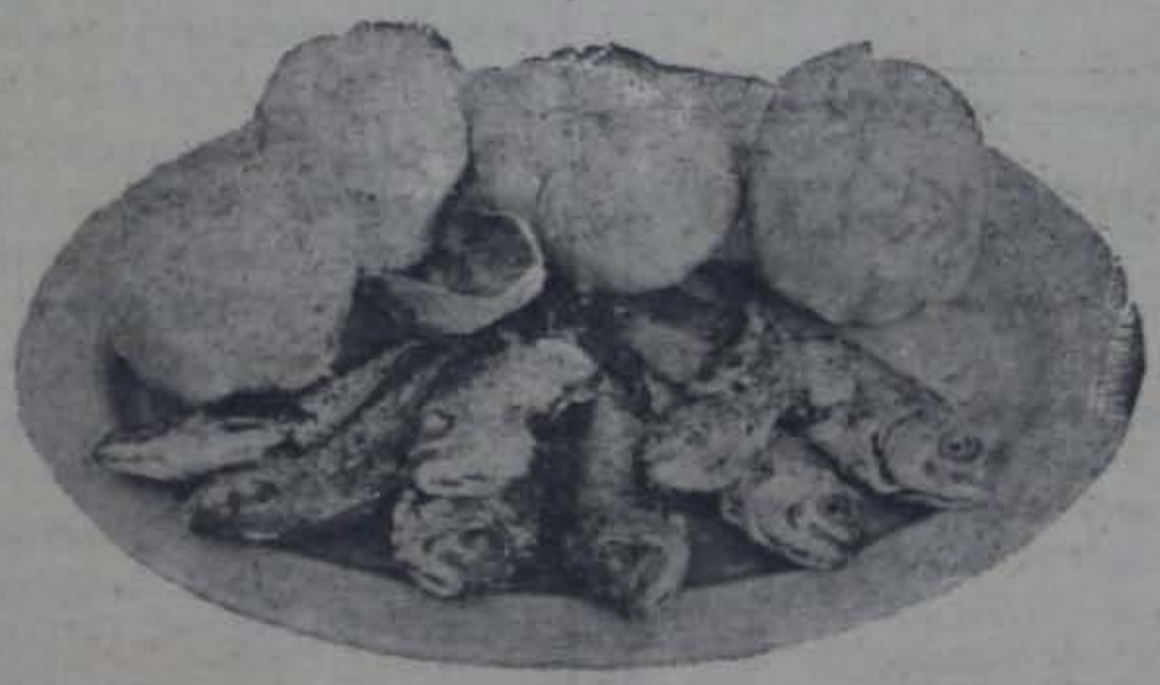
Cockroaches eat anything, especially sweet foods. To soften up their food they vomit on it, usually stamping in a few germs for good measure with their hairy legs.

They like walking over things like plates in cupboards, and wherever they walk they leave a fine trail of liquid excreta.

Several bacteria can pass through a cockroach's gut and remain infective.

What food they don't eat they foul with their smell – a blend of excrement, a fluid from their stomach sweat glands, and vomit.

And then, when they've finished, it's your turn.



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From the African stand-point, however, the issues raised by the recent revelations of Portuguese atrocities assume a different perspective. We had occasion a few weeks ago to urge the O.A.U. to take its mission of liberating colonies in Africa a lot more seriously! The liberation movements continue to score many successes in their zones of operations. They have all the men they need to fight, and their main requirement is therefore arms and supplies.

We are in a position to appreciate the need for massive propaganda in support of their war effort, and regard the inability of FRELIMO to give the first releases on these murderous events of **seven months** ago as a serious weakness in that movement's information machinery. This calls for the vigorous pursuit of the promise of an Information Centre which Colonel Acheampong made to the twenty-first session of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee in Accra last January. It also makes more urgent the repeated demands by liberation movements for powerful radio transmitters with which to prosecute their war effort with all necessary despatch.

The **Observer** is not exactly proud of the role of the powerful Catholic Church in this whole episode, and will watch carefully to see what happens to the conscientious priests to whom we owe this important revelation of the workings of Portuguese colonialism.

But as for Wilson's double-talk, we shall have none of it. Colonialism of any type is reprehensible, period.

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Matters Arising

CAPITALISM, SOCIALISM AND GHANA

By

A Political Correspondent

THE recent exchanges on the issue of an appropriate ideology for Ghana have shown that it is going to be very difficult to arrive at a national consensus because reasoned discussion is inhibited by passion and prejudice. "Socialist" and "capitalist" have both become terms of abuse. And even among articulate intellectuals the lack of historical perception and logical thinking that has been shown up is quite frightening. Yet every nation needs an ideology (or ideologies)—a widely held conception of what the ideal organisation of social life would look like and the principal methods of building that ideal life. A poor country such as Ghana has particular need for such a national vision in order to mobilise the energies of our people in the fight against backwardness.

So, in spite of the difficulties, this contribution is offered by one Ghanaian who, it will be readily apparent, is a socialist (with a small s). It is a pity that we cannot set out to invent a home-grown ideology without getting involved in the ideas that have already been invented in other countries. But inevitably we know about these ideas; the problems to which they are addressed, being universal, are also our problems; and we have a lot of people insistently selling us their ideologies who will not excuse us from having to choose sides. It is suggested here that:

(a) a socialist ideology would be highly suited to Ghana

(b) that many of the current ideas and action programmes of the Socialist (with a capital S) countries of Europe and Asia are not suited to Ghana;

(c) Ghana's Socialist "ideological boys" have been espousing not socialism but the Socialist (i.e. Communist) programmes and ideas of the Russian and E. European parties as they were in the 1950s and 1960s;

(d) because of this preoccupation they have failed to support practicable socialist programmes for Ghana and thereby discredited themselves.

What then are the "residuum of irreducible principles in socialism" (Jawa Apronti's words) which one would advocate for Ghana? They are essentially three:

(i) That the material well-being of every individual member of society is the concern of the community as a whole and hence of its government.

(ii) That the instruments of state power should be used to increase the productivity and wealth of the nation.

(iii) The state should promote a more equitable distribution of goods and services as between one citizen and another than occurs naturally under capitalism.

These general principles should be distinguished from the **programmes** of action and the particular forms of social, political and economic **institutions** which one country or the other may find it convenient to adopt

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BARCLAYS Ghana

GIVE A HELPING HAND

as a means of achieving the foregoing ideals. The trouble with our "ideological boys" for years has been that they would not permit any departure from those programmes and institutions which they had read about in European Communist literature or observed in operation in Russia, and which they insisted on importing wholesale into Ghana. Their experiments in social and economic reconstruction under Nkrumah failed, as they were bound to, and this failure has discredited socialism in the eyes of many Ghanaians. Similar failures in Guinea, Mali and (yes) Tanzania have confirmed many of our countrymen in their general view that socialism is not suitable for our circumstances in Africa. For any socio-economic system that makes people materially worse off is a failure. In all those countries millions of people became worse off in their material circumstances after the introduction of "socialism". Hence those governments had failed the very first test of socialism, which is that it is an ideology aimed at making people better off.

The most important of the attempted reforms which led to a slow down in economic growth and eventually to a reduction in material output in Ghana and other progressive African countries was the substitution of state capitalism (public ownership) for private capitalism in many areas of industry, agriculture and trade. This was usually accompanied by an increase in government controls and regulations in such fields as foreign trade, banking, market prices. The administration of such controls was generally inefficient, inexperienced or corrupt, and contributed to the economic malaise. As socialists we cannot run away from the uncomfortable facts

(a) that "public ownership of the means of production and distribution" has been one of the most cherished objectives of socialists since Marx himself or

(b) that its introduction into tropical, post-colonial Africa has been uniformly injurious to our people.

Marx's Own Analysis

We can only overcome this dilemma if we are prepared to recognise that for Marx himself public ownership was **a means to an end and not a dogma.** That end was the increase in the productive forces of society—what today we call economic development. A brief summary of his **analysis of European history** which led him to the advocacy of public ownership will suffice to establish the point. It appeared to Karl Marx that the 18th and 19th century capitalists had been so successful in saving their money and building up industrial and agricultural production through investment that they were in danger of overproducing and thereby bringing upon themselves an unmanageable crisis as profit margins disappeared. This was because the working classes who produced the goods were being exploited (i.e. their wages were less than their productivity) but at the same time the capitalists needed for the disposal of their output the mass market that the workers' purchasing power would otherwise have provided. The solution was to take the industries and farms away from their private owners and give them to the workers who would pay themselves better, thereby providing adequate markets for the existing level of production as well as the profits for the further development of industry.

Thus public ownership was necessary because private ownership (a) eventually inhibits investment and further economic growth **in a mature industrial society,** and (b) perpetuates economic inequality. It is very difficult to persuade some African Socialists that in Karl Marx's own analysis (a) private ownership was recognised and fulsomely praised—as the highly efficient engine for the attainment of the prosperous industrial society which was visible all around him in 19th century Europe; (b) public ownership was a solution proposed to deal with the problems of a highly industrialised society. Yet this is the truth, the simple truth. And every thinking socialist should be free to decide, by observing conditions around him, what are the best means available to his own society for accelerating its economic growth, given its level of development. Both theoretical analysis and practical experience have also shown that at certain points the requirements of faster economic development come into conflict with the ideal of greater equality in the distribution of income. At those points the socialist statesman must choose between the conflicting ends and not dogmatically deny the fact of conflict.

Example of Socialist Countries

Fortunately for us the Socialist countries themselves have shown at certain stages in their history a pragmatic flexibility in their attitude towards private and public ownership as alternative means for increasing national prosperity—although one would not guess so from the dogmatism of our own local Socialists. The trouble is that communist parties always erect their policies of the moment into a rigid "party line" which permits of no questioning except by a very few powerful men, and all previous history is often rewritten to show that current policies are eternal verities handed down from Marx and Engels.

Now Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Union, was a theoretician but also a practical politician faced with the tasks of building a socialist nation in post-Czarist Russia. His country in 1917 was not too dissimilar to present-day Ghana in its level of economic development, though of course it was much vaster and had a better endowment of natural resources than we have. Its industries were relatively few and technically not highly advanced, and many of them were owned by foreigners. Its peasant-dominated agriculture was largely untouched by science. The one important difference between us and them was that in the Russia of 1917 cultivable land was short and most of it was owned by landlords and the church who took a high proportion of the peasants' produce away from them by way of rent. The programmes and policies which Lenin chose for his country were quite different from those that some people are still trying to sell to us in the name of socialist ideology. And it is instructive to examine them, remembering that these were his programmes not his ideology which was Socialist (Bolshevik/Communist).

From the very beginning Lenin supported a policy of private peasant capitalism for Russia. Land was to be taken away from the landlords and given to the small-scale farmer who would then be helped by the state to increase his productivity. It was only after Lenin's death that Stalin introduced his policy of rapid collectivisation or "public ownership of the means of production" in agriculture. This was strongly resisted by the farmers, especially the successful ones, and millions of them had to be done to death, ostensibly in the name of socialism. This mass brutality must arouse revulsion in every hu-

ist and socialist. But the worst of it is that Soviet culture as an economic activity was dealt a blow n which it has still not recovered. Russia, after rly sixty years of Socialism, is still unable to feed self—just like Ghana. Last year she imported nearly 0 million of food and feed grains from America, h some $1,000m. more bought and waiting to be pped.

n 1961 Nkrumah took a group of his party activists l Ministers on a tour of Russia and Eastern Europe ere they were impressed by the sight of huge state ms. When they came back they set about establishing te farms all over Ghana—with the help of experts d machinery imported from Russia. For a number reasons, which it was not difficult to foresee, the te farms have made practically no difference to the oduction of food and agricultural raw materials in ana, despite the many millions of cedis that were in-sted in them not only under the CPP but under the NLC d the Progress Party governments as well (many people not know this). What is worse still is that every year Ghana State Farms make a loss totalling millions of dis which has to be covered by the government with oney that could have gone into other investments. So at apart from being largely a failure from the point view of agricultural production they were also an emy of capital accumulation for the economic growth Ghana: their accumulated losses for the last few ars are reported to total ¢25 million.

Lessons To Be Learnt

If socialism is about raising the level of material well ing for our people, especially in such a basic area as eir standard of nutrition, then the State Farms have orked against socialism in Ghana. Yet try suggesting any of our Socialists that the State sector of agricul-re should be run down and the money devoted to sisting the private agricultural sector of peasants—and culaks". Their anger will be due to their mistaken ew that state farming, which is only a suggested means wards socialist plenty in food supply, is instead a part the socialist ideology itself. Typically, since many ymen assume that Busia's policies were "capitalistic" nd the opposite policies are therefore socialistic, the progressive" advisers were also to sell to the NRC the lea that a revolutionary agricultural policy must focus pon the state farms and the Food Production Corpora-on, better known as the Workers' Brigade. In the first hase of **Operation Feed Yourself** government's atten-on and money was lavished on these institutions with e perfectly predictable result that the hoped-for bum-er crop did not materialise—witness the appalling short-ge of all kinds of locally produced foodstuff. Perhaps e could take a lesson from the fact that the only Eastern European country with a comfortable margin f food to export is Poland which did not allow the talinists to impose on it the disastrous policy of mas-ive collectivisation.

Again in the field of industry Lenin showed much ore commonsense than many latter-day socialists. The olsheviks started by taking over all the factories from oth the local and the expatriate capitalists and putting hem under workers' control. They soon found (a) that hey lacked the management and technical expertise to un many of the existing industries and (b) more espe-ially, that they lacked the know-how required to esta-lish many of the new industries they wanted. So what did he do? Under his "New Economic Policy" he invited many foreign capitalists and experts to assist in the in-dustrialisation of Russia. There is still one American living who made a small fortune out of manufacturing pencils for the Soviet Union. Lenin also allowed local Russian capitalists to run their own small-scale factories and service industries like making shoes and clothing.

Lenin's present successor Brezhnev has just been on visits to West Germany and the U.S. to ask for loans and technical assistance to develop his country's indus-try and natural resources. Rockefeller has opened a bank at No. 1 Karl Marx Square in Moscow. Mao Tse Tung's China is shopping for foreign loans for the first time since 1949 as well as Japanese, American and European technology. Now all these men believe fervently in self-reliance. But they have no complexes or false pride about seeking the help they need. These arrangements will certainly not induce them to drop their communist ideo-logy and are not considered to be inconsistent with scientific socialism. Their sense of realism contrasts with the strident views of many of our Ghanaian So-cialists.

Our Socialists and Socialism

Much of the trouble with finding a viable socialist programme for Ghana stems from the excessive role which labels and slogans play in determining our atti-tudes. The words "revolution" and "progressive" for instance can be used to win our approval for blatantly anti-socialist policies, while manifestly socialist policies if associated with a "reactionary" label are ignored or even opposed. A few topical examples will prove this. First, the promotion of greater equality in welfare as between one Ghanaian and another. Dr. Busia, who is (of course) a reactionary tool of capitalism (see, for instance, Basil Davidson, one of our leading Socialist gurus in **West Africa,** 11th June 1973) made rural deve-lopment, the extension of more social services and in-frastructure to the village farming community, the car-dinal principle of his government's programme for two and a half years. As far as I know he never received any support from Ghanaian socialists, admittedly most of us urbanised and educated and hence with class in-terests opposed to such a concentration on rural deve-lopment. After the 13th of January this policy was vio-lently attacked by a revolutionary government of which many socialists approve. Indeed one Commissioner was reported as saying that after all village houses are not suitable for electrical wiring—forgetting that there is elecricity at Zongo, Nima and James Town.

A second example: in the matter of promoting greater equality in the distribution of income. Among the privi-leges of the more highly paid civil servants which were abolished by the Busia government were allowances for owning a private car and heavily subsidised housing. These were restored by the revolutionary government with no audible protest from any leading socialist. And who were supposed to benefit from those subsidies on "essential commodities" whose removal was so strongly criticised by the **Spokesman?** Obviously, it was the urban salaried worker, not the poorest Ghanaians in town or village.

The third example can be seen from the history of the measures taken by the NLC and Busia administra-tions to promote Ghanaian business and reduce foreign control of our economy. This was at least an instalment

towards the goal of economic independence which would normally be expected to meet with the approval of socialists. But many Ghanaian Socialists were opposed to it on the grounds that it was building up a local class of capitalists though, as we have seen, Lenin in comparable circumstances did not hesitate to encourage native Russian capitalists in the interests of the accelerated industrial development of his country.

Finally, on the question of democracy. It is the worst contradiction of the political system of the Socialist countries that they seek to combine greater economic equality with the dictatorship of a small elite Communist party over the majority of their fellow citizens who are denied a share in political decision-making. This practice has led many of our local Socialists to oppose themselves to a democratic form of government—usually on the grounds that it is a "Western" form of government. Unfortunately this travesty against the socialist ideal of equality has a very respectable parentage—it was proposed by Marx himself. Nevertheless it still seems to me wrong. A democratic form of government, allowing to each citizen an equal share in basic political power and the civil rights appropriate to a civilised person, should be the counterpart in the political sphere to the ideal of greater equality in the enjoyment of material well-being which as we have seen is a basic element in a socialist ideology.

Naturally, no human community has attained perfection in political democracy just as perfection in economic equality or in social justice may forever elude human society. But no socialist can be true to himself who criticises a democracy because it is not perfect and then proceeds to practise or to applaud political dictatorship. Thus the fashionable theory that "Westminiser style democracy" is unsuited to Africa (or, mutatis mutandis, Gallic or American democracy) is really beside the point. Democracy as a political ideology is not bound up with any particular institutional form, in the same way that socialist ideology in the economic sphere is not bound up with any particular programme. African socialists cannot take refuge behind labels. They must accept a democratic ideal and build up democratic institutions —if necessary in quite novel African forms, but nevertheless democratic in their political effect. And the only test of that is whether in practice all citizens enjoy equal political and civil rights.

To conclude, socialism is undoubtedly the wave of the future. Its essence is the attainment of a greater equality in the enjoyment of an ever rising standard of living by all the citizens of every country. American private capitalism may not soon give way to state capitalism: but in the social sphere its organisation, and that of other Western countries as well, will become more responsible and egalitarian. The Communist countries have adopted the socialist ideology in their economic life and have shown a pragmatic flexibility in their choice of policies and programmes for its attainment. To be consistent they will eventually adopt political democracy. The socialist ideology is highly suited to Ghana. To hasten its attainment we the socialists should pursue a practicable programme and promote efficiency. It is no part of socialism to frustrate the growth of the material well-being of the masses or to share poverty equally. The criterion by which Ghana should judge the acceptability and utility of any programme or ideology is not whether it is homegrown or imported: it is whether it helps us to produce more material wealth and to share it more equally as between one Ghanaian and another.

Letters

Price Differentials

SIR—The government contends that as a result of transportation costs, the prices of certain commodities should vary from place to place according to their nearness to the distribution centres, and they do in fact vary. Thus a packet of sugar costs 55p in Accra, Takoradi, etc., whilst it sells at 59p in Bolgatanga and other places. A tin of pilchards costs 13p in Accra and other places and sells at 14p in the Upper Region.

One wonders why this system does not apply to other commodities like meat, rice, millet, etc. For instance, a pound of beef (boneless) sells at 75p both at Bolgatanga and Accra, notwithstanding the fact that the same transport costs have to be encountered in carting cows from the Upper Region which is the distributing centre to other parts of the country.

Similarly, a bag of local rice produced in and distributed from the Upper and Northern Regions sells at ¢14.00 or so all over the country.

The public has a right to know why there is this discrepancy in the prices of commodities. If we are all equally entitled to the same right and privileges there is no reason why some of us should not enjoy them.

Regional Administration **G. S. Molah**
P.O. Box 50
Bolgatanga

Let Sureties Produce Their Pictures

SIR—Very often one hears of people who stand as sureties to accused persons and who later cannot be traced because of the false addresses they give the police.

In order to stop such fraudulent practices, I humbly suggest that all prospective sureties produce two passport size photographs, to be endorsed by the police investigation officers and retained. In case the sureties run away their pictures can help to trace them.

I hope the Inspector-General of Police will take up this matter seriously; otherwise the police have no excuse for run-away sureties.

James Town **Osafo Kantanka**
Accra

Street Names in Ghana—Rejoinders (2)

SIR—Mr. Kwartei Quartey's article with the above caption (**L.O.** VIII/12) makes very interesting reading. He presents his arguments in a topsy turvy manner.

In the first place, it appears he does not know who people like Nelson Mandela, Holden Roberto are, and Albert Luthuli of blessed memory was. This is observed from his statement: "who are these people and what contributions have they made to Ghana and Ghanaians?" If my guess is correct, then would it not have been wise if Mr. Quartey had first enquired who these people are before unleashing his venom in the second paragraph of his rather intemperate letter?

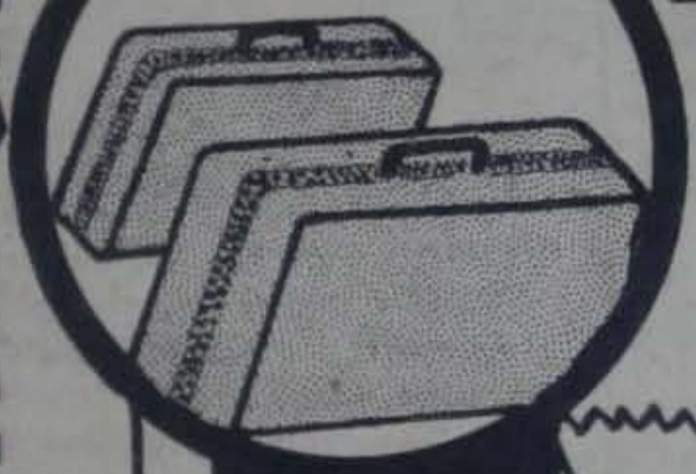
It is strange to learn from Mr. Quartey that streets in Accra should not be named after these illustrious sons of Africa for the simple reason that they are neither Gha-

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naians nor have done anything for Ghana. This appears to be a very narrow-minded way of thinking. I would like to remind Mr. Quartey that a joint statue has quite recently been raised in memory of the late Kwame Nkrumah, Col. Nasser and Pandit Nehru in far away West Indies. I hope Mr. Quartey would agree with me that none of these people did anything directly for the advancement of the West Indians. An outstanding person can be honoured in any part of the world for his contributions not only to his country but to his race or to humanity in general. The yearly awards of Nobel Prizes are a classic example of this recognition.

What I gather from Mr. Quartey's article is that he does not seem to know the effort African leaders are making to unite Africa to the extent of even forming a Continental Union Government when possible, just as the European countries are also trying to form a United States of Europe through the European Economic Community.

P.I.G.S. **Baffour Awua-Kyeretwie**
P.O. Box M.54
Accra

SIR—My attention has been drawn to your June 28th issue in which a Mr. Kwatei Quartey criticised the naming of some Accra Streets after "unknown foreigners who have never even set foot on our soil before".

No one doubts the fact that there are many Ghanaians —past and present—whom we could name our streets after. Indeed a number of our roads and streets bear some of these Ghanaian names. When we name streets, buildings etc., after illustrious men and women, we aim firstly at immortalizing them. Secondly, we attempt to attract public attention to their good work so that it would be easier for others to emulate them. Thus it could be seen that by naming a few of our streets after leaders and heroes of Liberation Movements we aim at drawing attention to the roles these noble sons of Africa have played in the search for respect and dignity for Africans and people of African descent.

I may add that the decision to name a number of streets, six in all, after leaders and heroes of the African Liberation Movement was announced in the closing remarks of Col. I. K. Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C., to the 21st Session of the OAU Liberation Committee on January 12th this year. The decision which was taken by the Government is in recognition of the noble role which has been played by these men in the history of the liberation struggle and is aimed at providing "lasting inspiration to the liberation struggle in Africa".

The persons concerned are the following:—

(1) Amilcar Cabral—Guinea Bissau
(2) Holden Roberto & Agostinho Neto—Angola
(3) Joshua Nkoma & Ndabininge Sithole—Zimbabwe
(4) Nelson Mandela, Albert Lithuli & Sobukwe—Azania (South Africa)
(5) Eduardo Mohdlane & Samora Machel—Mozambique
(6) Patrice Lumumba—Zaire

Press Secretary's Office **F. F. Addae**
Office of the N.R.C. **(Lieutenant-Colonel)**
Accra **Press Secretary**

The Price of Newspapers—A Rejoinder

SIR—Dr. Ansah is indeed an interesting Ghanaian. He is so prolific in criticising others. It is unfortunate that he does not admit criticism himself. As editor of the **L.O.** he on numerous occasions simply refused to publish letters which criticised him although in every issue he wrote letters to himself!

It is quite true that by reducing their pages the two national dailies have been cheating but, if I may ask, by what criterion did the **L.O.** fix its price originally at 15p? Surely they use more newsprint than the **L.O.** On the other hand, the L.S.N.A. did say that they were rendering a national service. They do not pay contributors to their journal. They accepted donations from individuals to begin their operations. They are amateur and part-time journalists. Has Dr. Ansah indeed forgotten these lofty aims? The national dailies are produced by Statutory Corporations and they must make profit.

It was quite true the OFY was launched to reduce the prices of foodstuffs but it also has an aim to make people like Dr. Ansah cultivate a backyard garden so as to reduce the pressure on our markets. None is being asked to produce to feed idlers. Ansah should also realise that it takes more than human determination to produce crops. He should stop boring us with his rhetoric and come down and live like all of us who realised that the rains were late this year. After all, Akyemfo is only 80 miles from Accra and we know what they do there.

P.O. Box 87 **Kofi Dake**
Assin Foso

—P. A. V. Ansah Writes:

I THINK that Mr. Dake is rather unfair to me when he alleges that I am so intolerant that on numerous occasions I refused to publish letters which criticised me, when I was editor of the **L.O.** As far as space and other considerations allowed, I published letters which were critical of editorial pieces that had been written by me or for which I took responsibility in my capacity as editor. In addition, I published critical rejoinders to articles and letters which I had personally written. For example, in **L.O.** VII/6, p.141 and VII/8, p.194, I published rejoinders to my letter entitled "Stop this bullying now" (**L.O.** VII/5, p.120). I also published a rather violent attack on me in **L.O.** VII/10, p.242, under the title "**L.O.** Editor Again!" Other critical rejoinders to a signed article and a letter I had written can be found in **L.O.** VII/12, p.287, and **L.O.** VII/15, p.358. I would have thought that even the devil deserved his due!

Admittedly, there were a few letters criticising certain positions I had taken which I did not publish. This was not because I am intolerant of criticism, as the above references show, but because sometimes the letters were either frivolous or written in language which was not found acceptable by the Editorial Committee—and I should add that in cases of doubt I sought the opinion of members of the Editorial Committee. Those letters just did not pass our test of acceptability, not in terms of subject matter, but in terms of language, form, etc.

As to the accusation that I used to write letters to myself when I was editor, I should like to point out that it is a little more than naive to assume that a "letter to the editor" is meant exclusively for the perusal of the



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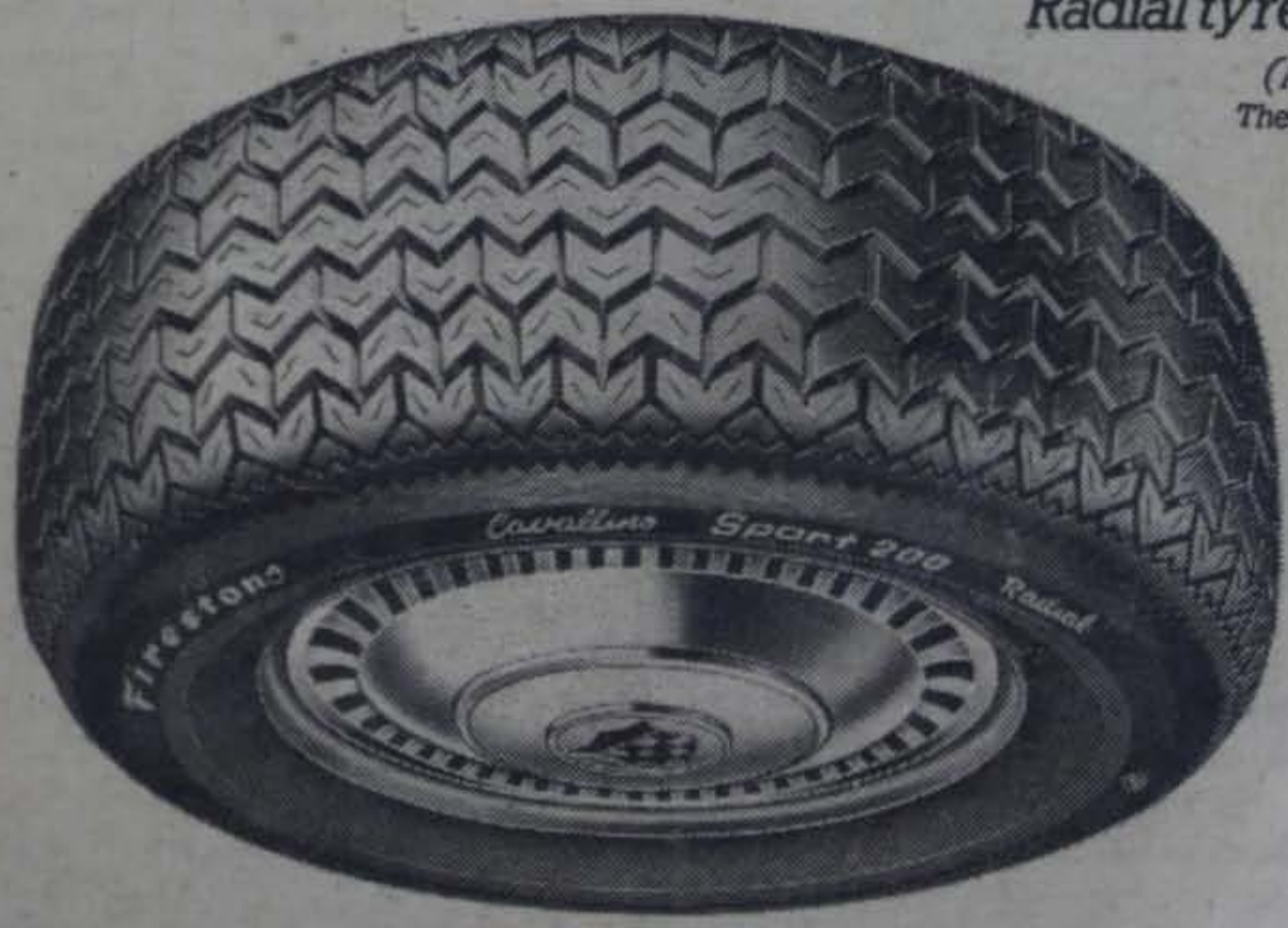
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editor. I wrote letters in the **L.O.** because, as any other citizen was entitled to do, I wanted to use the forum to express opinions which were personal to me, and on which I did not want to commit my whole Editorial Committee. I don't think this is anything to be ashamed of, and I shall not apologise to Mr. Dake or to anybody for that matter.

The other points raised by Mr. Dake are so irrelevant and trivial as to be unworthy of much attention. Should the **L.O.** operate at a loss simply because it claims to be rendering a national service or because it is not a statutory corporation which should show a profit? Again, it must be obvious to all except Mr. Dake that whether I have a backyard garden or not has nothing to do with the efficiency of the Prices and Incomes Board. Finally, I have assumed that Mr. Dake was trying to make some sort of a joke in the reference to my home town, Saltpond, in his last sentence. Personally, I do not think it is a very successful joke, but I shall endeavour to smile if that will make him any happier.

Review

THE THIRD WOMAN

By

J. B. Danquah

(Directed by George Andoh Wilson
At The Arts Centre, Accra)

Reviewed by

K. E. Senanu

THE Ghana Playhouse, under the direction of George Andoh Wilson, has just completed a nine-days' successful run of a production of J. B. Danquah's play, **The Third Woman** at the Arts Centre in Accra. The group, now ten years old, deserves to be congratulated not only on its ability to survive, in spite of the fact that most of its members had to serve under the banner of **The Osagyefo Players** during the course of the decade—come to think of it, how many voluntary associations have survived the past decade in this country without being 'metamorphosed' into something or other—but also on its will to tackle, quite often, difficult but interesting plays and to provide good entertainment. This last production, if not the most successful of their attempts so far, is nevertheless commendable for the boldness of its conception and execution. Lasting for just over three hours, it provided a wide variety of theatrical entertainment including scenes of humorous and witty dialogue, of spectacle, pageatry and ceremony, of ribald and farcical dancing, as well as scenes of serious discussion whenever clarity of articulation made intelligibility possible. For me, a test of the success of the production lies in the fact that most of the audience, including children, stayed on for the three hours the night I watched the performance. In view of the length and the largely undramatic nature of the original script, George Wilson has done an admirable job. His use of the stage, his design of sets and lighting, his costuming were all exciting and effective. And I believe he realised, in the production, most of the values of a difficult, if not dramatically impossible, script.

And it is to the script that one wants to turn, if only briefly, partly because it bears the name of J. B. Danquah and partly because there was a certain degree o incoherence in the plot as presented by the productio Incoherence is perhaps not the right word. A lack transparency comes much closer to the truth. One fe at the end of the evening a certain unsatisfactorine with the actual content of his play—with the food fo thought promised, by the pressure and involvement the traditional Akan pantheon and Akan myths of cre tion, but never served. As presented, with inevitabl cuts, the play centres around Odomankama's (God th Creator's) final act of creating Oni, the Third Woma whose arrival on earth should inaugurate an era peace. For she would "tame the wildest of men makin them gentle:

"There will be peace; not silence between wars,
But concord in all things; positive peace".

But how is this millenium to come about? As the stag production unfolds, we gather it would be through th marriage of Oni, this most perfect woman 'whos strength in gentleness' equals and balances men's 'gentle ness in strength', to a certain good and wise citizen o Tekyiman, Kojo Piesie, at present living in exile becaus he is considered a fool and has been banned by his ow family. However just before Oni's arrival in Tekyiman Kojo Piesie proves himself a hero by overcoming an evi gnome, Sasahooden, the cause of many deaths among the citizens of Tekyiman. And so the wise and good and brave man deserves the hand of the most perfect woman

Summed up this way, there is a certain banality abou the plot which I do not think entirely the result of thi production. One reads carefully through the stilted vers of the original script to see why the reign of Piesie and Oni should inaugurate an era of peace, without being overwhelmingly enlightened. On Oni's side, her being the source of "positive joy of peace to men" is largely assumed, since she is the third woman in whose creation, presumably, Odomankama has carefully avoided the mistakes he made with his first two creations, Nsia and Aso. In terms of the drama, there is no **defining action** which places Oni—(the first part of the Akan word "Onipa" meaning man) undoubtedly above other women, especially above their susceptibility to the flattery which had proved the down-fall of both Nsia and Aso. On the contrary, as a result of the ambiguity which surrounds a central incident in the play and which, knowing his audience, George Wilson exploited, we are led to believe that Oni is simply the most desirable woman. She goes into raptures about an experience which the audience, because of a director's device, takes to be a seduction. In the script this is an incident in which a servant of the leading scientist of Tekyiman, takes a sample of the blood of Oni while she is asleep. But in Oni's narration of the experience we have something like this:

Gently, swiftly, neatly, he took my arm,
And pressed into my skin a sharp needle . . .
The pricking was painful . . .
But the pain so blended with my desire
And endurance mood in intensity,
And so stirred expectant feelings within,
Its hurt was as serene as it was real.

Danquah may have been trying very hard to convey a 'celestial response' to an ordinary bodily pain: but, I am afraid, both his producer and his audience know better! Like the ribald dancing which celebrated Piesie's victory over Sasahooden later in the play, Oni's description of her night's adventures evoked a great deal of

dinous laughter from the audience. So her role as a cial creation of womanhood remains ambiguous and nconvincing. Significantly, when she asks whether man ıl love her, she is told by her creator: 'He will desire ya'.

But what of Piesie? How does Danquah go about ggesting that he may be the new man whose oppor- ne reign over Tekyiman will bring peace? Piesie, the dest son of Adjoa Koran is introduced to us in exile, cause he would not be party to the excessive pursuit wealth in the family. Danquah gives him an **expres- ve dramatic action** at the beginning of Act III which, r some inconceivable reason, Wilson cuts out. We are ıpposed to see him in a swing, suggesting his childlike eedom from anxiety. This, coupled with the cutting dge of his wit, his wisdom gathered from the observa- on and contemplation of Odomankama's creation, and is apparent foolishness, makes him the most interesting f the characters Danquah creates. Significantly when is family drives out Piesie because he does not fit into heir acquisitive propensities the mother brings back ome the death-bearing gnome, Sasahooden. The con- ection betwen the acquisitive habits of the family and his curse which they bring on the whole of Tekyiman s never made clear even in the script, but the fact that he recalling of Piesie is considered by his brother Kofi Manu as connected with the ruin of the family trade n false hair is suggestive. Is Danquah saying that ex- essive grabbing—

"excess toil for another value
which lacks intrinsic worth without your toil—"

loes not only blind us to the wisdom which comes from- bserving the creator's work, but also brings a curse apon us? This is a portion of the play which the produc- tion fails to illuminate. And this accounts for the lack of transparency I mentioned earlier. I dare say this is as much a fault of the playwright, because he has not created the theatre language, in terms of action and ges- tures, for his deepest thoughts, as it is the director's, be- cause he does not seem to have paid enough attention to this central thrust of the playwright's thought.

But on the other hand, Piesie was one of the most fully realised characters in the production. Ebow Daniel developed a trick of the mouth and a hesitation of speech which gave that rare combination of apparent dull- wittedness with cunning wisdom. Other roles felicitously realised are those of Odomankama played, with charac- teristic dignity and clarity of articulation by Turkson- Ocran, the role of Kweku Tenegyei, the Asafoatse, played with farcical abandon by Solomon Andoh, the role of Ama Dede played with fixated sentiment by Veronica Foli. One could go on, for the overall impres- sion of the production is a sense of plenitude deriving obviously from a period of long rehearsal which gave the actors the feeling of living and participating in the village life of Tekyiman. There was an impression of real acquaintance with the surrounding, the sets in which people moved. To have been able to evoke this sense of life through a variety of scenes, some ceremonial, some rowdy and uproarious, others intimate and serious, sometimes flagging in pacing but never becoming dull, is to have attained a measure of success, certainly worth commending.

For The Record

Saturday, July 14

New Pay Structure for Ghana?

COLONEL I. K. Acheampong, Chairman of the N.R.C. said today that the government was considering the appointment of a committee to review the pay structure of all workers in the country. The Head of State was speaking at the 125th anniversary celebration of the founding of the Presbyterian Training College at Akro- pong-Akwapim. The review, Col. Acheampong added, had become necessary in view of the high cost of living which had been brought about by the rise of prices of commodities all over the world.

Monday, July 16

National Service for Varsity Graduates

AN official statement from the Ministry of Education said today that the government had decided that with effect from September 1, 1973, the National Service Pro- gramme which was approved in August 1972 would be implemented. Under the scheme, graduates and diplo- mates from the country's three universities and other higher institutions will be required to serve for one year in any of the following fields: Education, Local Govern- ment, Health, Rural Development (including Surveying), Physical Planning, Civil Engineering, Rural Industries, Agriculture, Youth Programmes, Cooperatives and any other fields that the N.R.C. may prescribe.

The statement said that great emphasis will be laid on rural service and that the scheme would be directed by a special secretariat to operate under the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports.

Tuesday, July 17

The Mirchandanis Deported

THE two businessmen, A. K. Mirchandani and B. K. Mirchandani, whose eight-year prison terms were last month reduced to 12 months and 18 months respec- tively, by an Appeal Court presided over by Mr. Justice D. F. Annan, have been deported from Ghana.

Meat Rots At Bolgatanga

MORE than 24,149 pounds weight of meat, worth ¢12,075 in foreign exchange, imported by the Cattle Development Board from Upper Volta has gone rotten at Bolgatanga and has been declared unfit for human consumption by the Principal Veterinary Officer in charge of the Upper Region.

In an interview the executive chairman of the Cattle Development Board, Mr. John A. A. Salaam, attributed the disaster to the vehicles of the Meat Products Divi- sion of GIHOC. He explained that his board had been having to rely on GIHOC's refrigerated vans and other vehicles to convey their meat and cattle imports from Upper Volta and these vehicles had proved constantly faulty.

Meanwhile, the government has instituted an imme- diate enquiry into the circumstances of the decomposi- tion of the meat.

Wednesday, July 18

Bearer Premium Bonds Reintroduced

COLONEL L. A. Okai, Commissioner for N.R.C. Affairs, this evening launched a Bearer Premium Bond Scheme which is aimed at mobilising domestic savings for na- tional development. The face value of a bond is 50 pesewas and it will mature for redemption after one year. The staker stands the chance of winning ¢10,000 as first prize, and ¢5,000, ¢1,000, and ¢500 as second, third, and fourth prizes respectively.

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Editorial

BACK TO SQUARE ONE?

One of the major problems to which the government of Colonel I. K. Acheampong gave priority attention was the supply and distribution of "foreign foods and commodities". The system of distribution was found inadequate or ineffective, and the government accordingly set up a new machinery to undertake the task. After the establishment of the Logistics Committee as a sort of central depot, several intermediate expedients were introduced. Passbook holders were temporarily stopped from operating, but since no better alternative had been thought out, the system was quickly restored. Then Regional Commissioners were made responsible for distribution; government organisations undertook some distribution among their personnel, and then there was also a committee headed by Mr. U. K. Hackman of the C.M.B., charged with the distribution of these foreign foods to the rural populations. At the moment it is not very clear how effective these arrangements have been found to be or whether they are going to continue functioning.

The government resorted to these expedients to deal with a difficult situation, and the rationale for introducing these various arrangements was based on the fact that the situation was not normal and therefore called for special measures to cope with pressing and difficult circumstances. Behind all this was the government's declared concern that the goods should get to as many people as possible. The suspension of the Logistics Committee and the abandoning of some of the special arrangements do indicate that they were not nearly as effective as the government had imagined.

The announcement that we are to revert to the old establishments for the supply and distribution of the commodities raises two questions: first, does this suggest that we are back to a situation where the level of supplies is such that we do not need special measures? The circumstances surrounding the suspension of the Logistics Committee and the evidence of shortages would seem to indicate that one cannot honestly answer this question in the affirmative. If in spite of our difficulties the government has decided that we should revert to the old system, what this means is that notwithstanding all the imperfections of the old system, it has proved more effective than the expedients introduced since January 1972. But this should not mean that we must revert to the old system without trying to correct its defects about which

complaints were made regularly in the past.

Faults there certainly were in the old system. For example, the old establishments responsible for supplies and distribution were behaving like sieves; it was not unusual to find that these big organisations quickly passed on their supplies to private business contacts and other operators with long-standing connection with them, who sold the goods at higher prices. It is also well known that in certain cases stocks were deliberately held from distribution; the big houses either diverted stocks into private hands or sat on them, thus creating artificial shortages, and releasing them only at their own pleasure. In both cases a panic and near crisis situation was created, causing the government no little embarrassment. This leads to the second question: what signs are there to show that these establishments have become converted to the government's concerns and are going to become sympathetic partners in the distribution exercise?

The realistic answer will be that they are not converted. Whatever else their concern, business houses do not have as their major concern the promotion of social justice; in fact their operations might well be inimical to the attainment of this objective. Hence the necessity for taking certain corrective measures. If we have to use the expertise and machinery of the old trading establishments for the supply and distribution of certain commodities, steps must be taken to ensure that the defects of the past are reduced to an absolute minimum. The partial failures of the successive expedients notwithstanding, we must have gained some experience from the various methods tried, to be able to correct some of the inadequacies of the old system to which we are reverting after eighteen experimental months.

Failure to do this serious home-work and to take the necessary measures will not only send us back to square one, but might even take us far beyond.

IT PAYS TO ADVERTISE

IN THE

LEGON OBSERVER

Agriculture

GETTING AGRICULTURE MOVING

By

B. E. Rourke

THE performance of Ghana's economy in the 1960's was certainly disappointing. The available estimates of national income give a zero rate of growth in real GNP per capita in the sixties in contrast to a respectable positive rate of growth in the fifties. While these estimates are subject to a wide measure of error, the various measures of real urban wages give much the same picture. As a result, the average Ghanaian in 1970 appears to have been no better off than he was in 1960—although it is possible that he may have had somewhat better access to such social amenities as medical care and education which are not easily included in these measures of the economy's performance. A considerable part of the failure of the economy in the 1960's can be traced to a failure in the agricultural sector, and unless lessons are learned from these shortcomings, there may be few improvements by 1980. The following is what is admittedly a somewhat subjective assessment of key problems in the agricultural sector in Ghana based largely on personal observations over the past few years.

Key Problems

Many problems and constraints have been catalogued by others—beginning from problems of land acquisition and going through to the final marketing of the produce. It is important to reach some sort of consensus on which of these problems present major constraints which can and must be tackled effectively now and which can be ignored for the present. My view is that of these problems those relating to production are more important than those relating to marketing, although transport and communications as well as storage should not be ignored. The basic problem is simply that not enough has been produced. It is suggested that the three most important reasons for this are: (1) the Ministry of Agriculture and other agencies involved in agricultural policy and programmes have not been able to make a sufficiently critical assessment of projects and of appropriate activities of endeavour, (2) an effective system of supply of inputs for farmers has not been developed, and (3) a strong credit programme has not been developed because the Ghanaian farmer has yet to be taught that loans (from Government associated institutions) are not gifts.

BE RIGHT ON TOP



with

TATA PILSENER BEER

It is commonly believed that in recent years the agricultural sector (excluding cocoa) has not been given sufficient funds. This I fear is a mistaken view. It would seem rather that agriculture was allocated sufficient funds from the Treasury in the 1960's but that these funds were largely dissipated on non-viable projects. It is probably easier to waste money on agricultural projects than on projects in any other sector. If land cleared at great cost is not used, nature soon takes care to cover up the mistake!

In the early sixties many of the bad investments were associated with hastily established large-scale farms in the public sector. The difficulties in managing and controlling large-scale farms, especially in the public sector, were greatly underestimated. In particular, no good systems were devised to provide incentives for large numbers of farm labourers and to supervise their work effectively. Management decisions were for the most part centralized, giving the local manager little scope for initiative. Unfortunately the difficulties of managing large-scale farms—whether in the private or public sector—still do not seem to be fully appreciated even by such organisations as University "commercial" farms and American-managed "Iowa transplants".

Policies and Programmes

In addition much money was wasted on inappropriate machinery. As late as 1969 on a visit to Northern Ghana, a farm manager of a large farm in the public sector complained that he had received, unsolicited through his head office, expensive equipment ill-suited for the conditions of the farm (This time the equipment came from U.S.A.). It seems that those involved in decisions to purchase machinery have been reticent to consult those with technical expertise and those who will be involved in using the machinery when it arrives.

Another problem particularly noticeable in the late 1960's was the inability of those responsible for the budget allocations to make a selection of policies and programmes. Rather than select a few projects or activities and give them adequate finance so that there was some chance of success, a large number of projects and programmes were endorsed and almost none given sufficient support to be successful. Thus the Ministry of Agriculture instead of selecting a few key areas upon which to concentrate, tackled many areas with little success. Frequently the budget allocations were sufficient to pay for personnel but not sufficient to provide them with any facilities with which to work.

Many of these difficulties were not the responsibility of the professionals in the Ministry of Agriculture and other agencies involved in agricultural projects. In many cases they were not consulted and policies were discussed and decided upon at a very high level. (Senior personnel in the Ministry I talked to at the time of the implementation of the mass spraying programme for cocoa under the Busia regime fully anticipated the problems that led to the recent cancellation of the programme). In addition, in many cases the Ministry of Agriculture has been unable to implement "approved" programmes because of constraints imposed by the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Trade, the Bank of Ghana and so on.

The Ghanaian Farmer

"Modern" agriculture in Ghana has been popularly associated with mechanized tractor farming. However, mechanization may or may not be a key element of "modern" agriculture. Equally important are a wide variety of other inputs including credit. The Ghanaian farmer certainly has not been provided with a good system for the provision of inputs. Every season we hear complaints that fertilizer has not arrived in time or that it is not in the correct place. More important, the various attempts by the Ministry of Agriculture to provide good planting material have yielded few dividends (except in the case of oil-palm and cocoa, and possibly, recently, rice). The tractor hire services provided by the Ministry are notorious. This past year, even cutlasses have been in short supply! It would seem that there must be a decision as to who can best provide these services to farmers—what role for the state and what role for the much-abused trader or middleman. It is usually better for the farmer to pay a high price for an input than to do without it entirely. In many cases, the failure is again not within the Ministry of Agriculture but in the bureaucratic structure controlling budget disbursements and import licensing.

Credit is another important factor in agricultural production. Here the Ghanaian farmer has learned on the record of past programmes that it is to his advantage not to pay back a loan received from a government institution. The social sanctions for default are minimal as are the penalties if he is pursued, and he probably has at least a 50 per cent chance that he will not be pursued in the event of default. What rational man would endeavour to repay a loan under such circumstances! Unless the sanctions and penalties imposed on offenders are greatly

increased, agricultural credit programmes will continue to flounder because of high default rates.

These problems present a formidable challenge to those involved in formulating and implementing agricultural policy. Fortunately there are few success stories. The development of the poultry industry in the early and mid-sixties and the rapid expansion of rice production in Northern Ghana in the late 1960's were truly impressive. In both cases, certain progressive farmers played a key role. But the Ministry of Agriculture in both cases also provided effective extension advice and inputs. It is interesting to contrast the morale of Ministry personnel who have been involved in programmes for these two enterprises with some of their less fortunate colleagues who have been associated with various "failure programmes".

Another encouraging development has been the increasing involvement of financial institutions in the selection of agricultural projects. These institutions, particularly the agricultural Development Bank, are rapidly building up a corps of officers who are able to appreciate the problems and potentials of Ghana's farmers. They should be able to give a hard-headed assessment as to the viability of projects and may be able to block at least the more obviously wild schemes of the foreign expert, the newspaper editor, the politician, or for that matter, the university lecturer.

With a careful assessment of the viability of projects and programmes and with the Ministry of Agriculture determining what it can do best itself and what it had best leave others to do, the experience of the 1970's need not be a replay of the experience of the 1960's and "Operation Feed Yourself" call can be a success.

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Social

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF THE UNIVERSITY ON CAPE COAST TOWN

By

Danny B. Safo

THIS ARTICLE treats how the establishment of the University of Cape Coast is exerting some economic influence on the life of the town. Cape Coast is an ancient town whose foundation and subsequent development are embedded in the oral history of Fetu and the written history of the Gold Coast. When Europeans started their rule on the West African coast, Cape Coast was made the capital of the British administration. It lost the economically important role to Accra in about 1877. The removal of the capital from Cape Coast and its loss of harbour facilities following the construction of Tema harbour had tremendously economically depressing effect on the rate of growth of the town.

Cape Coast, according to the 1960 Population Census, is the fourth largest town in the country, following Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi. It has a number of academically renowned secondary schools. However, using indicators like population growth rate, the construction of private and public buildings, and the working class as a percentage of total population, Cape Coast lagged far behind the three above-mentioned cities. Indeed the town failed to be declared a city, following the elevation of Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi to that eminent status. The thesis of this paper is that the University of Cape Coast (along with the declaration of the town as the administrative capital of the Central Region) is helping Cape Coast to reverse this comparatively lagging trend.

The University of Cape Coast was established (as a College of the University of Ghana, Legon) in 1962. In 1972 it became a fully fledged University. In Table 1, I give some statistics on student enrolment, recruitment of academic staff, and senior administrative and technical staff.

TABLE I

YEAR	STUDENTS	LECTURERS +	ADMIN./TECHNI-CAL	TOTAL
1962–63	155	29	40	69
63–64	256	47	41	88
64–65	522	88	56	144
65–66	860	100	65	165
66–67	990	116	65	181
67–68	1,122	127	71	198
68–69	1,055	141	86	227
69–70	797	147	106	253
70–71	862	160	109	269
71–72	1,005	163	113	276

(Source: University of Cape Coast Stantistics 1962/63—1971/72, October, 1972.

+ including professors, demonstrators and teaching assistants.)

Apart from the presence of these highly paid senior staff of the University of Cape Coast, the University also employs thousands of junior officers who work in the pantries and dinning halls, faculties and departments, halls of residence, transport, carpentry and security divisions, parks and gardens, farm and hospital among others.

Table II shows the Recurrent and Development Funds that the government has pumped into the University over the years.

TABLE II

GOVERNMENT GRANTS

Year	Recurrent A/C ₵	Development A/C ₵
1962–63	660,000.00	678,000.00
1963–64	760,000.00	1,085,000.00
1964–65	1,790,000.00	1,164,000.00
1965–66	2,008,342.20	1,257,458.60
1966–67	2,430,675.81	1,172,002.06
1967–68	1,669,245.94	1,413,176.42
1968–69	2,900,000.00	2,112,800.00
1969–70	2,550,000.00	1,911,700.00
1970–71	3,300,000.00	1,664,620.00
1971–72	3,650,000.00	701,810.00

Source: Ibid.

Given these facts about the University of Cape Coast what precise economic impact is being exerted by the University on the town? A direct economic impact is the creation of employment opportunities for residents of the town. As already stated above the University employs carpenters, cleaners, cooks, security guards, administrative and academic staff, among others. Some of these workers are original residents of Cape Coast. Again many senior members of the University use the services of female housekeepers. Some of these girls are Cape Coasters.

Again, as Table II demonstrates quite clearly government has over the last decade spent millions of cedis towards the development of the University. The local component of this huge sum goes mainly into the payment of workers and the purchase of local building materials by the various contractors. The construction of the magnificent buildings of the University and the development of the grounds is another avenue through which employment is being created in Cape Coast.

Table II also indicates how much government spends on recurrent account (mainly wages and salaries). In the 1971-72 financial year alone the figure was ₵3,650,000. The greater percentage of this amount is spent in Cape Coast towards the



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purchase of food, car and motorcycle maintenance etc. Food producers around Cape Coast, food distributors in the town, store and beer bar keepers, car maintenance workshops, landlords, petrol filling stations all thus benefit from this infusion of purchasing power.

The transport industry too benefits from the presence of the University. Students come from all parts of the country. They depend on the road transportation system to reach the town. Many taxi cabs ply between the town and the campus.

The University continues to be the venue for many national and international conferences. While in Cape Coast, participants do spend some amount in purchasing some items.

Again the University is adding to the architectural beauty of the town. Cape Coast, as already stated above, is an ancient town with many dilapidated buildings. The modern buildings which are springing up on the campus of 'Capevas', are gradually helping the town to "facelift" itself.

Finally the University has raised the status of the town both in Ghana and in the world at large. The University with its faculties and research laboratories, its libraries, its brilliant minds, a place where people from diverse cultures assemble generates some respects for every University town.

In this discussion I have tried to demonstrate how the establishment of a major 'industry'—education—is exerting substantial influence on the growth of a town. Perhaps the establishment of growth generating industries can be a means whereby some of our currently depressed towns can develop. Is the ceramics factory going to save Saltpond? Will the proposed fishing harbour reverse the decline of Elmina? What industrial enterprise will accelerate the growth of Akropong-Akwapim? Won't the establishment of a fishing harbour at Gyakiti on the Volta Lake generate growth for the currently depressed but potentially rich area.

Perhaps for the growth of the nation we need to think about such a technique.

READ THE
LEGON OBSERVER
ALWAYS

IS THE CORPORATE IMAGE NECESSARY

By

Moses Dovlo

A FRIEND once asked me: "Moses, what's a this noise, especially in the large business houses about **image**, to be exact, **corporate image?** Furthe more, I don't simply understand why, for exampl a company like Kumasi Brewery, whose produc sell without much effort by the company, shoul be so much concerned with its **image.** And wha exactly is this **image?**

I answered my friend by first considering th last part of his question: "And what exactly is thi image?" The word 'image', I told him, has bee thrust on the business world as a result of intensiv competition. To most consumers, products ar generally alike (taking beer in Ghana, for example in both quality and price. As a result of thi situation, the buying public have been compelle to rely on the more intangible aspects of a compan than its products or services. It is a fact that company's sales and profits are greatly influence not only by public acceptance of its products o services, but also by the attitudes and opinions o its various publics toward the company. Thes public attitudes and opinions constitute what th businessman, today, terms **image.** Synonyms fo image are reputation and good name. Corporat image, therefore, is the image or the reputatio of the company. To explain the meaning furthe corporate image is the sum-total of the attitude and opinions of a company's various public towards it and its products or services. It, there fore, goes without saying that the establishmen or, at least, the recognition of the corporate imag or reputation should, of necessity, be the ver first step in any meaningful public relations pro gramme.

In Ghana, as in other countries, many publi relations programmes end in partial or complet failure, even though conscientious practitioner have worked diligently and skilfully to implemen them. In most cases, the failure is due to insuffi cient research and planning based first and fore most on the determination, recognition—an correction if any—of the corporate image.

I now turn to the other aspect of my friend' question:" .... I don't simply understand wh for example, a company like Kumasi Brewery whose products sell without much effort by th company, should be so much concerned wit its image". I think all that my friend wanted t know here is, why should companies whos

products are well-known, even well-patronised, bother about their corporate image. In the first place, a brand image which is the concern of the Marketing Manager is quite different from a corporate image which is the responsibility of the Public Relations Manager. A company may have an excellent brand image, but very poor corporate image. People may praise or even consume the products of a company, but consider that company a bad citizen, bad employer, or selfish community neighbour. A company may be profitable or rich, and yet be practically unknown to the public. Moreover, the fame of a company's products does not necessarily ensure a widespread or favourable image of the company. The golden rule, therefore, is that it is always better for a company to have a favourable image than an unfavourable one. A strong corporate image is a multi-purpose asset to an enterprising management.

Value can be added, in many ways, to a product in the process of creating good corporate image through public relations efforts. Favourable attitudes are created towards a product through effective publicity that reaches consumers, dealers, and opinion leaders. Newsworthy features of products are expoited or newsy events connected with a product are created to obtain the credibility that comes from the appearance of an article in the mass media. Newsletters and company magazines are also used to reach some important audiences.

Building a Corporate Image

Another method by which the public relations man can use his communications skills to increase the demand for products—in the process of building a good image for the company—is to make sure that consumers are willing to spend their money. If consumers feel that hard times are ahead or that better value can be obtained by holding off on a purchase, they may decide to save rather than spend. The public relations man can try to create and promote a public mood of optimism by maintaining a flow of news events that balances any bad news with good.

Creating motivation for the product is another way of adding value to it. The positive aspect of doing this is to create pleasant and rewarding associations with a product. If the product is beer, for example, this should be done by encouraging more and more leading Ghanaians and opinion moulders to attend the brewery's end-of-month public relations nights, when they will have to drink nothing other than the brewery's products. Motivation can also be created by removing negative factors; by relieving, for instance, some of the anxieties associated with inability to judge the merits of new products on the market like drugs or scientific devices. Here, the public relations man endeavours to reassure the consumer of the integrity and competence of the producer—the company manufacturing the products. He applies the corporate image to the product, while the marketing man usually sticks to the 'brand image'.

The image-building technique can also be applied to add value to a product by building customer loyalty to a producer. This can be done in such various ways as engaging in community relations activities, supporting worthy national causes as a good corporate citizen and neighbour, sponsoring other useful projects. In summary, the goodwill that the public relations man labours to create in the various spheres of his activities is transferred directly or indirectly to products.

Constant Reappraisal

It is evident that a favourable corporate image is an assurance of corporate success. Good corporate image does not only promote sales and profits, as we have seen, but it also affects favourably many other activities of the company. It must be stressed, here, that good-quality products do indeed enhance the corporate image: the image that significantly influences the ability of a company to attract good executives as well as assembly-line workers and to hold on to workers already employed. A company with a poor image is bound to have more sales problems, more labour difficulties and more friction with the government. A good reputation or image of a business helps the business gain retailer co-operation, and avoid trouble with the trade and with its community. Any organisation with a poor image may have more difficulty in obtaining capital on favourable terms and may enjoy less shareholder satisfaction and confidence. Though good corporate image cannot always be a panacea for the ills of a company, yet it is an important safeguard in times of necessity.

How is the favourable corporate image created? This, one can answer, is created through the various public relations activities of the company. The scope and depth of these activities depend on the company's established policy and its desired goals and aspirations.

It is not safe for any company to assume that its image, once established, will never change. The fact is that image does undergo continual change. And it is, therefore, not advisable for companies to rest on their old laurels. More

importantly, there are competitors with comparable products noisily clamouring for public attention through advertisements and other activities, and ever ready to exploit, to their advantage, any shortcomings in others' image-building programmes. The corporate image must, therefore occasionally be evaluated to determine its effectiveness.

An important first step to take when about to launch a public relations programme aimed at projecting, or correcting, a corporate image is to determine the company's mission and character. This exercise must embrace taking a critical look at the desired social, economic, ethical, and moral standards, essential in fulfilling the mission. The broad objectives and the methods of implementing the objectives must be clearly defined and itemized.

To sum up, one of the fundamental concerns in life is to win the understanding and respect of others. Social psychologists teach us that apart from our biological needs, we have social needs: affiliative needs and status needs. Our affiliative needs are the needs to belong; the need to be accepted as a member of some group or of a community. The status needs encompass power relations, popularity ratings, prestige, and in general, the dimension of superiority and inferiority.

The idea of image, then, is conceived when another person's attitude toward us is considered important. The amount of attention we receive, the willingness of people to follow our suggestions, and the rewards given us are influenced largely by the impression that people have of us — our image. This truth is applicable to both individuals as well as groups of people or corporate bodies.

The purpose, therefore, of all public relations activity is to influence the attitudes and opinions of people (the publics concerned) in order to create the desired image. Today's competitive and aggressive business nature underscores the urgent need for the development and maintenance of the corporate image or the corporate reputation —the sum-total of all attitudes toward the company.

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Civil Engineering

SOLVING THE TRANSPORT PROBLEM IN ACCRA — III

by

Emmanuel K. Vorkeh

ULTIMATELY the solution to the transport problem in Accra lies in de-centralization. The city should be re-planned into self-sufficient independent suburbs or counties. At each of the new termini a shopping centre should be allowed to develop to serve the people around that area. For example, if Kokomlemle, New Town, Nima and Kotobabi were taken as one county it should be possible for a housewife to remain here for a fortnight or more and do all her shopping without finding it necessary to move out to the central pressure zone. This will make the development of the city homogeneous.

The practice of developing large parts of the city into high class residential areas should also be discontinued. Quite apart from class stratification it is also responsible in a way for the transport problem. For example, the whole of the Airport Residential Area is a purely residential area. But it is plain that it is not only the high-ups who live there; they have their dependents, the stewards and their family who need to go to the market to buy food each day. But since this place is considered to be a high-class residential area, no provisions are made for markets, schools and other amenities for the dependents of those who own houses there.. While the masters and mistresses move about in their cars the dependents have to rely on the public transport system and travel over long distances in order to get to the shops and markets. A bus could be allocated to serve the Airport Residential area from the proposed terminus near the Military hospital. Its route could lie along the Airport road then into the Airport Residential area, continue via the Boys Remand Home,, then on to the Achimota road and back to the terminus via Accra Girls' Secondary School.

Buses and Trotros

The guiding principle is that the metropolitan transportation should always be organized to suit the convenience of the people.

At Ridge, Airport, and Cantonment residential areas, ordinary public schools should be built to serve the children of stewards and other dependents. Spaces should also be made available for the development of markets and shops. This will cut down the need for people travelling out for these services. Serious thought must also be given to developing Burma Camp into a self-supporting community, so that soldiers' wives and their other dependents would not have to do as much daily trekking to Makola as they do now. Surely, it is possible to find sites in Burma Camp where markets and shops could be built so that their presence would not interfere with military security!

After the municipal buses, the **trotros** come as the next important means of transportation in Accra. It is debated which now carry the greater number of passen-

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gers, the buses or the trotros. Whatever it is, there are one or two important aspects in which the trotro service could be improved. There are two main types of vehicles used as trotros, the wooden 23-seater trucks and the 17-seater mini buses. Making allowances for the driver and the mate, the wooden trucks carry a maximum of 21 passengers, and the mini buses a maximum of 15 passengers. It would be seen on close observation that these vehicles simply cannot cope with the present passenger pressure because they are too small. Of course, there is the argument that their small size makes the trotro service faster than the public omnibus service. This is true only during the brief slack period which lasts for about two hours or less from 11 a.m. to 1 p.m. On certain routes however, there is hardly any slack period discernible,, namely, from Labadi,, Nima, New Town, Achimota and Mamprobi to the pressure zone.

Anyone who is concerned about the time that passengers spend in the trotro queues would recognise that bigger vehicles are needed, at least, on the five routes mentioned above, especially during the morning and afternoon rush hours. If at a time there are 60 people in a queue, a mini bus would be able to take only 15 of them when it comes around, in the meantime the queues get longer and longer. Along the five busy routes mentioned above it should be made obligatory to use only 40-seater buses. If the individual transport owners cannot afford the bigger buses, then it is an opportunity for encouraging them to form co-operatives and companies to buy the bigger buses. The Co-operatives and Companies could maintain a fleet of big and small vehicles. They could run the smaller vehicles during the slack period. If this is done and the trotro services are organised with definite time-tables of departure from their termini made known to the public, they would receive even greater patronage; a great deal of frustration currently experienced by passengers in the city would be thus eliminated.

A definite decision must now be taken about the wooden trotros. Their importation is definitely a great savings for the country since the main bodies are made form local material and workmanship. The difficulty of getting on and off these vehicles is the main disincentive to many people, especialy women who find it inconvenient to travel on them. Many women carrying their children on their backs often inadvertently knock the children's heads on the railings. A new design should be prescribed which will make the trucks easier to board. Of course,, a few of them have some such design, but it should be enforced as the general rule.

Omnibus Service Again (issuing of Tickets)

One way of increasing the operational speed of the Omnibus Service is to issue tickets to waiting passengers at the termini before the buses come. If the maximum capacity of the bus is 60 passengers, then 60 passengers should be served; the rest should be asked to make alternative arrangements for their transport. At present, people wait for long hours only to be told that they cannot get places on the bus when it comes at last. Issuing of tickets in advance will also enable the buses to leave soon after they arrive. At present the conductor spends about 10 minutes issuing tickets when they return to the terminus. In addition, issuing of tickets in advance will also cut out the practice of queue-jumping indulged in by some people. If the authorities would also display for public benefit the next likely departure time for each bus, the Omnibus Services would have a better standing in the public eye.

The location of the railway terminus within the pressure zone is also another contributory factor to the traffic problem in Accra. In the first place, the railway terminus attracts a great deal of traffic to itself, as a matter of course. Secondly, there are three important points at which the railway line crosses major roads within the city: first at Alajo near the Police Depot; second, it crosses the Kaneshie road near the Circle; then near the Graphic Corporation. Each time a train is passing the level crossings have to be closed and traffic quickly builds up for several hundred yards on both sides because these are all very busy roads. It takes some five minutes or more before normal traffic resumes. In a modern industrial economy such as we wish Ghana to be, five minutes of traffic hold-up is a great deal of time. There is a strong suggestion, therefore, and a strong case for moving the railway terminus out of the heart of the city to the Achimota station where the line branches off to Tema. Indeed, it is said that plans for precisely such a move have been on the drawing boards for some years now. The port of Accra is no longer functioning and this is an additional reason why it is not necessary to maintain the line beyond Achimota Station into the heart of Accra. Apart from eliminating the traffic jams caused by the level crossings, the transfer of the terminus from the present site will also have the effect of removing some of the pressure off the central pressure zone.

The Achimota Railway Station area is only now being developed into a residential area. This development would have to be stopped and the land acquired for the new terminus and a commercial and shopping centre.

The Example of Paris

The type of problem we have discussed above is not peculiar to Accra. Indeed, all national capitals which are concurrently the industrial and commercial hearts of their countries tend to suffer from the same maladjustments. According to French official sources, for example, regional planning experts are faced with the singular problem of Paris and the magnet-like way in which it draws the population from other parts of the country. Urban concentration in the Paris area led to growing inbalance in terms of population and industrial building (and the accompanying transport difficulties) and pointed up the need for decentralization.

A striking example is the French car industry, which took root and grew in the immediate area around Paris. Recent moves have shown that production units could be dispersed and set up in various parts of the land without harmful effect on returns—especially in regions like Normandy and Britanny, once almost exclusively turned over to agriculture.

A pilot scheme for the Paris area was drawn up to serve as a guideline. It provides for an economic link between Paris and the North of France, with urban facilities being laid on in Picardy in order to woo industry away from the capital. The new town of Cergy-Pontoise is another example of the present move towards decentralization.



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If the bid to move industry out of the capital has largely paid off the same cannot be said of efforts to disperse the administrative services of the big companies. Few head offices have been willing to follow their production plants to other parts of the country for the simple reason that the State continues to centralize its administrative services in Paris.

Our discussion in respect of Accra centered on decentralizing administrative and commercial services within the city itself. But in the final analysis, the transport problem in Accra would be eased, if like Paris, London and other places, a way could be found to stem the influx of people into the city in search of jobs. This will be done by wooing industry away from the city to other parts of the country.

It is recognized that the implementation of the above suggestions would involve some considerable expenditure, but with judicious planning, the foreign exchange components could be kept to the minimum. In any case, the long-term benefits are worth the cost.

(Concluded)

Observer Notebook

Stratification in Secondary Schools

HEADS of secondary schools in this country have different criteria for classifying pupils in their multiple classes. Sometimes the pupils are classed according to ability on the understanding that greater attention will be paid to the weaker pupils. In other cases they are classed according to aptitudes, so that those with a scientific bent are separated from those going in for humanities. In this latter case, the classification is done in the last two years of the secondary school when the pupils come to choose their subjects for the G.C.E., examination. This is perfectly reasonable, and it has the practical advantage of facilitating the preparation of time-tables.

Some educational psychologists question the wisdom of classifying pupils not according to aptitudes and choice of subjects, but on the basis of ability. They argue that the weaker candidates are often not encouraged to rise beyond mediocrity or just average performance. Even the best, or rather the less bad, among them become complacent since they seem to be unaware that their relative brilliance is noticeable only because they are surrounded by more pronounced mediocrities. It is necessary, the psychologists argue, that pupils of varying abilities be put together so that the weaker ones can emulate the brighter ones, thus leading to a general raising of standards.

There is, however, a third system of classification adopted in at least one girls school. In that school, after the first year, the pupils are classified into three groups, depending partly on age and partly on ability. There is an "S" class into which are admitted bright students who are generally younger. In this class one generally finds the products of the so-called international or preparatory schools who take the Common Entrance around age 12. Those who are otherwise good but who go to secondary schools from our ordinary schools at a higher age are put in the "M" class. Then there is the "T" class into which are pushed the not so bright ones, who are in every way made to feel inferior and incapable of taking the more sophisticated courses.

The greatest objection to this particular system of classification is that the pupils in the "T" class are really treated as third-rate citizens: they are not allowed to take certain subjects, and it is they who are compelled to do commercial subjects and Agricultural Science instead of General or Pure Sciences. The impression thus created in the minds of these pupils is that Agricultural Sciences are reserved for mediocrities, and worse still, that we do not need intelligent typists and secretaries.

What is more objectionable in this discriminatory treatment to some pupils is that if it happens that a "T" class pupil does well enough at the end of the year and thus comes up to the standard of an "M" class pupil, that pupil cannot be transferred because there are certain subjects which she had not studied in the "T" class. Thus selection is made at this early age and equality of opportunity is denied to some of our children. Nobody denies the right of headmasters to guide pupils in the selection of their subjects, but it is wrong to adopt a system that stifles the potential of pupils and gives them complexes.

This state of affairs is absolutely indefensible on any grounds and we call upon the Ministry of Education to take every step to ensure that heads of institutions do not prematurely prejudge pupils, abilities in a way that leads to discriminatory treatment and the denial of equal opportunities to all pupils in our secondary schools.

Logistics Committee Suspended

THERE is no doubt that events leading to the suspension of the Logistics Committee have been a monumental embarrassment to the government. The public has been assured that the circumstances leading to a single individual being given allocations of foreign foods and commodities totalling half the supplies for a whole region are being thoroughly investigated, and that when the full facts are known, appropriate measures will be taken to ensure that such unfortunate incidents are not repeated.

There is, however, one aspect of the investigations that is exercising the minds of the public

and this is the secrecy in which the whole exercise is shrouded. It has been reported that the matter is being handled by the Armed Forces, and that according to their normal procedures, such an exercise is not handled in public. This argument would have been acceptable if we were dealing with purely military matters involving some security. This is not so, and in this particular case the only or major interest of the Armed Forces is that their personnel are involved in this whole affair. One cannot seriously argue that the mere fact of placing the economy on a war footing automatically transfers all the arrangements connected therewith to the military sphere. The matter in hand is purely civilian and we consider it appropriate that it should be dealt with in consonance with the normal civilian procedures of open exposures.

This principle is important and should be well established right now, because military personnel are involved in very significant areas of civilian public life, and we should beware of setting a bad precedent. Those who operate in the civilian area should be dealt with within a civilian framework, that is to say in the open, so that we can all see that justice is manifestly done. It will be most unfortunate to create the impression that in any such investigations some officials should be given a special or privileged treatment by reason of their calling or their rank.

French Grip on Africa Weakening?

TO many observers of the African political scene, there is a very interesting development in France's relations with her former colonies. Since the events of Madagascar and the change of government in Dahomey last year, there has been a new wave of radicalism rapidly sweeping over the former French colonial empire. While relaxing their ties with the "mother country", many francophone countries are seeking closer cooperation with their non-French-speaking neighbours: there is very close collaboration between Niger and its Southern neighbour, Nigeria, and Dahomey's refusal to join a West African Economic Community based on the old French colonial ties is still fresh in our minds. The relations between Guinea and Sierra Leone are, of course, quite a separate development altogether.

As far as relations with France are concerned, Madagascar and Mauretania have revised their cooperation agreements, and the latter has recently ntroduced its own currency. A number of other .ountries have given notice of their desire to vise their agreements with France and even an d "Eurafrican" francophile like Senghor has let it be known that he would want to see Senegal's relations with France put on a more realistic footing. It will just be interesting to see whether when Senghor and Houphouet-Boigny eventually come to revise their cooperation agreements with France, they will touch that part of the document which entitles them to the protection of French troops on their own soil. Both Senghor and Houphouet-Boigny have recently been making healthy noises about Senegalisation and Ivorisation, especially in the private sector of the economy and old Houphouet is recognising the necessity for cooperation between anglophone and francophone Africa.

With the departure of six of its members, the OCAM is disintegrating despite the strenuous efforts of its current chairman, President Senghor, to save it from total collapse; and as if its earlier troubles with the Equatorial Africa members were not enough, Air Afrique is having some troubles in West Africa.

The new radical spirit, mild as it is in some cases, is fast becoming contagious in the former French Union, and M. Foccart's empire seems to be crumbling as fast as De Gaulle's Franco-African Community disappeared. We in this part of the world note with satisfaction the fact that independence is gradually becoming less nominal and less unreal among our brothers, and that historical circumstances are yielding ground to more realistic geographical imperatives. May the good winds continue to blow—and a little faster too.

Letters

One Can Apportion Blame

SIR—In **L.O.** VIII/13 the editor, while commenting on the present state of the economy, turned to the usual "What Went Wrong" ritual namely, that the C.P.P. government fell because of . . . prodigality, mismanagement, looting, etc.

Admittedly, the regime made mistakes. And, in the interest of the state, a critical study of the past as a guide to qualitative performance becomes a necessary national exercise. In doing so, however, objectivity needs to be seen as a crucial criterion.

One, therefore, would have thought that the editorial could be fair in its criticism of the C.P.P. regime. But in the issue in question, one easily finds strong bias at work. The editor writes: (i) our economic misery **started** with the C.P.P. regime . . . (ii) the economy **collapsed** between 1961 and 1965 . . . (iii) no one can blame the N.L.C., P.P., N.R.C for the economic misery even though each of them is a contributor to its political discomfiture and economic misery.

This is sheer distortion of facts. First, the economic misery of Ghana, like any other exploited economy, **started** with colonial policies and practice but not by the regime immediately succeeding colonial rule. In any

case, being a party to the worsening of the misery, as blamed on the C.P.P., is not the same thing as starting it.

Secondly, even though the use of the foreign exchange reserves by the C.P.P. regime remains a controversial talking point, one needs to see reserves as not the economy itself but a part of the economy. Thus, while it is possible to identify abuses in one sector, as alleged in the reserves utilisation by the C.P.P. government, it is unfair to say that sectoral collapse, e.g. of reserves, necessarily means collapse of the economy. The Ghanaian economy never collapsed between 1961 and 1965 as the editor would like readers to believe. However, to say this is not to absolve the C.P.P. government from blame in whatever reckless way it might have contributed to the drying up of reserves.

Thirdly, it is illogical to blame one regime of the country for economic abuses and to assert thereafter that, because that regime began the abuses, no one can blame other regimes namely, N.L.C., P.P., N.R.C., even if any of them, as the same editor puts it, contributes to the economic misery.

The fact that the economy suffered a severe jolt under the C.P.P. does not exenorate post-C.P.P. regimes from contributing to the worsening of the economic misery.

P.O. Box 7 **Ben Adjei**
U.S.T.
Kumasi

Give Us Some More

SIR—It is gratifying to note that the officers and men of the Ghana Army are showing both by words and deeds that they are prepared to alter their conventional role and to take upon themselves more responsibilities which may prove more directly beneficial to the country. When maladministration, corruption and other allied evils characteristic of our politicians spurred them on to assert that they are also capable of ruling, they declared a war on the economy and spread their wings over many departments, corporations and other state establishments. Military officers were seconded or posted to occupy the managerial and supervisory positions of these establishments in order to infuse military efficiency into them.

Also, many malpractices which had been sagging our economy—import licensing deals, over-invoicing and under-invoicing among others—were unearthed with military zeal. Again, crucial economic decisions with a nationalist bias have since been taken in an effort to give Ghanaians control of the commanding heights of their economy. These are no mean achievements.

One area, however, at which the Army could spread their vision further is in the field of physical development. The plight of Ghana like all developing countries calls for the efficient deployment and utilisation of all available manpower and resources. It also calls for maximum returns on government spending and avoidance of wastage.

The country badly needs the skills of the Army to propel its development efforts. If the Army have decided to play a new role in our nation building, it must let its unique qualities of leadership, supervision and other technical skills permeat all our national endeavours. The Army participated in the sugar-cane harvesting at Asutsuare and Komenda. They are also taking part in the construction of Dawhenya Irrigation Canals. In all these projects, it seems the revolutionary zeal of our soldiers is second only to that of our students who have become the pace-setters. One expects the Army to set the pace in the economic war by using its potential and unbounded energy in more physical developments: in regularly constructing dams, canals, feeder roads, bridges etc.

A revolution necessitates the use of methods other than traditional ones to solve intractable problems. The Armed Forces have given indications that they are prepared to bless the country with their manpower. Our only wish is that the scope of such laudable and novel steps could be widened to embrace more fields.

c/o P. O. Box 1957 **J. Kwantwi Adarkwa**
Accra.

Limestone Deposits at Nawule

SIR—Judging from newspaper articles, I have gained the impression that one of the problems confronting the government in arriving at a decision as to whether or not the limestone deposits at Nawule (Western Region) should be exploited for clinker to feed our cement factories is the immense cost of constructing a port and a railway line or a very durable road for the transportation of the clinker to the cement factories.

As a way out, and to accelerate work on the exploitation of the deposits, I am suggesting that serious consideration be given to the possibility of dismantling the machines at the Takoradi Cement Factory and installing them at a point very near Nawule so that whatever clinker is mined can be processed on the spot and the cement conveyed on the existing trunk road which will only need to be macadamized solidly enough to take the weight of heavy trucks.

Even from my layman's calculation, I am sure the cost involved in dismantling the machines at Takoradi and assembling them at Nawule will be less than the construction of a port, which seems to be one of the contributory factors holding up work on the exploitation.

Those who have never visited the area are bound to ask about such amenities as housing, health facilities and sources of leisure. The question of accommodation can be adequately taken care of by towns and villages like Half Assini, Bonyere and Tikobo where all types of houses commensurate with a decent standard of living are easy to come by. The distance between Nawule and these areas is less than six miles at the farthest point. Health needs will be taken care of by the Half Assini Hospital (expected to be opened shortly), Tikobo Health Centre and Ekpu Clinic. There is the Catholic Hospital at Eikwe which, in case of congestion at Half Assini,. can come in handy to alleviate any suffering. Transportation between Half Assini and Takoradi or Tarkwa does not pose any problem because mammy trucks, "bone-shakers", mini-buses and other types of vehicle ply these routes from dawn to dusk.. Once the project is started, the State Transport Corporation, it is anicipated, will eventually agree to put one or two of its buses on the route from Axim to Half Assini. All other amenities that presently are non-existent are sure to spring up with the influx of workers certain to drift to the mine.

It is, therefore, seriously suggested to the N.R.C. to look into the feasibility of this proposal. This suggestion is being made in the supreme interest of all Ghanaians who need cement for development projects and, in

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particular, the people of the Western Region who daily wait to hear news about the government's final de-ments have overlooked this project, the N.R.C. can cision to embark upon the project. If successive govern-be expected to be bold enough to face it.

North Labone **A. J. Kwofie**
Accra

Social Security Benefits

SIR—Important as the Social Security Scheme is to workers, it appears that the very establishment charged with safeguarding workers' contributions, namely, the National Insurance Trust and Social Security, is itself not very sure about the efficiency of its staff in carrying out this responsiblity.

On the certificate of membership issued to contributors one reads the following note of warning, or is it advice? "**Important**—Keep this card safely and show it to a new employer. If you do not do so, your contributions **may go to someone else** (Emphasis mine) . . ."

One would normally expect the Chief Administrator of the Fund to ensure the safety of all contributions even if beneficiaries fail to produce enough evidence to support their claims. Why, in the name of Adam, should anybody's contributions "go to someone else"? And if, by any chance, a worker's contributions should find their way into someone else's pocket or account, must the fault lie with the worker? No, it does not make sense to me.

Already, we are not so sure whether we shall enjoy our benefits lying speechless in six-foot coffins in the ground or at a time when, still alive and kicking, we could utilise them to the advantage of ourselves and our de-pendants. The "important" note should make us even more doubtful of our fate under the scheme.

Perhaps, I have got it all wrong, but allegations per-sist that, through various tricks contrived by them, cer-tain clerks employed to work on the scheme have been enjoying the contributions more than the workers them-selves, especially the illiterate ones. For this reason, the Chief Administrator must convince the public that he and his staff can be trusted to exercise effective con-trol over all monies that come to them under the scheme. This way workers would be relieved that they are not being cheated of their hard-earned cedis and pesewas.

Ghana Railway & Ports Authority **E. K. Sarpey**
P.O. Box 251
Takoradi

Rotten Meat, Soaked Sugar and All That

SIR—Major R. J. A. Felli, Commissioner for Trade and Tourism who is also a member of the N.R.C. is report-ed to have expressed "deep concern" about the 24,149-pound weight of fresh meat alleged to have got rotten at Bolgatanga. (see **Daily Graphic** 21/7/73). The Com-missioner is further reported to have called for an "immediate detailed report" on the rotten meat.

It will be recalled that in March this year it was reported that 5,000 cartons of sardines costing over C75,000 were found rotten on board a ship which deli-vered them. Again in April, 33,334 cartons of canned "Geisha" mackerel worth nearly C400,000 were also delivered by a foreign firm in a rotten state. Then quite recently 20,000 bags of granulated sugar,, worth C300,000, imported by the government were found to be completely soaked with sea water on board a foreign ship at Tema Harbour.

In our present predicament it seems to the present writer unimportant whether or not the rotten and soaked commodities were ordered by the government. The significant point involved here is that substantial foreign exchange has gone down the drain!

Incredible as it may appear, a worker who goes to work five minutes late is termed an enemy of the revo-lution and might be drilled publicly; if he loses his head and stages a demonstration either to back up his demand for higher pay or decent conditions of work and in the process damages state property, however trivial, he faces death by firing squad under the N.R.C.D. 90. But it appears that nobody has as yet found anything wrong with these rotten and soaked things, worth about C800,000! I say this because these reports are being made with disturbing frequency. I am of the opinion that the revolution must be beaten into certain people at the top who appear to be completely indifferent to, or simply unaware of, the plight of us—suffering ordinary people in the land.

Like Major Felli, most people are deeply concerned about the situation which is almost desperate. But all told, what is beating the understanding of those outside the corridors of power is: why all those lapses, care-lessness, negligence or deliberate acts of sabotage under the noses of the soldier bosses who have been seconded to some of the establishments concerned? Someone somewhere does not appear to be doing his homework.

Commonwealth Hall **Obeng-Manu**
Legon

Who Wants Civilian Rule Now?

SIR—The editorial of your seventh anniversary issue highlighted some of the burning issues and problems which beset Africa and Ghana in particular. Your objectivity in the editorial in question calls for total commendation but I would like to take issue with a particular portion of it which tasks the mind of some Ghanaians. And I quote the relevant portion:

> ". . . Others are insisting that nothing short of an early return to full civilian rule would do to rid the present military group of their unequal burden and remove all the anomalies inherent in government that is NOT based on popular consent."

One would like to know the anomalies inherent in a military regime vis-a-vis a civilian one in the African context. Mr. Editor, who are those "others" who are demanding civilian rule soon? Was it not this very rash demand for an early return to civilian rule by Busia and his group which precipitated the country into crass chaos? We should not forget the dangers such a demand is fraught with. Tribalism is bound to rear its ugly head again once party politics is hastily ushered in. Realistically, is the problem so acute during a military regime? Tribal sentiments are smouldering and are yet to be effectively contained; therefore any hasty return to civilian rule will fan it to life again if not force it to bare its fangs.

It beats my imagination to reason out why we are inclined to think that soldiers should not participate in ruling the country. Are contemporary military re-gimes not making any headway? I do not subscribe to that idea or belief argued out always by exponents and

worshippers of party politics that politics is a God-given civilian right. The N.R.C. should stay on for some time and accomplish the task of resuscitating the economy which has been bogged down in the quaqmire of dubious debts, economic instability and social unrest which the civilian regimes are responsible for. Now that the economy seems to be booming by leaps and bounds the politicians are coming out again to foist upon us a hasty and a corrupt regime. It would come as no surprise to see the social, economic and political wheel to which we have put our shoulders and which is gathering momentum to reach the commanding heights come tottering back to the base again.

In spite of the foregoing facts one is in agreement with and fully endorses the unavoidable need for civilian consultative participation in the process of governing. After all Ghana is for all of us irrespective of our individual or professional calling.

P.O. Box 1496 **Kwabla Senyo**
Kumasi

Stealing at the Ports

SIR—The rate at which "looting" of importers' consignments is going on at the various sheds at Tema Harbour must now be viewed with concern by the responsible authorities and drastic action taken to stop it.

On the 19th of June, we went to shed 8 to collect our consignments of cutlery, flashlights and other goods. Two cases of the cutlery each containing 100 dozen had been broken, one left with 20 dozen and another with 15 dozen. In our presence a worker who did not know that we were the consignees, started to steal more of the cutlery, hiding them in his clothing. When challenged by us he became impudent, so he had a good beating from my partner, and we forcibly retrieved the stolen cutlery from him. This obviously drew other workers in the shed including the so-called security men to the scene, but they just looked on without any censure.

I believe the reason why this has been going on is that it is a collusion between all workers in the sheds, both high and low; for often when thieves are challenged they retort that so long as the goods remain in the sheds they have the right to do what they like with them, as the Insurance Company will pay.

It is not possible to catalogue all the losses that these workers of the sheds are inflicting on importers in these days of high prices and which the responsible authorities are helpless in checking.

I suggest the following remedy: (1) Military men should police the sheds instead of the shed security men, and workers thoroughly searched before leaving the sheds: (2) a consignee who finds his consignments in such state as we found ours must report immediately to the appropriate quarters for inspection and if the offence is established, the whole shed staff should be sacked.

Surely this is a challenge to the authorities to show "where power lies" and ensure the protection of imported goods.

House No. F761/2 **Oko Laryea**
Osu, Accra

On Military Training

SIR—Reading Mr. S. Boafo Akuffo's letter in your issue **L.O.** VIII/14 of 13th July 1973, it is surprising that there should be many logical flaws in his argument attacking university students for their supposed opposition to military training.

He commends military training because many great world leaders had such training. It may be pointed out that there are likewise many irresponsible people around who are supposed to have had military training. And what basis is there for his allegation that the university student opposes military training because he "cannot extricate himself from the fantasy of unbridled intellectualism'?'

Your correspondent ends his letter by prescribing to the university student not only military training but ideological training as well. It has become common to attribute many of our problems to lack of discipline among university students as if only they constitute the population of this country.

If the university student needs military training, then the worker of the type described in the same issue of the **Observer** under "Work Habits in Ghana", certainly needs it more!

P.O. Box A140 **B. Akuete Gogo**
Labadi-Accra

The Massacres in Burundi

SIR—In the July 23 issue of **Time** President Micombero of Burundi is reported to have told an interviewer that "there is nothing like **ethnic** majority: we have only political majority". This was in answer to the reported massacre of the majority Hutus (3 million) by their traditional overlords the Tsutsis (600,000).

Well, if this is true, how do we Africans reconcile this statement with the South African and Rhodesian situations? Is there any double standard in "democracy" and "freedom"? If 'dog' eat 'dog' it's O.K., but if 'wolf' eat 'dog' it's bad!

This is an example of the injustices a Mr. Adu referred to in his letter (**L.O.** VIII/14). The slaughter of the Hutus has been going on for years and no African has dared to mention it either at the O.A.U. or U.N.O. because it is an "internal" affair.

It is sometimes sad and amusing to hear the so-called progressives shouting themselves hoarse about relatively trivial matters like the trial of Angela Davies in far-away America while under our noses far worse things happen. On what premise do we howl against these things if we do the same thing?

As Mr. Adu said in his letter, charity begins at home.

Language Centre **C. K. Mintah**
Legon

School Holidays

SIR—There is no doubt that students need to recreate their minds after each term's mental exhaustion on their books. But considering the length of their holidays, one doubts whether these holidays are too far above the needs of students, especially those in the elementary and secondary schools. In the 1972/73 academic year, for example, students in most schools had not less than 137 days for holidays. This long vacation alone comprises 86 days or so. The Ministry of Educa-

tion may have its reasons for granting very many days as holidays.

In my view more school days are needed for the secondary, technical and commercial schools and training colleges, where the students can endure longer periods of academic work, than for the elementary schools; and in the case of the latter I must still concede that their holidays in a year are too many.

If the three school terms should have 40 or more weeks (instead of 33 weeks) among them many teachers will be able to cover a far greater part of their syllabuses before the end of the academic year. It must also be borne in mind that within each term some public or religious holidays occur and that a week in each term is devoted to terminal examinations, so that effective teaching weeks for a term may turn out to be only about eight.

After all, if I may ask, do our students of the secondary school category need as many as 19 weeks holidays in a year? During holidays a few of them may be usefully engaged by their parents, and a few others may be giving a helping hand in self-help projects. But what happens to the remaining lot? They more or less float about in idleness and are very susceptible to mischief.

Since many of our students have not acquired proper reading habits they hardly visit public libraries to read. There are some who very much love reading and yet there are no opportunities for them to do so—no family library let alone a public one. The school is the only reading place for such students. So that with very long vacations, those in the lower forms return to school almost 'illiterate' and have to re-learn the previous year's work. You can imagine the difficulties both the students and teachers have been grappling with.

Bawku Secondary School **B. J. L. Kumasi**
P.O. Box 50
Bawku, U.R.

Viewpoint

CLEAR COURSE FOR GHANA

By
M. Kofi Ben-Jib
(Chemistry Department Office, Legon)

MANY post-mortem examiners of the causes of the downfall of the previous governments of Ghana found in their diagnoses that lack of tolerance was one of the major disabilities. That is to say, most of the politicians would simply not tolerate criticism, whether constructive or otherwise; thus, any critic of the government was branded a detractor. The consequences of such disability have contributed immensely to what Ghanaians witness today.

Since the N.R.C. took over the administration of this country, many individuals have had occasion to overtly express their disapproval of some government activities. This has been possible because the government recognizes freedom of speech. This freedom has been granted because, as a human institution which is not incapable of making mistakes, the N.R.C. regime would like to know the feelings or reactions of the ruled towards its activities. But one is yet to be convinced about how seriously the government accepts the views of the publi

In analysing the causes of Kwame Nkrumah's failur to achieve any economic success for Ghana, it was gla ringly seen that while his counterparts engaged them selves in building their own nations with the limite resources at their disposal, "radical and dynamic Nkru mah committed his country to the liberation of th whole continent of Africa", as one reviewer put it. Th his ambition was a highly laudable one is indisputabl except that he ignored the sufferings of the very peopl whose welfare he was in duty bound to seek by virtu of his position as the President of Ghana. The resu has been the almost unbearable circumstances in whic Ghanaians find themselves today.

Some of the recent activities of the N.R.C. appe to be reviving Nkrumah's policies. The N.R.C. regim which has promised sincerely to redeem Ghanaian from their woes, appears more inclined towards "th total liberation of the continent of Africa"—a polic which has done much harm to our situation at hom In short, Ghana is once more being looked up to fo leadership in the emancipation of Africa. For the pa few months we have had to host numerous Africa conferences; in one particular week, two were bein held simultaneously in Accra. Ghana has taken upo herself the unsolicited favour of re-naming some of he major streets after other African nationals. While man other African states are finding it difficult (or rathe reluctant?) to pay their O.A.U. dues, Ghana is believe to have paid hers up to date and even to have increase her contribution to the liberation struggle fund. Bu in spite of this ostentation on the continental scen her "domestic front" has not significantly changed to an better than what it was yesterday.

Ghana's Counterparts

When one reflects on this situation, one is tempt to ask whether the salvation of Africa lies ONLY Ghana? An imprudent observer might argue that would be an unparalleled honour for Ghana to redee the whole of Africa. Yes, but this salvation should n be at the perpetual expense of Ghanaians. One wou also ask why our leaders don't limit their concern (least for the time being) to the plight of the avera Ghanaian; why they don't carefully watch the ways their counterparts towards the African cause, befo plunging into it any further?

Houphouet-Boigny's Ivory Coast, whose independen was granted in 1960, three good years after Ghana today enjoys an enviably stabilized economy whi makes her people live in a land of plenty. This is simp because foreign policy to Houphouet-Boigny is of condary consideration, for Ivory Coast is "in no positi to look after the rest of the continent". His policy w and has remained, Ivory Coast first, Africa seco Such a policy is, I have no doubt, what many Ghanai are clamouring for now, in view of the lethargic a tude of some of our sister nations towards the Afri cause, and also in view of the hardships of the ordin Ghanaian, which are becoming protracted. Yes, Gh has "done some"; other nations should be allowed take over.

Recently, at a dinner-party in his honour, the Nigerian High Commisioner to Ghana, Mr. G. O. were, was reported as saying that "Ghana has so thing to offer to the whole of Africa". I would like ask whether **Nigeria** has nothing to offer to mo

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Africa instead. It is high time our sister nations learnt to appreciate Ghana's contribution to the cause of Africa and stopped demanding more from her, because any further demand is a request for Ghanaian blood. I hope our gallant soldiers would not be flattered by such diplomatic utterances, to the extent of allowing Ghana to be used as a means towards the achievement of African unity while her neighbours concern themselves with the development of their own countries.

In spite of the temporary setback in her economy as a result of the civil war, Nigeria is today far more prosperous economically than Ghana. At the moment, the Nigerian currency, the naira, is one of the strongest anywhere in the world: yet Ghana deems it proper to contribute more to the O.A.U. fund than Nigeria does. While world powers are competing to purchase Nigerian crude oil, which is abundantly on the increase, the selling price of Ghana's cocoa is still being controlled by the consumers. Britain has even gone to great length to get General Gowon to be her state guest, no doubt as a means of winning his favour, an indication of how buoyant the economy of Nigeria is expected to be in no distant future.

But wherein lies Ghana's hope of a buoyant economy, even in the distant future? Wherein lies the hope of a better standard of living of the ordinary Ghanaian in the near future? The answer, which is self-reliance, appears to have been engulfed by the various problems of the whole of Africa. The government appears to be trying to kill two birds at the same time with one stone, but such a policy is incompatible with the aspirations of the indigenous Ghanaian. The ordinary Ghanaian wants the N.R.C. to marry itself to the problems of Ghana first, and then those of Africa, possibly second. This is the covert policy which many of our sister countries have adopted. With Ivory Coast, this policy is overt; and it is cherished by all her nationals because it has proved effective and successful.

Unless the N.R.C. changes itself to "C.R.C." (Continental Redemption Council), the government should realize that it owes allegiance to Ghana first, and that the problems of this country should, at all cost, take precedence over those of Africa.

Review

AFRICAN RADIO

By

James Gibbs

WRITING radio plays has been a useful source of income and experience for many African writers during the last ten years. A play which is accepted by the B.B.C. African Service can bring its author over £100! Once a broadcasting service has been established, the production of plays is comparatively cheap and simple. Radio is also a vastly effective popular medium of communication; it can carry a writer's vision into the homes of both rich and quite poor throughout a nation or the continent.

Two events, the publication of **Nine African Plays for Radio** and the discussion of the winning plays in the B.B.C's second "Write a Play for Africa" Competition, prompt a comment on certain aspects of African radio drama. After a brief look at the two Ghanaian plays represented in the new collection, I shall consider possible link between radio drama and oral tradi in the work of Ama Ata Aidoo. In the second par this article I will describe some of Wole Soyinka's with radio, and briefly discuss his radio plays and comments on the state of African radio drama.

The B.B.C's first "African Theatre" production in December 1959, and since then it has transm approximately one play a month. Among those naian writers whose work has been presented are F Parkes, "Bill Marshall", Joe de Graft, Ama Ata Ai Derlene Clems and Patience Addo. In making thei lection for **Nine African Plays for Radio,** B.B.C. ducer Gwyneth Henderson and critic-teacher Co Pieterse chose works by the last two, **The Prisoner, Judge and the Jailer** by Clems, and **Company Po** Patience Addo.

The Prisoner, The Judge and The Jailer is a su tense, tightly controlled piece of writing. It is abo prisoner on the run who finds himself in a bus-sh during a heavy rainstorm with his jailer and the j who sentenced him. The setting is one which ca effectively realized in radio terms, and one which tributes the right kind of claustrophobia to the situa

In an apparently loose, but in fact acutely econom series of exchanges the events leading up to the priso crime and the identities of the three characters slowly revealed. My reservations about the play co on the dialogue, which is sometimes stifled and liter but despite this, the play is a competent piece of which effectively exploits, radio's capacity to c situation and mood, and to explore sensitive relations in great detail.

Blend of Traditions

In another radio play (not included in the collec entitled **The Big Boss Cometh,** Clems has worked wi the international comic tradition of mistaken identi the play is inevitably reminiscent of **The Governm Inspector**—while establishing a thoroughly convin and delightfully detailed Ghanaian setting. The c dence which Clems shows in these two very diffe genres reveals an encouraging versatility, and point his potential importance for the Ghanaian theatre.

Patience Addo's **Company Pot** is quite unlike the v discussed so far, an indication of the variety of Gh ian writing for radio. It draws on the tradition of Ghanaian "Concert Party", a unique and organic b of traditions, which Miss Addo has studied closely. might have thought, since a Concert Party perform depends for some of its effects on establishing a relat ship with a live audience, that it has little to offer ra But, as frequently happens in drama, one's expectat are confounded and the popular tradition's use of m and direct address to the audience transfer to radio tremely well.

The combination of the moral seriousness, vit and unselfconsciousness of the Concert Party tradi with the tight construction familiar from some E pean traditions creates an engaging new form. S writing **Company Pot,** Patience Addo has produced of her other plays, **Anansewa,** in Bristol. Based o traditional folk-tale, it shows the playwright's deter nation to explore ways of reconciling inherited, Gha ian forms with European media and traditions.

Perhaps the most important Ghanaian author who has worked for radio is Ama Ata Aidoo. **Two Sisters,** which appears in her collection of short stories, **No Sweetness Here,** was originally written for radio, and it contains a number of features, such as "a stream of consciousness" and authentic, slightly polished dialogue, which are, **inter alia,** frequently used in radio. Ama Ata Aidoo, as can be seen from the structure of **The Dilemma of a Ghost** and the origin of **Anowa**—it is based on a song her mother sang—is interested in establishing a link between oral traditions and written plays in English.

Radio can certainly help to keep the author conscious that he is working in an oral tradition, and help him to communicate with those who cannot read. Ama Ata Aidoo's stories draw strength from being close to traditional forms; this is most obvious in her dialogue, which is vivid and precise. It is tempting to suggest that she has been kept in touch with oral traditions by writing for radio, as well as by listening to her mother.

Despite its technological sophistication, the oral quality of radio makes it closer to the experience of rural Africans than, say, newspapers or novels. In the work of Clems, Addo and Aidoo specifically Ghanaian experiences, some of them directly related to oral traditions or Concert Parties and mother's songs are being presented with energy and honesty by the new story-teller the radio.

For The Record

Thursday, August 2

Teachers for Uganda

ABOUT 59 Ghanaian teachers who are due to leave for Kampala to teach in technical and secondary schools in Uganda, today attended a briefing course in Accra during which they were addresed by officials of the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Uganda High Commission. The teachers are going as a result of a technical, cultural and economic agreement signed between Ghana and Uganda in Kampala last month.

Logistics Committee Suspended

THE Logistics Committee has been suspended and a new body has been appointed to take over temporarily the distribution and sale of foreign foods and commodities. This was revealed today by sources close to the Ministry of Trade and Tourism.

Mr. Kwame Karikari, Head of the Special Action Unit, had disclosed in a television programme last Tuesday that the N.R.C. had decided that the distribution and sale of foreign foods and commodities should revert to the old system whereby governmental bodies and private commercial houses throughout the country could import the goods. Accordingly, import licences were being issued to the major commercial concerns including the G.N.T.C., U.A.C., U.T.C., C.F.A.O. G.B. Ollivant and specified indigenous commercial organisations to import goods.

Friday, August 3

New Pay For Workers

THE Government is actively considering proposals for awarding temporary salary increases to certain categories of employees in the lower income group. A statement issued from the office of the N.R.C., said that following a recent pronouncement by the Chairman of the N.R.C., the Government had decided to appoint the Prices and Incomes Board, representatives of the T.U.C., the Ghana Employers' Association and some co-opted distinguished citizens to carry out urgently a general review of salaries and wages.

Among the terms of reference of the appointed body are the following:

* To investigate remuneration and conditions of service of all grades of personnel in the Public Services including the Civil Service, the Teaching Service, the Police Service, the Prisons Service,, the Fire Service and Public Boards and Corporations, and to recommend what changes may be necessary.
* To investigate ways and means of bridging the gap between the lower and higher income groups and make appropriate recommendations.
* To recommend to Government methods of inducing school leavers to take to farming and allied activities instead of looking for clerical jobs.

Monday, August 6

More Meat Arrives

THE Ghana Cattle Development Board last week took delivery of about 200 tons of frozen meat from New Zealand. This was revealed today by Major George Tagoe, head of the military team in charge of distribution in Greater Accra, who called on all agents and butchers operating cold stores to come forward to help in the distribution of the meat.

He said that unless the butchers helped in the distribution, the meat might not only go bad but might not reach the destinations where it was needed. He added that the meat situation would soon be under control because the board had completed studies into the causes of the present meat shortages in the country.

Tuesday, August 7

Housing Loan for Civil Servants

A press statement isued today by the Offices of the N.R.C. said that the Government had approved a loan scheme for civil servants to enable them build their own houses. The scheme will be handled by the newly established Bank for Housing and Construction and will provide for the granting of loans ranging from C15,000 to C40,000 at an interest rate of five and a half per cent and repayable over a maximum period of 15 years.

Acording to the statement the actual amount of the loan to be granted in each case will depend on the applicant's personal circumstances; and the monthly instalment to be repaid will be fixed at a maximum of 15 per cent and a minimum of 10 per cent of the civil servant's gross emoluments; the statement added that the actual instalment would increase with the officer's promotions and increments.

To qualify for a loan under the scheme, the officer should have served for a minimum period of five years and the loan advance will not exceed 75 per cent of the frozen entitlements of the officer as at December 31, 1971.

As security for the loan, sufficient proof should be given that the officer has a building plot at a suitable location, or else, enjoys officer's entitlements under the Social Security Fund. Further, all officers who receive loans will have to take a mortgage protection policy with the State Insurance Corporation.



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by State Express

Get the taste

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Editorial

COMMONWEALTH: MYTH AND REALITY

As any keen observer of the Commonwealth over the last decade would have noticed, Britain's present role and stand could hardly be foretold about ten years ago. There was a time when Commonwealth interests meant something to Britain: a time when one could realistically speak of Commonwealth pressure, and when Commonwealth solidarity was of some concern to Britain.

It was in part this concern that made going into Europe difficult for Britain in the initial stages of the Treaty of Rome; Harold Macmillan found some of the terms and conditions of entry unacceptable to some Commonwealth members. Commonwealth pressure at that time carried some weight with Britain. It was this type of pressure to which Britain bowed in agreeing to the expulsion of South Africa from the association in 1961. Basically, Britain's concern in the early '60s was to keep the Commonwealth from disintegrating. The British Empire was being transformed into the Commonwealth, and Britain had an interest in maintaining the links as a way of retaining a post-imperial aura. British statesmen believed then, rightly or wrongly, that the institution of the Commonwealth gave Britain some prestige and standing in the world.

By the late 1960's and early 1970's it was becoming increasingly clear that the real basis of Britain's power and prestige in the future would lie in new arrangements for British trade. British statesmen had come to the conclusion that their national survival depended on new arrangements which lay outside the Commonwealth and on the continent of Europe. Consequently in the last few years British policies have become more self-centred, displaying alongside a pronounced European orientation only a mild regard for Commonwealth concerns.

This new orientation was clearly manifested by Mr. Edward Heath at the Commonwealth leaders' conference in Singapore in 1971. There Mr. Heath let it be known that under his leadership Britain was going to consult her own interests, regardless of consequences for the Commonwealth. In the abrasive manner which has come to characterise his public pronouncements, Mr. Heath said bluntly that in deciding on her best interests, Britain was "not going to be pushed around". And this attitude was hardly surprising, coming from this quarter. It must be remembered that it was Mr. Heath as Lord Privy Seal who started negotiations for Britain's entry into the Common Market, and it is under him as

Prime Minister that Britain has entered Europe. It must be obvious to all that both by real calculation and by inclination, Mr. Heath and people like him have no particular enthusiasm for the Commonwealth, and the earlier African leaders took note of this the better.

Mr. Heath's attitude at the last conference of Commonwealth leaders in Ottawa provided little comfort to those who still have some confidence in the organisation. Apart from the Rhodesian affair and, perhaps, the French nuclear tests in the Pacific, there were no really explosive issues. But what was keeping everybody on tenter-hooks was over what issue Mr. Heath was going to explode: the expulsion of Asians from Uganda, the question of Rhodesia, or even whether Mr. Heath was going to last the whole course of the conference at all, or skip to Cowes to his "Morning Cloud" for the Fastnet Races. In the face of these subtle threats no efforts were spared to placate Mr. Heath, and the result is that after patting one another on the back, the leaders dispersed with everybody appeased but nothing achieved.

As far as the African leaders of the Commonwealth are concerned, the single issue most capable of stirring the deepest emotions is Rhodesia, which Britain claims to be her responsibility. And yet when proposals on the subject were made, Mr. Heath defiantly retorted that he would not be told how Britain should discharge her responsibility. Despite the support that the African leaders got from their counterparts in the "white Commonwealth", the conference came out with a vague communique which does not commit Britain to any change of policy and which is therefore acclaimed by British officials as a considerable victory for Mr. Heath.

What is plain from all this is that Europe-oriented Britain is unresponsive to the old style of Commonwealth pressure; it is therefore imperative for Africans to change their attitudes towards Britain as the senior partner in the Commonwealth. This, of course, is not to say that we should sever all links with Britain. It is still possible to draw on what is left of Britain's goodwill in matters like Common Market negotiations, where Britain's own interests are not essentially in conflict with African interests. Mr. Heath himself gave this undertaking in Singapore and has reiterated it in Ottawa. **The Times** of London reported in its 15th August issue a bold stand taken by Sir Christopher Soames, the European Commissioner responsible for external relations, in defence of the interests of sugar producers in the developing Commonwealth countries whose economies are dependent on the European market, against the strictures of the French Minister of Agriculture. This must be seen as a fulfilment that promise of support.

But whatever use we can make of Britai goodwill must be governed by the ordinary ru of trade relations and diplomacy, based on reali and hard-headed bargaining. What this means that we have to adjust our thinking and o orientation by shedding certain emotional attitud and habits which Britain's present position a concerns have rendered rather pointless. Such reappraisal is particularly useful at this time wh francophone African countries are also rethinki their relationships with, and dependence o France. It is high time we in Africa abandoned t emotional attachment to fruitless imperial myth with all their humiliating paternalism and patr nising, and squarely faced the harsh realities of t contemporary world of hard-headed busine and national self-interest.

It is this new realism, and only this, that w strengthen the moves being made by Africans approach the enlarged European communit and provide the basis for a mature approach the problems of the African continent.

Law and Society

"NO COURT!"

By
Legal Correspondent

IN the Matter of the Republic v the Presider Military Tribunal, Ex Parte G. K. A. Ofosu-Amaa and Charles Adu-Boateng, Mr. Justice Abban rule on a preliminary objection, that a Milita Tribunal is an inferior court and that therefo the High Court has supervisory jurisdiction ov it. For some reason the national newspapers d not report this ruling in spite of antecedent pu licity they had given to the proceedings.

Later Mr. Justice Abban refused to grant t application for an order of **certiorari** to t Military Tribunal, and the applicants' appe from his decision is now pending before the Cou of Appeal.

About three weeks ago the N.R.C. publishe the Subversion (Amendment) (No. 2) Decre 1973, N.R.C.D. 191, to exclude the supervisor jurisdiction of the Superior Courts over Milita Tribunals established under Section 4 of th Subversion Decree (N.R.C.D. 90). Becau of the importance of this Decree we quote it in fu It provides that

BE RIGHT ON TOP





with

TATA PILSENER BEER



> No Court shall entertain any action or proceedings whatsoever for the purpose of questioning any decision, judgment, findings, order or proceedings of any Military Tribunal convened under this section (Section 4 of N.R.C.D. 90); and for the removal of doubts, no Court shall entertain any application for an order or writ in the nature of habeas corpus, certiorari, mandamus, prohibition or quo warranto in respect of any decision, judgment, findings, order or proceedings of any such tribunal.

The scope of this short decree is wide indeed, but it is not unique in the history of the common law. On several occasions in England, as well as in many other common law jurisdictions, the supervisory jurisdiction of the courts has been excluded or restricted by statute in matters to which the acts related; but these were mainly non-criminal matters. S.20 of the Courts Act, 1971 (Act 372), passed by the parliament of the Second Republic also sought to exclude the supervisory jurisdiction of the High Court over military courts and tribunals, but, as Mr. Justice Abban held in **Ex parte Ofosu-Amaah,** that provision was of no effect since it was incompatible with Act. 114 of the constitution which is still in force.

Why the Difference?

Although N.R.C.D. 191 is not unique, it raises several questions which the government should consider. N.R.C.D. 191 does not exclude the supervisory jurisdiction of the High Court over all military tribunals — only over tribunals established under N.R.C.D. 90 to try cases of subversion. Thus a person tried by an ordinary general court-martial can appeal and can apply for a prerogative writ to protect his interests. Both tribunals are military tribunals under the Armed Forces Act, 1962 (Act 105), except that an ordinary general court-martial cannot try persons not subject to military discipline.

But if, say, a soldier is charged with mutiny and is tried by an ordinary court-martial, he can appeal to the Court-Martial of Appeal and seek the protection of the High Court against, for instance, excess of jurisdiction or infringements of the principles of natural justice. If he is tried by a tribunal under N.R.C.D. 90 he does not have any such rights. Why should there be any such difference?

The jurisdiction of tribunals established under N.R.C.D. 90 is in most cases concurrent with those of the High Court, a Circuit Court, or a District Court. S.4(2) of N.R.C.D. 90 provides that where any person does any act which constitutes an offence under the decree, as well as under any enactment, the Attorney-General may direct in writing that he shall be proceeded against and tried under the other enactment and such direction shall have effect accordingly. Thus if a person commits an act which could be treason under the Criminal Code the Attorney-General can direct that he should be tried by the High Court in which case he will be tried by the High Court constituted by three judges, with the right to appeal to the full Bench of the Court of Appeal constituted by five judges. If he is tried under N.R.C.D. 90, he will have no right of appeal.

Again a person charged with stealing cocoa, diamond or gold can, on the direction of the Attorney-General, be tried by the High Court, a Circuit Court or District Court. In all these cases he can appeal to the highest court in the country, and if he is tried by a Circuit Court or a District Court, the High Court can exercise supervisory jurisdiction over it. If he is tried under N.R.C.D. 90 he has no such rights.

Victim Has No Remedy

Except where an offence is capital both under N.R.C.D. 90 and under the Criminal Code, a person tried under N.R.C.D. 90 stands in greater danger of a long sentence. The minimum sentence for a non-capital offence under N.R.C.D. 90, e.g. stealing funds intended for the purchase of cocoa, is fifteen years and the maximum thirty years. If he is tried by an ordinary court under the Criminal Code the maximum sentence is 25 years imprisonment, and the court can impose any sentence commensurate with the gravity of the offence. This may be a fine, a day's imprisonment, some years imprisonment, but not more than 25 years. Yet the person who is in danger of a severe minimum sentence has no right of appeal and no right to seek the protection of the High Court.

Under N.R.C.D. 191 a military tribunal established under N.R.C.D. 90 can do anything without any judicial censure. It can wrongly detain anybody because **habeas corpus** does not lie; exceed or abuse its powers or infringe the principles of natural justice because **certiorari** or prohibition does not lie; refuse to do what it is bound to do because **mandamus** does not lie; or apply the wrong law, convict on insufficient evidence, exclude the rules of procedure or of evidence because an appeal does not lie to a higher court. Under it there can be an arrest, trial in camera (or no trial at all), and execution within a matter of a few minutes or hours; and the poor victim has no remedy. It is irrelevant that a sentence of a military tribunal is subject to confirmation

y the appointing authority; for much damage ould have been done already.

Certain unfavourable inferences can be drawn nd propagated by the enemies of the N.R.C.: 1) That the N.R.C. consider military tribunals stablished under N.R.C.D. 90 to be infallible nd that therefore it is a nuisance for their decisions nd proceedings to be questioned; or, conversely, hat the N.R.C. think these tribunals can err so adly that it will be embarrassing to have their nistakes exposed; (2) that because the N.R.C. annot trust the High Court or the Court of Appeal to uphold everything that is done by military tribunals established under N.R.C.D. 90 they do not want the courts to scrutinise the decisions and proceedings of the military tribunals; that the N.R.C. predetermine the guilt of those charged before the military tribunals and want them to be convicted at all costs, hence that the N.R.C. have removed the long-established safeguards which are intended to ensure the fair trial of those who stand in danger of losing their lives or liberty.

These impressions may not be fair. But if people draw them the N.R.C. should blame themselves for having passed N.R.C.D. 191. Was it necessary?

Finally, considering the consequences that may flow from a trial under N.R.C.D. 90 it is important to ask on what basis the Attorney-General decides that a case should be tried under N.R.C.D. 90 rather than under, say, the Criminal Code, and vice-versa.

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ALWAYS

Politics

SOME TRENDS IN CRIMINAL LEGISLATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

By

Kwame Afreh

(This is the first of a series of articles on some trends in criminal legislation in this country since independence.

These articles, I hope, will show how governments in this country, in their determination to remain in power at all cost, systematically set about to destroy the liberties of the individual; how opposition parties were destroyed and their leaders subjected to imprisonment, harassment and deprivation; how independent or dissenting opinions were suppressed or muted; and how Ghanaians live in fear, apathy and lethargy, instead of in freedom and justice.

In this first article, I give a brief historical sketch of how this came about. In subsequent ones I intend to deal with some values of criminal justice which were seriously undermined or destroyed by the spate of repressive penal statutes passed since 1957.)

PART I — FREEDOM LOST: 1959-66

All the three constitutions we have had since independence contained high sounding provisions guaranteeing fundamental liberties. Thus Art. 1 of the 1960 1st Republican constitution proclaimed that the powers of the state derived from the people, by whom certain of those powers were conferred on the institutions established by the constitution. The same article entrenched the principle of "one man, one vote". Under Article 13 the President, immediately after his assumption of office, was enjoined to solemnly declare before the people, **inter alia,**

> That no person should suffer discrimination on grounds of sex, race, tribe, religion or political belief... That subject to such restrictions as may be necessary for preserving public order, morality and health, no person should be deprived of freedom of religion or speech, of the right to move and assemble without hindrance or of the right of access to the courts.

The suspended constitution of the 2nd Republic contained similar provisions. Article 12 sums up the provisions of Part IV, on the liberty of the individual, by providing that

> Every person in Ghana shall be entitled to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual, that is to say, the right, whatever his race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex, but subject to respect

for the rights and freedoms of others and for the public interest, to each and all of the following, that is to say,

(*a*) life, liberty, security of the person, the protection of the law and unimpeded access to the courts of law; and

(*b*) freedom of conscience, of expression and of assembly and association; and

(*c*) protection for the privacy of his home, correspondence and other property, and from deprivation of property without compensation. . . .

Provisions solemnly entrenched in a constitution are expected to be respected, and all laws and all acts of the government should not be incompatible in letter or spirit with such fundamental laws. And even if one only looked at the words of leaders and governments one would think they would do nothing contrary to the solemn declarations of constitutions they themselves either imposed or helped to enact.

One of the most passionate affirmations of faith in freedom was made by Kwame Nkrumah in Chapter 6, p. 50 of his book, **Africa Must Unite.** He wrote:

It is my deep conviction that all peoples wish to be free, and that the desire for freedom is rooted in the soul of every one of us. A people long subjected to foreign domination, however, does not always find it easy to translate that wish into action. Under arbitrary rule, people are apt to become lethargic; their senses are dulled. Fear becomes the dominant force in their lives; fear of breaking the law, fear of punitive measures which might result from an unsuccessful attempt to break loose from their shackles. Those who lead the struggle for freedom must break through this apathy and fear. They must give expression to the universal longing to be free. They must strengthen the people's faith in themselves, and encourage them to take part in the freedom struggle. . .

At the time Nkrumah wrote these words in 1963, hundreds of people were languishing in our prisons without trial because they dared to disagree with his regime; the fear of imprisonment and the ubiquitous Security Service and the Special Branch had reduced Ghanaians into painful silence; fear had become the dominant force in the lives of Ghanaians; and they had become lethargic, their senses dulled. And we have remained in this pathetic state since then. It is a long time since Ghanaians sang the Song of Freedom.

The N.L.C. which overthrew Nkrumah's regi told Ghanaians and the whole world that one a of their **coup d'etat** was to restore the lost freedo of Ghanaians. Although they eventually fulfil their promise by returning Ghana to civilian r under an elaborate democratic constitution, certa decrees passed and certain acts done by the maintained the fear and apathy which had be created under Nkrumah. Among such decre were N.L.C. D. 92 (Prohibition of Rumours);N.L. D. 93 (which strengthened the 28-day rule); N.L. D. 131 which created the new offence of subversi and for the first time made civilians amenable the jurisdiction of military tribunals, and seve **ex post facto** laws.

Dr. K. A. Busia was one of the foremost and mo persuasive advocates for democracy in Afric Yet he did not hesitate to shout "No court, court" when a decision of the Surpreme Court we against the government; to dissolve the T.U. when that organisation opposed some of h economic measures; or to ban any activities whi might lead to the revival of the C.P.P.

Telling the Facts?

On assuming power the N.R.C. accused t Busia regime of failure to honour the 1969 cons tution, e.g. by failing to appoint an Ombudsma by the arbitrary dismissal of public servants, a by interfering with the judiciary in many way At his first press conference on 17th January, 197 Col. Acheampong promised that the N.R.C. wou "endeavour at all times to tell the facts to th people of Ghana". It appeared that a new era freedom had dawned. Yet since then we have ha the Newspaper Licensing Decree, a Prohibition Rumours Decree, and an **ex post facto** Subversio Decree under which has been established milita tribunals whose decisions and conduct cannot b challenged.

All our governments have sought to justify th enactment of illiberal and repressive laws, on th grounds of national security. They have protest their abiding faith in freedom, but, so they claime they had no choice but to act strongly when th country was threatened by the machinations imperialists, subversive elements, criminals, econo mic saboteurs and counter-revolutionarie They always assured us that repressive laws passe to deal with particular situations were only tem porary and that as soon as the situation improve the laws would be repealed. But most of thes "temporary" laws have remained on our statut book, and if the past is any guide they will remai and more may be added.

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There has been a tendency in this country to resort to panicky, **ad hoc** solutions which have seriously undermined some of the most cherished values of our society, have largely rendered hollow the national motto of "Freedom and Justice", have created fear and apathy, and caused undue hardship to people. This "panic element" runs through many of the penal laws passed in this country since independence.

In 1958 the government passed the Preventive Detention Act. The ostensible aim of this notorious and obnoxious law was to enable the government to take decisive measures for the defence of the country and safeguard its security and its external relations. It however became a naked and brutal instrument of political suppression. No act did more harm to the liberties of Ghanaians than the P.D.A. The country has not recovered from the harm done. It created a new political atmosphere, wherein governments have ruled by threats and reprisals rather than with the co-operation and free participation of the people; engendered such bitterness that it is not likely that victims of the C.P.P. repression will ever be reconciled with the ex-members of that party; and created such apathy and fear that Ghanaians have since lost the will and the courage to criticise their governments, or to openly condemn injustices perpetrated by governments and public officers.

Laws Intended to Suppress

Legal purists may argue that the P.D.A. was not strictly speaking a penal statute since imprisonment under the act did not follow a conviction by a competent court. But in the minds of laymen it was the harshest "penal" statute ever passed by any government in this country.

Not content with this the Nkrumah regime passed other acts which were obviously intended to suppress opposition and any criticism of the government. In 1959, following the Granville Sharp Commission, the government announced its intention (1) to amend the law of treason; (2) to review the scale of punishments for sedition, and to bring the law of sedition in Ghana into line with modern requirements; (3) to amend the law which punishes the making of false statements; (4) to strengthen considerably the powers of the police to investigate crimes against the state; and (5) to enable the National Assembly to discipline its members, e.g. by expulsion. (An amendment to the P.D.A. in 1959 automatically disqualified any person detained under the P.D.A. from being a member of parliament, and deprived him of government pensions, etc.)

One of these laws, the law of treason, indeed needed revision. The law of treason in the Criminal Code Ordinance (Cap. 9 of the Gold Coast (Revision)) was based on the United Kingdom Treason laws of from 1351 to 1848. It was vague in many places and was based on concepts of allegiance which were not applicable in Ghana. But the law of sedition was adequate; perhaps more than adequate, to deal with any seditious behaviour.

The government carried out its intention by passing the Treason Act 1959, the Sedition Act 1959, Offences Against the State Act (False Reports) No.37 of 1959, and other laws which in the following year were incorporated into the new Criminal Code (Act 29), (see Ss. 180-185), or the Criminal Procedure Code.

A New Definition

On the whole the new law of treason was unobjectionable, except S.180 (1)(a) which provides that a person is guilty of treason who "prepares or endeavours to overthrow the Government by unlawful means". The nature of the unlawfulness is not defined or indicated. The word "unlawful" in criminal statutes is so vague that one eminent authority on Criminal Law, Dr. Glanville Williams has suggested that generally the best interpretation of it is that it is surplus and does not restrict the statutory definition of the **actus reus**. (Glanville Williams: **Criminal Law, The General Part,** pp.28-29). The new definition of treason in Art.20, Clause 16 of the Constitution of the 2nd Republic did not contain any such provision. Treason under this Article consists in levying war against Ghana, attempting by force of arms or other violent means to overthrow the organs of government and conspiring, participating in or inciting any such attempt.

In the case of sedition the objections are stronger. Before 1959 the maximum sentence for sedition was two years or ₵200.00 fine for a first offender. Under the new law the sentence is at least five years "unless the Court finds that the offence was trivial or that there are special circumstances relating to the offence or the offender which would render its application unjust"; and the maximum sentence under the 1959 Act, fifteen years, was now reduced to ten years. The new law also introduced a new type of seditious libel which the Court of Appeal (per Anin **J.S.C.** and Archer **J.A.**) in **Mensah Gyimah v the Republic** described as peculiar to Ghana. This peculiar seditious libel is now S.183 (11)(g) which provides that "an intention shall be taken to be seditious if it is an intention falsely to accuse any public officer of misconduct in the exercise of his official duties, know

ng the accusation to be false or reckless whether t be true or false".

Against this peculiar seditious libel, Mr. Justice Archer, in the above-mentioned case, felt compelled "to emit a short sharp yell of protest.... Suppose a writer falsely accuses a post office sorter of having tampered with a registered parcel, the writer, as the law stands, can be prosecuted under Section 183 (11)(g) because the sorter is a public officer and the false allegation alleges misconduct on the part of the sorter. When one is compelled to ask what is the element of sedition in the false publication, no one can tell except that the court will be told that the code says it is seditious. I think it is the duty of the courts to point out such absurdities in the definition of statutory offences which tend to prostitute the language".

The Dire Implications

The law does indeed prostitute the English language. Sedition is an offence against public order, such as advocating the desirability of overthrowing the government by unlawful means, bringing the government into hatred or contempt, or exciting disaffection against it, raising discontent or disaffection among the people of Ghana, or promoting ill-will or hostility between different classes of the population of Ghana. It is difficult to see how an allegation against a public officer can be seditious, however false the allegation may be. Such an allegation may be defamatory, for which the public officer concerned can claim damages, or bring or cause a prosecution under S.112, under which, if the libel is negligent, the maximum punishment is ₵200; or if it is intentional, three years imprisonment. But under S.183 (11)(g) the writer is liable to be sentenced to at least five years imprisonment. It is no consolation that in this type of seditious libel, unlike in the others, the truth of the allegation is a defence, because normally the poor writer will be denied the facts to prove his case.

The new Criminal Code, 1960, also retained the absolute powers of the government to ban the importation of foreign publications; conferred absolute powers on the government to censor publications or the writings of individual writers; enabled specified categories of public officers to retain and open parcels which they suspect contain seditious or banned publications; made it a second degree felony (i.e. an offence punishable by a maximum of ten years imprisonment) for any person to communicate to any other person, whether by word of mouth or writing or by any other means, any false statement which is likely to injure the credit or reputation of Ghana or her government, and which he knows or has reason to believe is false (first introduced in 1959 by the Offences Against the State Act No.37 of 1959); and made it a misdemeanour (that is, an offence punishable by a maximum of three years imprisonment) for any person to publish or reproduce any statement, rumour or report which is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public or to disturb public peace, knowing or having reason to believe that the statement, rumour or report is false. It was also made obligatory under the Criminal Procedure Code for a person, accused of an offence against the state, to answer interrogatories served on him by the Attorney-General. The general rule is that a person accused of a crime is not bound to answer any questions. No man, according to the rule, shall be made to incriminate himself.

These laws, in addition to the laws on libel, unlawful assembly, state secrets, the power of the police or specified public officers to refuse permission for public processions and meetings, and above all the P.D.A., had by 1960 given the government absolute control over the right of citizens to express their opinions, and to assemble and associate with others. Absolutism was triumphant.

In 1961, in the case of **In Re Dumoga and 12 Others (1961) G.L.R. 44**, the courts refused to enquire into the truth or otherwise of allegations contained in the grounds of detention served on a detainee pursuant to S.2(2) of the P.D.A., and held in **Re Akoto and 7 Others (1961) G.L.R. 523** that the P.D.A. was constitutional. Thus the last refuge of the citizen against oppressive invasion of his fundamental rights was removed by the courts themselves.

Naked Repression

It had already become foolhardy, even dangerous, to criticise the government and public officers. The press, after the demise of the **Ashanti Pioneer,** was a government monopoly, and two years later was made subject to government licensing. Instead of freedom, Ghanaians lived in fear; in place of justice, there was naked repression.

But the government was still not satisfied that it had ample powers to deal with its opponents, "imperialist agents" and "subversionists". In 1961, Parliament passed the Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, (Act 91). Under this act, a Special Criminal Division of the High Court, popularly known as the "Special Court", was set up to hear specified offences, mainly offences against the state, such as treason, sedition, rioting and unlawful assembly. No matter the nature of the offence, all offences were triable summarily by the Special Court; that is, trial by jury or wit

assessors was excluded. The division was constituted by a presiding judge and two other members. The judgment of the court was read by the president of the court and no dissenting opinion was allowed to be made public. There was no appeal from a decision of the Special Court.

The debate in parliament on the bill makes interesting reading. Mr. Kwaku Boateng, then Minister of Interior and Local Government, introducing the bill said:

> How could it ever be imagined that a Bill setting up a Court seeks to do away with the hard won liberties of our countrymen? The Government of Ghana believe that the establishment of this Court augurs well for the future, for in it lie the seeds of the true welfare of the people of Ghana. That this is so will soon be clear. But who is here that believes that our Government, presided over by Kwame Nkrumah, who is constitutional in all his deeds, so wise and kind as he has always been, representing at this moment the great party, the Convention People's Party, which is established in the cause of African Independence and Freedom, could create a system of Court (sic) offensive to our motto: Freedom and Justice? What can be more monstrous than that we, dedicated to the cause of freedom, could establish a Court to fritter away the civil liberties of the subjects of the Republic? It is my contention, Sir, that anybody who makes a statement to cast a shadow of doubt on the meaning of the Bill should forever be considered the most insidious enemy of our country. **Parliamentary Debates,** Vol.25, 10/10-3/11/61).

It was Mr. Kwaku Boateng who after the 1966 coup coined the now famous phrase, "gaping sycophants". Perhaps he said all that he said about this bill with his tongue in his cheek, in gaping sycophancy. He also said, "Jurists and legal historians may weigh the merits of this Bill. It is their duty".

But there were some members of parliament who immediately gave their adverse judgment. These were members of the remnants of the opposition United Party: Mr. Dombo, Mr. Adama, Mr. Abayifa Karbo and Mr. Jatoe Kaleo. On this occasion, they were joined and led in the attack on the bill by Mr K.A. Gbedemah, who had just recently left the government. Mr. Gbedemah spoke as Danton did on his way to the guillotine: "Robespierre, it will be your turn next". After reminding members how the P.D.A., passed in all sincerity "so that those who would revolt and not go through the ballot box to overthrow the Government might be prevented from doing so", had become an "instrument of terror", he warned: "Today, we may think that all is well, it is not my turn, it is my brother's turn, but your turn will come sooner than later (**Hear, hear**). Your turn will come sooner than later." (**Ibid,** Col. 43). This was Mr. Gbedemah's last speech in the 1961 Parliament; he soon went into exile. His words were prophetic, at least as far as Messrs. Adamafio, Ako Adjei, and Crabbe—all leading members of the C.P.P.—were concerned.

Mr. Adamafio's own contribution to the debate on the bill lived to haunt him two years later. Then Minister of Information and Broadcasting, he said at **Col. 66**:

> We know that people in this country sometimes believe that because there are technicalities in the law they can do what they like and go free. Somebody may steal something and yet the law may set him free; somebody may kill and yet be set free by the Courts. And when one looks at all these things, one is tempted to ask, "Is this justice?" In the law courts we do not get justice, we get law. It is justice that we want and that is what is going to be created.

Specially Selected Jury

In the following, year, 1962, Mr. Adamafio and others were detained in connection with the Kulungugu bomb explosion. In 1963, he and four others, R.B. Otchere, Yaw Manu, Ako Adjei and Kofi Crabbe, were tried by the Special Court on charges of treason. After a lengthy trial the court, in an exhaustive, long judgment, convicted Otchere and Yaw Manu (both members of the U.P.) but acquitted Adamafio, Ako Adjei and Kofi Crabbe (all members of the C.P.P.). The people (or so the C.P.P. and government said) were angry. "In the courts we do not get justice, we get law". The people wanted "justice" to be done. After a campaign of vilification against the courts, the dismissal of the Chief Justice and the other two judges, Van Lare and Akufo-Addo **J.J.S.C.**, parliament passed a new Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Act, 1963 (Act 223).

Under the new law the composition of the Special Court was changed. The court now was constituted by a judge appointed by the Chief Justice in consultation with the President, and a jury of 12 specially selected from the register of voters. (The ordinary jury in Ghana then (as now) consisted of 7 persons selected from a list drawn up by the District Court.) No appeal from a decision of the court was allowed but the President was given power, if he deemed it in the public

terest to do so, to annul any decision of the Court. The act was made retrospective, so that the President could annul the decision in the previous trial of Adamafio and others. Under the act, an annulment amounted to a **nolle prosequi**, which meant the persons whose trial was annulled could be retried.

In a 1963 Christmas message the President said he was happy to announce that the previous trial of Adamafio and others had been annulled and that they would be tried again. In 1964, a fresh Special Court was constituted under the new act and Adamafio and others were all now convicted and sentenced to death, which the late ex-President in his 'magnanimity' commuted to twenty years imprisonment. (Adamafio and others were released after the 1966 coup).

Absolute Dictatorship

By the beginning of 1964, the President was an absolute dictator. The opposition had been completely smashed. The C.P.P. had become a rump of bureaucrats at the beck and call of the President and unable to exert, even if it wanted, any control over its leader or over national affairs. In 1963, a new Security Service had been established by law, in addition to the Police (the C.I.D. and Special Branch), the Military Intelligence and the the Research Branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The courts, the Bar, and the churches had been rendered impotent; the T.U.C., the Farmers' Council, and other organizations were firmly under the control of the Party; and the chiefs had, alas, become bootlickers. Under the 28-day rule, persons arrested without warrant could be detained without bail for 28 days. Ghana was a **de facto** one-party state.

After Constable Ametewee's attempt on the life of the President in January 1964, the government decided to declare Ghana a **de jure** one-party state. After a rigged referendum, the 1960 constitution was amended to give constitutional effect to the government's decision. At the same time the last pockets of opposition were destroyed. Leading members of the opposition, including Dr. J. B. Danquah and Mr. W. E. A. Ofori Atta, were detained; Danquah died in prison a year later. The police was purged; the Commissioner of Police, Mr. E. R. T. Madjitey, and about eight other most senior police officers were detained or dismissed. Soon afterwards, the two most senior army officers, the Chief of Defence Staff, Major-General S. J. A. Otu, and his deputy, Major-General J. A. Ankrah, were retired.

Following the declaration of Ghana as a one-party state, S.182 of the Criminal Code was amended by the insertion of a new subsection (Section 182A). This law is still on the statute book (Sec.9 of NLCD 398). It confers absolute power on the President (now the N.R.C.) to declare any organization a prohibited organisation wherever he is satisfied that the organisation's objectives or activities are contrary to the public good, or that there is danger of the organisation being used for purposes prejudicial to the public good. When an organisation is declared a prohibited organisation, it is an offence punishable by a fine not exceeding two hundred cedis or to imprisonment not exceeding one year or both, to

(*a*) summon a meeting of the members or managers of such an organisation;

(*b*) attend or cause any person to attend any meeting in the capacity of a member or manager of such organisation;

(*c*) publish any notice or advertisement relating to any such meeting;

(*d*) invite persons to support such an organisation;

(*e*) make any contribution or loan to funds held or to be held or for the benefit of such an organisation, or accept any such contribution or loan; or

(*f*) give any guarantee in respect of such funds as aforesaid.

By the middle of 1965 the government felt strong and secure enough to declare by radio and T.V. announcements the names of persons "elected" to parliament. Not only was the C.P.P. Ghana and Ghana the C.P.P.; but since Nkrumah was the C.P.P. and the C.P.P. Nkrumah, Nkrumah was Ghana and Ghana Nkrumah. The flame of liberty had been completely extinguished; hope had given way to despair.

Then came the coup of 24th February, 1966. Our hopes were rekindled: our hopes of a free and just society. But, except perhaps for a brief period, only a flicker of the flame of liberty has appeared. We still cannot sing of freedom. Freedom and Justice still remain a pious dream.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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AGRICULTURAL

Balance Sheet At 31st December, 1972

1971 ₵	Note		₵
		Assets Other than Fixed Assets	
978,075		Cash in Hand and Balances with other Banks	2,005,96
4,765,710		Bills available for rediscount	8,102,37
5,743,785		*Total Liquid Assets*	10,108,33
922,000		Investments	652,0
11,035,586	3	Loans, Advances and Other Accounts	24,284,0
17,701,371			35,044,3
		Less: Current Liabilities	
4,542,789		Current Deposit and Other Accounts including other Reserves	16,794,6
13,158,582			18,249,7
		Fixed Assets	
144,020		Premises, Motor Vehicles and Equipment at Cost less Depreciation	265,2
13,302,602			18,515,0
		Financed as follows:—	
13,254,000	1	Stated Capital	18,451,0
5,959		Capital Reserve	5,9
42,643		General Reserve Fund	58,0
13,302,602			18,515,0
9,154,782	4	Guarantees and Indemnities, etc., for account of customers (and Customers' Liability therefor)	7,393,(

E. N. AFFUL .. .. *CHAIRMAN*

NANA KODWO ANOMAKO III .. .. *DIRECTOR*

E. M. K. AIDAM .. .. *DIRECTOR*

The above accounts are in agreement with the books and returns. In our opinion the books have been p the information and explanations we required.

In our opinion the accounts comply with the Agricultural Development Bank Act, 1965 as amer the Bank as at 31st December, 1972.

OPMENT BANK

Profit and Loss Accounts for the Year Ended 31st December, 1972

1971 ₵		₵
313,610	Net Profit for year after charging	396,673
	1971	
	4,909 Directors' Remuneration	3,100
	2,500 Auditors' Remuneration	4,000
	59,070 Depreciation	78,512
	Transfer to Reserves:—	
	150,000 Loan Loss	250,000
	75,000 Development and Projects Identification ..	90,000
	77,274 Contingency	41,232
302,274		381,232
11,336	Unappropriated Profit transferred to General Reserve Fund under Section 22 of the Agricultural Development Bank Act 1965 as amended.	15,441

Notes on Accounts

1. *Stated Capital*
   This consists of 150,000 Ordinary Shares of ₵200 each of which 92,255 have been issued for a cash consideration of ₵18,451,000. There is no share in Treasury and no call or instalment unpaid on any share.
2. Foreign Balances have been converted at the rates ruling at the Balance Sheet date.
3. Loans and Advances are made up as follows:—

Private Sector	14,820,949
Public Sector	8,805,010
	23,625,959

4. Guarantees are made as follows:—
   Private Sector—(The Bank holds Government Indemnity in respect of three of these guarantees amounting to ₵4,032,699) 7,108,768

   Public Sector—(The Bank holds Government Indemnity in respect of two of these guarantees amounting to ₵111,286) 284,292

   ₵ 7,393,060

E. T. O'BAKA TORTO .. .. CHIEF ACCOUNTANT
S. E. A. WONTUMI .. .. SECRETARY

rns have been received from branches not visited by us. We obtained

0 and give a true and fair view of the state of affairs and the profit of

(SGD) AYEW AGYEMAN & CO.
Chartered Accountants
MOBIL HOUSE, LIBERIA ROAD
ACCRA.
29th March, 1973.

Observer Notebook

Peace in Indo-China

VIETNAM was the most famous (or infamous) of the militarist adventures of American imperialism in the Far East. So horrific were the atrocities perpetrated in that war that sight tended to be lost of other theatres of war in the same region, such as Laos and Cambodia. For all of these beleaguered peoples, 1973 must be accounted a year of grace, a year in which the brutal intruder from across the seas was finally compelled to withdraw its forces.

The Congress of the U.S.A. must be congratulated for the tenacity with which it forced the Nixon administration to halt the bombing of Cambodia last week. Like the Vietnamese before them, the people of Cambodia have passed through an epoch in which a self-invited "helper" has mercilessly bombed village and hamlet. Sometimes, "by mistake", friendly villages have not been spared the horrors of napalm and other bombs! Yet the struggle could have been managed very well by the Cambodians without outside intervention.

Now that the aggressive forces of the U.S.A. have finally been shown the door, the **Observer** hopes that sanity will prevail and the U.S.A. will relinquish all pretensions to being the policeman of the world. That role can be better played by the U.N. and by the regional groupings that have become a feature of international politics in recent decades. This means that, should conflict arise in the Far East, it should be the job of only the U.N. and the countries of that area to contain it and find a solution to it. In the case of Africa, the appropriate agencies should be the O.A.U. and the U.N. The super powers do themselves a great deal of long-term harm by plunging feet first into conflicts that do not endanger their vital interests, thus leaving behind them a catalogue of sad memories, maimed peoples, and shattered economies.

The **Observer** believes that the peoples of the Far East are quite capable of managing their affairs, and that the U.S.A. should concentrate on clearing up the Watergate Affair, using the opportunity to clean up its political machine of the endemic corruption and chicanery which has often been detected there but which is now becoming public property for the first time.

As the guns stop booming in the Far East, the peace-hungry world hopes that a fool-proof settlement plan will evolve so that territories and peoples whose lives have been overshadowed by war and the threat of war for over one generation will now get some well-earned rest and utilize their resources towards the creation of happiness for themselves and for succeeding generations.

The world has had enough of self-appointed gendarmes. Far from ensuring peace, they have endangered the very survival of the human race beyond tolerable limits, and must now submit themselves to the judgment of mankind. As the aggressors withdraw, they need to be reminded that peace is not merely the absence of war. They should advise themselves on this matter, and stay the hand of the ill-fated accomplices they are leaving behind.

To Those Who Have ....

THE government's recent announcement about granting loans ranging from ₵15,000 to ₵40,000 to civil servants for building their own houses caused no little surprise to ordinary workers, farmers and unemployed people in Ghana. This surprise was occasioned by the government's own avowed dedication to the objective of bridging the gap (of income, privileges and fringe benefits) between the two classes in our society. Indeed, as in the case of the restoration of car maintenance allowances after the demise of the Busia regime, the common people have cause to suspect that this recent action was prompted by intensive lobbying by the would-be beneficiaries of this scheme. According to the repayment terms, which a local daily has helpfully computed, this scheme cannot benefit more than a handful of citizens and is therefore biased in favour of a numerical minority.

This objection on the grounds of the narrow focus of the scheme is serious. Right from the time when we fought for independence, the people of Ghana and of other dependent territorries were urged to condemn the privileges that the colonial masters had arrogated to themselves. One of the bases for the fight for national independence was therefore a search for a more equitable social order. Sad to say, most newly-independent countries have merely continued the colonial scheme of things, with a tiny elite stepping into the shoes of the departing colonialists. It is true that the ordinary people have derived some benefits from independence. However, such benefits are undermined by policy measures such as the one under discussion. The problem is this: should the government concentrate on the legitimate needs and aspirations of the majority, or on providing the comforts of a tiny minority?

There are other grounds for objecting to the heme. Where is it intended that the civil servants ould build these houses—at their current stations, in their home towns or elsewhere? If at their ations, are they never going to go on transfer? at their home towns, which village—and most hanaians hail from small rural villages!—has iorities for development which make ₵40,000 ansions an urgent proposition in 1973? The uation in many villages is such that our scarce sources should be geared towards the provision elementary needs such as water for human nsumption, health posts, water for irrigation nd animal husbandry, motorable roads, decent hools, postal and telecommunication facilities. is clear that all these are **community** needs, ot elite needs. A ₵40,000 mansion in a village ithout any of the above would be a white elephant, ure and simple.

On assuming power, Colonel Acheampong ndeared himself to the ordinary people by enciating his "one man, one bread" philosophy. is necessary that the government should avoid eing side-tracked into paths that will exacerbate e already bad cleavage in our society, and call to question the sincerity of its own pronouncents. How many low cost houses of a medium nge won't ₵40,000 build? For too long, national sources have been lavished on the ruling elite, nd it is time the needs of the wider society were ttended to.

The **Observer** would further draw attention to e drawbacks in emphasizing the **ownership** of ouses and in using state economic power to romote such ownership. It is true that much f the feeling of insecurity about the future which ultimately gives ground to temptations f bribery and corruption) arise from anxieties bout where serving officers will lay their heads hen they retire. If the government had low-rent ccommodation to hire out to citizens in all towns, his problem would not be so acute. But it is n objective that government could direct its nergies to, so that the state guarantees retiring ivil servants and other citizens a roof over their eads at reasonable rental.

Our fear is that the proposed scheme is going o increase the incidence of double and triple wnership of houses, and thereby merely serve o increase the advantages of the better-off in ur society. We can either plan for the majority o that they see clearly that the government is eir government, or else concentrate on the omforts of those who are already sitting well, nd whose survival from regime to regime is ne of the marvels of post-independence Ghana. In short, this scheme is a denial of social justice to the Ghanaian society. The scale must be tipped on the other side, on the side of the underprivileged.

Whose Freedom of the Press?

ONE observer of the Ghanaian press scene has remarked that in matters of press freedom journalists are their own worst enemies, and he is right. On the occasions when pressmen have been harassed and molested by the powers of the day, fellow journalists have either joined in the harassment, or at best have looked on with indifference. Where this indifference is born of impotence, having regard to the need for survival and discretion dictated by the difficult circumstances under which journalists work here, one sympathises with those members of the "inky fraternity" who can only look on helplessly. But if members of the profession compound the difficulties of their colleagues by their rantings and by appeals for punitive measures against those with whom they disagree, then there is more than lack of solidarity involved here: there is treachery. Within the last ten days, the newly appointed editor of a state-owned daily, the **Ghanaian Times,** has in the most vitriolic and infelicitous language been calling for the banning of a privately owned weekly, the **Echo.** The only crime of the offending paper was that its editor had dared to make an analysis and a comment with which the editor of the state-owned paper happens to disagree. Up to a certain point one can understand the enthusiasm of the new editor of the **Ghanaian Times:** he has to earn his keep. But does he have to demonstrate his zeal by calling for the erosion of that very fundamental freedom under which he purports to be carrying on his business? Could he not have rendered more valuable service to the public by just restricting himself to proving that the editor of the **Echo** may have been wrong in his analysis of the impact of the 7½% increase for certain categories of workers? And would it not have been sufficient to argue that sometimes token gestures, like visits to work sites by certain prominent members of the community, have the psychological value of boosting the morale of workers on the site?

The editor of the **Ghanaian Times** has every right to disagree with the sentiments expressed in that issue of the **Echo**, or of any other paper, publicly or privately owned, but he certainly exceeds his limits by recommending such intolerant measures as he and a correspondent of his have called for, because there is a greater principle at stake than the survival or the demise of a single paper.

Now, it needs to be pointed out to the current editor of the **Ghanaian Times** and to those who think like him that the fundamental liberties of speech, assembly, movement, etc., are not privileges which anybody in power gives to citizens out of the kindness of his heart; they are basic human rights which citizens enjoy **as of right.** Under certain circumstances and pretexts these rights may be curtailed, suspended or suppressed, but under normal circumstances when a government resists the temptation of tampering with any of these freedoms it is not doing anybody any special favour; it is only recognising the basic rights of people to live and act as thinking human beings. To call on the government, therefore, to ban a paper simply because one happens to disagree with the views expressed therein is not only mischievous; it betrays ignorance of what basic human rights are all about. And an editor who advocates a diminution of the freedom of speech is a disgrace to his profession.

The history of this country shows that people who create an atmosphere of insecurity, in the secret hope that others will be affected, sooner or later fall victim to their own creations and devices. When will people learn that things are not funny simply because they are happening to somebody else? "Dog don't eat dog", they say; one would have thought that this wise counsel had currency even in the arcane world of Ghanaian journalism!

We of the **Observer** trust that the government will not be misled by the misguided zeal and malicious sycophancy that engendered this call. It is in the government's own interest not only to tolerate but to freely accept a free press as a means of feeling public opinion and gathering ideas. We hope that the government will display maturity by contemptuously ignoring such a brainless display of misconceived enthusiasm, revolutionary or otherwise.

BE ABREAST WITH THE

TIMES, READ THE

LEGON OBSERVER

VACANT POSTS

The **Legon Observer** has vacancies for an Administrative Assistant, a Clerk Grade One and Two Proof-reader/Canvassas on its establishment. Candidates who have the appropriate qualifications should apply (5 copies) to the Secretary, Legon Society on National Affairs, P.O. Box 11, Legon, by 3rd September 1973, mentioning the names and addresses of three persons to whom reference may be made for an assessment of their character and ability.

1. **Administrative Assistant** (Scale: ₵1450x 80 - 1850)
   Duties: General supervision of **L.O.** office and staff, covering administrative and accounting duties.
   Qualifications Candidates must possess the minimum qualification of the W.A. School Certificate or its equivalent, must have had a minimum of 3 years experience in a supervisory position and must show clear evidence of ability and initiative in this regard. Ability to type and to take shorthand will be an advantage, as will a knowledge of accounts.
2. **Clerk Grade One** (Scale:₵1060x40-1300
   Duties Various duties as may be required in an editorial office. In addition the clerk will be expected to conduct routine correspondence on his own initiative.
   Qualificatios Candidates must possess the minimum qualification of the W.A. School Certificate or its equivalent, be able to type at the rate of 40 w.p.m. and take shorthand at the rate of 100 w.p.m. and must possess a certificate to that effect issued by the Principal of the Government Secretarial School.
3. **Proof-reader/Canvasser Grade One** (Scale ₵840 x 30-1140+4% commission
   Duties: To canvass for advertisement and perform proof-reading duties under the direction of the Editorial staff.
   Qualifications Candidates must possess the minimum qualification of the W.A. School Certificate, and have some experience of newspaper work and advertisement canvassing.
4. **Proof-reader/Canvasser Grade Two** (Scale: ₵700 x 30 - 880+4% commission)
   Duties As for (3) above.
   Qualifications As for (3) above, save that candidates need not have previous working experience.

5 Assorted Drinks in a Single Bottle ?

You may think this is impossible; but BOLS have introduced it_ BOLSKAYA VODKA



Fantastic!

BOLSKAYA gives you the following different drinks:-

1. KICKING MULE

Juice ½ lime
1 jigger (tot) BOLSKAYA
place in glass with 2 cubes ice
fill with Ginger Beer or Ale,
and serve.

2. SCREWDRIVER

1 jigger (tot) BOLSKAYA
in 8 oz glass with ice cubes
and fill with Orange Juice Stir.
Decorate with slice of orange.

3. BLOODY MARY

1 part of BOLSKAYA
1 part of Tomato Juice
1 jigger (tot) Lemon Juice
Add Salt and pepper to taste
stir with cracked ice

4. VODKA SOUR

Juice ½ Lemon
1 tea spoon sugar
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Letters

National Service

SIR—In mid-July there was an official statement that with effect from September 1973, there would be a national service scheme for diplomates and fresh graduates from the three universities and other higher institutions in the country. Under the scheme, those concerned would be required to serve for one year in any one of the following fields: Education, Health, Local Government, Agriculture, Youth Programmes, Co-operatives, etc. According to the statement, emphasis would be placed on rural service and that anybody who failed to respond to the call would be liable to punishment.

Since this announcement was made, there has been no stiff opposition to the scheme partly because, it appears, such a scheme is long overdue since those who are to serve under the scheme are the beneficiaries of free higher education and partly because, and this is more important, the move for the scheme emanated from the student body in Ghana.

Laudable as the scheme may be, I would like to sound a note of caution with regard to its implementation. It seems there has been no serious preparation for the implementation of the national service scheme. Planning may only have started following the favourable public reaction to the official statement. This means that planning may not be complete by the time those concerned are to begin the service. Without proper planning, the scheme which is meant for rural service will end up with participants working in the urban areas since there may be no planned projects to be undertaken in the rural areas. One will expect that realistic projects in tune with our needs will be planned in the most appropriate areas so that by the end of one year the Service Scheme will make some clear impact on the rural areas.

If the government has not planned properly now for this important project, then I will suggest that its implementation be deferred to next year when everything may be executed according to plan. I can envisage a situation where everybody will become frustrated because of lack of proper planning which will engender public criticism. The result will be that this laudable scheme will be shelved like the military training for students.

Public Services Workers Union **P. B. Arthiabah**
Hall of Trade Unions
P.O. Box 701
Accra

"Capitalism, Socialism and Ghana" — A Rejoinder

SIR—The article written by your political correspondent on the above topic (**L.O.** Vol VIII/15) is certainly worth reading; however some of his observations cannot stand close scrutiny.

Busia's Rural Development: far from being "extension of more social services and infrastructure to the rural farming community", it can be considered a complete waste of the country's resources in a bid to achieve cheap political popularity in the rural areas. How else can one explain the haste with which these miniature water and electric plants were scattered all over the country? Most of these plants even at the time of commissioning could not satisfy half the needs of the community, let alone form the basis of any rural planning or infrastructure.

Business Promotion under N.L.C. and Busia: this was certainly building up the wrong type of "local class of capitalists". In a socialist country one must be very selective in allowing private participation. Most of the people who became businessmen under the said Business Promotion act were either importers or manufacturers of almost finished products. What is the sense in a government ordering equipment for a government agency through a private businessman who uses government (i.e. borrowed) money, and makes a huge profit at the end of the day? One would expect that government would allow private participation mostly in primary activities, such as farming, production of basic raw materials, manufacturing, using basic raw materials, etc., and progressively allowing efficient ones to enter more sensitive areas.

P.O. Box 406 **S. Boafo Akuffo**
Koforidua

The Logistic Fiasco

SIR—The present administration will go down in history as the government which could not stomach inefficiency, or signs thereof, such as lateness, waste, pilfering, and so on, and whose officers never hesitated to apply stern corrective measures. What I am not certain of is whether this government also believes in equal punishment for equal shortcomings. For example, civilians have been drilled, beaten up, sacked from their jobs, and humiliated for minor offences of inefficiency. Yet, for one of the most glaring failures of this military government, namely the fiasco of the Logistics Committe, we are informed only of the suspension of the committee and the institution of an investigating body which is going "to look into it" in camera.

Will somebody tell me why the soldiers and officers of the suspended committee should not be drilled as an interim measure, pending the work of the committee of enquiry? After all, civilians have suffered more for less, and the misconduct which is alleged against them is far more serious, since the officers are agents of the redemption revolution.

c/o P.O. Box M.37 **John Amissah**
Accra

Who Really Needs Help?

SIR—It is really welcome news that the government has embarked on a scheme to help certain categories of workers to build houses. But much as I appreciate the good gesture, I am inclined to think that the government is rather helping the fortunate few at the top to get two or more houses because most of these people who realistically qualify for the loans or their wives have houses already. Furthermore these same people can easily secure loans from any commercial institution. The government should rather come down to earth to help the really **suffering workers**, that is those under C2,000.00 per annum.

Chapel Square **J. B. Essandor**
Agona Swedru

Foreign Commodities for Farmers

SIR—About four months ago it was announced, with familiar fanfare, that a special body had been set up which would be solely concerned with the distribution of foreign commodities to farmers. The chairman of the committee, Mr. U. K. Hackman of the C.M.B., with no lack of confidence, explained at a televised press conference how the new system would work. It would be a two-way system, combining cocoa purchasing with commodity distribution; it would be efficient and fool-proof, even though it would operate through the well-known cocoa purchasing officers of the C.M.B.

Well, our cocoa has been purchased all right; in fact, we appear to be heading for a record production this year. But it seems to me also that the foreign commodity supply situation for farmers has never been worse.

I have not seen a tin of sardines or pilchards, a cut of kako (cod fish), or much of the other favoured items in my area for months. And I have relatives in other regions who inform me that they are not better off.

Kwamena Essiar

36A-Dwenho
A. Swedru

Cattle Development Board

SIR—Permit me through your columns to address this short query to the relevant authorities who may want to answer it. When will the Cattle Development Board really live up to its name? It is a board all right, but its concern with the development of cattle appears to be peripheral to its major pre-occupation of purchasing meat at the moment. What I want to know is, when will it promote itself from a **de facto** Meat Purchasing Company to a genuine Cattle Development Board? At the moment I don't know what basically differentiates the C.D.B. from the Meats Product Division of GIHOC, but methinks I hear a voice whispering: Why worry, after all, what's in a name? Indeed, what's in a name?

P. A. V. Ansah
Dept. of Modern Languages
Legon

Matters Arising

BUSINESS EDUCATION IN GHANA: A COMMENT

By

Ato Ghartey and Dwodwo Arku

IN THE 13-26 July 1973's issue of the **Legon Observer**, Mr. Ebow Daniel wrote an article entitled "Business Education in Ghana." This article was an official presentation of the University of Ghana's attitude on the current problems of the admission requirements for the B.Sc. Administration course.

This paper will attempt to:

1. summarize the University's solution to the current admission requirements for the B.Sc. Administration degree course;
2. identify some of the main issues arising from the University's article; and
3. evaluate the University's premises used to arrive at its conclusion.

Summary of the University's statement

The University alleged that a new examination known as the Advanced Business Certificate Examination (ABCE) was introduced in the sixth form in 1969 without its knowledge. Detailed analysis of the course content and the examination questions of the ABCE revealed that the course content did not satisfy the University's current emphasis on broad based pre-university preparation and that the examination questions were below the standard expected of G.C.E. Advanced Level examinations.

To avoid undue burdens on those who had embarked on the course since 1969 the University adopted the following interim solutions:

1. For those taking the ABCE in 1971 and 1972, three passes in the stated subjects (those embodied in the ABCE) together with the General Paper should be considered sufficient for admission to the University in October 1971 and October 1972.
2. For those taking the ABCE in 1973 and those entering the University before October 1974, at least one subject outside business had to be included in the three subjects considered sufficient for admission to the University.

Also, a Ghana Technical and Commercial Examination Committee has been formed and charged, among other things, with the introduction and approval of syllabuses in technical and commercial subjects.

Unresolved Issues

The main objectives of the ABCE were to prepare students to enter employment as assistants to junior management and to provide them with the necessary background for furthering their education.

There are several ways in which one can further one's education after the sixth form. However, since one of the most popular ways of furthering one's education after the sixth form is to enter a university, it ought to have been obvious to the one (or those) who designed the ABCE that a university would ultimately have to decide on the fate of some of the students who would be taking the ABCE.

Nonetheless, the University of Ghana alleged that whoever initiated the introduction of the ABCE did not seek its appropriate official approval. It is not even clear if he (or they) consulted or sought the approval of any other institution of higher education in the country. Yet students taking the ABCE had been promised that if they passed the examination satisfactorily they could enter the School of Administration at the University of Ghana.

To be able to explain the above anomaly, it will be necessary to seek answers to a few pertinent questions:

1. Who initiated the idea of introducing commercial subjects in the sixth form?
2. Who designed the syllabus for the ABCE?
3. What is the difference in the course content and objectives of the commercial subjects offered in the sixth form and those offered in the polytechnics?
4. Why did the West African Examinations Council choose to give the examination a special name rather than granting the students the appropriate Advanced Level passes and designation in each of the business subjects they presented for the examination?

5. Was the School of Administration in any way involved with the ABCE?
6. Who gave the students the assurance that they could enter the School of Administration if they passed the ABCE? How was he able to arrive at such a promise?
7. Who decides and establishes the admission requirements to (a) the University?
   (b) the various departments in the universities?
8. If a conflict should arise between the general university entry requirements and the departmental entry requirements how is such a conflict resolved?
9. Is it not possible for the University to resolve such conflicts internally rather than exposing inefficient and inadequate communication and coordination systems within the University to the public?

Wrong Premise

The University of Ghana's great concern over the quality of business education in the country is greatly appreciated. However, its attitude towards business courses needs qualification. The question of whether or not ABCE is narrow based and hence inadequate for admission to the University is highly debatable. Most of the examples and analogies cited by Mr. Daniel are either inappropriate or far fetched.

In as much as the writers would want to desist from questioning the competence of any individual or organization in the University, they would strongly recommend that people avoid issuing authoritative statements in fields of study to which they might not have been reasonably well exposed. It is about time people realized that commerce is a very broad and complicated field of study with several well defined and organized fields of concentration.

The dichotomy between biology for medicals, English for medicals, medical physics, and pharmaceutical chemistry as sixth form preparation for medical students, and accounting, finance, quantitative methods, and management as sixth form preparation for students wishing to enter the School of Administration as both being narrow based, for example, is not very correct. The right dichotomy would appear to be:

English for medicals	v	English for accountants
Medical physics	v	Accounting mathematics
Pharmaceutical chemistry	v	Accounting law
Biology for medicals	v	Management accounting.

Furthermore, the School of Administration, to a large extent, is a conglomeration of departments of learning or knowledge in the University just as the Faculties of Science, Social Studies, and Arts are conglomerations of departments of knowledge in the University.

If a student offers any three of Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Geology in the sixth form and enters the Faculty of Science to study those same subjects, or offers any three of Economics, Geography, History, and Government (Political Science) and enters the Faculty of Social Studies to study those same subjects; or any three of Latin, Greek, English, Religion, and French and enters the Faculty of Arts to study those same subjects, he would not be accused of unnecessary early specialization. Yet what the University statement is trying to imply is that if a student should present any three of the following subjects, for example, Accounting, Finance, Business Communication, and Quantitative Methods, he should not be admitted into the University because he would have narrowed his area of specialization too early in the educational hierarchy. The validity of such an assertion is highly doubtful.

In the first place, if a student selects "business subjects" in the sixth form there is no reason why he should be admitted to the School of Administration to the exclusion of all other Faculties in the University. Indeed, he should be able to select a neat combination of subjects from either the Faculty of Social Studies or from both the Faculty of Social Studies and the Faculty of Arts. For example, he could select all three of the following subjects from the Faculty of Social Studies: Economics, Political Science; and Sociology, which do not require any special preparation in the sixth form that is different from that expected from those wishing to enter the School of Administration. He could select one or two of these subjects and add an appropriate number of subjects from the Faculty of Arts: History, Sociology and Political Science; or Philosophy, Economics and Political Science are possible combinations. The student should be able to enter the Law Faculty. If appropriate facilities are available, the student should be able to enter Cape Coast University and then later teach commercial subjects in the secondary schools, training colleges, and the polytechnics. He should also be able to enter the Faculty of Social Studies at the University of Science and Technology at Kumasi. Thus, students selecting business subjects in the sixth form would seem to have as wide a range of choice of courses of study in the universities as those selecting any other combination of subjects.

Objective Criteria

In the second place, the conclusion that business studies preparation in the sixth form would be inferior to other preparation such as Government, History and Latin; or Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics, seems to be putting the cart before the horse. The School of Administration has, since its inception, admitted students with varied sixth form backgrounds. Students with sixth form preparations in at least two (before 1970) and at least three (after 1970) of the following subjects, among others, French, Latin, Greek, Geography, Mathematics Physics, Chemistry, Biology, History, and Logic have been admitted. The first and second batch of ABCE students were admitted in October 1971 and October 1972 respectively. All the ABCE students who have been so far admitted to the School of Administration (seven in 1971 and seven in 1972) have performed creditably rubbing shoulders with students who entered with other recognized Advanced Level passes. Also, no objective or scientific criteria have been established by the University to determine what the best preparation for undergraduate business studies in Ghana should be. One would therefore wonder about how the University arrived at the conclusion that the ABCE preparation in the sixth form is less desirable for business studies in the University than other types of preparation in the sixth form.

It will be almost impossible to establish that certain fields of study would serve as better pre-university preparation for business education than others. Nor



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will it be easy to establish that the fields of accounting and finance, for example, are either more narrow or less intellectually stimulating than such fields as physics, mathematics, chemistry, English, biology, economics, Latin and French.

Also the assertion that admission to Nurses Training Colleges and Post-Secondary Training Colleges has not been affected by the fact that students in the two institutions are not promised admission to the University seems highly irrelevant to the present topic of discussion. The aims and purposes of sixth form education and those of professional training colleges seem to have been confused.

The Nurses Training Colleges train professional nurses. The Post-Secondary Training Colleges train professional teachers. Students in each of these institutions know that after graduation they are required, at least, by law to work in the profession in which they have been trained for a minimum specified number of years. To that extent the diplomas granted to such students upon graduation could be regarded as terminal diplomas.

On the other hand, the main purpose of sixth form education would seem to be to provide students with the necessary background for furthering their education. Thus, the presumption that the University would be contributing to the virtual collapse of business courses in the sixth form by refusing to accept students with the Ghana Business Certificate is quite justified.

Conclusion

The foregoing has brought to light several shortcomings in reasoning supporting the somewhat rigid decisions taken by the University of Ghana authorities regarding acceptable combinations of Business and other subjects for entrance into the University. It is hoped that the academic board of the University will re-examine the premises of their argument, and that after the current confusion over the course content and the examination questions of the ABCE has been resolved the University would adopt a more flexible and non-discriminatory approach towards combinations of business subjects with or without other subjects offered at the sixth form.

Thus, the University would accept a combination of accounting, finance, management, and quantitative methods in just the same way as a combination of physics, chemistry and mathematics is accepted.

On the other hand, to conform with the University's current emphasis on broad based Advanced Level preparation for undergraduate work, unnecessary early specializations such as breaking down Accounting into Financial Accounting, Management Accounting, Governmental Accounting and Macro Accounting, and counting them as four subjects; or Management into Business Economics, Business History, Business Communication, and Business Statistics, and counting them as four subjects, should be discouraged just as the University has discouraged a breakdown of Biology into Botany and Zoology; Mathematics into Pure and Applied; History into Modern and Ancient and counting each group of subjects as two.

It is unfortunate that the present situation regarding the acceptance of students with ABCE preparation into the University of Ghana has arisen. It is hoped that the parties involved will resolve most of the issues raised in this paper and dispel all clouds of uncertainty surrounding the Advanced Business Certificate.

BUSINESS EDUCATION IN GHANA — A REPLY TO MESSRS. ARKU AND GHARTEY

From

The Registry, U. of G.

THANKS, Mr. Editor, for giving me the opportunity to comment directly on some of the points raised by Messrs. Arku and Ghartey. It is hoped, and I think this was your reason for letting me see the manuscript, that readers will appreciate the debate better by being presented with the different points of view at once.

The summary of the University's attitude to the A.B.C.E. as presented by Messrs. Arku and Ghartey is as fair as it could be. In regard to the questions posed under "Unresolved Issues", not all, but some, could be answered. For instance, why did the West African Examinations Council choose to designate the examination in Business differently instead of the usual 'A' Level? Because the A.B.C.E. is not an examination of the West African Examinations Council. The curriculum content and standards were all decided by the Ghana Ministry of Education. The West African Examinations Council has nothing to do with it except that it conducts the examination on behalf of the Ministry.

Thorough Discussion

Who decides the entry requirements to the University? The University of Ghana Act of 1961 states clearly who does, namely, the Academic Board. It is necessary at this point to reiterate the point made previously that the very first time that the Academic Board came to know of the existence of the A.B.C.E. was when the first batch of students had taken their examination. The matter was discussed then and on subsequent occasions with the thorougness which characterises all Academic Board debates. A sub-committee of the Academic Board which happened to be reviewing the entry requirements for the entire University had been specially charged to examine the claims made for Business subjects. That Committee's report was available to the Academic Board, reactions from the various Faculty Boards to the Commitee's report were available; syllabuses and past examination questions of the A.B.C.E. were also available. An authorised statement of the University's attitude to the A.B.C.E. based on these various documents and the discussions in the Academic Board could, therefore, not be said to emanate from a source which is not "reasonably well exposed" to the matter.

It is argued that Business subjects as presently offered in the A.B.C.E. are as broad-based as the more familiar school subjects. The concern of the Academic Board is that if Business students should study, for instance, any English or Mathematics at all, need they be English and mathematics which are specially oriented to Business? Why Business Communication (i.e. Business English) or Quantitative Methods (i.e. Business Mathematics)? Why not the more general courses in English and Mathematics which are already available at G.C.E. 'A' Level? It should be obvious that all things considered, these more general courses are the more desirable. Messrs. Arku and Ghartey should appreciate this too especially since they think

at students offering Business subject should be eligible or admission not only to undergraduate studies in dministration but also to other courses in the Hu-anities. It is pertinent to ask in what way the 'A' evel courses in English and Mathematics, for instance, ave proved inadequate or unsuitable for undergraduate udies in Administration.

The present debate is not particularly helped by asser-ions that students who have been admitted to the .Sc. Administration course with the A.B.C.E. have erformed creditably. Over the last few years, a num-er of students (mature students) who have neither 'O' or 'A' Levels have been admitted to the various ndergraduate courses including Administration. Some f these students have no formal education beyond Middle School, but the majority of them have done well n their studies. Some have indeed done much better han students who went through secondary school assing 'O' and 'A' Levels. But what general conclu-ions are to be drawn from the success story of mature tudents? What is the relevance anyway to a discussion imed at identifying the best possible preparation for effective undergraduate studies? Messrs. Arku and Ghar-ey argue that there are no objective or scientific riteria for determining the most suitable preparation. Yet one would have thought that a consensus in an Academic Board comprising both senior and junior cademics drawn from all the Departments and in-luding representatives from the School of Administra-ion would be deemed a good enough substitute for bjective criteria.

Now about the comparison of the A.B.C.E. with ost-Secondary Nursing/Teacher Training which Messrs. Arku and Ghartey consider inappropriate. What was meant in the earlier article was that the A.B.C.E. has an orientation which is not different from Nursing/ Teacher Training. All of them have immediate employ-ment as the primary objective. Promise of University admission to successful students from these courses is not a necessary condition for the success of these pro-grammes.

Finally, it is necessary to attempt once more to disabuse the mind of the public of the impression that the University is sabotaging the A.B.C.E. by being uncooperative. The University discovered one morning that a number of students who had taken the A.B.C.E. expected to be admitted to the University. The Univer-sity found on an examination of the A.B.C.E. sylla-buses that they were not exactly what would normally, be recommended to students who were intending to em-bark on undergraduate studies in University. None-theless, the students were not barred from admission. On the contrary, a special concession was made for the admission of all those who had already embarked upon the A.B.C.E. In the meanwhile, the University is taking steps together with other interested groups to have introduced suitable 'A' Level courses in Business subjects. Students who are interested in Business studies and might also want to enter the University will be encouraged to take the 'A' Level courses. Others who intend to go into employment directly from school may continue to take the A.B.C.E. Until the new 'A' Level Business Subjects come into being, a combination of 'A' Levels with the A.B.C.E. is acceptable for admission.

Ebow Daniel
(for Registrar)

For The Record

Thursday August 9

Pay Rise for Lower Income Group

Workers in the Central and Local government service earning less than ¢1,008 per annum are to receive a 7½ per cent temporary salary increase as from this month. Those affected are the junior officers of the Civil Service, Police Service, Fire Service, Prison Service, Teaching Service and Local Government Service. The increases are in fulfilment of the promise made recently by the government to give workers in the low income sector a temporary salary rise pending the completion of the general review of wages and salaries now being conducted.

Tuesday August 14

Salary Review Committee Inaugurated

THE Head of State today inaugurated a 15-member Pay Review Committee which is to study and analyse the labour market and recommend to the government an appropriate pay structure for the country's entire labour force.

The members of the committee are: Mr. Issifu Ali (Chairman of the Prices and Incomes Board), Chairman; Mr. J. Tweneboa-Kodua (Executive Director of the P.I.B.), Mr. David Egyir, Mr. J. A. Darko, Mr. K. A. Aggrey, Prof. Bamfo-Kwakye, Nana Kwadjo Anomako IV, who are all members of the P.I.B. In addition, the committee has the following co-opted members: Prof. S Sey, Deputy Governor of the Bank of Ghana; Mr. I. K. Impraim, a former Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet, Mr. J. K. Dadson, Accountant General; Mr. Frank Barnerman-Menson, representing the Ghana Employers' Association, and Mr. A. M. Issifu, representing the T.U.C.

Friday August 17

Date Fixed for Driving on Right

THE Ghana Armed Forces have been charged with the responsibility of planning and implementing the country's change over from driving on the left to driving on the right. Also, the date for the change-over has been fixed for August 4, 1974. A 16-member planning committee, with Brigadier E. A. Erskine, Commander of the Ghana Army, as Chairman has been appointed. According to the military spokesman who made the announcement the committee will also co-opt members from the Police and the Ministry of Transport and Communications. He estimated the cost of the change-over to be about ¢2 million.

¢43,000 for Arts Festival

THE sum of ¢43,000 has been provided for the 12th annual National Arts Festival to be held at the National Cultural Centre, Kumasi, from August 25 to September 7 this year. The festival with the theme, "Unity and Purpose" is expected to be attended by over 3,000 artistes drawn from all the nine regions of Ghana. There will be film shows, variety shows, a gala night of Ghanaian dishes, a fashion parade, a festival ball, children's activities and an interdenominational church service during the festival.



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10 SEP 1973

Editorial

THE RECENT ECONOMIC MEASURES

On the 30th of August the government published a statement of economic measures for the 1973-74 financial year. The document sets out the measures designed to enable the government to rehabilitate the country's economy, and more immediately to provide some reliefs to contain the rising cost of living as well as to stimulate economic growth. To this effect, certain taxes have been reduced, pensioners have been granted reliefs, either in the form of a total exemption from income tax or in the form of reduced rates; in addition, a ceiling of 10 per cent has been placed on the lending rates of all commercial banks. The government has shown some realism in narrowing the range of import duties from 5-150 per cent to 20-50 per cent, in the hope that this measure will reduce the temptation of importers "misdescribing imports as articles attracting lower taxes". This measure alone, it should be realised, is not enough to ensure that the estimated revenue will be obtained or that the necessary impact will be made on our balance of payments. It is necessary to police the system effectively if the disappointments of the past are to be avoided.

The government has decided that in view of the favourable trade balances recorded, more foreign exchange will be allocated to the importation of investment goods during the next import year. This measure is welcome because it will give industries in both the public and private sector the necessary inputs to step up production. Most of our industries have been producing below capacity as a result of foreign exchange constraints, and the government's recognition of this weakness should be backed by concrete action. Import controls remain in force, but it is planned that the pattern of controls will be so restructured as to reflect the need to encourage productivity in both the agricultural and industrial sectors.

The government statement, however, does not provide enough data to enable us to comment adequately on the general pattern of economic development for the current financial year. Such comment will have to await the publication of the estimates which will provide details of the government's priority concerns and orientation through the allocation of resources to the various sectors of the economy. It is only such supplementary information as contained in the estimates and allocation of resources that will enable us to determine what long-term planning programme, if any, that the government is undertaking.

For the meantime we shall confine ourselves to posing a few questions to see how far the broad lines of government policy as outlined in the economic measures coupled with some measures announced recently will affect the quality of life for the next twelve months or so. It will be recalled that about a month ago the government announced a temporary 7½ per cent increase for those earning wages and salaries up to ₵1008.00 a year. Not long after, and even before workers could enjoy the increases for the first month, the government announced increases in the prices of certain commodities on which subsidies had been removed. What this means in real terms is that to most of those affected by the wage increases, any benefits have been wiped off by the rise in prices. What had been offered in the right hand has in effect been withdrawn with the left, and they are very lucky who happen to break even in the bargain.

The timing of the announcement appears to have been particularly unfortunate in the sense that it looked as if the government was giving a signal that the time had arrived for a few more pesewas to be squeezed out of people, and this was certainly not lost on traders. Surely, solid arguments can be adduced to defend the increases—what with the continuing rise in commodity prices the world over—but whoever took the decision to announce the increases at that particular time got his psychology all wrong. It is hoped that the Salary Review Committee will take note of what has happened to the interim 7½ per cent increase in its deliberations.

In a situation where fiscal measures are introduced in a piecemeal fashion instead of in a single dose, it is idle to speculate on the strength of spending power over a period as long as twelve months. From all indications the only sector which we can control with any reasonable prospect of success is in local food production and distribution, and this is the area which interests the vast majority of Ghanaians. Despite the promises of the past, we have not registered any spectacular results in this area, and the government will do well to allocate enough funds and energies to this vital sector in the current financial year.

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The Economy

ECONOMIC MEASURES FOR 1973-74: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES—I

by

Emmanuel Treve

UNDER an alternative system of policy formulation and decision-making the government's new economic measures would have been subjected to public scrutiny and debate prior to formalisation and promulgation. Our present system allows for only post-mortem, or better still, post-facto review of the policies and programmes proposed (A post-mortem is too harsh a word since it gives the impression that the patient, in this case the policies, is already dead). There is real need under each system to undertake reviews of proposals to determine their appropriateness and feasibility in their actual implementation. The public has a legitimate interest in these reviews and has much to contribute if policy-makers would understand that it is better to kill ill-conceived policies on the drawing board or at their outdooring through adverse criticism than to cumulate their deleterious effects on the economy; sudden reversal, abandonment or modification of policies may be painful for policy-makers but the alternative (obstinacy) and its consequences could be overwhelming.

Revenue Proposals

Let us take the Revenue Proposals for 1973-74. This is favourite game for budget-men. Much of the tinkering with, realignment, or overhauling of, taxes is done in the name of increasing tax revenues, reducing the burden of taxation, achieving a more equitable distribution of tax shares, providing tax relief to some beleagured groups, giving a semblance of order and effectiveness to the tax system, plugging loopholes, fighting inflation or some other "worthy" cause. The 1973-74 Revenue Proposals are geared towards the attainment of all or some of these objectives.

The Economic Measures document is not explicit on the underlying philosophy or rationale behind the tax changes taken as a whole. For some categories of tax changes the impression is unmistakable that the object is tax reduction; this is true of Purchase Taxes and Pension incomes retained in Ghana. From a second group of tax payers higher payments would be due in the 1973-74 assessment year; gold and timber (log and sawn) exporters share this honour of being

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called upon to contribute more to government revenue, especially at a time when the markets are so good. For a third category—importers—there are cross-currents at work in the combination—consolidation of import duties, sales taxes and import licence levies.

May be it is a good thing that no attempt was made to stake the government's honour and popularity upon tax reduction which is finding increasing advocacy these days. The tax system of this country certainly needs review but it has to be done with "correct" motive and reasoning. Some advocates of tax reduction claim that it would put more money in people's pockets; some that it would help curb inflation; others, that it would do both—leave the worker with bigger take-home pay and dampen price increases. The first claim, that it (tax reduction) would increase pay packets, is correct; but to what end? The object could be to transfer some of government's spending power to individuals if the latter are adjudged to make better use of the resources so transferred. What needs to be stressed is that the mere reduction of taxes would not allow workers' incomes to catch up with **the rate of inflation.** There is a real danger that some people are suffering from **illusion and confusion** of causes and effects in respect of reduction of taxes and the level, and rate of increase of, prices. (These words of caution probably go more for the Salary Review Committee than for the budgeteers who have already done their work and against whom there is no direct evidence on the charge of illusion and confusion).

Taxes on Imports

Now to some of the specifics under Revenue Proposals. First the changes in respect of **taxes on imports.** A major element in these changes is the narrowing of the range of import duties from 5-150 per cent to 20-50 per cent and this is tied to two other measures on sales taxes and import licence levies. With respect to sales taxes there is some confusion as to what is the change or the object of the change. The confusion arises from paragraphs 4 and 10. The third sentence of paragraph 4 states: ". . . import duties and sales taxes have been **merged** so that there will be only one duty paid at port". One interpretation of the above quote is that import duties and sales taxes are consolidated into a single tax and that the resultant tax would be dropped. This would be a **clear** policy change, but for the second sentence of paragraph 10: ". . . sales taxes are **abolished**". Two interpretations could be put on this quote but the more generous one which removes the ambiguity in the two quotes taken together would be adopted; and that is, that the last quote implies that the "sales tax" as a separate tax is abolished and the substantive tax (not the words, sales tax) incorporated into import duties.

The reasons given for the narrowing of the range of import duties (paragraphs 5 and 6) and for the failure to achieve the objectives of the wider range (paragraph 8) are rather unconvincing. It is granted that the incentive to tax evasion is, among other things, an increasing function of the height of tax rates. Be that as it may, it would be educative to have the evidence and reasoning which led to the choice of the range 20-50% as the safe margin within which tax evasion is at best minimized. The present writer does not doubt the need for a narrower range but wishes to draw attention to the failure of the wider band to achieve the goals set for it, as is recounted in paragraph 8. It could happen again unless somebody thinks that the 20-50% range was derived from a magic formula.

Rates of Duty

The decision to abandon faith in the power of the high import duty rates in the old 5-150% range is welcome. But the transfer of that faith and allegiance to the controversial import licensing system (last sentence of paragraph 9) may prove misplaced and unjustified. Of course, "direct control over imports through import licensing" cannot be dispensed with but modesty demands that we acknowledge that it is a herculean task to which many administrators have proved unequal, as our history would testify.

In import licence levies a link is established between the need to narrow the range of rates of import duties and the desire to safeguard government revenue from taxes on imports. The import licence levy would fall on two categories of imports. First, those of so-called "luxury nature" i.e. those which would have attracted rates of duty at 75% and above under the old system; these would now catch import licence levy of 20% or more severity. Secondly, those imports which under the new narrower band with its higher floor (20% cf. 5%) and lower ceiling (50% cf. 150%) would otherwise escape tax altogether; this group of imports would pay "lower (import licence) levies of 5 per cent and 10 per cent." It is not clear whether the intention here is to employ the two fixed rates, 5% **and** 10% rather than a band of 5-10%.

Still on taxes on imports two minor points may be raised. First the word "down" at the end of the first line of paragraph II is unwanted; for, its retention makes the sentence meaningless. Secondly, and more puzzling (3rd and 4th sentences

f paragraph 12) is the replacement of the 5% 'uty on machinery by a levy of 20% and the en-uing explanation (if indeed it is intended to be n explanation) which may be worth quoting: The rationale behind this increase (from 5% o 20%) is that being investment goods, such a elatively low duty is justified by the fact that they ield a flow of income to the investor over a long eriod". What does "a relatively low duty. . ." efer to? To the old 5% duty or the new 20% levy? Apparently, it refers to 20%. But even then one may ask, 20% is low **relative to what?** Relative to the duty on **other imports?** Even if that is so the impression is strong that it is a sharp increase from 5% to 20% especially when **other imports** would benefit from tax rate **reductions.** Still more ominous for the "rationale" quoted above is the second sentence of section (ii) of paragraph 115 which declares (may be not solemnly) that "The additional imports thus made possible (as a result of the improved terms of trade) should be **biased positively in favour of investment goods**—materials and equipment." A raising of the duty on investment goods from 5% to 20% can hardly be considered a positive bias in favour of investment goods.

The next category of taxes which came under the hammer are the Purchase Taxes. The new schedules of Purchase Tax Rates (paragraph 14) show **substantial** reductions. The first schedule for cars makes a rate distinction between locally-assembled and foreign-assembled cars in the first rate bracket of "up to ₵4,000." And there the distinction ends; i.e. for cars valued over ₵4,000, there is no tax bracket rate differentiation between locally-assembled and foreign-assembled cars. It may be a fatuous curiosity that the distinction ends here. The intended encouragement to the assembling of cars of a lower price range (up to ₵4,000) is well taken but since the market for cars in Ghana has reached such a point where a brand new car (locally-assembled or foreign-assembled) valued at ₵4,000 or less is indeed a rarity and is suspect, the intended concessionary rate on locally-assembled cars valued up to ₵4,000 is likely to benefit no one. This goes to argue that the local assembly-foreign assembly distinction should have been carried to the next rate bracket, ₵4,000-₵6,500. Given the present market for cars this bracket is more realistic for the attainment of the purpose of that distinction.

The second and third schedules of the Purchase Tax rates deal with commercial vehicles and make a distinction between vehicles fully assembled outside Ghana and those **substantially assembled** in Ghana. There is some lingering doubt about the interpretation of "substantially assembled." It would help to stipulate the proportion of value added in Ghana which would constitute substantial assembly in Ghana.

The figure of 75% tax on cars within the ₵6,500-₵8,000 bracket in the fourth sentence to the bottom of paragraph 14, page 4, does not agree with the figure of 65% in the first schedule on page 3.

Paragraph 16 contains substantial reduction in sales tax on building materials. This is commendable in view of the government's concern with the housing shortage problem in Ghana. In this connection it may be noted that the continued shortage of building materials would nullify the intended impact of these tax reductions on the country's housing programme. Furthermore it needs stressing that the abolition of sales taxes referred to in paragraph 10 concerns only imports, not "local products".

Taxes on Exports

The next set of Revenue Proposals concern Taxes on Exports (paragraphs 17-20). Here two major changes have been made. First, the replacement of specific rates (specie by specie) of export duty on timber by **ad valorem** rates. Under the new arrangements all log exports will be taxed at 10% of the f.o.b. value and sawn timber (lumber) exports at 5% of the f.o.b. value. Plywood and all other forms of processed wood, such as knocked-down furniture, are exempt from export duty. The projected revenue of ₵4.5 million (cf. ₵0.9 million at the old rates) speaks for the revenue–productivity of the ad valorem rates. (Of course, the old specific rates could have been manipulated to produce revenue of equal size). The increased revenue from timber export duties is used as occasion and basis for the establishment of a Reafforestation Fund with an initial funding of about ₵1.0 million. Suffice it to say that whatever the source of financing, this (reafforestation fund) is something which we should have provided for long ago. (Of course, this new proposal in no way disparages the work of the Forestry Division of the Ministry of Lands and Mineral Resources).

The second major change under Taxes on Exports is the introduction of a **special** gold export levy of ₵2.50 per ounce on gold exports in excess of 100,000 ounces. It is not clear whether this levy is expected to be permanent or temporary but the use of the word "special" and the point made that "the **present** very high price of gold is to be regarded as essentially a windfall which should be reflected in government revenues. . ." lead one to think that it may well be temporary.

In respect of Taxes on Income and Property three far-reaching innovations have been proposed.

The first of these measures—Selective (Alien) Employment Tax—really tightens the screw on alien employment. Paragraph 22 laments the fact that the usual undertaking to train Ghanaians which goes with the granting of immigrant quotas is invariably ignored. And to add injury to insult some of these enterprises which flout the above-mentioned undertaking continue to enjoy tax concessions under the Capital Investment Decree. This is a shame!

The present writer is all in favour of squeezing some of these aliens out of Ghana but would express some doubt about the propriety of the figure of ₵5,000 per annum. Instinctively and without knowledge of the basis for that figure one could say it is on the high side; but if it has been determined that those affected have the ability to pay, then by all means let us have their cheques. But probably more important is the need to set the tax at a level which would get some aliens packing and that is all to the good.

On the list of exempted fields of activity it ma be said that given its blanket nature it is like to include firms which should not receive exem tion and exclude firms which are more deservi of exemption. Furthermore there are compel i reasons to apply greater pressure on the firm which are exempt from the Selective (Alie Employment Tax to honour their undertakin to train Ghanaians; otherwise these firms woul receive double benefit—exemption from the ta and the continued flouting of their own unde taking.

In sum, the Selective (Alien) Employmen Tax should stay even if the figure of ₵5,000 ma have to be adjusted. But whatever the figu there is great need for close **selection** and scrutin of the affected firms and organisations.

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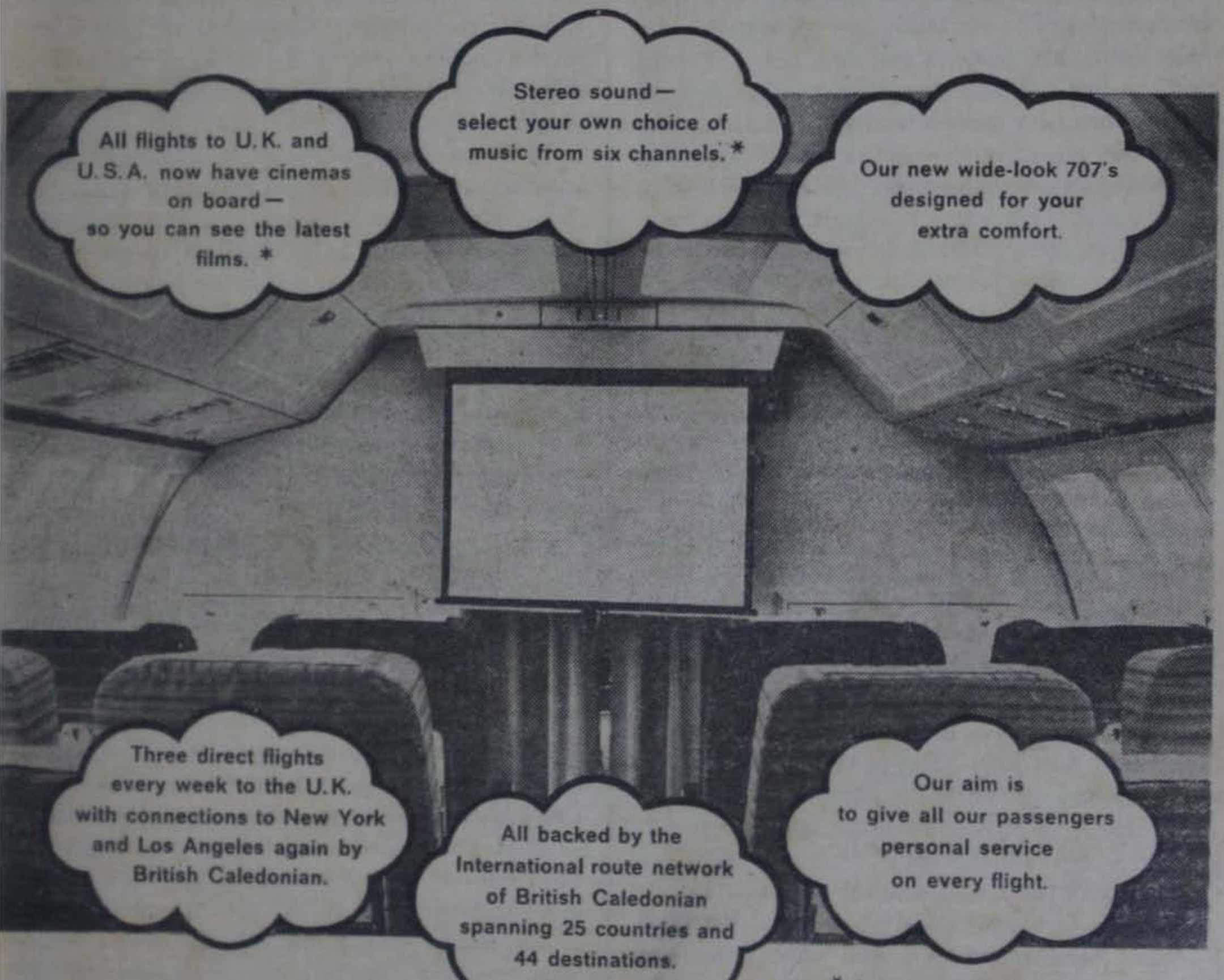
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International

THE VIEW FROM WASHINGTON D.C.

by

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

As soon as you enter Washington you are reminded of the fact that this famous capital city of the United States of America is inhabited **in the majority** by Afro-Americans—Negroes, or, as they prefer to be called now, Blacks. I did not then and have not since troubled to ascertain the true ratio of black to white in Washington, and am not worrying about that detail just now, interesting as it obviously is. However, this most intriguing phenomenon has been "quantified" to my hearing in two different ways: one of them estimates a ratio of as high as 4:1, or even 4½:1; the other simply but ominously says that at 6 o'clock every evening, and at week-ends, Washington is evacuated wholesale by the suburb-dwelling business and official whites, leaving the city, so to speak, "to blackness and to me" (apologies, of course, to Gray).

What this means is that though the "commanding heights" of government and commerce are still occupied here by the whites during the day, Washington by night is a black tinder-box to which even the smallest spark of racial indiscretion would be the detonator to an unimaginable explosion of destructive force. So far, moderation prevails, because enlightened self-interest and good sense have been applied in certain areas here to the pursuit of improvements in race relations and in socio-economic habits. The fact that much remains to be achieved yet in the harmonisation of pluralistic interests in Washington — for which name read America — does not argue in favour of the skeptics; optimism in these crisis-triggered problems is a straight-forward imperative: try, or die. No alternatives!

The theme of the American blacks and their role in this superscale society is of course a critical one for the whole nation, even when ratios and proportions are not a point at issue. But the **Afro**-Americans here are not alone in forming the black majority of Washington's urban population. There are large units of native African nationalities distributed all over the city: Nigerians, Ghanaians, Ethiopians, other East Africans, and the rest; to which add the always evident and by no means quiet representatives from the "Island in the Sun".

It was while musing with my host and driver protem (bearer of an illustrious African name) on the presence and place of these Blacks in the complex of affluence, indigence, magnificence and meanness which is Washington D.C., that we were reminded of the devastating old couplet which says that

It don't matter who begin-it,
The Negro he were in-it!

The reference is to the legend of planning and building of this truly magnificent city, with its unbelievable structures. The chief architect and planner originally given the job was a man of French origin named L'Enfant, who was reputed to be eccentric and temperamental though a genius. After several explosions between L'Enfant and his employers, including George Washington himself, the architect is reported to have finally walked off the job, with the plans for building the city still uncompleted, and unavailable to anyone else to boot.

However, an "Afro-Black", Benjamin Banneker, mathematician and astronomer, who had held some attention by his scientific abilities and who had been taken on as an assistant to one of the principal white architects, is chronicled in the legend as having come to the rescue by reproducing, mostly "by heart", all of L'Enfant's measurements, specifications, quantities and the rest. Upon which the building of the city of Washington was begun, continued and ended! So that one could be forgiven, let us hope, for wanting to essay another small parody, to wit:

It don't matter that L'Enfant begin-it,
Benjamin Banneker he were in-it!

This little ditty is in fact a good deal more than just whimsical, just mischievous or even just ironical. The claim it makes happens to be an often-true one, and in quite unexpected forms too: like the presence and attentions of a black nanny or valet at the birth of some future President or Chief Justice of the United States; or like Surgeon Charles Drew pioneering the science of plasma preservation and establishing the first blood bank in England on British government invitation during World War II; or like Andrew J. Beard, who invented "Jenny", the automatic railway coach coupling mechanism, and gained a $50,000 prize in the process in 1897; or even like the black security guard who first "discovered" — Watergate! . . .

Naturally, the Watergate Affair was holding the national headlines steadfastly every day, on many front pages, during my four weeks in the U.S. in July/August. This was so not only in the nation's capital, the original theatre of the drama, but everywhere else in that vast and bewildering country. Also around the world. For, whatever

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attitudes were or still are about the publicity, true it is that for all serious contemporaries there is but a single reality about Watergate, namely that it is one of the great historical tests of the American system, the American way of life and government.

The American way of government means, for one thing, that **always** there are transcendental positions which Americans of all intellectual and moral grades take on the provisions, meanings, interpretation and application of their national constitution, the most celebrated written constitution on earth. This attitude is prime. A generation ago when my own group first got to the U.S. we were immediately struck by the constancy and spontaneity with which everyone seemed ready to invoke the constitution to his aid as a citizen. At the drop of a word of contest or conflict, your "adversary" would threaten you with "seeing his Congressman", or with "calling my Congressman about this"! More so than those of any others of the scores of countries of one's acquaintance, the citizens of the United States of America seem to have an unsleeping attachment to the principle of government by constitution: government and life under inviolate constitutional protection.

Constitutional Rights

The almost fanatical defensiveness towards guaranteed constitutional rights, in the U.S., is illustrated by the celebrated and tragic case of American "gun law". This story of a gun culture begins with the provision in the Second Amendment to the Constitution (Article II of the Bill of Rights), namely that "a well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed". Most people outside and many inside America shudder and retch, not just at the practical implications of this dreadful "right" but at its historical daily results. One nearly choked when in a conversation with some friends it was said in all seriousness that, these days, certain types can even rent killer guns, known as "Saturday-Night Specials", over the week-end—a claim which unfortunately for one's peace of mind others later swore to be true.

But this extremely unfortunate example of American constitutional sacrosanctity is matched by others evincing some of the noblest sentiments and principles that have ever moved men towards the goals of earthly perfection: the insistence on the sanctity of individual personality, on the impartial rule of law, on the right to free thought and free expression, on the desirability of separateness in the exercise of inherent powers in th State,...others.

So much for a mere glance at a facet or tw of the American way of government and politics The American way of life, for its part, become even more fascinating when some of its myria manifestations appear in episodes like Watergate To take only one illustration. The predominanc of another article in the American Bill of Rights namely No.1, which is also famous as the Firs Amendment to the Constitution, is overwhel mingly in evidence all the time. The freedom granted and secured under this article: for religion speech, press and assembly, are taken by American as seriously as if they belonged in the same class with those lofty ideals enunciated in the Decla ration of Independence itself. Thus the American press becomes in truth just about the freest, certainly the boldest, most uninhibited press in the world; thus it has, and exercises, a completely free hand in reporting and otherwise handling the Watergate affair—all because the constitution says its freedom to operate in this way shall "not be abridged".

To emphasize this totally pervasive aspect of the American way, the sources of information (official, public and private) pour down the insatiable throat of press, radio and TV a never ending torrent of press copy, to be handled as the media jolly well please. And the media are jolly well pleased, not only to present this material to the avid reading, watching, listening public; not only to comment freely on the facts—in many instances the fictions, rather—but even to find their own evidence and pass their own judgment on cases, before a Congressional committee (like the Watergate one), or even a court, has had time to do its work and arrive at its officially mandated conclusions. In the Watergate situation this freedom of expression is in full rein, a freedom which arrogates juridical rights (as well as competence) unto itself as an addition...

The day I tried to get into a session of the Watergate hearings there certainly were no public notices to the effect that a little more was being added to American history, behind that non-committal revolving door and the easy-seeming policemen guarding it. But in fact history was being made inside, for in the Watergate hearings the ever present image of "The Constitution of These United States" is once more up on a pedestal, like a god or an oracle, being plied with questions as to its meaning, its intentions, its wishes for its people.

Not only is history being made and the constitution being invoked for guidance, but historical

precedents, naturally, are being dug up by the resent partisans to support their respective laims. Now as in, say, 1866 (in one precedent ited by the **Washington Post**) it is a case of the egislature clashing with the executive, each laiming constitutional correctness and both now efore the final interpreters of the constitution, amely the federal judiciary, in whose hierarchy he United States Supreme Court of course stands ighest and has absolutely the last word. As we o to press with this article, a federal court has lready given the first ruling—against the President. And Mr. Nixon has immediately reacted, by declaring a stand in turn against the decision and giving notice of the continuing course of actions which must inevitably lead to the Supreme Court.

Apart from the speculation whether in the end President Nixon can be convicted of grave criminal misconduct or not, the interlocutory question passed on to the courts meanwhile is what Judge Sirica has answered. The question was, and still is, whether the President could claim eminent cause, for reasons of presidential privilege and national security, (a) in the case of certain illegal acts done for and against certain private citizens, and involving the F.B.I., the C.I.A. and various servants of the White House; and (b) in having refused to respond to the three different subpoenas issued by the Watergate investigators for the submission of recorded-tape evidence said to bear directly on the matter.

The next phases of the Watergate Affair will develop on the nature of the court decisions which must surely follow one another now and for some time to come. Meanwhile, the American press has predicted, avowedly on the authority of its own knowledge, that it is not just court decisions alone that will soon be in procession but more and bigger sensations also. They said so on TV in Washington, for B.B.C. audiences in Britain.

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ALWAYS

Law and Society

SOME TRENDS IN CRIMINAL LEGISLATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE—II

By
Kwame Afreh

IT IS generally agreed that there has been a greater freedom of expression since the coup of 24th February, 1966. The governments of the post-Nkrumah era have exercised more restraint in dealing with critics and dissidents than Nkrumah did. A dissident, since 1966, may be dismissed from, or denied a job, or put under surveillance, — it is still not too safe to be outspoken —but there have been only very few cases of people being detained for merely criticising the government. This is a hopeful sign.

This new restraint may be due to the greater tolerance of those who have been in power since 1966, a natural reaction to what happened in the Nkrumah era, a realisation in government circles that Ghanaians are now more aware of their rights and that public opinion is now strongly opposed to arbitrary detentions, or as from August 1969 to January 1972, the operation of a Constitution containing elaborate provisions on the Liberty of the Individual.

Whatever may be the reason for the greater freedom of expression since 1966, we must not complacently assume that the present partial freedom will inevitably blossom into a full democracy or even that it will continue. For the history of several nations teaches us that a period of freedom may be followed by a period of harsh repression. The Weimar Republic was succeeded by Hitler's Third Reich; and in our own country seven years (1951-58) of multi-party parliamentary system was followed by eight years of one party dictatorship (1958-66).

Tin Gods

Politicians—whether they be civilians or soldiers—want and, as a rule, love power either for its own sake or to defend or promote a particular interest or ideology. Like most people, they generally do not welcome opposition or dissent; they do not like their mistakes, follies, stupidities, failures or weaknesses to be publicly exposed, they generally love the applause of the populace, and cannot, or only reluctantly tolerate views and activities which may make them unpopular. Many of them who succeed in winning power at least in contemporary Africa, believe and are often assured by sycophants, that they are men of destiny, anointed by God to rule and redeem their country. They can become tin gods. The world has suffered, and Africa is suffering, under several such tin gods.

At this stage of Africa's political development it is easy for any person who achieves power in an African country to become a dictator, a tin god; or for any group to entrench themselves as an oligarchical dictatorship. We all know how people elected into power by the vote of the people systematically set about to dismantle, clog or corrupt the very process through which they won power; how expression of thought is

allowed only if it is in support or praise of the official view; how in practice the principle of 'one man, one vote' was allowed only if the right to vote was exercised on the directions and in support of those in power; and how the decisions of the courts in matters in which the government was directly interested were acceptable only if they were in favour of the government.

A people who want to be free must always be vigilant and jealous of their dignity as human beings who can think and have the faculty of expressing their thoughts. They should never complaisantly and resignedly accept on trust whatever those in power say or do; they must question the basis and reasons for official action.

A study of the penal statutes which have been passed in this country since independence will reveal certain disturbing trends, at least in so far as the liberty of the individual is concerned, which if not checked or reversed will do permanent damage to the nation's spiritual and intellectual well-being. Among these trends are the following:

(1) The tendency to resort to detentions without trial of political opponents or dissidents. One may even say that the main or the only reason why the laws dealt with in this and other articles were passed was to destroy opposition and dissent; and that the other tendencies were only the means used to achieve this predominant aim.

(2) The tendency to use Special Courts or Tribunals from whose decisions there is no appeal in dealing with offences against the state.

(3) The tendency to create additional offences eve when the existing law is adequate to deal with th matters which the additional laws are intended to de with.

(4) The tendency to establish mandatory long, mini mum sentences for certain types of offences.

(5) The tendency to pass ex post facto laws.

(6) The tendency in all these laws to create a gener atmosphere of fear, insecurity and uncertainty.

Kwame Nkrumah detained his political opponent many of them for as long as five, six or seven years In addition, those who were detained under the P.D.A were disqualified from becoming members of Parlia ment and if they were pensioners lost their pension After the coup of 1966, the P.D.A. was repealed an the harsh consequences of detention under that Ac were removed. But the N.L.C. in turn passed the Pro tective Custody Decree (NLCD. 2) under which a perso could be taken into custody and kept in protectiv custody for such period as the N.L.C. might determine Similarly, after the 13th January coup, the N.R.C. also passed the Preventive Custody Decree (NRCD. 2) under which the N.R.C. may authorise the arrest and detention of a person in respect of whom they are satisfied tha it is in the national security or in the interest of the safety of the person so to do. A person detained can be kept in custody for as long as the N.R.C. may deter mine.

Justifiable Detention

Under these laws hundreds of people have been imprisoned since 1958 because of their political beliefs or associations. For many of them im prisonment had disastrous consequences. Some died in prison; many came out with their health, careers, busi nesses, and general prospects destroyed or at leas damaged or their families broken up. All of them came back very bitter against those who detained them. Nothing, in my view, has polarised Ghanaian politics into irreconciliable opposing factions as much as poli tical detentions have done. Unless something is done to heal the wounds caused by political detentions all attempts at "national" reconciliation will be futile.

Most people will agree that in times of national emergency—such as when there is a war or rebellion—it may be necessary to detain people without trial until the emergency is over. Many people will also point out, in justification of the P.D.A., that just before independence and throughout the period 1957-66 there were political violence, an actual rebellion, sabotage, bomb explosions, and several attempts on the life of the President and that there were such circumstances as justified the detention of people; and also, with regard to the detentions by the N.L.C. and N.R.C., that it would have been stupid to have allowed ministers, officers and activists of the ousted government or party to move about freely immediately after the coups; surely they or at least some of them would have organised resistance, sabotage, or created confusion in the minds of the people.

There is some force in these arguments, but they cannot justify the detention of **all** those who were imprisoned under the P.D.A., protective custody and preventive custody. Except after the Kulungugu incident, none of the governments which ordered these detentions

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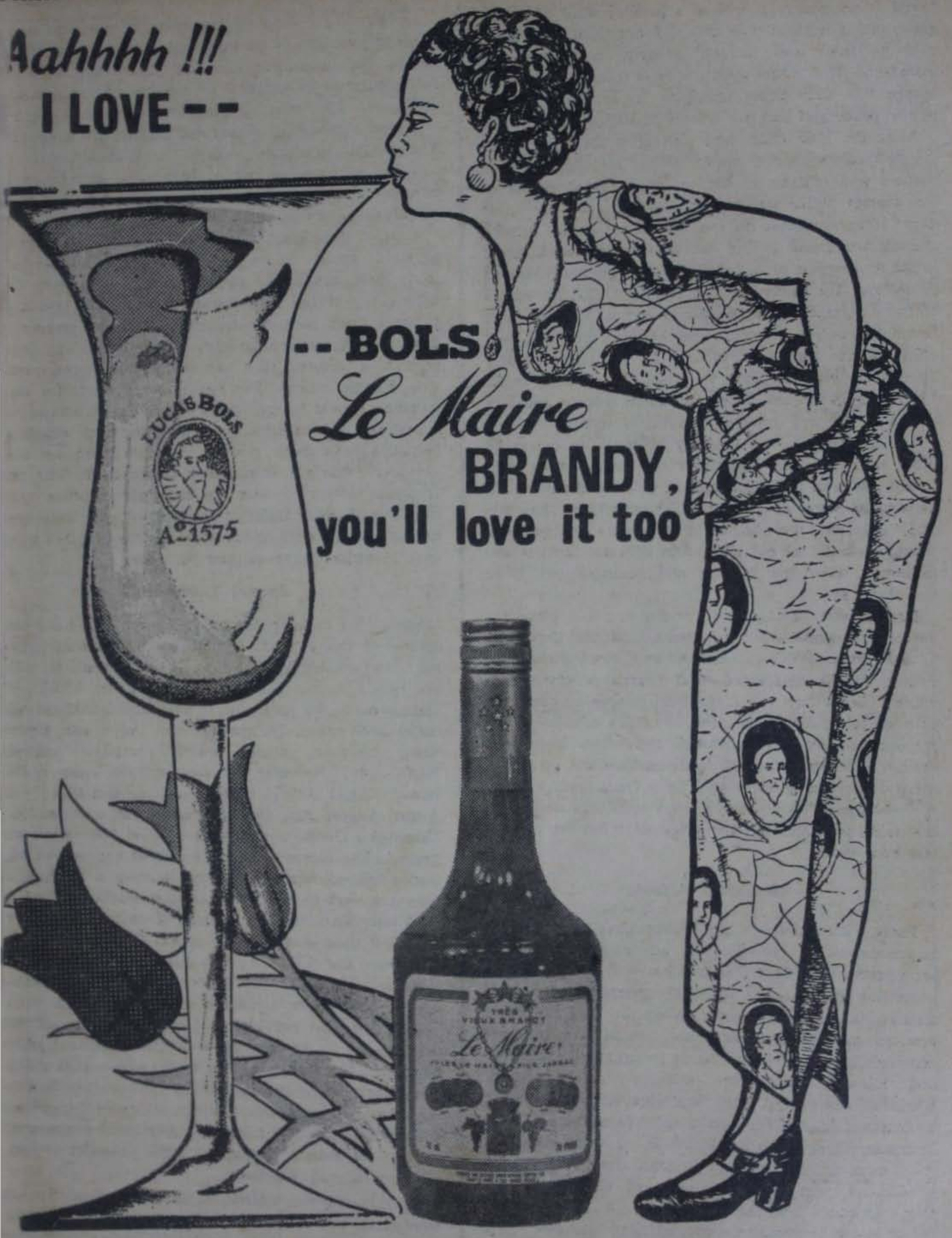
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found it necessary to declare a general state of emergency, an indication that they did not think that their own positions and national security were seriously threatened. They could therefore have taken more care to ensure that only those indulging in activities against public peace and security were imprisoned.

After the 1966 coup, and also after the 1972 coup, the new rulers ordered all Ministers, Members of Parliament and officials of the ousted party to report to the nearest police station. Arrests continued for some days. It appears that on the two occasions no serious attempt was made to find out who constituted a threat to the new regime or national security or actually needed protection. The government merely published the names of those detained under a custody decree. Most of them found themselves in prison just because they had held office in the ousted party and for no other reason. Several of them remained in prison for as long as 12, 15, 18, or 24 months, long after there was no apparent threat to the new regime or national security.

The question is, was it really necessary to detain all those who were detained under the various laws mentioned above or to keep people in political detention for as long as some people were? Those village chairmen and "activists", the obscure letter writers and teachers, young students, the old and infirm illiterate farmers and fishermen, even the lawyers and businessmen? I do not think so.

Furthermore, the ordinary prison is not a place for decent men who have committed no offence. Especially Ghana prisons. The Asafu-Adjaye Commission on Prisons (1968) condemned most Ghana prisons, particularly Ussher Fort and James Fort prisons, as not being suitable for human habitation, even for criminals. The prisons are old, over-crowded and often insanitary; their food is atrocious and facilities there are poor. Yet these are places governments have from time to time confined people who by all ordinary standards are decent, law-abiding citizens not for a few days but for months and even years.

Alternative Methods

There have always been alternative methods to imprisonment for curtailing the activities of those who are considered to be a threat to national security or for protecting people. The colonial government used to restrict "troublesome" people. When the "Big Six" were arrested in 1948 they were not treated like common criminals; they were confined at government bungalows and allowed reasonable facilities for relaxation. Nkrumah was one of them. But when he was in power he detained four of his former colleagues, i.e., Dr. J. B. Danquah, Obetsebi-Lamptey, W. E. A. Ofori-Atta and Ako Adjei in the ordinary prisons, treated them like condemned criminals (or worse) and allowed two of them, Obetsebi Lamptey and Dr. J. B. Danquah, to die in prison in pathetic and cruel circumstances.

Why, instead of prison, do governments, when they deem it necessary to detain people, not put them under house or open arrest, police supervision, or restriction to an area? Ideally, of course, a government should not inflict any hardship on people just because they happen to belong to an opposition or an ousted party. But if this has to be done the alternatives suggested are more bearable than the present indiscriminate dumping of people into prison cells.

Indiscriminate long imprisonment of political opponents or members of ousted parties without trial, always creates the impression that the government does not feel secure, or is vengeful or careless of the rights of opponents, and, what is probably worse that there is a general atmosphere of fear and despair in the country. The power to detain without trial should only be assumed or exercised when there is a declaration of emergency under an appropriate statute. I do not think power to detain is desirable.

Equally disturbing is the tendency of governments to create special courts or tribunals from whose decisions there can be no appeal. It may be argued that Ghana is not the only country where such courts or tribunals have been created and that during periods of danger to the national security or economy many countries have created such courts to deal expeditiously with trouble makers. But again the necessity for such tribunals should be considered within the context of our conditions and traditions; the fact that such courts or tribunals have been created in other countries does not mean that we should also create them. The performance of such courts and tribunals in other countries should rather make us hesitate to create them here, unless we only want to learn the history of other countries in order to repeat their mistakes.

Special Tribunals

Since 1961 three special courts or tribunals have been created in this country. I mentioned the Special Criminal Court created by Nkrumah in my first article. After the 1966 coup the N.L.C. abolished it (see NLCD. 43) and set aside the judgment in the second trial of Adamafio and others. [Adamafio, Ako Adjei and Crabbe were, however, placed under protective custody, NLCD. 44]. However, in January 1967 the N.L.C. passed NLCD. 131 — or to give it its full title — the Armed Forces Act, 1962 (Amendment) Decree 1967. Under this Decree a new offence called Subversion was created. The decree also provided that any person who committed subversion (whether he was a civilian or person subject to military discipline) might be tried by a Military Tribunal. The decision of such a tribunal was final and there could be no appeal from it. After the 1972 coup the N.R.C.. in July 1972. passed the Subversion Decree (NRCD. 90). Under this decree the offence of subversion was re-created and expanded in scope. The decree also provides that a person who commits subversion may be tried by a Military Tribunal whose decision is final and no appeal shall lie from such a decision. Under an amendment to the Decree (NRCD. 191) the decisions, judgments, findings or proceedings of any such military tribunal cannot be questioned in any court by way of habeas corpus, certiorari, mandamus, prohibition or quo warranto.

The three regimes which created these special tribunals were either one-party dictatorship or military. Nevertheless at the time these tribunals were established the ordinary courts were functioning. There was no evidence that the ordinary courts were incapable of dealing expeditiously and satisfactorily with cases triable by the special courts and tribunals. The rules of procedure and evidence applied by the special tribunals and courts in the trial of cases are substantially the same as those applied by the ordinary courts, and trials by the special courts or tribunals have been as long as they would have

:en in the ordinary courts. So what was the need for ;ese special tribunals or courts?

No convincing reasons have ever been given for the 'eation of these courts. However in official statements nnouncing the creation of these courts or in other pro-ouncements by ministers or commissioners, governments ave pointed to the establishment of the courts as evi-ence of government's determination to deal drastically ith subversionists; the courts have been held out as a arning to subversionists that they can expect no mercy. uch statements create the unfortunate impression that ersons tried by the special tribunals cannot expect to be ccorded the same protection that the ordinary courts rovide for accused persons.

The establishment of these courts and the accompany-ng statements do also tend to undermine confidence in he ordinary courts. To the ordinary man the creation of pecial courts is an indication that the government think he ordinary courts are too lenient, or are incapable of andling properly offences against the state or subver-ion, or that the judges do not have the appropriate po-itical sympathies or judicial attitude. An impression which is therefore created is that persons who appear before these cannot expect to come out free, that the government wants them convicted whatever may be the nature of evidence against them.

This is an unfortunte impression, because except for he second court in the Adamafio case, these special ourts or tribunals have on the whole been careful and air in the trial of persons charged before them. But ecause of official pronouncements when these courts were created it is not easy for the ordinary person to elieve that they can be as impartial as any other court n the country.

Right of Appeal

The belief that persons who are tried by these special courts cannot expect to be acquitted is strengthened by the provision that the decisions of such tribunals are final and there can be no appeal from them.

There may be some who do not see anything wrong with this provision. Such people may say that in revo-lutionary times the nation should not indulge in the luxury of time-consuming appeals. Quick action is re-quired in dealing with nation-wreckers, conspirators and subversionists. They may also point out, if they have studied legal history, that right of appeal in criminal cases was only fully recognised in England, for instance, in 1907 and that for a considerable period in the history of England accused persons were denied legal represen-tation and were not allowed to give evidence on their own behalf until 1898.

Such arguments are not convincing. We should not use methods which the experience of other countries and our own has shown can lead to substantial miscarria-ges of justice.

The need for appeal should be obvious. "To err is human" is a truism which every schoolboy knows. A variation of this truism is that to err is judicial and that is why there are courts of appeal. On appeal the errors of a court of first instance can be corrected, wrong convictions set aside, and miscarriages of justice un-done. This is particularly necessary when the life or the liberty of a person is at stake. A person charged with murder before the ordinary courts can appeal. Why not the person charged with subversion before a military tribunal or a special court?

". . . Amid the clash of arms, the laws are not silent", Lord Atkin said in his famous dissent in the case of **Liversidje v Anderson.** So also in the course of the revo-lution, justice should not be denied or impaired. The insistence that there should be equal justice for all, no matter the offence, when committed, is, or should be, one of the cornerstones of national development. What shall it profit this nation if we acquired a lot of brick and mortar but lost the sense of security that justice will be done to all at all times?

About NRCD. 191 little need be said. So wide is the scope of this Decree and so serious its implications that one can only hope it will soon be repealed. Do the N.R.C. really want to create the impression that a per-son tried by a military tribunal established under NRCD. 90 cannot seek protection from any court even in the face of palpable, damnable and manifest injustice? It is no answer that no tribunal in this country can be guilty of such behaviour. The prerogative orders which the Decree denies were devised to guard against possi-bility of such behaviour or errors. Examples are not lacking from the history of other countries and indeed of this country of reprehensible behaviour by special tribunals or even courts.

Unnecessary Creations

What is so special about these Military Tribunals that they should be exempted from the scrutiny of the courts? Is it because they are infallible or they are composed of men of superior intelligence or virtues? Or is it be-cause the offences created under NRCD. 90 are so hei-nous that persons charged with them cannot expect to be treated or protected in the same way as they would be treated or protected in the ordinary courts? What is the real difference between the stealing of cocoa and the stealing of cash? So far as I know the law applicable in both cases is the same. Yet a person charged with stealing cocoa, even one bean of cocoa, under NRCD. 90 faces the death sentence, cannot appeal from the decision of the tribunal which tries him and cannot apply for a prerogative writ, while the person charged with stealing cash before the ordinary courts, even if the amount involved is ¢100,000.00, has all the protec-tions accused persons are entitled to in the ordinary courts.

I think the establishment of special tribunals or courts, except during periods of actual armed hostilities, is un-necesary and ill-advised. The ordinary courts—the Judi-ciary—in whom, under Article 102 of the 1969 Constitu-tion (which was continued in force by Sec. 4 of the N.R.C. Proclamation), the judicial power of Ghana is vested, should be allowed to try all the cases now tried or triable by the Military Tribunals under NRCD. 90. Most of the offences created under Section 1 of NRCD. 90 are amply dealt with under the Criminal Code and other Statutes and in my view there was, and there is, no need for re-designating them under a new Decree and providing for severer sentences under the Decree. The heavens will not fall and our economy will not collapse if the ordinary courts were allowed to try those who, for instance, steal cocoa and to impose such sentences as may be commensurate with the gravity of their offence instead of the mandatory death sentence under NRCD. 90.

There has also been a tendency to create new offences or redesignate existing laws adequately to cover the new offences. An example of this is subversion both under NLCD. 131 and NRCD. 90. For instance, para. 1 (1) (a)-(d) of NLCD. 131 and Section (1) (a)-(d) of NRCD. 90 reproduce verbatim Section 180 (1) a)-(d) of the Criminal Code, except that under the two Decrees the offences are called subversion and under the Criminal Code treason. Subversion and treason are both capital offences. Concealment of subversion under NRCD. 90 is substantially the same as misprision of treason under S.181 of the Criminal Code. Most of the other offences under NRCD. 90 such as stealing cocoa, hoarding, stealing funds intended for the purchase of cocoa, impersonation of a member of the N.R.C., bribery, and so on are, of course, already covered by the provision of the Criminal Code and other enactments.

Why then was it considered necessary to redesignate them as subversion? The reason appears to be that the two military governments wanted the offences they called subversion to be tried by military tribunals whether or not the persons involved were civilians and to have imposed upon those convicted of subversion the severe mandatory sentences required under the Decrees. The new offences did not replace the existing ones under the Criminal Code or other enactments; they provided alternative modes of trial and types of punishment.

Rumours

The result is that like cases may be treated unalike. The sort of punishment an accused person gets for an identical offence depends not upon the gravity of the offence but upon the type of tribunal which tries him.

Another example is the Prohibtion of Rumours Decree passed by the N.L.C. and the N.R.C. Under the Cricinal Code, S.208 it is a misdemeanour to publish or reproduce "any statement, rumour or report which is likely to cause fear and alarm to the public or to disturb the public peace, knowing or having reason to believe that the statement, rumour or report is false". It was under this section that Mr. E. T. O. Ayeh was tried in 1964.

His trial revealed one loophole in the law on rumours, namely, that under S.208 of the Code publication to one person is not sufficient publication.

The N.L.C. in 1966 passed the Prohibtion of Rumours Decree NLCD. 92. The Decree reproduced the words of S.208 of Act 29 quoted above but expanded the scope of the offence by the inclusion in the definition a publication likely to cause ". . . despondency to the public or to disturb the public peace or to create disaffection against the N.L.C. among the public or among members of the armed forces or of the police service" (and that the publisher) "shall be guilty of an offence and upon conviction shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ¢1,000.00 or to a term of imprisonment not exceeding three years or to both". The decree also closed the loophole which had been revealed in the **Ayeh case** by providing that publication to one person shall be sufficient publication.

In spite of the Decree rumours continued about the N.L.C. or some of its members but so far as I know no one was prosecuted under the decree. Obviously such a law is difficult to enforce—unless you bug every home, office or public place and have an informer at everybody's elbow.

The N.R.C. was not deterred by the obvious difficulties involved in enforcing such a law. On 27th June 1973, it also passed its own Prohibition of Rumour Decree (NRCD. 182). The new Decree does not even have the merit of originality; it merely reproduces verbatim NLCD. 92. Whether it can stop or check rumour remains to be seen.

The two Decrees do not mention S.208. Whether NLCD. 92 replaced, or the NRCD. 182 has replaced, S.208 as the only law on rumours or creates an alternative offence of rumour-mongering is a question of interpretation into which I need not go.

But the question is, since unlike subversion, the offence under NRCD. 182 (or under NLCD. 92) can only be tried by the ordinary courts if the person accused is a civilian, would it not have been simpler to have amended S.208 by the insertion of the additional words or provisions mentioned above?

About the tendency to establish by Decree or Act of Parliament mandatory or minimum sentences I do not intend to say much. Mandatory sentences are not new. The death sentence in cases of murder and treason is an example and it has been mandatory throughout the history of this country.

Minimum sentences are also not new in this country or unknown in other countries. For instance under Act 192 habitual criminals may be placed under preventive custody for not less than ten years. Under the Criminal Procedure Code recidivists may be given enhanced punishment. Under the laws of some States in the U.S.A. habitual offenders may be given minimum sentences or even indefinite sentences. In all these cases the intention is to enable the prison authorities to apply the necessary reformative treatment and to give the habitual offender a chance to reform—although these punishments also have a preventive purpose.

Harsh Minimum Sentences

But some of the mandatory sentences imposed in respect of some offences in Ghana are not intended to have a reformative or any utilitarian purpose; they appear to be retributive rather than utilitarian.

A few examples may probably illustrate this. The minimum sentence for sedition as I mentioned in my first article is five years unless in the facts of the case the court can exercise its discretion. Under Act 380 passed by the Busia regime (now repealed by the NRCD. 21) any person who promoted by whatever means the revival of the C.P.P. or the restoration of Kwame Nkrumah as head of state, etc. was guilty of a second degree felony and upon conviction was liable to imprisonment for a term not less than five years unless the Attorney-General was of the opinion that special circumstances existed which justified the imposition of a lesser sentence. Under NLCD. 131 the punishment for subversion was death or a minimum of 25 years imprisonment; the tribunal had no discretion to impose a lesser sentence. Under NRCD. 90 for non-capital offences of subversion the minimum punishment is 15 years imprisonment and the maximum 30; the tribunal has no discretion to impose a lighter sentence.

All these offences are political or, as in cases under NRCD. 90, economic offences. It appears the lawmakers were less interested in the therapeutic effects of the sentences than in severely dealing with political

ffenders—"in order to encourage the others". Of course, hese severe sentences may have a general deterrent ffect but can one escape the impression that retribution n its les complimentary sense was the general aim?

Now a few words about NRCD. 90. Before this Dee was passed there were only three capital offences that is excluding offences under the Armed Forces Act) n this country: treason, murder, and the attempt of a risoner under a sentence of three or more years impri- onment to commit murder. NRCD. 90 has in effect dded five more. These are (1) importing into Ghana Vithout lawful authority any explosive, firearm or ammu- nition; (2) robbery, smuggling or attempting to smuggle ny cocoa, timber, diamonds or gold out of Ghana; (3) tealing any cocoa, diamonds, gold, underground tele- phone cable, or any telephone wire attached to or con- nected with telephone or telegraph pole, or any motor vehicle; (4) wilfully damaging public property with violence; and (5) attempting or conspiring to kill a mem- ber of the N.R.C. or Commissioner with a view to over- throwing the government.

In fairness to the N.R.C. there was much agitation in the country that all or some of these offences should be made capital. Many of these offences were on the increase, but since the N.R.C. took over they have con- siderably decreased. These laws may therefore be said to have served a useful purpose.

Inconsistencies in the Law

But it may be asked whether a person who steals or smuggles a pound of cocoa or gold worth ¢6.75 should be liable to suffer death? If yes, what about the man who embezzles his employer's money? Is the latter ne- cessarily a less dangerous criminal? Is a motor vehicle necesarily more valuable than, say, a safe containing ¢20,000.00 or a cheque for the same amount? Whatever might have been the effect of the Decree one would want to know under what principles these new capital offences were created.

It appears to me these new capital offences were created without reference to any coherent penal policy. Hence the patent inconsistencies in the law. Such incon- sisencies may eventually bring the law into disrepute. A revision along clear and coherent principles is needed.

I hope I have been able to show that many of the laws I have discussed in this article need revision or should be repealed. The overall effect of the laws is that far from engendering in the individual the feeling that the law is his protection against the invasion of his rights it is rather a Sword of Damocles hanging ominously over his head. It has a depressing effect over him; he lives in fear; he feels insecure; and his spirit is cramped. A country whose citizens feel so insecure, live in fear of severe punishment and of detention without trial is in danger of suffering from intellectual atrophy. Such a people cannot fulfil their full promise and achieve the best they are capable of.

(To be continued)

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Observer Notebook

The West African Drought

WITHIN the last few months the attention of the world has been focussed on the West African countries experiencing the severest drought in the area in living memory. The countries most affected are Mauretania, Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger and Chad. The Gambia and the northernmost parts of Nigeria are also hit, but in Gambia the river appears to have softened the impact of the drought; the affected areas of Nigeria have not been much in the news because Nigeria has treated the problem as an internal one and handled it as an experiment in self-reliance. The dimensions of the problem were so vast in the six most affected countries that it was necessary to call on international assistance to contain the problem. It is reported, for example, that Niger has lost 600,000 cattle and over 800,000 sheep and goats through starvation. On the whole, the six countries have lost about 60% of their cattle and 50% of their grain harvests, and this means that those nearer the Sahara have practically lost everthing. Reports do not speak of much loss of human life, but undernourishment and malnutrition are real enough.

The drought has caused serious social dislocation in the affected countries. Those further north have sought refuge in the less affected southern areas, and nomads are ill adjusting to sedentary life without any means of livelihood.

International response has been most encouraging. Among the countries which have sent relief aid are Canada, Britain, France, the U.S., Belgium, Spain, the Soviet Union, China, the Netherlands, Italy, West Germany. Some African countries have contributed their quota, and international organisations like the F.A.O. and the Red Cross have also participated in the relief effort. This show of international solidarity and sympathy is most heartening and comes as a pleasant relief from the cynicism and chicanery that we encounter in more normal times.

As a result of international action, the peak point of the crisis has been probably passed, but the crisis situation is not yet over. The relief project sponsored by the USAID is still on with the cooperation of the countries mentioned above. One of the major needs is transportation for ensuring that supplies can reach areas where they are most needed in good time. Relief supplies have been held up at ports because there are not enough aircraft to transport them, while railway facilities are inadequate. It is in this area that

countries in the region and beyond, on the African continent, can augment the assistance being offered by the outside countries and bodies.

The O.A.U. has already made a gesture, namely exempting the affected countries from paying their contributions this current year. This is a kind gesture, but it does not appear to be enough considering the magnitude of the problem. We recognise that most African countries do not have spare resources to devote to such a relief project, laudable though it is, but we are convinced that both individually and in concert, they can do much more than they have done so far. If, for instance, as many African countries as possible were to put two military aircraft at the disposal of the relief organisations, with those in West Africa throwing in half a dozen military trucks each, a solution would have been found to the transport problem in the relief operations. And with the number of military governments in Africa, there should not be much difficulty about making this particular type of contribution. We consider that for reasons of self-respect and solidarity, a well organised and effective **African presence** is needed in finding at least a short-term solution to the crisis, and the request we are making should be well within the means of most African countries.

Those on the ground assess that the crisis is of such dimensions that its effects will be still painfully felt next year, and that it will take some time, nature being more benevolent, before the affected countries recover from their losses. This means that for at least another year the relief operations must go on, and we strongly believe that this is a challenge to the O.A.U. to show that it can bring its weight to bear on finding solutions to some of the more immediate human problems in Africa. It will be a damnable shame if in the face of this calamity, Africa should be seen to leave the whole burden on charitable countries and international organisations.

Since the crisis erupted there have been discussions in some parts of the world in an attempt to think out a long-term solution. Various views have been put forward and solutions proposed. Whether the Sahara is advancing south or whether the Sahara is being added to through a clearing of the open woodland is a moot point, but it is recognised that something ought to be done about this natural phenomenon. Emigration has been suggested, and solutions involving enormous ecological studies and considerable financial outlays have been proposed. The vast sums that will be required for "holding back the Sahara" or harnessing water resources, both surface and underground, are not likely to be within the means of the countries concerned for a long time to come; nor can most friendly African countries be reasonably expected to be of much assistance in this long-term project. But for the short-term relief operations, we trust that with a little goodwill some idle military trucks and aircraft of O.A.U. member countries will greatly supplement the considerable efforts being made to alleviate suffering in this part of the world.

The crisis should provide the O.A.U. with the opportunity of thinking about the establishment of a fund or a body that will readily be put at the disposal of countries that fall victim to such human disaster or even to large scale human folly. In any such eventuality international assistance should come to supplement African initiative and not precede or even replace it.

Letters

Ghana Airways' Let-down in Abidjan

SIR—It was my sorry misfortune to be witness to disreputable conduct on the part of our national airline and I consider it my public duty to report the matter through the press to the relevant authorities and the general public for censure.

Nobody can quarrel with an airline for cancelling its scheduled flight, if its plane has developed engine troubles. But airlines usually extend the courtesy of free hotel vouchers and meal vouchers to persons with confirmed tickets who show up for check-in but who cannot be served because of a sudden cancellation of the scheduled flight in question.

On Thursday 30th August 1973, I arrived at Abidjan Airport in the company of several distinguished travellers who all held confirmed Ghana Airways tickets. Included in the group of travellers was the Chief Justice of Uganda and Sir Muhammed Zafrulla Khan of the International Court of Justice, besides several distinguished American lawyers whose first visit to Africa this was and who were going on to Accra from Abidjan after the World Peace Through Law Conference in order to see something of our country. I believe that such visits are what the State Tourist Corporatnon has been trying to promote.

To my consternation and embarrassment as the only Ghanaian in that party, long after the hour for check-in there was no Ghana Airways official in sight anywhere in the airport-building. They had obviously decided to adopt the strategy of staying out of sight in order to avoid expenditure on hotels and meals for these passengers whose tickets they themselves had confirmed. For more than an hour, we just stood and milled around with no person to honour Ghana Airways' contractual obligations. Luckily, our Ambassador happened to appear at the airport and I made a protest to him. I suspect that it was through his intervention that we were eventually able to make contact with the manager of Ghana Airways **over the phone!** Anyway, he gave oral instructions to the airport staff to give us hotel vouchers etc. after we had been at the airport for more

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than two hours with nobody from Ghana Airways to attend to us.

It seems to me that this behaviour was fundamentally subversive of our tourist promotion aspirations. Several Ugandans on the flight swore that they would never touch Ghana Airways again. To confirm flight tickets and then fail to show up at the airport seems to me to be the height of irresponsibility on the part of an airline. And, from the comments made by the airport officials as we stood around, it would seem that this was not unprecedented in the operations of Ghana Airways at Abidjan. I think that something has to be done about this by the airline's management. The strategy of failing to show at the airport when there is a cancellation may save the airline a few cedis, but surely it is very likely to lose the airline thousands of cedis through disappointed customers taking their custom elsewhere next time.

Faculty of Law **S. K. Date-Bah**
Legon

Cape Coast University and Town

SIR—I write to express disappointment at Mr. Danny B. Safo's article concerning the economic impact of the University on Cape Coast town (**L.O.** VIII/16). I had hoped that his original researches would confirm or refute a growing suspicion that I have that all varieties of educational institution do little, or much less than is popularly supposed, to improve the economic situation of the areas in which they are sited. Unfortunately, no original research appears to have been done by Mr. Safo and a list of questions remains unanswered. May I pose some of them:

(i) What percentage of the students come from Cape Coast?

(ii) What percentage of the teaching staff in the high concentration of educational establishments in Cape Coast are products of the University?

(iii) What percentage of workers (administrative, kitchen, labourers, etc.) actually claim Cape Coast as their home town? Mr. Safo says, with unseemly inexactitude, that there are "thousands". What are the actual figures?

Below are the figures for the employees (all academic and non-academic staff) for one secondary school:

Home town	% of employees
Host local/national area	9.2
Same region	30.8
Another region of Ghana	30.8
Other African country	15.4
Outside Africa	13.8

Frequently one hears the charge that "Compound Overseers", "Personnel Officers" and the like fill vacancies with "countrymen". How true is this at Cape Coast University or, for that matter, Okomfo Anokye Hospital? It is not good enough for Mr. Safo to write: "Some of these workers are original residents of Cape Coast. Some of these girls are Cape Coasters". We expect better and substantiated research from the writer.

(iv) What is the "local" component of the vast sums spent on developing the University? Are "local" contractors and "local" labour used? What are the "local" purchases of materials?

I don't want to appear hyper-critical for I think that Mr. Safo has hit upon an important subject worth greater and more exact investigation.

How much truth does lie in the easy supposition that some great government project sited in a particular area may bring local prosperity? May it not be that many employees of Cape Coast University are merely salting money away to build houses or extend farms at Bibiani, Swedru or Mamfe? Cape Coast meanwhile waits for its renewal on the return of funds from its sons working in Kumasi, Accra or Ho?

I, for one, hope that Mr. Safo will return to give us some original and exact figures to meditate upon.

St. Monica's Secondary School **Alan Cole**
P.O. Box 17
Mampong-Ashanti

Military Custody for Suspects

SIR—The statement attributed to Major K. B. Agbo, Commisioner for Labour, Social Welfare and Co-operatives that "he would no more tolerate any prosecution which often resulted in the acquital and discharge of the offender on technical grounds, thereby setting him free to spend the money of the poor and illiterate villagers' is most unhealthy, and does the government of the day no credit at all. It also exhibits lack of confidence in the country's judiciary. Major Agbo was reported in the **Daily Graphic** of 30th August to have made the above statement when addressing secretaries and senior employees of the Ghana Co-operative Council.

I am hoping that such a statement is the singular opinion of the Commissioner concerned. Surely, Ghana is not looking for a society which is governed by the "justice of suspicion", whereby any citizen "who was suspected of embezzlement of funds" would be whisked off into the military guard-room until the amount suspected to have been embezzled is recovered! Very frightening indeed!

When a person is charged in the law court of the land with stealing funds belonging to a Government Department, and the Head of that Department steps into the witness box to say that his department has not lost even a pesewa and the accused person is acquitted, for Christ's sake, where is the technical ground for such an acquittal? We expect persons in responsible positions to weigh their pronouncements carefully, since what they say can easily be interpreted to be the general policy of the government.

We are apprehensive enough to read or hear of persons who have been put into military custody for weeks on end on suspicion of fraud or theft. Surely, there is an existing machinery for carrying out such investigations without treating every Ghanaian citizen as a soldier and putting him into military custody pending investigations.

It cannot be said that **all** investigations carried out in the past under our known orthodox system (without the suspected persons being first thrown into jail pending such investigations) resulted in guilty persons being acquited on technical grounds. The legal records are full of accused persons who stood trial while on bail and who had been driven straight to the prisons to start serving two to ten years imprisonment on the judgement day. Their liberty, during the period of investigations did not affect the results of the case.

the other hand, it cannot also be said that all the ons taken into military cusody pending investigations found guilty. Some were found to be innocent shamefacedly released quietly, after the deprivation humiliation attendant on such military custody, not ention the bruality and profane language sometimes by those whose duty it is to grab the suspect at point. Suspicion of a crime should not be made nymous with the commision of a crime in our dear na.

ch threats of throwing civilians into military custody the actual incarceration of civilians in military cells breeds resentment against a Military government se record is otherwise very commendable.

et we forget, the Preventive Detention Act of the P. government had very disastrous consequences ed!

Name and address supplied—Ed.

For The Record

day, August 27

Police Exams Leak

E promotion examinations held last Monday by the ana Police Service have been cancelled. Mr. J. H. bina, who announced this in Accra today, said that cancellation which was made on the advice of the ice Promotions and Appointments Advisory Board the result of a leakage of the examination questions. I.G.P. added that the cause of the leakage was being estigated and that a new date would be fixed for fresh minations.

Kaiser Engineers Revisit Accra Plains

E resident manager of VALCO, Mr. J. V. L. Phillips, lay accompanied a team of three engineers on a rtesy call on the Commissioner for Agriculture. The gineers who are from the Kaiser Engineering Inc. of U.S.A. are in the country to review with government icials a report prepared by the company nine years on irrigating the Accra plains. The three men are . F. L. Hotes (leader), Mr. T. T. Kiernan, and Mr. en Allen. They are expected to be in Ghana for two eks.

esday, August 28

Omnibus Service Halts in Sekondi

S Service in the Sekondi-Takoradi area has virtually me to an stand-still as all the buses are standing in repair at the Omnibus Authority garage. There is at moment only one mini-bus in operation between two towns of Sekondi and Takoradi. Mr. T. Y. amfi, depot manager of the authority, explained that k of spare parts had caused the deplorable situation. na Fedua Mensah, managing director of the Omnibus vices, has said that four buses will be sent to Sekondi-koradi as relief until spare parts arrive.

ursday, August 30

New Economic Measures Announced

E Ghana government's policy for the next financial r was announced this morning. According to the nouncement, the government proposes to spend 6.6 million which shows an increase of 11.7 per cent over last year's estimate.

In the new set of estimates, an amount of ¢14.9 million has been allocated to agriculture as compared to last year's figure of ¢8.9 million. Of this amount, ¢4.6 million will be spent on developing crop production and livestock.

Also increased is the allocation for the construction and maintenance of trunk and feeder roads. Feeder road allocation now stands at ¢8 million as compared to ¢5 million last year. Again, the statement said the government intends to step up the rate of providing good drinking water, and accordingly a plan for a national water grid has been approved to link the various water supply systems. The rural electrification scheme is to continue and the government plans to extend and improve existing hospitals instead of building new ones in the coming fiscal year.

Other measures announced include:

1. A new tariff structure in which the old sales tax is abolished; instead of paying a separated duty and sales tax, importers will now pay a unified duty. (As a result of this the range of overall duty on goods, including raw material for the textile industry has been reduced). In addition, purchase tax has been abolished on motor cycles and reduced on cars of the lower price range, commercial vehicles and vehicles assembled in Ghana.
2. The issuing of a new price list which will show substantial reduction in the prices of certain items including building materials and motor spare parts and which will reflect the government's intention to stop bearing the subsidy on all foreign food items.
3. The imposition on organisations operating in Ghana of a flat rate of ¢5,000 a year for each expatriate in their employment except where such persons are working in logging and sawnmilling, fishing mining, oil prospecting; government corporations and departments. This measure is in furtherance of the government's Ghanaianisation programme.
4. The reduction of lending rates of commercial banks in the country from 14½ per cent to 10 per cent.

Thursday, August 30

Rowland at Obuasi

MR. Roland Rowland, Chief Executive of Lonrho, the British mining and trading empire with interest in the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation Limited, has visited the corporation's mines at Obuasi. He said he was on a routine visit to the mines in which his company holds 45 per cent of the equity shares. He is expected to meet the Head of State before returning to London.

Saturday, September 1

The Peoples' Educational Association Meets

AT their National Consultative Conference in Kumasi at the weekend, the members of the People's Educational Association (P.E.A.) elected the following interim National Executive Committee:

Mr. J. G. K. Owusu—National President
Mr. S. F. S. Lawson Doe—First Vice-President
Mrs. Mary Okyere—National Treasurer
Miss Fanny Dontoh—Assistant National Treasurer
Mr. Joe Opare-Abetia—Acting National Secretary
Mr. L. A. Okraku—Asst. Acting National Secretary.

In addition, the conference adopted a number of resolutions including one which set out programmes and acivities for the Association's Silver Jubilee in January, 1974.



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by State Express

Get the taste

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Editorial

PLANNING GHANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In the Economic Measures for the 1973/74 fiancial year published at the end of last month, the gvernment has earmarked ₵144 million for development projects in the public sector of the economy. This shows a large increase over the ₵95 million used for that purpose in 1972/73. Such a large expansion in development spending has been made possible by an anticipated increase of nearly ₵157 million over the revenue of ₵413 million realised during 1972/73. This improvement is attributed to the expansion in cocoa revenue due to a phenomenal rise in the world price for cocoa. This means that the government can now go in for expansion of economic activity without too much concern about the repercussions of such a policy on monetary expansion and the balance of payments. Past experience, however, has amply demonstrated the dangers and problems which could arise from a policy of linking internal economic development too closely to the international economy. The government, happily, appears to be aware of the fact that the present cocoa and gold bonanza cannot provide a permanent financial basis for managing the economy.

However, the budget statement is almost completely devoid of any sense of direction in the allocation of development expenditure. The sector estimates lack that organic coherence which could ensure growth without bottlenecks appearing now or in the near future in some strategic sectors. The need for planning the economy is particularly urgent for three reasons.

In the first place, planning would ensure that annual development expenditures and programmes fit into the long-term strategy for economic growth. There is always a strong temptation to overspend on development projects in good revenue years with the result that projects are either abandoned uncompleted in times of poor revenue harvests or are completed by external borrowing at most unfavourable terms. In this connection, we venture to suggest that the development expenditure of ₵144 million during the current financial year is unrealistically large compared with the ₵95 million actually spent last year. In all probability there would be wastage of scarce resources if an attempt is made to fulfil this development target in the wake of the extensive shortages in all types of materials for construction.

In the second place, development planning requires a balancing of sector priorities to ensure that production by the various sectors are reasonably adequate to meet demand

without over-production or under-production in any sector. The N.R.C. is on record as having expressed a preference for the gradualist approach to economic development. This implies that while paying due regard to he development of the economy as a whole, the government identifies one or two strategic sectors where emphasis in expenditure would maximise national welfare without imposing severe financial burdens on any group of individuals or regions of the country.

Finally, in a situation where the bulk of goods and services are produced by the private sector, government development spending must be carefully planned with the likely developments in the private sector in view. This would eliminate duplication in production and provide a stable framework for inducing the maximum possible contribution by the private sector. In this connection, it needs to be emphasised that it is uncertainty and not control which smothers private initiative and capital. The government has clarified its position with regard to those areas where it wants to see effective public or indigenous private participation, but the lack of concrete steps towards the implementation of the programme creates the impression that the policy is not definite. Private investment has therefore adopted a wait-and-see attitude, with the result that massive financial resources are being held idle, while several profitable fields of investment are starved of financial resources.

All these factors point to the need to plan the economy not only to achieve continuity and consistency in the sectoral structure of public development expenditure, but also to ensure the harmonisation of public and private programmes so that waste is minimised. It is a sad commentary on the Economic Planning Division of the Ministry of Finance that since January 1972, it has produced nothing to justify its existence. It is time the Division woke up to its responsibilities and produced a long-term strategy for the eventual realisation of economic self-reliance. Slogans such as "self-reliance" and "capturing the commanding heights of the economy" are meaningless unless they are translated into a clearly articulated planning strategy.

The annual budgets would gain greater relevance to the extent that they would provide annual bench-marks in the country's progress towards some measure of economic independence.

ADVERTISE IN THE
LEGON OBSERVER

The Economy

ECONOMIC MEASURES FOR 1973-74: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES—II

by

Emmanuel Treve

THE second item under Taxes on Income and Property is a major departure from the taxation of income; that is, taxation of rent income separately from personal income. Under the outgoing system rent income is aggregated with other personal incomes. The rationale for the separation is the desire "to make it easy for them (landlords and landladies) to discharge their income tax obligation" which obligation they have hitherto skirted through the widespread practice of non-reporting of rent income along with other incomes. The new system makes it easy for owners of rental premises to discharge their tax obligation in this sense that tax payments would be lower than under the aggregation method.

It is a desirable thing to provide relief to landlords and landladies by abandoning the income aggregation system which admittedly would have pushed their income into higher and higher tax brackets if they complied with the then existing tax law. But a closer look at the Rent Income Tax schedules makes it clear that in trying to eliminate or correct one injustice we have erred on the side of generosity. The first example in paragraph 25 makes the point: a "monthly rent income of ₵200 will attract a rent tax of ₵5 a month" which comes to ₵60 a year. Compare this with tax payments under the personal income tax proper: under the personal income tax, after deductions, a chargeable income of ₵2,460 per annum would attract tax of about ₵216.00 per annum. This does not compare well with rent tax of ₵60 per annum on almost equivalent rent income.

The problems with the Rent Income Tax are two. First the smaller number of chargeable rent brackets (five in all) with the consequent establishment of wide rent income differences between brackets, this coupled with the relatively low tax rates applicable to rent income. To illustrate the low nature of the rent tax rates, take again the chargeable income figure of ₵2,460. Under the personal income tax the average tax rate on such income works out to about 8.8%. This compares harshly with a rate of 5% on rent income up to ₵5,000. Again a look at the maximum rates would bring out the inequity: under the personal income tax the maximum rate of 70% falls on incomes in excess of ₵14,400. But under the

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proposed rent income tax the maximum rate of 30% (which is not even half that applicable to personal incomes) descends gently on rent incomes in excess of ₵50,000 (a figure almost three times the lower boundary of the upper bracket of the personal income tax).

The generous treatment accorded rent incomes through the choice of tax brackets and tax rates is extended further via allowances chargeable "against rent income prior to assessment of tax liability". These special rent allowances are over-generous. Let us illustrate in the following table:

Table 1—Magnitude of rent allowances, using selected figures

(1) Gross Rent, p.a. (₵)	(2) Rate of allowance	(3) Amount of allowance (₵)
5,000	50%	2,500
10,000	30%	3,000
25,000	20%	5,000
50,000	10%	5,000
100,000	5%	5,000

Two points emerge from the above table: first, for rent incomes up to ₵10,000 the tax savings are enormous; secondly, as can be seen from the last three rows of column (3) there is some statistical confusion of absolute figures (gross rent) and the percentages (rate of rent allowance); for it is highly unlikely though not impossible that the intention is to allow pre-tax deductions of the same amount on incomes two times, and even four times as large as the other.

Up to this point we have been concerned about the equity of the rent income tax relative to the personal income tax. The last line of paragraph 25 understates the same point by declaring, on the basis of the two examples given there, that "the actual tax is **clearly very reasonable. . .**" And to that personal income tax payers (may be including even those whose loyalties are divided by reason of their landlord-/lady-ship) are likely to respond that the new rent tax measures are very unreasonable in juxta-position to the personal income tax.

One last point on the Rent Income Tax. There is need to provide a better mechanism for the registration of houses. Without this, rent incomes would continue to escape tax even at the outrageously generous rates proposed.

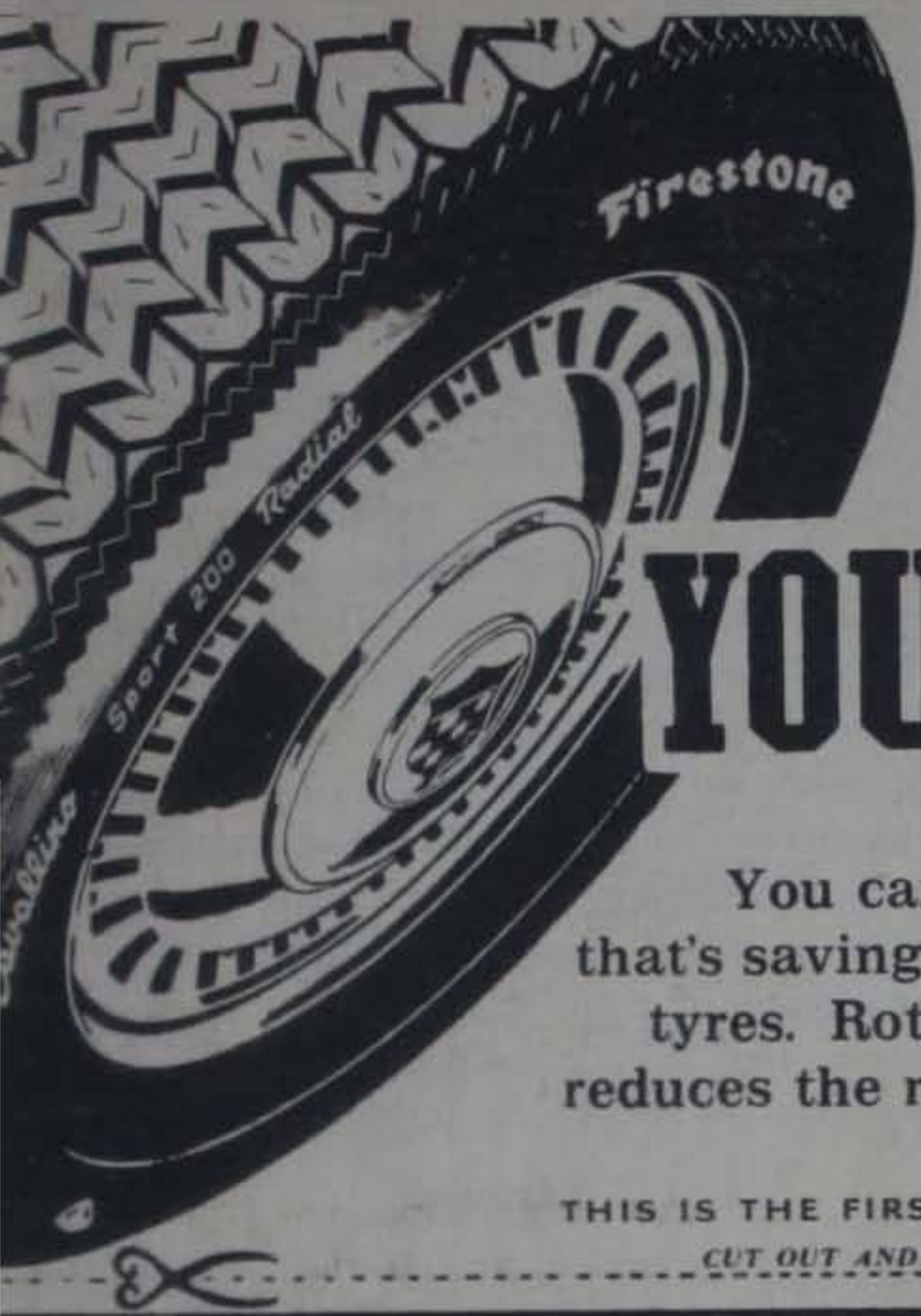
The final point on Taxes on Income and Property is that big tax relief is at hand for pensioners whose pensions are retained in Ghana. From the schedule of examples in paragraph 29 it can be seen that the tax savings are substantial; for example, the new tax rates will give a tax relief of ₵156.00 on a pension income of ₵2,460 per annum and that certainly is a lot of dole for a man or woman at that age. It would be noted that the maximum tax relief is ₵288.00 and that occurs at pension incomes of ₵3,420 and above. It is probably both the man or woman in the middle who receives a pension income of ₵3,420 and the person whose pension is in excess of ₵3,420 who would feel cheated in receiving the same tax relief (of ₵288.00) as the person whose pension is ₵5,000 and ₵3,420 respectively. This confused feeling is to be expected since answers to the question: should the tax relief be progressive or regressive would depend on whether one wants to benefit the upper or lower income groups relatively more or less. Some progressives may mistakenly vote for progression when what is really needed is regression; this way (by regression) we ensure that the tax savings fall more than in proportion to the increase in pension incomes.

The special treatment of pension incomes retained in Ghana could be extended to cover the broader group of income recipients—the aged. The danger of abuse if tax relief is extended to all aged is a real one; it could get us into another ridiculous situation of discovering persons whose age would jump from, say, 55 to 60 years overnight.

Chapter Three of the Government's Economic Measures for 1973-74 deals with Sector Developments and Programmes.

Boom in Exports

On foreign trade the Statement lauds the country's favourable showing in its balance of trade for 1972 as "a very special achievement". The occasion for joy here is the ₵173.9 million trade surplus. As a statistical abstraction the trade surplus should give the Government a good feeling and name which even the sceptics cannot begrudge it. But it should be made quite clear that recent improvements in foreign trade are due largely to the direct control over imports, and to the price booms on the cocoa, gold and timber markets. The Economic Measures document does not address itself explicitly to the resolution of the conflict between accumulation of trade surpluses and maintenance of controls over imports at a level where shortages of consumer goods, spare-parts and raw materials would persist and even worsen. There is, however, the realization (paragraph 33) that great reliance on controls as a means of safeguarding the balance of payments cannot be a long term solution. What is needed is initiation or encouragement of economic activities which contribute to production of



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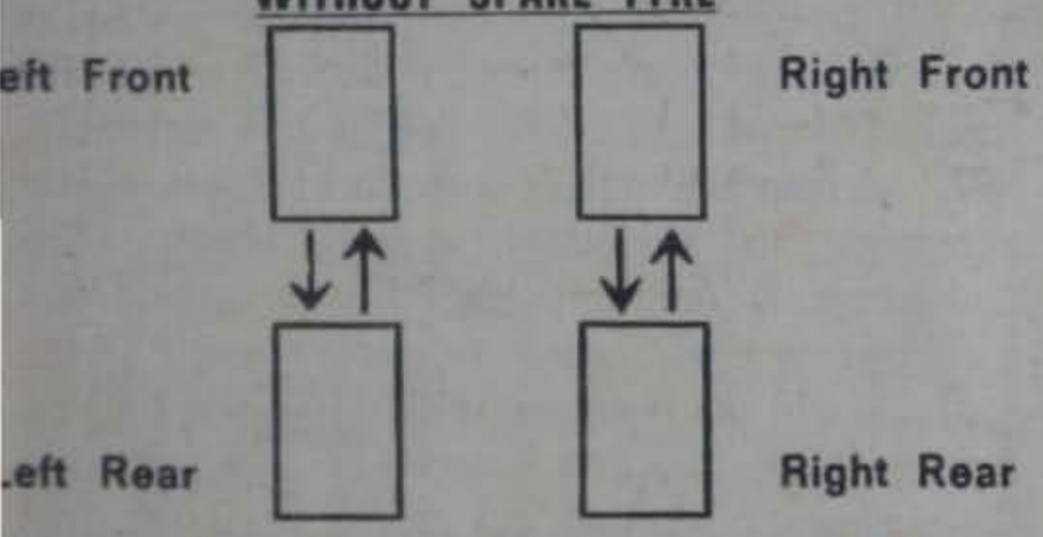
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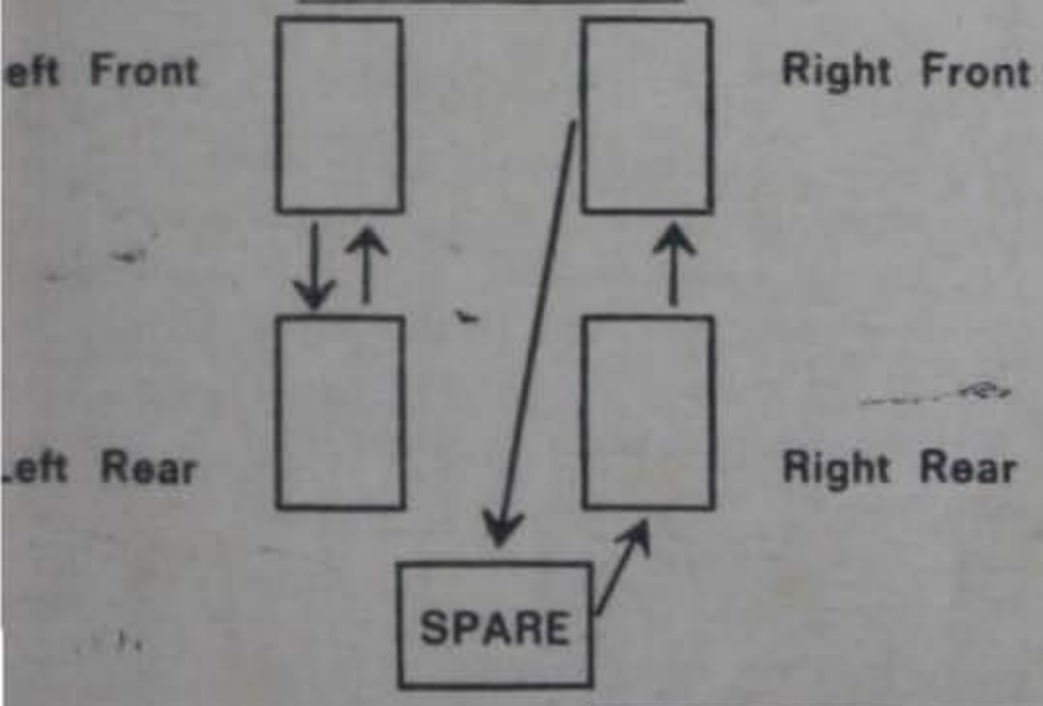
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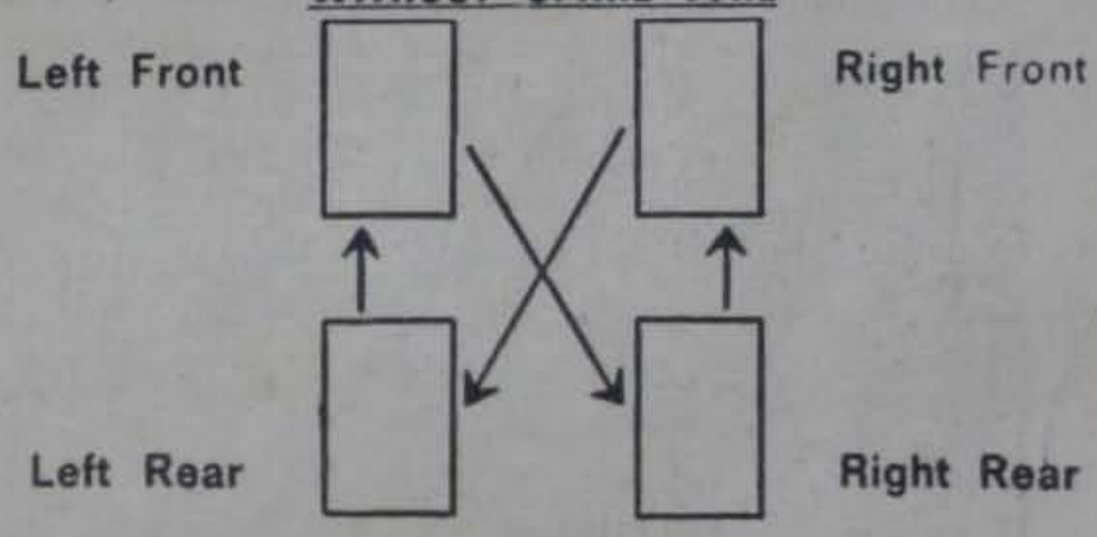


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exportables and/or importables. The document identifies the 30% export bonus and the Ghana Export Company as possible instruments for export promotion. On the nature of the exports there is mention of "non-traditional exports" and tourism.

It is probably unfortunate that the Ghana Export Company is singled out and introduced into the picture. It should be enough to beam out any added incentives to export promotion to "the business sector" and subsume the Ghana Export Company under the business sector. For if a major thrust is to be made in increasing exports then the relevant agent is the business sector. To say this is not to belittle the contribution that the Ghana Export Company can make but it is to say that it is probably pale in comparison with the contribution of the rest of the business sector which is engaged in exporting.

The reference to tourism as an export activity (paragraph 34) would probably have passed unnoticed but for the language in which this form of trade is dressed. The second and third sentences of paragraph 34 are worth quoting:

> "Government is **convinced** that Ghana has an **immense** potential in this area. On the tourist industry Government will undertake during 1973-74 a **massive** development programme at the Ada Estuary" (emphasis mine).

Given the categorical statement of the matter one's best bet is to hedge by saying that such declaration of intent must be based on hard evidence which is not available to the public. But such a position on the potential for tourism in Ghana cannot go unchallenged; it is incumbent upon the responsible agencies (the Ministry of Trade and Tourism and the Ghana Tourist Corporation) to produce the evidence and its analysis from which the Government derived that strong conviction. To withhold the evidence would be as equally deceptive as a downright misrepresentation of the facts.

There is a lengthy discussion on infrastructure. The first item under infrastructure is an announcement that the ground has been prepared for the National Consultancy Company to commence operations. One of the compelling reasons for the setting up of this company is reduced reliance on foreign consultancy firms. Another reason is the need to take out of the hands of the P.W.D. consultancy work which it has allegedly been doing at a sluggish pace and entrust it to this new company which"... being a **normal commercial organisation...** is expected to operate at a faster pace..." The confidence "loaned"—and I use the word advisedly—to the National Consultancy Company is not supported by our experience with **normal government though commercial organisations.** This is a reality and the very thing which makes Government sad in paragraph 109. Can we afford to ignore history and reality and still escape contradicting ourselves?

The section on road construction and maintenance is replete with details of which roads would be surveyed and designed, graded, gravelled and/or tarred. The details are reassuring since they provide a measure of our capacity to **plan** road construction and maintenance, as well as an objective test of performance. There is, however, need for long term programming of road projects to avoid patch-work which is what we have been doing with the potholes. In the long term view the emphasis should be on the assurance of some degree of permanence to our roads. The present situation in which road grading has been reduced to scattering of dust, gravelling to building of mounds, and tarring to painting is a wasteful expenditure of useful man power and equipment.

Education

On education the Statement displays a degree of candour which is probably directed at history and/or the third person. And this is done for one major plank in our educational programme: that is, formal education up to the secondary school. Two figures make the point: percentage of "school-going population... actually receiving regular formal education" (43%) and percentage of "elementary school enrolments (who) gain admission to secondary schools" (13%). This indictment is only meaningful if it provides a challenge to Government to correct some of the anomalies in the **financing** of education in Ghana. And in this connection it needs pointing out that Government's decision to revise textbook fees upward and to withdraw its subsidy (₵0.25 million in 1972-73) to the West African Examinations Council in respect of the Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination is the **first major** step in the **wrong direction.** For a Government which has thought itself financially capable of continuing **free** University education (with a Book Allowance of ₵40 per student per annum) by abolishing the Students Loan Scheme to argue that it cannot continue to meet bills in respect of textbooks and the Middle School Leaving Certificate Examinations is unconvincing. To take another example, how many Ghanaians benefit from the car maintenance allowance of ₵30 or so per month which the Government has reinstituted! For our economic development effort to reach the man or woman who lives outside the urban centres it must be broad-based. **Abolition, not upward revision** of textbook fees would seem to be the desired policy change.

The review of **performance** in agriculture and fishing, 1972-73 which is presented in paragraphs 82-85 adds a lot to the section on agriculture; this is something which should have been done for all sectors. One cannot swear by the figures given for crop production and fish catch but the figures help to indicate areas of success or failure. If plantain, for example, cost considerably more in 1972-73 than in 1971-72 and the public is made aware that plantain production declined from 3.23 million tons in 1971-72 to 1.63 million tons in 1972-73 then the proclivity to witchhunt for evil middlemen and smugglers would be reduced.

Chapters 5 and 6 of the Economic Measures deal with Control over (Government) Expenditure and Supplementary Policies respectively. In these two chapters there is a search for ways and means of achieving economy in Government commercial and non commercial operations. In my concluding observations, I shall deal with the broad objective of increasing efficiency in public sector operations.

International

THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT IN THE CHANGING WORLD

by

S. K. B. Asante

THE policy of non-alignment, characteristic of the orientation of a large number of small and medium-sized countries in the complex international situation that took shape after World War II, is a subject of steady interest among observers of the international scene. This policy has since its inception been as much praised as maligned. Its appropriateness and the conditions which engendered it are constantly under discussion. The Fourth Conference of Non-Aligned countries which recently ended in Algiers offers an opportunity to sketch briefly the role of this policy in the framework of contemporary trends in international relations.

Non-alignment first sprang into political prominence in India in the late 1940s, and very soon gained international currency. It emerged during the cold war as a counterpoise to the polarisation of forces into two opposing blocs and the pressure brought to bear on all countries not encompassed by military alliances. Having emerged from the imperatives of a new era, non-alignment developed into a widespread movement for peace and became the synonym for struggle for independence, economic advancement and equitable international co-operation.

An event of major importance in the evolution of the concept of non-alignment was the conference of non-aligned nations in Belgrade in September 1961. Yugoslavia and her outstanding leader Marshal Tito co-operated fully with India and other like-minded countries in making this conference a great success and laying the foundation for the purposeful activity among the non-aligned nations in the years that followed.

By the time that the Second Non-Aligned Conference was held in Cairo in 1964, and the Third in Lusaka in 1970, the international situation had changed and assumed some new specific features. For the world has since the mid-1960s embarked upon a new, post-cold war period of negotiation and detente, although the super-powers are still wont to rattle the bones of their old bloc confrontation. The dynamic development of international relations in the aftermath of Lusaka undoubtedly give evidence that we are entering a new stage in the development of relations among great powers and, above all, between super-powers.

Validity of Policy

The relaxation in bloc confrontation has raised speculations about the validity of the policy of non-alignment, its usefulness, and the extent to which it can be beneficial to non-aligned countries in the future. Some scholars have argued that as a doctrine for furthering world order non-alignment has now become something of a 'falling star'. Others have contended that non-alignment is attractive (and usually viable) in a period of cold war—that is, when great power relationships have neither sunk to war nor risen to peaceful co-operation. According to this view, the viability of non-alignment is, therefore, directly related to the power balance between the super-powers. It is decisively affected by the balance, and it in turn exercises some influence over its operation. It follows, then, that as bloc policy today finds itself in crisis, non-alignment, which had its **raison d'etre** during the cold war in its defiance of the bloc division of the world, is also in a corresponding period of crisis.

It seems to me that such views should not be accepted as relevant evaluations of the validity of the policy of non-alignment. For they lose sight of the global character of this policy. Never, in any of the countries that adopted it, was the policy of non-alignment conceived of in its narrow, literal meaning, exclusively as a negative attitude toward the rallying of states into blocs. Non-alignment should be rather regarded as a new departure in world politics. The non-aligned states are not involved in the power dispute be-

tween the United States and the Soviet Union; they have a status and stability wholly unlike any previous form of non-involvement in conflict. And since non-alignment is a political expression and fundamental attitude and behaviour on the part of the less developed countries in the post-war world, its future cannot be in doubt. As long as there are less developed countries on one side and developed countries on the other, there will be certain common denominators on both sides. Non-alignment has thus become an institution, and moreover one which does not necessarily rest upon the continued existence of rivalry between two power groupings. It is a living tenet. It is a tenet of those who believe in the future of mankind.

Justification of Non-alignment

Non-alignment should, therefore, not be understood merely as a form of keeping out of blocs. At its very first conference at Belgrade, for instance, there were, apart from the demands for termination of the cold war and initiation of a dialogue between the big powers, also a number of new, constructive initiatives for solving the problems of disarmament and economic growth of the insufficiently developed countries, and bringing decolonisation to a successful end. Stress was laid on the danger of neo-colonialism and all similar tendencies to the independence and equality of countries. Subsequent conferences of non-aligned nations in Cairo, Lusaka, and especially, the recent one held in Algiers have increasingly devoted attention to such vital subjects as intensification of measures against colonialism, apartheid, racial discrimination, as well as acceleration of economic development.

The present-day international development seems to confirm the historical justifiability and value of the policy of non-alignment. For during the years of cold war uncertainty, no group of countries was so ardent and consistent as the non-aligned in insisting that the methods of threats and rivalry be superseded by negotiation and peaceful solution of disputes. The fact that the big powers have at long last started moving in that direction should be considered as a positive change and confirmation of the appropriateness of the many years of efforts of the non-aligned nations.

The new accents in international relations and definite changes in the international constellations, including the new trends in relations between the great powers, are creating fresh scope for the activity of non-aligned nations and for their active contribution to channelling further international development. The present stage of development of international relations actually stresses the responsibility of the non-aligned countries for more dynamic and effective action. Non-alignment is indeed the dynamic definition of the dynamic development of our era. The convulsions coming from East and West are only passing winds that will not snap the branches of the firmly planted tree of non-alignment.

Being a live concept, as many keen observers of the international scene have rightly asserted, the policy of non-alignment "is now at the cross-roads". It has proved its vitality during the tough days of the cold war. Now on the threshold of a new era in the development of international relations this policy is facing tasks rooted in the present-day needs of the non-aligned and developing countries. The policy of non-alignment will be present in international relations as a signpost in the struggle for progress and democratisation of international relations until its objectives and principles are respected by all states, until all colonial subjects are liberated from imperialist domination, the independence of all states is ensured, and until the economic position of underdeveloped regions in the world is improved.

Law and Society

SOME TRENDS IN CRIMINAL LEGISLATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE—III

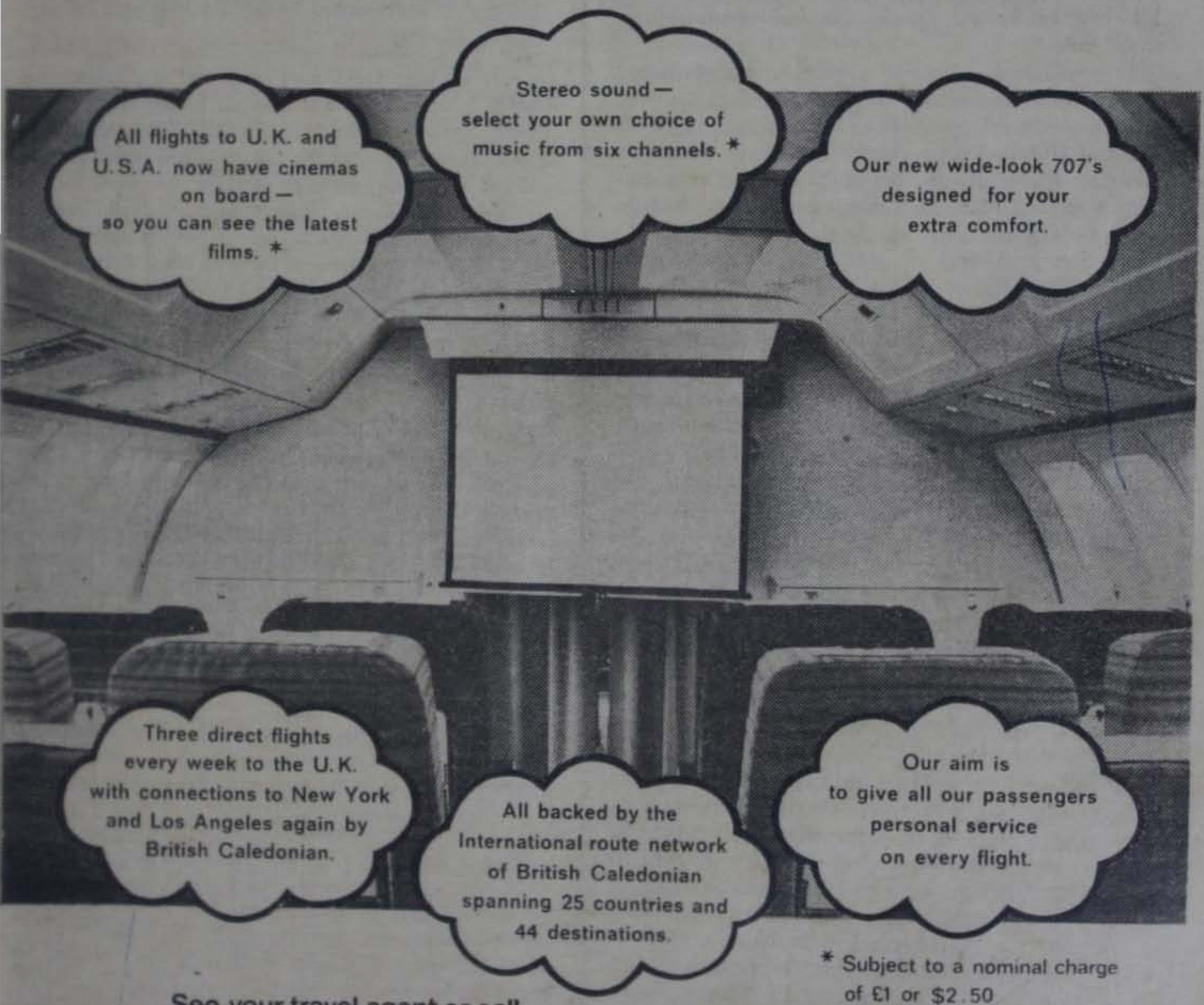
By
Kwame Afreh

A CARDINAL principle underlying the administration of criminal law in most parts of the world is the principle of legality—the "rule of law". The principle of legality has several meanings. First, it means that categories of crimes should be determined by general laws of a more or less fixed character. **Nullum crimen sine lege:** no act is a crime unless the law so prescribes. Secondly, it means no one should be punished except for a crime which falls into the category of crimes determined by such general laws: **Nulla poena sine lege.** Thirdly—a necessary deduction from the first two meanings—it means penal statutes should not be given retrospective effect. And fourthly, penal statutes should be construed strictly—although this last meaning is not universally accepted—(see for instance S.4 of the Ghana Criminal Code).

The origins of the principle have been attributed by some to England: the Magna Carta, Petition of Rights, and the Bill of Rights; others attribute its origins to the French Revolution; and some even trace its origins to ancient Greece and Rome. Whatever its origins it certainly has a long history.

The underlying reason for the principle can best be stated in the words of Dr. Glanville Williams:

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*From April 1st 1973 **From June 1st 1973

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"In its Latin dress of **Nullum crimen sine lege, nulla poena sine lege**—that there must be no crime or punishment except in accordance with fixed, predetermined law—this has been regarded by most thinkers as a self-evident principle of justice since the French Revolution. The citizen must be able to ascertain beforehand how he stands with regard to the criminal law; otherwise to punish him for breach of that law is pointless cruelty. Punishment in all its forms is a loss of rights and advantages consequent on a breach of law. When it loses this quality it degenerates into an arbitrary act of violence that can produce nothing but bad social effects" **[Criminal Law: The General Part,** 2nd Ed. p.575**]**.

Another eminent authority on criminal law, Prof. Jerome Hall says: "The essence of this principle of legality is limitation on penalisation by the State's officials, effected by the prescription and application of specific rules".

The principle has become a "democratic platitude". In one form or the other it has been stated in the constitutions of several countries and proclaimed in Declarations of Human Rights and International Conventions on Human Rights. It appeared in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, 1789 and is now Article 4 of the French Penal Code. The original draft of the American Constitution prohibited **ex post facto** laws before the adoption of the Bill of Rights. It is clearly stated in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (whose anniversary we shall soon be celebrating) in article 11 (2):

"No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed".

Article 20 Clauses 4 and 5 of the 1969 Ghana Constitution substantially reproduced this article of the Universal Declaration. The Soviet Union, which since 1926 had followed the principle of analogy, in 1958 abandoned that principle and now restricts offences to those expressly prescribed by law. And Germany under Allied control abandoned the Nazi principle of analogy and returned to that of legality.

Not everyone accepts the principle of legality. In England where there is no written constitution or a comprehensive criminal code there is, for instance, no ban on **ex post facto** laws and as the judges showed in **Shaw v. D.P.P.** new offences may be created by judicial legislation. But on the whole English law follows the principle. The English have a horror for **ex post facto** laws and there is a rule of statutory interpretation that penal statutes are presumed not to have retrospective effect.

Ghana criminal law on the whole satisfies the requirement of legality. There is a Criminal Code written in the language of the common world and accessible to everyone who cares to read it. Article 20 clause 11 of the suspended constitution also provided that no person should be convicted of a criminal offence unless that offence was defined and the penalty therefor was prescribed in a written law. (The only exception is the power of a Court of record to punish for contempt). We follow the English rule that penal statutes are presumed not to have retrospective effect.

But there have been some departures from the principle of legality since independence when the governments of this country for one reason or the other enacted **ex post facto** penal laws. These laws were passed when there was no constitutional prohibition of **ex post facto** laws. They were therefore not unconstitutional. But we must, as Glanville Williams says, "observe that the principle (of legality) is not satisfied merely by the fact that the punishment inflicted is technically legal . . ."

I have already referred to the Criminal Procedure Code (Amendment) Act, 1963 under which President Nkrumah was able to annul a decision of a competent court and compel the re-trial of Adamafio and others in flagrant breach of the rule that no person should be tried twice for the same offence—that is, put in "double jeopardy".

Untramelled Legislative Power

The N.L.C. which followed Nkrumah did not hesitate to pass **ex post facto** laws whenever that government deemed it necessary. Thus the Law Enforcement (Powers of the Army) Decree, 1966 NLCD. 109 (which conferred on members of the Ghana Army not below the rank of sergeant police powers for the detection and prevention of crime, apprehension of criminals and maintenance of order, etc.) was issued on 30th November, 1966, but was deemed to have come into force on 24th February, 1966. This was no doubt to validate acts of the members of the Ghana Army who acting on orders might have arrested and detained people; and one cannot say that this was in breach of the principle of legality.

However, the same cannot be said of NLCD. 130, entitled **Public Property (Protection) and Corrupt Practices (Prevention) Act, 1962 (Amendment) Decree, 1967.** This, as the title shows, was intended to amend an Act passed in 1962, Act 121. That Act came into force in June 1962. The N.L.C. amendment decree was short and provided:

"(1) The Public Property (Protection) and Corrupt Practices (Prevention) Acts 1962 (Act 121 is hereby amended:
(a).....
(b) by the insertion immediately after Section 10 thereof of the following new section:—
11. "This Act shall be deemed to have come into force on the 1st day of January, 1962"
(2) This Decree shall be deemed to have come into force on the 1st day of January, 1962. Made this 25th day of January, 1967. Signed Lt.-Gen. J. A. Ankrah".

I have quoted the Decree almost in full because it shows to what extent untramelled legislative power can be used. The N.L.C. were saying in effect that a Parliament whose successor it had dissolved had intended, five years before the enactment of the Decree, that a law passed in June 1962 should have retrospective effect from 1st January, 1962.

This means a person who committed acts of reckless dissipation of public property between January 1962 and June 1962 could be punished after 25th January, 1967, even though at the time he committed the act it was not a penal offence.

The only apparent reason for this strange amendment is that the N.L.C. had found that a particular person or persons had committed acts of reckless dissipation

of public property between January and June 1962 and wanted the person or persons involved to be punished. If that is so then the law **ad personam**, a particularly objectionable form of penal legislation.

On 26th January, 1967—a day after the enactment of NLCD. 130—the N.L.C. passed the Subversion Decree of 1967, NLCD. 131 which I have already referred to. This Decree was deemed to have come into force on 24th of February, 1966. It may be argued that in so far as acts punishable under Para. 1 (1) (a)-(d) were concerned no injustice was done because such acts were treason under S.180 of Act 29 and continued to be so even after the enactment of the Decree. It must however be remembered that before 27th January, 1967, such acts would have been tried by the ordinary courts and a convicted person could have appealed while there was no such right of appeal under NLCD. 131.

There were other types of subversion under NLCD. 131 which before January 1967 were not capital or punishable by a minimum of 25 years imprisonment. For instance, Para. 1 (1) (g) and (h): Under g) a person who organised or incited any other person to go on a general strike likely to cause the overthrow of the government or likely to cause hardship to the general public was guilty of subversion; and under (h) so was a person who published any statement or report which he knew to be false and which was likely to undermine the confidence of the people of Ghana in the permanency of their newly won freedom. Under the Decree any person who had committed any of these offences—which would normally be misdemeanours—between 24th February, 1966 and 27th January, 1967 could, after the latter date be tried under the Decree, with his life at stake.

Ex Post Facto Laws

What has been said about NLCD. 131 applies to NRCD. 90, another **ex post facto** law. I have already discussed this Decree (as amended) in some detail and I do not intend to repeat my criticisms.

There is at the moment no constitutional provision or other law which in Ghana places an inhibition on retroactive penal laws. An **ex post facto** enactment passed by the N.R.C. is therefore constitutional and legal. But it is undesirable and, except in purely procedural legislations, should be avoided.

It is undesirable because it is contrary to the requirement of certainty of the laws; it makes a person liable to answer for something the illegality of which he has not been warned of and he could not by research have discovered beforehand. It is also in essence vengeful, for the only reason for punishing a person under an **ex post facto** law is to inflict pain or pecuniary loss on him and nothing else. More than any other penal law an **ex post facto** law can be, and sometimes is, **ad personam** in the sense that the law may be, and sometimes is, framed with a particular person in view as the target of the law. It is often an emotional reaction to a particular act which the authorities, or a section of the people, consider dangerous or objectionable even though it was lawful when committed.

There are some people who may not in our national context see anything wrong with **ex post facto** laws or other departures from the principle of legality or other laws already discussed. And they can put forward some strong arguments in support of such departures.

It is often argued that an African country need not follow ideas which have grown out of European or American conditions; that these ideas may not necessarily be applicable or useful in an African country.

An African country, such as Ghana, faces complicated and sometimes overwhelming, economic, political and social problems. It is a new country against which there may be a plot by the former masters or would-be masters. Citizens who have held positions of power and influence in the past and have been swept aside by the tide of revolution may want to win back their lost power and influence by attempting to overthrow the incumbent government.

In such a country the maintenance of national security is of paramount importance and should override all other considerations or interests. Kwame Nkrumah, in fact, argued on such lines when answering criticisms for deporting Alhaji Osman Lardan and Alhaji Amadu Baba. He said (in September 1957):

> "The first duty of a government is to govern. Hence the preservation of our national security is paramount. It is imperative. I wonder if those abroad who have criticised us, fully appreciate this problem in Ghana where we have to deal with a complex relationship of feudal, tribal and other factors and where we have to fight against inspired rumours and vicious misrepresentations. It is obvious that we are dealing with conditions quite unlike those in many other countries. Thus we must adopt methods appropriate to the problems we have to solve and still preserve the basic rights of the individual". **(I Speak of Freedom,** p.113).

Apart from arguments based on the requirements of national security, there are those based on the need for the mobilisation of our resources for quick development. The country, it is argued, is industrially backward, economically weak and not too rich in natural resources. The social conditions are appalling, the population hungry and sick. The ordinary person is politically unsophisticated, ignorant and gullible; he can easily be swayed by demagogic oratory or monetary or other considerations. What the ordinary man wants is not an overdose of democratic indulgence.

He needs food; he needs medicine; he needs schools; he needs all the amenities a person in more economically advanced countries enjoys. The task to achieve all these is great. It cannot be accomplished without a total mobilisation of the resources of the country, human and otherwise. It requires unity in the country, and a rallying behind a united leadership, indeed, the leadership of one strong man. It demands discipline at all levels of society. The country, to accomplish this supreme task, cannot afford dishonesty and corruption, intimidation, terrorism or murders.

A country with such a task cannot afford the technicalities and legalities of imported legal concepts. Where necessary persons who have acted detrimentally to the national interests, or states of affairs which have been or are sources of hindrance or embarrassment to the nation, should be dealt with by procedures or laws (including **ex post facto** laws) which may not be acceptable in America or England, but which are effective and suitable for the conditions in the country.

Certainty of laws may be a worthy ideal. But no Code, however comprehensive, can anticipate all possible

1972	CAPITAL	
	Authorised	
	₵10,000,000 being 500,000 Shares of ₵20 each.	
	Issued	
10,000,000	500,000 Shares of ₵20 each fully paid	
6,900,000	Reserve Fund.	
232,884	Income Surplus Account.	
17,132,884		
329,261,557	Deposits, Savings and Other Accounts.	
450,000	Proposed First and Final Dividend, Net.	
143,660,426	Liability for Confirmed Credits, Bonds and Other Engagements on behalf of Customers.	
490,504,867		

T. E. ANIN, *Chairman and Managing Director.*

K. O. SACKEY, *Executive Director*

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT

1972	Transfer to Reserve Fund	
685,655	Section 9(2) of the Ghana Commercial Bank Decree 1972 (NRCD. 115)	
214.345	Section 13 of the Ghana Commercial Bank Decree 1972, Regulation 43.	
900,000		
1,500,000	Provision for Contingencies, including Current Taxation.	
	Distribution to Shareholders.	
	First and Final Dividend for the Year:	
	Gross	1,000,000.00
450,000	Less Tax at 55%.	550,000.00
1,000,000	Bonus issue of 50,000 Shares of ₵20 each fully paid	
232,884	Balance transferred to Income Surplus Account.	
4,082,884		

NOT

1. The Net Profit is stated after making provision for the diminution in val and charging:-

(*a*)	Directors' Remuneration	.. ..
(*b*)	Auditors' Remuneration	.. ..
(*c*)	Voluntary Donations	.. ..
(*d*)	Depreciation of Fixed Assets	.. ..

We have examined the attached Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account with the books and r satisfactory. The Bank has kept proper books of account with which the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss tions relative to which are within the powers of the Bank, are in accordance with the Ghana Commercial I and gives a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Bank as at 30th June, 1973 and the Profit and L

AYEW AGYEMAN & CO.
Chartered Accountants & Auditors,
Liberia Road, Accra.
11*th September*. 1973

BANK

NE, 1973

	CURRENT ASSETS	
	Cash in Hand and Cash Balances with Bank of Ghana	72,070,291.65
	Cash in Transit and Balances with other Banks.	8,814,525.91
	Short Term Investments at Cost.	128,056,864.82
	Securities of Ghana and Other Governments at Cost or market value.	36,120,103.88
	Other Investments at Cost	465,000.00
		245,526,786.26
	Advances, Loans and Other Accounts (Less Provision for Doubtful Debts).	206,958,622.90
	Fixed Assets:	
	Bank Premises and Properties at Cost (Less amounts written off).	10,963,673.44
	Liability of Customers for Confirmed Credits, Bonds and Other Engagements.	278,868,910.45
		742,317,993.05

AGANA BANGA, *Director.*

DR. M. KOOTIN-SANWU, *Director.*

30TH JUNE, 1973

72		
73	Net Profit for the year (Note 1).	3,918,829.00
11	Balance brought forward	232,884.0
84		4,151,713.00

2. The Bank is committed to Capital Expenditure in the sum of ₵2,119,238.74

3. The Assets and Liabilities of the Bank expressed in Foreign Currencies have been converted into Cedis at the rates applicable at 30th June, 1973.
4. These accounts include the unaudited figures of the subsidiary Company in Lome for the year under review. In accordance with the regulations of the Banque Centrale, the accounts of this subsidiary are prepared and audited up to 30th September.

: Board
REPORT

WILLIAM OSEI
Secretary

eceived all the information and explanations whch we considered necessary, and this information was has received proper and adequate returns from branches not visited by us. The accounts, the transac-e 115) and the Banking Act, 1970. In our opinion the Balance Sheet contains the prescribed particulars r view of the Profit for the year ended on that date.

PANNELL FITZPATRICK & CO.
Chartered Accountants & Auditors
Farrar Avenue, Accra.
11th September, 1973.

situations. Serious gaps may be revealed, but too late; when some people might have exploited the gaps to their personal advantage and to the great damage to the economy of the country. Should the country sit by and allow such people to enjoy their ill-gotten gains? What is wrong in making **ex post facto** laws to punish all such persons or to compel them to refund their ill-gotten gains to the nation?

With regard to the use of special procedures and tribunals we may be reminded that even countries which in peace time adhere rigidly to the principle of legality have during wartime or periods of emergency resorted to the use of special procedures and tribunals. In Britain during the two world wars persons who were regarded as threats to national security were detained without trial. America detained Japanese citizens during the second world war. France, after the O.A.S. attempts to assassinate President De Gaulle or to instigate a **coup d'etat,** set up special tribunals for dealing with political crimes. So there may be nothing outrageous in a country such as Ghana, which can in some sense be regarded as being at war, at least with its economy, setting up a Special Court or Military Tribunals to try similar offences.

Such arguments are attractive and it is not surprising that since 1957 they have been accepted and acted upon by governments. It appears that to some of them the great ends of national development justify any means they deem appropriate.

Protecting the Individual

I have already stated my objections to detentions without trial, and the use of special tribunals, except in declared emergencies and other laws dealt with in this series, and it is not necessary to repeat them here. Nor do I think it necessary to get involved in the end-justifies-the-means arguments here; there is no space for it.

To me the question is: should the individual be protected from arbitrary conducts of public officers? If so, what form and quality of protection should the law provide? These are not easy questions to answer. The opinion may, however, be hazarded that whatever may be the political system and the economic and social conditions, whatever the task, the individual matters. It would be wrong to erect a legal structure, in the name of progress or national security, which puts the individual in fear of Kakfaesque persecution.

But the arguments which have been advanced in support of the laws I have dealt with in this series can be used, and have been used, to support such a legal structure. They are characteristic of the arguments used by "revolutionary authoritarian movements" or dictatorships. In such regimes "special police are exempt from legal controls—they arrest, try, execute and exile without restraint. Appeal is limited or non-exist. Special tribunals for the trial of political offenders may be depended upon to effectuate the will of the government. There is sweeping abrogation of constitutional guarantees. And all this is rationalised and sustained by relentless all-embracing "thought control" which is used by the leaders to implement their political aims. The salient feature of authoritarian political theory in its attack on legality consisted in the subordination of the individual to The Community or The People and, in many case, to The Party. In short, during these revolutions, law, especially criminal law, was a party weapon" (Jerome Hall, **General Principles of Criminal Law,** pp. 67-68).

Prof. Hall had in mind the "revolutionary authoritarian movements" in Russia, Nazi, Germany and Fascist Italy and the countries which copied them. But it cannot be denied that some of these common traits in such regimes have been manifested in this country since independence in 1957. They are not compatible with the national motto of FREEDOM and JUSTICE. Surely when this country at the time of independence chose this motto it did not intend or expect it to be a tired cliché, a hollow meaningless slogan. Is it not time, sixteen years after independence, to consider ways and means of giving meaning and reality to this inspiring motto?

To me it is no answer to say that the present regime is humane and tolerant otherwise I would not have dared to publish this series. Times change. And regimes may come and go. But there are two concepts of social and political association which we must always steadfastly adhere to and devise legal means to protect. They are (1) that every individual, whatever his status, is an entity and an end in himself, and is entitled to recognition and protection of his person and liberty of expression and movement; and (2) that the individual, the ordinary individual, is helpless before the state machinery without legal protection and help.

The criminal law is a means for affording him this protection and help. The criminal law carefully handled is a good servant, an effective weapon for the protection of the State and the individual; but without restraint and care it can be a bad master, an instrument of terror and needless cruelty.

What should be done about the laws I have discussed in this series? Some of them obviously should be repealed and others at least revised. Only the N.R.C. can, of course, carry out such an exercise. In the absence of a Parliament there is one body which is best qualified to analyse and tender advice in detail on these and other laws which may be in need of repeal or revision. That is the Bar Association.

The Bar claims to be the custodians of the "eternal" justice of this country. Lawyers are in a better position than most people to know the effect of laws on society and on the fortunes of the individual. The N.R.C. have always said they are prepared to listen to constructive criticisms and advice from people. I am sure they will give serious consideration to any constructive proposals from such an honourable body as the Bar Association.

I hope when the Association meets next week members will discuss some of the matters I have raised here and make appropriate suggestions.

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Observer Notebook

"Hall" Fees

THE more closely one looks at this year's budget, the more persuaded one becomes about the middle-class bias of the statement, and the more hollow the government's claims to radicalism, populism, socialism or sympathy for the underprivileged ring. Elsewhere in this issue a correspondent comments on the new rates of tax on chargeable rents and shows that a considerable amount of generosity has been shown to landlords in comparison with personal income tax rates. This generosity is not extended to elementary school pupils.

Take for example the fee payable for the Middle School Leaving Certificate Examination, known in the past to those people now on the wrong side of the generation line who went to Standard VII as "Hall". The fee is ₵3.00, and until this year parents have been paying 50p. per pupil while the remaining ₵2.50 has been made up by the government in the form of subsidy. For the 1972-73 financial year the total government subsidy in respect of 100,000 pupils amounted to ₵0.25 million. It has been now decided to withdraw the subsidy and parents will now pay the full ₵3.00 per pupil. Similarly textbook fees in respect of pupils in primary and secondary schools and training colleges have been increased by an average of about 80%. The obvious intention in these upward revisions is to reduce government expenditure. But the question is: could these savings not be made by reducing the benefits of those who are already having more than the basic essentials?

In contrast to what is happening to the younger pupils, let us look at the position of university students. They have scholarships that cover their tuition, boarding and lodging. In addition they each receive an out-of-pocket allowance that comes to about ₵100.00 a year. One would have thought that if savings are to be made in the educational budget, the ₵0.25 million that is being withdrawn as subsidy from primary school pupils could have been found either from the out-of-pocket allowance to university students or from the more privileged sections of the community. For, come to think of it, the Middle School Leaving Certificate is not worth much more than a piece of paper. Hardly anybody can obtain reasonable employment on the strength of that document. Moreover, those who will take that examination—and pay the full fee—are the children of ordinary people; they do not go to "international" or "preparatory" schools where they take the Common Entrance examination in Form II or III and go to secondary schools where they prepare for a more valuable certificate. The parents who will pay the ₵3.00 are the rural folk to whom this amount represents a lot of money.

Considering the diminishing value of the Middle School Leaving Certificate, we consider shifting the burden of the full fee onto parents somewhat cynical, and counsel that that recommendation be withdrawn, in order, at least, to allay a growing fear which people have that this government does not care much for the underprivileged.

Lest We Forget

THERE is some uneasiness in the mind of the public about the slow progress, if any, being made in the investigations into the scandal leading to the suspension of the first Logistics Committee under Major Weir. One had assumed that the Special Action Unit had gathered enough evidence to enable whomever was entrusted with the subsequent probe to carry out the duty with some despatch. However some two months have already passed since the matter was reported and it looks as if some prodding is needed to shake the investigators into more rapid action.

A further cause of uneasiness is that a section of the public feels cheated that a matter of this nature is being investigated in camera. It sets a bad precedent, for public officials, in whatever garb they are, must be under normal circumstances be accountable to the public in public. We do not see any abnormal or special circumstances that justify investigating this particular matter in private. There is a new Logistics Committee which will certainly benefit from the results of the investigation for, as they say, "one man's fault is another man's lesson." The secrecy surrounding the handling of the investigation is unhealthy, as the matter should be brought into the open with immediate effect.

Or is it that the investigation, if it has already begun, is taking a long time because what the Special Action Unit found out was only the "tip of the iceberg"? Whatever it is, the public is entitled to know how some of its servants have been serving it.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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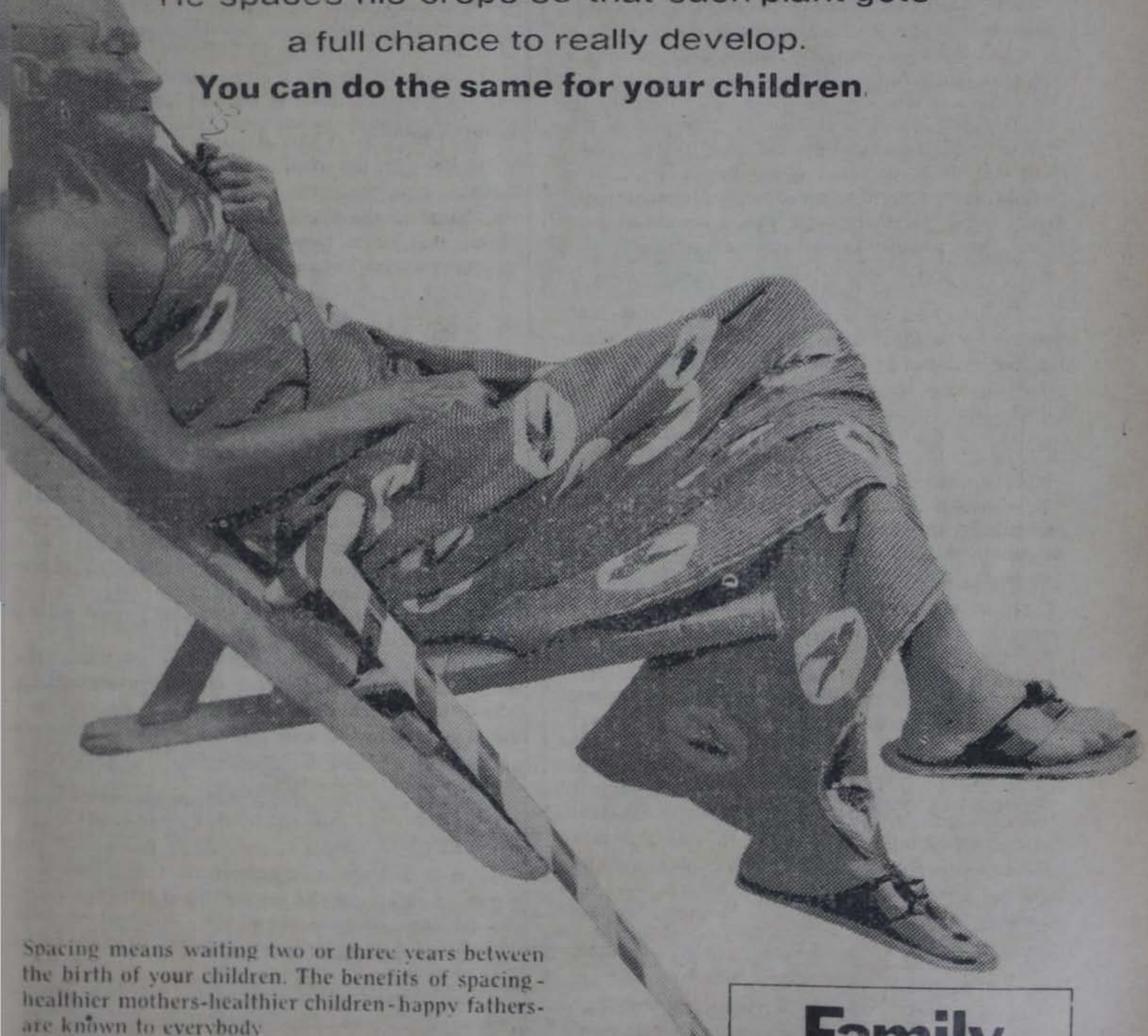
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JAWA APRONTI: Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies, Legon

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Letters

Disgruntled Politicians and All That

SIR—A rather disquieting brand of political propaganda is currently going on which needs immediate halting; and the chief protagonist of this kind of "political education" is no less a person than the Head of State himself.

This "political education" to which I am humbly advising a total halt is this: whenever the Chief Executive has the opportunity to address any gathering he does not fail to hammer home to his audience his belief or rather his idea that he would not be cajoled into handing over power to civilians. The keynote of these executive addresses is always the same. The government will not hand over power to anybody; and the people should beware of "disgruntled" or "misguided" politicians; or simply that people should beware of politicians. Some newspapers have had occasion to editorialise on these "disgruntled" or "misguided" politicians. The condemnations have been great and devastating. Some few months back we were told that these "disgruntled" politicians bought large quantities of foreign food (formerly known as essential commodities) and dumped them into the sea (or any available hole) for destruction! Later on we learned with some relief the truth about the affair: a properly constituted authority of a recognised government trading corporation had ordered the destruction of certain foreign food items because they were not fit for consumption. This plainly was what happened—and it reminds me of the rapidity and regularity with which things (native or foreign) rot away these days right in the face of claims to efficiency!

My humble view is that this deliberate and sustained attempt by the government to locate "disgruntled" or "misguided" politicians in order to put all the blame on them is most inimical to the present and future political health of this country. Because the government has no recognisable political base it has found it expedient to destroy politics and politicians. From the way the campaign goes on it would seem politicians are a group of well-designated people kept somewhere for ominous and devilish deeds calculated to thwart the aspirations of this country. I humbly dissent from this view. Some politicians may wreck present political systems and bring in new and refreshing ones. It all depends on how one looks at it. They may be nation-wreckers or true and meaningful sons of a true and happy revolution that may change the lives of the people for the better.

In Ghana today real active politicians have been effectively neutralised. We do not have to look for them. As for being "misguided" or "disgruntled" one does not need to be a politician. "Disgruntled" school pupils demonstrate when **amenities** they are used to are suddenly taken away even if that was necessitated by compelling circumstances. These things happen! If conditions of fear and suspicion are created for our future politics and politicians a most lasting harm would have been done to our country. And we would be the poorer for that!

Mensah Sarbah Hall **Dennis Adjei-Brenyah**
Legon

Whose Freedom of the Press?—A Rejoinder

SIR—Permit me to make the following observations o your editorial which carried the above-quoted captio in which you made indirect reference to me in the se cond paragraph when hurling insults on the editor o **The Ghanaian Times.**

What you said was also "advertised" on page 4 o **The Echo** of Sunday, September 2, 1973, in which your reference to me was stated inter alia: "The edito of the **'Ghanaian Times'** has every right to disagre with the sentiments expressed in that issue of **'The Echo'** or of any other paper, publicly or privately owned but he certainly exceeds his limits by recommendin such intolerant measures as he and a CORRESPON DENT (emphasis mine) of his have called for, becaus there is a greater principle at stake than the survival or the demise of a single paper".

In fact, when my attention was drawn to your journal' write-up on the issue and your reference to me, I wa not at all surprised because if we are to weigh all tha you have written, including contributions from "inde pendent sources", since the NRC came into power, i would be very easy to say that not less than 80 percen of the total sum is highly anti-NRC.

If **The Legon Observer** were to have the ear of the proverbial hare, it would have over-heard, and got cautioned, that immediately after a ban had been placed on two independent newspapers by the authori ties last year, several well-meaning citizens of the lan yelled that the **Observer** should have been included i the list.

I still re-collect that during an interview elsewhere a prominent citizen in an advisory capacity now state among other things that "a certain weekly may soo have itself to blame if the government bans it"; or doe the **Observer** think that this golden reference wa made to the **Lotto Weekly** which does not do politic but only business?

It is very sad to note that instead of taking **The Ghanaian Times** to task for its prudent editorial, i need be, **The Legon Observer** closed its eyes an ears to the ethics of the journalistic profession (I am no a journalist, though) and singled out Mr. Gyawu-Kyen for its unwarranted attacks.

Really, the **Observer** has fulfilled the wise sayin that birds of the same feather do flock together!

"The history of this country shows that people wh create an atmosphere of insecurity, in the secret hop that others will be affected, sooner or later fall victi to their own creations and devices", the **Observer** state among other things in the fourth paragraph of the write up in question.

I am surprised to learn that when a prominent journa list formerly on the Kumasi-based **Pioneer** mad bold, under Busia's rule, to make certain observation on the government of the day and he had his interna tional passport seized, the intellectual journal, **Observe** never deemed it appropriate to say all that it is sayin now when only a newspaper had suggested a ban o subversive newspapers.

As a woman, I wish to state that I give credit to th fact that the **Observer** is manned by academician (or Professors?) but I am very sad to point out tha what they drop from their pens is always shocking, a compared with what an academician in a Socialist coun try, like Hungary or USSR, would dare write.

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In fact, when the passport of the journalist, mentioned above, was seized Mr. Joe Appiah and certain prominent members of the disbanded Justice Party made bold to attack the action on the part of Busia and his fellow democrats; they even threatened to take the Government to court on behalf of the 'poor' journalist. This was widely publicised and it attracted a feature article in the defunct **The Voice of the People** edited and published by veteran journalist E. K. Mickson.

What, at all, did the **Legon Observer,** which claims today to believe in press freedom, say on the issue?

Some of us women used to have unlimited respect for the journal but since Busia and his henchmen were overthrown it is very evident that this same journal has coloured its stand on national issues and today, it is not different from any other subversive journal or newspaper. How come, **Observer?**

Everybody knows that Busia is (or was) an academician; but that is no guarantee that he should rule Ghana forever, even at the expense of the electorate. If so, then, I do not understand why the **Observer** and its allies should deem it fit to defend every attack on the spoilt system of Busiasm.

So, the **Observer** feels happy that the **The Echo** should close its eyes and ears to simple ethics of society and say anything that pleases it about our authorities and their wives?

Everybody knew that Mrs. Faustina Acheampong and other wives of other NRC members, or Commissioners, went to DAHWENYA to give encouragement to the volunteers working on the canal project. If so, why should **The Echo** have the gusts to state inter alia: "What is ridiculous about some forms of exhortations to the volunteers is the apparent fun and lack of purposeful realism which characterise these forms of exhortation . . . .It is traditional that chiefs do not dig or weed; wives of dignitaries and their husbands do not use the hoe, the pick-axe and the shovel as normal implements of their daily vocations. It is, therefore, ridiculous for certain people of a particular class in our society to put up the pretence of being casual diggers only to catch the eye of the unwary section of the public".

Now, the **Observer** is advising the NRC thus: "We of the **'Observer'** trust that the government will not be misled by the misguided zeal and malicious sycophancy that engendered this call. It is in the government's own interest not only to tolerate but to freely accept a free press as a means of feeling public opinion and gathering ideas. We hope that the government will display maturity by contemptuously ignoring such a brainless display of misconceived enthusiasm, revolutionary or otherwise".

Yes, the **Observer** wants the authorities to sit tight unconcerned so that they may tomorrow see trouble in Ghana for them to jump into lecturing on "What Went Wrong Under the NRC". Is that not all?

Well, I was touched by the unwarranted insinuation and attacks on my fellow women, who are the wives of dignitaries including Mrs. Acheampong, by **The Echo** and prompted to write what I wrote. I still stand by any call that "any newspaper or journal found to be subversive should be banned"

After all, the late President Tubman, whose government was said to be a carbon-copy of the American system of government, had cause to get a journalist detained and stipulated inter alia that he "would not sit down unconcerned for his government to be overthrown by the stroke of the pen".

Let us all learn to be wiser, then!

c/o Mr. K. Yamoah-Yiadom **Mrs. Belinda Bretuo**
R. T. Briscoe
(V.W. Spare Parts Store)
Accra

Editor's Note: Published unedited.

Ghana Airways' Let-down in Abidjan—Reply

SIR—We have read with interest Dr. S. K. Date-Bah's letter with the above headline in the 7th September, 1973 edition of your esteemed journal in which he tried to impute, among other things, that Ghana Airways officials deliberately stayed away from the Abidjan airport in order to avoid expenditure on hotels and meals for our passengers who were stranded there.

The whole incident is rather unfortunate and anybody who has ever travelled with Ghana Airways will bear testimony to the fact that we have always extended our hospitality to our passengers whenever we have had delays or cancellations. We have always done this in the belief that a contented and satisfied customer will always come back. Some people have even accused us of pampering our passengers.

On that fateful Thursday, our F.28 jet had developed engine trouble and could, therefore, not go to Abidjan as scheduled. Our manager in Abidjan, knowing the importance of the personalities who had confirmed tickets on our flight, was running around trying to make alternative travel arrangements for our stranded passengers. He succeeded in getting a relief aircraft which eventually conveyed the passengers to Accra. This is the reason why Dr. Date-Bah did not see him at the airport. It is not because he wanted to avoid expenditure on hotels and meals as Dr. Date-Bah alleges. In any case, if any of the passengers had gone to the airport restaurant for a meal, Ghana Airways would have gladly refunded the money to them.

We are sure Dr. Date-Bah and the other passengers were more interested in getting to Accra than having an extra meal in Abidjan or even staying another night there knowing very well that some of them had prearranged schedules in Accra. In trying to do this, our manager in Abidjan inadvertently omitted the usual courtesies we extend to our stranded passengers and we apologise for this omission. We wish to assure Dr. Date-Bah and his fellow passengers on the flight that this will not happen again and that they can always rely on Ghana Airways at all times.

Ghana Airways **Mike M. Anamzoya**
Accra **(Public Relations Officer)**

First Aid on Ghana Airways Plane

SIR—On 16th August, 1973, I was a passenger of the Ghana Airways plane to Kumasi in the morning. Just when I was disembarking from a motor vehicle, I experienced a sharp pain on my second finger of the left hand. I noticed a deep cut, and blood oozed out freely. I sought help from the Airways authorities. I was led to the Health section. The said room existed only in name. There were only a bottle or two of some medicine almost exhausted, a few pieces of coarse plasters and some scraps of cotton wool scattered here and there.

short, essential first aid materials and medicines were rt available. The cotton wool put on my wound was aked with blood in no time and the scrappy short aster could not hold it tight.

On my boarding the plane later, I solicited aid from e stewardess on board because I was still bleeding. he story was not different. "We have only A.P.C., spirin and Codeine", she said. She added that their rst Aid equipment could only be broken and used ring emergencies. Asked to define what was emergncy, she said "when the plane was involved in an cident and people were injured". Asked whether my jury cannot be termed as an emergency, she replied the negative since my injury did not occur on the ane even though I was injured on the premises of hana Airways and I was a passenger on board the orporation's aircraft.

This incident is not commendable so far as this cororation is concerned. It would, therefore, be suggested spectfully that well equipped first aid boxes should e provided at the airports and inside the planes to be sed not only during periods of emergencies as defined y the stewardess, but also on all occasions.

.O. Box 7332 **Jimmy Alarah**
ccra-North

Time and Energy Wasted

IR—I often wonder what is the acme of foolishness hich our officialdom achieve. I encountered a case uite recently which seems worthy of record as a conibution to this study.

To obtain some document which I required from the olice, it was necessary to submit a written request. This did upon a short sheet of note-paper which carried a epartmental heading. When I presented this at the icensing office the good corporal informed me that is was quite unacceptable as his boss would be inalted if he did not have a full size sheet of paper.

So we waste

My personal time	About	1 hour
Clerical time	"	5 minutes
Petrol from Legon to Airport and back	"	¼ gallon

But doubtless some of your readers can improve upon his.

epartment of Zoology **D. W. Ewer**
egon

A New Status Symbol?

IR—Were you aware that the **Legon Observer** has ecome something of a status symbol?

I overheard two young men talking the other day. aid one of them, "On a Saturday evening, when I am oing to see my girl, I usually tuck my copy of the **bserver** under my arm. She herself doesn't understand hat's in it, so she knows it is not just anybody who an appreciate it. Therefore, when she sees me with it, e really 'trusts', **paa!"**

When I heard this, I too felt compelled to essay nother wittticism along these reminiscent lines:

It don't matter what clothes you are in;
The **Legon Observer,** it must be in.

.O. Box 0118 **Thomas Eshuo**
akoradi

Matters Arising

THE DEBATE ON IDEOLOGY

by

Jawa Apronti

OUR anonymous Political Correspondent (**L.O.** VIII/15) must be commended for the patience and sobriety of the terms in which he worded his contribution. Dealing with a fellow citizen who concedes that socialism is the wave of the future and that socialist ideology is highly suited to Ghana is an entirely different matter from handling my misguided friend Adali-Mortty who insists on flying in the face of all the evidence. Of him, more later.

I shall address myself to the Political Correspondent's contribution. Doctrinal purity, like fundamentalism in Christian or any other theology, is the ultimate guarantee that the essence of any body of thought is not lost sight of. The Correspondent accuses Ghanaian socialists of dogmatism, citing examples of socialist-oriented programmes which failed in Ghana. Undoubtedly, one factor in this failure was bad management. Another was a lack of socialist orientation. The Correspondent needs to be reminded that socialist practice, if properly understood, makes room for rank and file discussion and appraisal of programmes and projects, so that all workers in a project have not only a right but even a duty to contribute their ideas to the solution of problems as they arise. I would argue that while there is no denying the fact that the State Farms enterprise has cost Ghana a lot of money, this loss would have been less if the democratic process and rank and file involvement had been given their proper role. Besides, those sectors of the State Farms enterprise which were likely to prove profitable (examples are available in the Western Region) and which might conceivably have subsidized the rest of the sectors in their formative stages were quickly sold out to private enterprise after February 1966. We should forget neither the fact nor the motivation that lay behind it.

Excessive dogmatism really has no place in socialist practice, properly understood. I believe that what Adali-Mortty would call "dogmatism" is different from what the Political Correspondent would understand by that term. Socialists believe that, starting from their irreducible principles, they must formulate programmes that will lead to the realization of their ideals. We learn by practice, and we review our experience at every stage. Part of the reason why the socialist-oriented effort of the First Kepublic failed was a lack of dedicated cadres, as was apparent in the Commissions of Enquiry set up after February 1966. Out of their own mouths, many leading members of the Nkrumah regime confessed that they had no belief in the ideology or programme of the Party. To the socialist Political Correspondent, this event must mean something different from what it means to Adali-Mortty who dogmatically insists that Nkrumah's regime was socialist through and through.

But as a Ghanaian socialist, I have an answer to the questions raised by the Political Correspondent about the attitude of Ghanaian socialists to some measures

promoted by the right-wing regime of Busia. First, rural development. Whereas under Busia it was the clear desire of left-wing forces that a regime of their inclination should come to power some day, it was left to individual socialists to decide to what extent they would, as citizens and taxpayers, support programmes of the government of the day. I for one appeared on Centre for Civic Education platforms in Accra and elsewhere supporting programmes which I knew would promote the well-being of my countrymen. Changing the government was a matter of the ballot or the bullet (with acknowledgements to Malcolm X), but providing water and other social amenities to rural folk was a pressing problem which need not wait for either ballot or bullet. Thus came it that on an occasion I chaired a public symposium on rural development at which the local chief, a Deputy Minister, and a P.P. card-carrying don spoke on the subject of rural development. During question time, a former C.P.P. high-up criticized the rural development exercise and I had to disagree with him publicly on the issue. Yet today we remain comrades. This anecdote should fill in the gap in the knowledge of the Political Correspondent. Does this not qualify for "pragmatic flexibility"?

What is Alien?

As regards the Small Business Loans Scheme, what we read in the papers about defaults in re-payment should indicate that the exercise was not an unqualified success. Of importance to the debate on ideology is the question of the nature of man and what institutional framework the state should promote with a view to attaining stated social goals. Instead of using state power to help individual capitalists along, why could the same resources not be galvanized towards the establishment of a worker-owned and worker-run co-operative movement? The basis for this already exists in many traditional occupations in our society. Why then use state power to promote well-being on an individual capitalistic basis rather than on a communal socialist basis? It is no argument to say Lenin promoted the growth of a small capitalist class. This is clearly a case in which adaptation of theory to the known conditions of our terrain and social institutions should take place.

If and when open political activity is allowed again, the topical issue should be that of ideology, not of tribe, height, shape of nose, etc. The only genuine issue on which political movements must be based is the choice between the capitalist path of development and the socialist path. We must spare ourselves the charade of 1969 when, in my view, there was no meaningful ideological choice between the P.P. and N.A.L. That is the importance of the disagreement between myself and Adali-Mortty, to whom I now turn.

His latest piece (**L.O.** VIII/14) is memorable for its poetic flourishes as well as its fundamental errors. As the Political Correspondent has helpfully corroborated, there is no use calling socialism an "alien" ideology. A car, for instance, is a useful invention in Ghana. Yet it is of alien origin. It is misguided to refuse to use a car merely because it is alien. If the Anglo-Saxons had refused to replace their square wheels with the round ones the Romans brought with them in the days of colonial England, where would they be today?

Adali-Mortty's appraisal of the meaning of the First Republic is quite wrong. To call Nkrumah's regime a socialist regime is to over-simplify facts. To restrict Ghanaians' experience of "suffering" to that regime alone is again to be guilty of inconceivable naiveté. True, Kwame Nkrumah tried to lay the foundations of a socialist society. In this exercise he was up against several problems, some of them internal to the workings of his Party, the C.P.P. Many left-wing critiques of that regime are now available to prove that, from a strictly socialist stand-point, the structure and functioning of the C.P.P. was counter-productive to the building of true socialism. Of course anti-socialists are free to interprete the collapse of the Party in their own way, but they must respect the facts.

Multi-Party States

To equate our experience of the First Republic with socialism is therefore wrong; it is especially surprising in a man who has visited the Soviet Union. Nor is it true to argue that detention, corruption, greed or a one-party system are essential features (or even distinctive ones) of socialist regimes. These variables of social experience must be seen in their true light. There is a great deal of repression in right-wing regimes which attracts little or no attention in the capitalist press to which we subscribe. Examples abound in Spain, Portugal and the Ivory Coast. Some capitalist states run one-party political systems (e.g. Ivory Coast), whereas some socialist states do have multi-party systems (e.g. G.D.R., Hungary). Indeed, it is arguable whether the U.S.A. and Britain are multi-party states! To add to this catalogue of what makes a regime socialist the index of intolerance of opponents' views as does Adali-Mortty, is to obfuscate a simple issue. That should make Vorster a leading socialist!

No, a regime may be oppressive without laying claim to any ideological badge. Socialists do claim that if the system they set up is true to its professions, it would make no room for these vices. We also consider that capitalism as a social philosophy manifests too many contradictions. Adali-Mortty, on this and other occasions, has sung the praises of "sweet, sweet profit". Socialists contend that profit is in itself a good thing. Where we differ from capitalists is in regard to who gets the profit. Profit, as the excess of product over capital inputs, is obviously desirable, but socialists

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onsider that our institutional framework should provide or an equitable sharing of this profit. Our "enterpreneur" who manages to capture for himself half of a region's allocation of any commodity would not survive in a socialist regime. In a capitalist one, he would be acclaimed as an astute businessman. By merely passing goods from hand to hand, he is able to rake in two hundred times what the honest labourer gets for working in the sun all day. To add insult to injury, here comes Adali-Mortty urging him in the name of Christian (?) brotherhood: "let us be friends and countrymen, each wishing the best for Ghana". This is pure wishful thinking. It may delay the day of reckoning, but cannot put it off.

We do need a national consensus. It should be arrived at in terms which give credence to all our pious protestations. There exists the possibility of the creation of a harmonious society within our borders, but the basis for this can only be found by the elimination of the class cleavages that are such a glaring feature of the social fabric of our country. In the resolution of the conflict, we need to discard such notions as the "sale" (the word itself is significant in the mouth of a capitalist!) of ideologies. For our society lends itself to scientific analysis, and out of that should come the principles (partly alien, partly home-grown) on which this nation must be built. I for one would like to know whose interests the "leftist colouring" (Adali-Mortty, VIII/10) of some actions of the N.R.C. regime hurt most. Those of foreign monopoly capital, or those of the "hapless and good people of Ghana"?

For The Record

Friday, September 7

Salary Review—T.U.C. Representation Increased

THE Government has increased by one the representation of the Trades Union Congress on the Salary Review Committee. The Congress has accordingly appointed Mr. J. F. Nortey, Principal of the Labour College and Mr. Martin Acquaye, General Secretary of the P. & T. Workers Union to represent it on the Committee.

Mr. A. M. Issifu, Acting Secretary-General of the T.U.C., had said that the Congress would not participate in any discussion with the Salary Review Committee unless the T.U.C.'s representation on it was increased.

NUGS Disagrees with Government Decision

THE National Union of Ghana Students today appealed to the government to withdraw its decision to sell 200 bungalows to the civil servants who are occupying them and suggested instead that government should put these houses into the charge of the Ghana Housing Corporation to be rented on a viable economic basis.

Speaking at a press conference in Tema today, Mr. T. N. Ward-Brew, President of the Union, also called for a probe into the administration of the N.L.C. whose members, he claimed, "like those before and after it, cannot be said to be free from all corruption". The NUGS also called for the banning of Civil Servants' Association. It claims that as advisers of the government and executors of the policies of government, civil servants are in too sensitive a position to be allowed to use their important positions to seek their own ends.

Wednesday, September 12

Foreign Foods still in the News

THE allocation of foreign foods to workers has been cancelled with immediate effect as a result of alleged malpractices in the operation of the system. A spokesman for the Committee alleged that it had been discovered that some of the goods intended for the workers were diverted and sold to market women and that the officers who prepared the requisitions for the various departments inflated their requirements and sold the excess to market women

Houses for Workers

IN an address to senior labour officers attending a seminar at Nungua, Col. J. M. Ewa, Chief Administrator of the Social Security and National Insurance Trust, said today that the Trust plans to invest initially about ¢10 million in a national housing scheme for workers. Col. Ewa said that in the first phase of the scheme, the Trust would construct a number of rental units throughout the country; 2,000 of these would be in Accra, 1,000 each would be in Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi, and there would be 500 units in the other regional capitals. He said that total contributions made to the fund since its inception in July 1965 amounted to ¢192,801,530 and from this ¢34,212,798 has been paid out in benefits over the same period.

Thursday, Sepfember 14

New Price List Out

A NEW price list which reflects the withdrawal of subsidies on certain items and takes into account the general rise in prices has been published in Accra today. According to the list a bag of cement is to sell at ¢2.75 in Accra and Sekondi rising gradually to ¢3.34 and ¢3.50 in the Northern and Upper Regions. The price of flour is ¢21.40 a bag in Accra and Tema and this will rise gradually to ¢22.06 in the Upper Region. Rice will sell at 15p. a tin in parts of Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo and Northern Regions; 16p. in the Upper and 14p. in all other regions. Sugar will sell at 65p. in Accra, Tema, Takoradi and Sekondi; 66p. in the Eastern and Volta Regions, and at 69p. in the Northern and Upper Regions. The new prices of sardines is 18p. a tin in Eastern, Central, Western and Volta Regions, and 19p. in Ashanti, Brong-Ahafo, Northern and Upper Regions. And mackerel is to cost 14p. in Greater Accra and at 15p. in all other parts of the country.

Friday, September 15

Decree on Statutory Corporations

A NEW decree, the Statutory Corporations (Amendment) Decree 1973 issued today in Accra provides that officers responsible for preparing and submitting draft accounts of a statutory corporation shall have all or part of their emoluments withheld if they fail to submit the draft to the Auditor General within three months after the end of the financial year of the corporation.

Okyenhene Passes Away

NANA Ofori Atta II, the Omanhene of the Akim Abuakwa State, died today at the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital. He was 74. His body is expected to be taken to Kibi on Thursday where it will be laid in state for about one week before burial at Banso, the burial ground for the **amanhene** of the traditional state.



555
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Get the taste



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Editorial

SALUTE TO GUINEA-BISSAU

On September the 26th, the independence of Guinea-Bissau was proclaimed. Since then several African countries as well as other friendly countries, including two major powers, have quickly and properly accorded recognition to the former Portuguese colony as a sovereign state. At this stage, African states should exert all the pressure at their command to obtain recognition of the new state whose birth the **Observer** salutes.

The question of recognition is of crucial importance because of its implications, and it is gratifying to note that the O.A.U. is giving this exercise the attention it deserves. After consultations with the current chairman of the O.A.U., General Yakubu Gowon of Nigeria, the O.A.U. Secretary-General, Mr. Nzo Ekangaki announced that the O.A.U. will make every possible effort to obtain recognition for Guinea-Bissau from as many states as possible. With the United Nations General Assembly session currently in progress, the moment is opportune to do the necessary lobbying. African and other sympathetic governments should force the issue at the U.N. not only to obtain admission for Guinea-Bissau, but also to force the hand of other governments to declare their stand. It is known that in carrying out its colonial wars, Portugal has benefitted from the active support of its NATO allies, either openly or surreptitiously and this is the moment for governments to stand up and be counted among the friends or foes of African freedom and independence and human dignity.

In addition to moral support, recognition will bring to the new state of Guinea-Bissau diplomatic advantages. Those countries which recognise the new state cannot in clear conscience continue to give assistance to Portugal in Guinea-Bissau; any such assistance given will mean that they are supporting foreign aggressors against a legitimate government. In such a case, the new state can call on friendly countries to help it defend its territorial integrity and sovereignty. It does appear, therefore, that in these initial stages, the O.A.U.'s major contribution to the preservation of Guinea-Bissau's independence should be in the diplomatic field.

One condition which guides governments in the recognition of new states is the assurance that the new state is in effective control over the territory and the institutions within it. On this score there can be no doubt about the claim of the PAIGC. As one of our correspondents who had actually visited the country reported in this paper last year (**L.O.** VII/5), the PAIGC effectively controls about 80% of the territory, and has established schools, hospitals and all forms of social organisation in these liberated areas. Our correspondent's

report was corroborated from other sources and by the findings of the U.N. Special Mission to Guinea-Bissau in April 1972. Therefore, the situation in Guinea-Bissau is not just that of the majority of the people fighting against a minority foreign government, as is the case in African nationalist struggles; it is a situation in which the actual running of social, political and economic life can be seen to be in the hands of the nationalist majority. By the normal yardstick of the actual realities of power, therefore, the legitimacy of the new independent government should not be in any doubt whatsoever. It is not the usurpation of power from a foreign government by a minority settler gang, as is the case in Rhodesia, but the wrenching of power from a foreign government by a representative movement that effectively cares for and controls the lives of the majority of the people. The countries represented at the United Nations should be made aware of this situation so that the necessary machinery can be set in motion to sustain and protect the legitimate aspirations of the people of Guinea-Bissau.

But the new state needs more than diplomatic recognition and support; it needs solid material assistance. In this regard it is worthy of note that the O.A.U. has given the sum of £100,000, and in addition Tanzania has offered more than half of this sum. We would like to believe that this assistance is only a preliminary instalment and that when the O.A.U. Liberation Committee meets in Mogadishu shortly, plans will be drawn up to channel all forms of material and monetary aid to the new state which has yet to liberate the whole of its territory and solidify its institutional framework.

The declaration of independence by Guinea-Bissau is both a challenge and an opportunity to the O.A.U. to translate into concrete acts its determination to bring to an end colonialism in Africa. This is a test-case by which the seriousness of the O.A.U. will be measured. It is hoped that the scheduled meeting of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee will draw up contingency plans so that if in frustration Portugal resorts to any desperate moves, the whole of Africa will demonstrate its might by giving the **coup de grace** to benighted Portugal's colonialist ambitions in the Western part of Africa. It will be naive to assume that Portugal will simply bow to overwhelming realities and withdraw gracefully. The O.A.U. should prepare itself to react appropriately. The happy outcome of the Guinea-Bissau affair will constitute an encouragement to the African nationalists struggling for their freedom elsewhere and a warning to the colonialist die-hards still hanging on to imperial dreams.

The Economy

THE CASE FOR INCREASING COCOA PRODUCER PRICE IN GHANA

By

P. Osei-Kwame and G. Newlyn Murphy

SINCE independence, and before, the price paid to cocoa farmers for their produce has been established by government edicts which come to the public through government broadcasts to the nation or through budget speeches by Finance Ministers. Each time a new cocoa producer price is announced the rationale or basis for the price increase is not explicitly spelt out. One therefore gets the impression that cocoa producer prices are pegged at the pleasure of the government of the day.

The aim of this article is to help find a more tangible basis for proposing increases in the present cocoa producer price in Ghana. We also examine the "taxes" paid by cocoa farmers vis-a-vis other working Ghanaians and their effect on government income. A need is established for a more remunerative cocoa producer price, a price comparative to that paid in Ghana's immediate neighbouring countries and high enough to act as an incentive to the use of improved methods for greater productivity.

Neglected Cocoa Farmer

The government proposes a salary review for all workers. Already a 7½% increase has been given, as a temporary measure, to all low income grades of personnel in the Public services, including the Civil Service, the Teaching Service, the Fire Service and the Public Boards and Corporations. It is interesting to note the exclusion of cocoa farmers and other farm allied workers from the list of lucky workers. Ironically the Prices and Income Board **et al** charged with the salary and pay increases are to recommend to government methods of inducing school leavers to take to farming and allied activities instead of looking for clerical jobs. Common sense and mere logic teach school leavers not to go into farming where remuneration is so scanty and the business so risky, but to go into the public service and corporations where remuneration is constantly under review. Cocoa farmers provide well over 60% of the total export earnings of government, and about 24% of total government revenue and will therefore help government to raise the extra required to pay the higher salaries and wages to the workers above-named. If so, why should cocoa farmers be left out in

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any pay increase exercise? In the **Legon Observer** of 20th April, 1973, Professor Max Steuer rightly commented that Marx's dictum "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need", seems perverted in Ghana to, "From each according to his production of cocoa, to each according to his academic degree". This is undoubtedly true. Cocoa farmers in this country have been bearing an unfair proportion of the burden of running Ghana often without reaping the benefits.

It is our view that the benefits of government should be rather widely diffused throughout the whole population and not only to public servants and workers in the corporations. A recent study on the income of Ghanaian cocoa farmers by T.K. Buxton established that over 81% of the nation's cocoa farmers are in the low income bracket, producing less than 100 loads a year at ₵10.00 a load, and therefore receiving less than ₵1,000.00 per annum.

Going by the numbers of loads produced, one can delineate three classes of cocoa farmers: first, the poor, 81.8% of the farmers producing less than 100 loads per annum; second, the middle income, 14% of the farmers producing 101-300 loads per annum; and thirdly, the remaining 4.2% of the farmers producing over 300 loads per annum. Each group produces about $^1/_3$ of Ghana's total cocoa output. The poor group receives a lower wage than the average manual labourer in Ghana. The middle group receives a wage similar to that of a civil service clerk with no degree. The rich group receives the wage of a university lecturer. Only 6.8% of the farmers earn over ₵1,600.00 p.a., the minimum salary of a graduate worker in Ghana.

We are more concerned about the 81.8% poor farmers whose heads are below the "poverty line". The poor farmers' situation becomes more deplorable when one considers that they will have to pay their labourers (on "abusa" or "abunu" basis)

TABLE I

Distribution of cocoa output and net cash income

Class (Loads per annum)	Percentage of farmers	Percentage of output	Average net income per farmer
1 – 10	16.0	1.3	₵40.97
11 – 20	15.8	3.3	100.01
21 – 30	10.0	3.5	167.41
31 – 40	10.0	4.9	229.12
41 – 50	7.3	4.5	286.58
51 – 60	7.5	5.6	338.10
61 – 70	3.3	2.8	397.90
71 – 80	4.4	4.6	480.07
81 – 90	2.3	2.6	495.09
91 – 100	5.2	6.4	587.44
101 – 150	6.2	10.3	764.67
151 – 200	4.3	9.9	1047.15
201 – 250	1.8	5.4	1347.88
251 – 300	1.7	6.2	1578.06
301 – 500	2.7	13.8	2206.24
501 – 700	1.0	7.6	3401.13
701 – 1000	.2	2.2	4308.00
Over 1000	.3	5.1	6528.67

Source: T. K. Buxton: **The Cash Income of Cocoa Farmers in Ghana.** (Legon: Paper presented to the Cocoa Economics Research Conference. April 1973), p.15.



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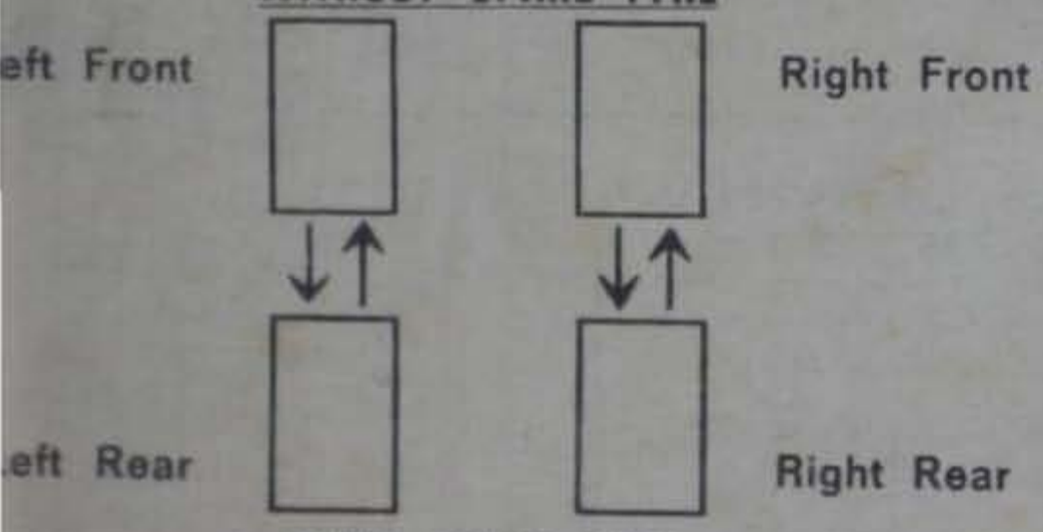
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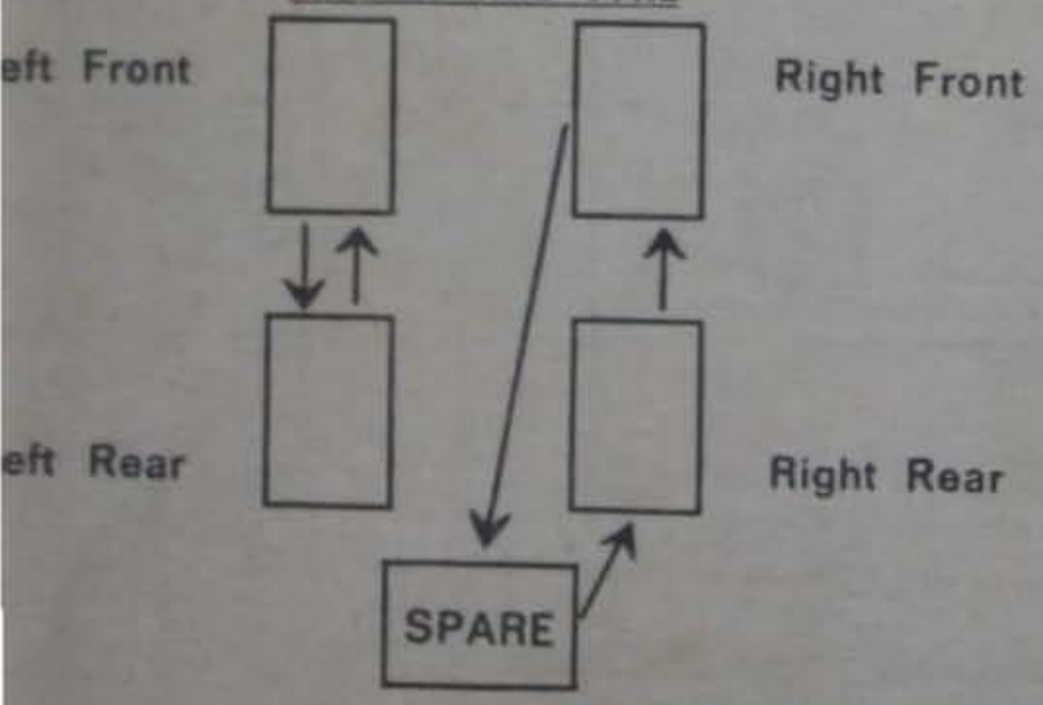
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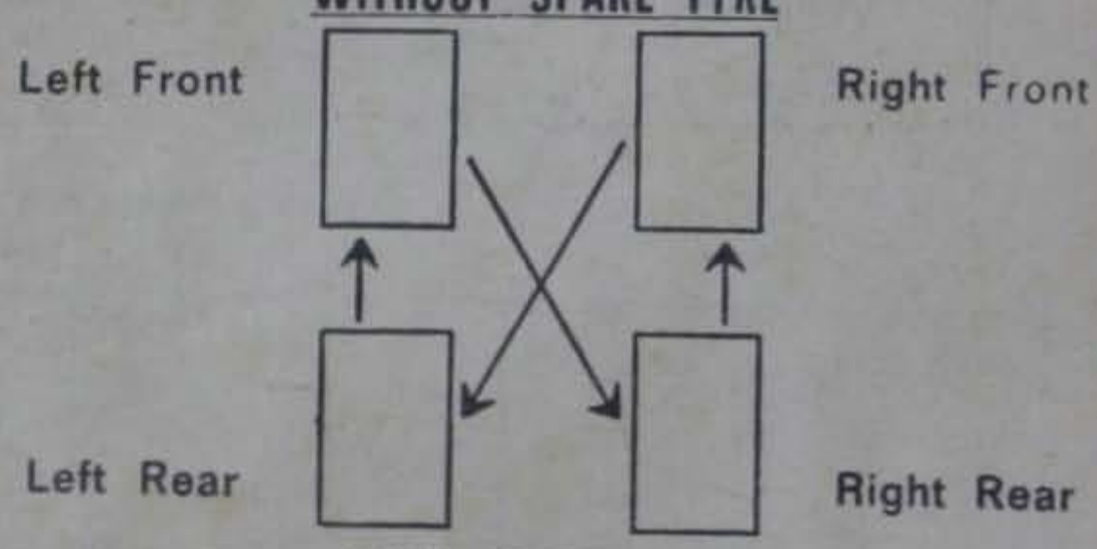


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from their already below average incomes. These poor farmers try to make ends meet by increasing the price of their foodstuffs (plantain, yams, cocoyam, cassava, maize, etc.) but in this realm too the government steps in with a "control price", the consequence of which is to keep prices down and to further frustrate the farmers in their attempt to keep their heads above the "poverty line". The arrangement of salary and wage increases for only public servants and workers in the corporations creates an overall lopsided salary structure in which non-public servants (especially farmers) have salaries far below that of public servants. Then the aim of the government to bridge the gap between incomes would have been defeated.

Cocoa producer prices in Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey and Nigeria are higher than Ghana's. In fact, cocoa farmers in the Ivory Coast and Togo receive about ₵14.00 per load of 60lbs. of dried beans. The same quantity fetches only ₵10.00 in Ghana. If the economic incentive (minus sabotage, of course,) is the only thing that drives people into smuggling, then the present heavy smuggling of cocoa out of Ghana to her immediate neighbouring countries is a natural result of the existence of its producer price differentials. Make the producer price the same in Ghana, Togo, and Ivory Coast and you make smuggling no longer lucrative. We are informed that the government of Ghana loses about ₵15 million through cocoa smuggling, and about ₵10 million through diamond smuggling every year. If the government will only bring up the producer price of cocoa to the level of that existing in her neighbouring countries (i.e. ₵14.00 per load) the annual loss of ₵15 million will become an annual gain of ₵15 million and this money will find its way into the pockets of Ghanaian cocoa farmers and/or the chest of the Ghana government.

Right now, the Ghana government is fighting out smuggling through vigorous border control, severe punishment for offenders caught in the illicit deal, and improvement of the poor transport system in the border areas. These measures cost a lot of money to implement, and, moreover, they are only palliative measures. In our view the only curative as well as preventive measure for smuggling of cocoa out of Ghana is to bring the producer price up to the level of that existing outside Ghana's immediate borders. Take the example of the Volta Region of Ghana. During the 1971/72 season only 5,700 tons of cocoa were sold in this region due to smuggling. However as a result of a higher producer price of cocoa (i.e ₵10.00 per load) that came into operation the following year—1972/73, and stricter border control, 9,393 tons of cocoa were bought only in

Table 2 **Ghana's Producer Price as % of World F.O.B. Price 1959/60 — 1972/72**

Year	In New Cedis per Long Ton		% of Ghana's Producer Price to World F.O.B. Price
	World F.O.B. Price	Ghana Producer Price per ton	
1959/60	437.52	224.30	51.26
1960/61	398.09	224.00	56.26
1961/62	373.96	224.00	59.89
1962/63	382.05	224.00	58.63
1963/64	354.88	224.00	63.11
Oct. 1964 to Feb. 1965	369.47	224.00	60.62
March 1965 to Dec. 1965	291.48	214.68	73.65
1966	255.83	153.44	59.97
1967	347.96	186.66	53.64
1968	537.72	245.75	45.70
1969	720.88	270.10	37.46
1970 Sept.	847.61	298.62	35.23
1970/71	692.03	298.67	43.15
1971/72*	700.51	300.00	42.82

*Estimated.

Source: UNCTAD, **Marketing and Distribution for Cocoa** (Geneva: UNCTAD, 6 Feb. 1973: TD/B/C.1/132) p. 45, 46. (Col. 3 computed by Authors.)

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the first three months of the 1972/73 cocoa season. It was expected that by the end of the season 15,000 tons would have been bought (i.e. about three times what was bought in the previous season). Even so smuggling has not stopped in the Volta Region so far as the price differential exists between Ghana's ₵10.00 per-load cocoa producer price and that of the Republic of Togo, ₵14.00 per load).

Previous experience has shown that cocoa producers are positively responsive to price changes, and an increase in producer prices constitutes an incentive to increase production, and vice versa. Ghana therefore needs to have a realistic pricing policy which will encourage cocoa producers to increase their production through acreage expansion and improvement in the level of farm management as a result of farmers' own experience and technical advice from experts. The farmers need money in terms of disposable income for this expansion exercise. But as column 3 of Table 2 shows, the producer price for cocoa in Ghana has been kept persistently far below the levels achieved in world price.

The accumulated surpluses are kept by the government for development projects some of which these predominantly illiterate farmers never live to enjoy. Meanwhile the farmers find that any added factor input yields a less than proportionate output as is evident from Table, 2, Col. 3, a situation of diminishing returns. They are also aware that rising labour and equipment costs often mean that they have to forgo some of the new methods for crop productivity explained to them by extension officers; they simply cannot afford them. To many farmers, cocoa farming has become less lucrative now.

As a result of this sapping by government of the cocoa farmers' blood, they have not had the strength to respond favourably to the government's call to "produce more cocoa". Consequently Ghana's rate of increase of cocoa production has been very slow as compared with that of either Nigeria or the Ivory Coast (Table 3).

Under the UN Cocoa Agreement, Ghana has been granted an annual export quota of 581,000 tons but it is unlikely that, at the slow rate Ghana's cocoa production is increasing, this figure will be reached during the three years of the Agreement. However, if Ghana does not produce at least 465,000 tons during one of the three years the mechanisms of the Treaty provide that it will be re-negotiated and Ghana's quota cut by 20%. Such a ceiling on Ghana's cocoa output will be harmful both to farmers and the government; the government would lose a source of income that has possibilities of constantly increasing. Unless a higher price is given to farmers which will convince them to increase output it is likely that a ceiling on Ghana's cocoa production will be created by Ghana's own actions.

The present taxes paid by cocoa farmers are unfair. By "taxes" we mean the money accruing to the G.C.M.B. as government revenue or G.C.M.B. surpluses after deducting handling and marketing expenses incurred by G.C.M.B. Farmers' income derived from cocoa production is exempt from Ghana's progressive income tax structure. In the period 1966-1970 inclusive, the G.C.M.B. sold an average of about 350,000 tons of cocoa annually. In that period government income and surpluses of the G.C.M.B. amounted to 97.8% of the price paid to the farmers, and constituted an effective tax of 49% on all farmers regardless of their income levels. The average f.o.b. price for these sales was ₵542.00 per ton. Of this price ₵85.00 went for the internal marketing costs and fumigation expenses borne by the Marketing Board. ₵231.00 per ton (or ₵6.29 per load

Table 3

World Cocoa Production 1953 and 1969

Country	1953 Production ('000 tons)	1969 Production ('000 tons)	%Change from 1953 – 1969
Ivory Coast	56	178	217.9
Nigeria	97	219	125.8
Cameroun	53	108	103.8
Ghana	211	410	94.3
Brazil	163	197	20.9
Others	196	312	59.2
World	776	1424	83.5

Source: Adapted from Dupe Olatunbosun, "Pricing Policy and Supply Response in Cocoa Production The Nigerian Case", Paper presented to Cocoa Research Conference 9 – 12th April, 1973, Table 1, p

'as the average price paid to the farmer, and the :maining ₵226.00 per ton was declared govern- ient revenue and surpluses of the G.C.M.B. 'his gave the government an average of over '70 million; about 24% of the government's otal average annual revenue of ¢295 million.[3]

If the cocoa farmers were subjected to the regular rogressive income tax system operative in Ghana, hey would have to earn over ₵10,500 p.a. (i.e. roduce about 1,050 loads at ₵10.00 a load) n order to pay the 49% income tax they are now aying.[4] But only 0.3% of the nation's cocoa armers produce this much according to the Buxton tudy cited above. The poor 81.8% of the cocoa armers produce less than 100 loads and earn bout ₵1,000 p.a. and should be subject to less han 5% progressive income tax. But at present ll cocoa farmers, both rich and poor pay the same lat rate income tax on their produce into the government chest. We strongly feel that this tax ystem is unfair.

Increasing Prices

The present producer price paid to farmers is equally unfair. To treat cocoa farmers equitably he government should consider making the price paid to the farmer each season the average of the prices realised by the Marketing Board in recent seasons minus the average costs of the Board. From this price, income tax should be deducted on the same scale applicable to other workers in Ghana. We could reasonably institute a system of moving average pricing based on the welfare criterion of making the cocoa farmers better off without making the government worse off. The institution of this system would mean a reduction in government revenue and a corresponding increase in the income of the majority low income cocoa farmers, unless income taxes were raised. It would also mean establishing a system of tax collection from the cocoa farmers probably with the licensed buying agents (LBAs) acting as the tax collectors for the Central Revenue Department.

In the meantime the government could raise the cocoa producer price some 40% up from the ₵10.00 per load paid last season. ₵14.00 per load would be in the range of the average price payable to farmers after marketing and handling costs from 1966 to 1970. The new price would similarly be fair if world prices remained fixed around the centre of the price range established by the UN Cocoa Agreement, and if the costs of marketing did not rise over their 1970 levels. This new price is also similar to the price received by farmers in the Republic of Togo and the Ivory Coast last season. And this competitive price would reduce or completely stop the temptation to smuggle cocoa out of Ghana to her neighbouring countries.

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3. J. E. A. Manu: Cocoa in the Ghana Economy (Legon; Paper presented to the Cocoa Economics Research Conference, April 1973), p.2.
4. Calculated from the 1967 tax schedule, valid from 1967 until the present; published in Annual Report of the Central Revenue Department, (Accra, Government Printer, 1972), p.7.

Education

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SCHOOL FOR TRAINING ACCOUNTANTS AND OTHER RELATED PROFESSIONALS—A COMMENT

By
Ato Ghartey

PROMPTED by the dearth of qualified accountants in the country and the inadequacy of existing training facilities for such professionals in the Private Commercial and Business Institutes, Polytechnics, the School of Administration, and other in-service training schemes, the Commissioner for Education and Culture appointed a Committee on 24th May, 1973 to examine and report on measures necessary for the establishment of a school for training accountants and other allied professionals. The Committee has submitted its report.

The Committee conceded to the fact that the ideal way of solving the problem of shortage of accountants and allied professionals in the country would be to expand and make additions to the existing training and educational facilities at the School of Administration. However, the Committee dismissed this solution on the ground that the School of Administration would not be able to implement the decision on the establishment of the school within a reasonable time and accord the new programme the desired administrative, academic and professional flexibility.

The School of Administration's decision making process, it was asserted, would be stifled because it has adopted the University of Ghana's regulations and administrative procedures which are inflexible on such matters as establishment, appointments, remuneration, teaching qualifications, minimum entry requirements, and students admission quotas.

Thus, the Committee recommended that a separate autonomous institution be established in Accra starting in January, 1974 to concentrate on the training of accountants and other allied professionals and to retrain those already in the field.

Members of the Committee have to be commended for their thoughtfulness and for their very high devotion to national interest. However, it is debatable whether the idea of establishing a new Business School in the country within the next four months is in the best interest of citizens of our Republic.

If the main argument against incorporating the new programme at the School of Administration stems from the School's blanket adoption of the regulations and administrative procedures of the University of Ghana, then one would think that a reasonable way to correct the anomaly would be to re-evaluate and examine the

present regulations and administrative procedures of the School of Administration and make appropriate corrective recommendations to the government.

It may not be very reasonable to discard all the regulations and administrative procedures of the University. For instance, it would be highly undesirable to establish very lax teaching qualifications for prospective lecturers, and minimum entry requirements for students. It is reasonable to establish certain quotas regarding such things as student-lecture ratio, and on producing a desirable number of graduates that could be gainfully absorbed by the economy. On the other hand it would not seem reasonable to establish a flat salary scale for all lecturers in the University.

If a number of equally qualified scholars in different fields of study, for example, Accounting, Law, Medicine, Business Management, History, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Engineering, English, Latin, went out to the job market to look for a job, it is very unlikely that even within the same firm a flat salary would be quoted for all such scholars. The factors of demand for and supply of qualified personnel in those fields of study, would among other factors, determine the reasonable salary scales that should be offered to scholars in different fields of study. One wonders how the University can attract and retain qualified, competent devoted, and reliable professionals into the teaching field when there exists a wide gap between the salaries offered in the university and those offered outside the university. A case in point is the mass resignation of Engineering lecturers at the University of Science and Technology four years ago.

Establishing New School

If the Committee had any reasons to conclude that it would be impossible to correct the anomalies in the regulations and administrative procedures of the School of Administration then they are, to some extent, justified in suggesting that a new autonomous institution be established for the desired purpose. However, the validity of the assumption that it is impossible to correct the anomalies at the School of Administration is highly doubtful.

Thus, before ruling out the possibility of correcting the possible anomalies at the School of Administration, it might be appropriate to conduct a simple benefit cost analysis to compare the extent to which the Ghanaian society would be better off or worse off by making definite efforts to correct the anomalies at the School of Administration and expanding the School's facilities to embrace the new programme and establishing a new Business School for the proposed programme.

The cost of establishing the new school is estimated at an annual recurrent expenditure of about ¢730,000 and a capital expenditure of about ¢2,000,000. Even if the Committee's assertion that the monetary costs involved in incorporating the new programme in expanded facilities at the School of Administration would not be materially different from those that might be incurred in establishing a new school, one would wonder if the feasibility study for the project would have to account for quantifiable monetary items only. Certainly one would have to go through a short exercise in marginal costing before one can arrive at a reasonable decision on the project.

The School of Administration has been in existence fo about ten years. The Government of Ghana, the Univer sity of Ghana, staff and students (past and present) of th School of Administration have made substantial inves ments in terms of money and otherwise in raising the re putation of the School to a high status. To som extent such investments could be regarded as sunk cost They can no longer be recovered. To that extent whatev costs that might have been incurred in the past would b irrelevant as far as future decisions on the comparison of the costs of expanding existing facilities at the schoo and the establishment of a new institution are concerne

Thus, as between establishing a new School of Busine and expanding the facilities at the School of Admini tration to embrace the new programme, one would hav to compare such costs as:—

School of Administration	New School
1. Cost of expanding Library, classrooms and other facilities.	Cost of building a ne Library, classrooms, an other facilities at th new school.
2. Cost of employing additional administrative and teaching personnel.	Cost of employing and/o training new administr tive and teaching perso nel.
3. Additional costs and ease of making existing ancillary university courses accessible to students.	Cost and ease of intr ducing and establishi ancillary business cours in the new school o making existing faciliti in the University Ghana accessible to s dents.
4. Benefits students will derive by mixing up with colleagues in other fields of study at Legon.	Benefits students will lo by being isolated fro other university studen

The School of Administration is already well establish and has been able to establish a congenial relationsh with the other departments in the University of Ghan If one wants to qualify as a professional accountant, f example, one does not only have to study accounti but also related subjects such as Law, Economy, Bu ness Management and quantitative methods. Faciliti for such ancillary studies are already well establish at Legon. Besides, the best qualified and compete full time lecturers **cannot** generally be found outsi the universities.

Even if the new school is able "to buy" some of t qualified teaching personnel from the School of Adm nistration and probably the University of Ghana at attractive salary of ¢6,000 basic, plus a professio allowance of ¢2,250 as compared to the current univ sity rate of ¢3,400 basic with no professional allowan one wonders if the country would gain anything robbing her left hand and giving it to her right hand.

Both the proposed Business School and the School Administration will belong to the Government. If l turers resign from the School of Administration and t School of Administration is unable to replace the lecturers, some of the existing programmes at the Scho of Administration will collapse. Indeed such is ve likely to be the case. The School of Administrati cannot at the moment afford to lose any of its lectur in accounting. At least 5 out of the 13 accounti courses offered at the School of Administration w

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ADVERTISER'S ANNOUNCEMENT

GHANA COLD STORES LIMITED

GRAPHIC EDITORIAL ON FISH SITUATION

ON September 24th, 1973, the **Daily Graphic** accused the Ghana Cold Stores Limited of delay in off-loading vessels operated by the State Fishing Corporation when they berth at the harbour.

The editorial sought to attribute the current shortage of fish in the country to the inability of the Ghana Cold Stores Limited to discharge on schedule.

We would have wished to treat the editorial with the contempt it deserves as the editor himself has conceded that it was a gross neglect of duty by not checking on his facts before he wrote the editorial.

However, certain revelations since the publication make it imperative for the Management of the Ghana Cold Stores Ltd., to come out in defence of the Company.

The editor—Mr. Richard Horsley, who incidentally is a member of the Board of Directors of the State Fishing Corporation made the following confessions to a delegation of the Company who confronted him:—

(a) That he gathered his information from deliberations of a meeting of the Board of Directors held on September 20th, 1973.

(b) That his editorial was based on the annual report of the Corporation and in fact he did not make any attempt to verify the truth or falsity of the facts before they were published.

(c) That he saw a vessel berthed at the port which was said to have been delayed by Ghana Cold Stores but he did not go on board to check whether it had been off-loaded or not.

(d) That he did not bother to find out what vessel or what quantity of fish the vessel carried.

(e) And, in fact, as Director of the State Fishing Corporation he did not know that there is an agreement signed between the State Fishing Corporation and Ghana Cold Stores to the effect that if the Ghana Stores Ltd., fails to discharge a vessel within a stipulated number of days, State Fishing Corporation will charge Ghana Cold Stores Ltd., a demurrage of ¢1,000.00 per day. Since this agreement was signed, there hasn't been any genuine claim on the Ghana Cold Stores Ltd., for having delayed a vessel.

The Ghana Cold Stores Ltd., concedes that the bumper catch last year was heavy and all available cold rooms were filled to capacity and this accounted for the delay in off-loading the vessels. The situation is not the same this year and the cold rooms have been empty for too long.

One would have thought that as editor whose very position in the society makes him a mouth-piece, he would check and even cross-check his facts before they are published and much more so when using such material for editorial so as to avoid any suspicion of an attempt to mislead or to deceive the Government and the nation as a whole.

The **Graphic** editorial described the plan b Ghana Cold Stores Expansion Programme as la and went on "But this laudable scheme can hardly any advantage if the authorities at the Cold Sto not ensure that there is enough fish on hand times". From this, one can conclude that the E Director does not know the roles of the produce the distributor in this respect. For how on ear a mere distributor make sure of enough fish o market when the producer (State Fishing Corpo is not able to meet the demand of the consumer.

The Editorial further went on, "It does not a that the Ghana Cold Stores has grasped the en of the problem. If it has, it does not seem to bring to appreciate the efforts being made to overco This is because the Ghana Cold Stores which h loading and unloading of fish at the Fishing Ha can leave these carrier vessels unloaded for severa for no apparent reason than that its workers d work on Saturdays and Sundays or because it meet payment of overtime for work done".

Here again if the editor had taken pains to his information as expected of an editor of such a table daily, he would have found that overtime ments for work done in off-loading State Fishing poration vessels are borne by State Fishing Corpo and not by the Ghana Cold Stores Ltd. How do Ghana Cold Stores Ltd., which had been starved for the past three weeks by the inability of the Fishing Corporation to bring in fish refuse to workers to do overtime because it cannot meet p of overtime for work done?"

The two 'carrier' vessels (Rio Miera and Se question which carried loads equivalent to four were off-loaded three clear days off the stipulated of time. i.e. The two carrier vessels should hav unloaded within 9 days in accordance with sectio of the Agreement between the two organisations.

At the week-end in question, the Ghana Cold Ltd., engaged 60 labourers to work on Sege at to 6.00 p.m. on Saturday, September 22, whilst bourers worked from 7.00 a.m. to 2.00 p.m. on 23rd September, 1973 to off-load "Sege".

The other carrier vessel—"Rio Mierra" was off by 1.00 p.m. on Friday, September 21, 1973.

From the foregoing we cannot help but c that the editor being a member of the Board rectors of the State Fishing Corporation was t use the columns of his paper to divert the Gover attention from the inability of the producers Fishing Corporation to land enough catch by the blame on the distributors—the Ghana Cold Ltd.

For after all if the Editor himself a Director

o a high position to apprise the Government of
n situation of fish production in the Country does
ow that shortage of fish in the country today is
ale on the inability of the producers to land
g fish how much more would a layman in the
The Management of the Ghana Cold Stores Ltd.,
nders whether at the State Fishing Corporation's
Meeting at which the allegations against the
Cold Stores were revealed, mention was made
act that about four vessels were held up in port
r two weeks for lack of empty cartons until
d cartons arrived before the vessels left for the
as. Who is responsible for this lack of fore-
?

ps the **Graphic** will do well to find answers to
lowing questions:—

1. Why is it that the State Fishing Corporation is not able to meet the consumers' demands?
2. Why is it that State Fishing Corporation's fish are of the poorest quality as compared with fish landed by their counterparts like Mankoadze, Ocean Fisheries and the other small boatowners?
3. Why is it that the Corporation's vessels keep waiting for several days after they have been off-loaded by the Ghana Cold Stores Ltd.?

We believe that answers to these questions will go a long way to help the Government find a solution to the present shortage of fish facing the country and that will augur well for the country rather than its attention being diverted from the true situation of events.

Issued by the General Manager
GHANA COLD STORES LTD.

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be taught by part-time lecturers during the next
ic year. This should clearly indicate that the
of Administration already has a staffing problem.
School of Administration cannot have access to
e teachers to teach the existing courses one
s what would happen if the school lost some of
urers to the proposed school.

implicit assumption the Committee appears to
ing is that there exists at the moment potential
d and competent teaching personnel in the coun-
that most of these people have refused to join
ool of Administration staff because the School
inistration is unable to create desirable working
ment for them. The validity of such an asser-
highly doubtful. Indeed, there have been several
s where apparently qualified professional accoun-
ave been legitimately rejected by the appoint-
oard of the University of Ghana on the ground
h persons were unable to satisfy the University's
g qualifications. If the Committee ever contem-
employing such rejects as lecturers of the pro-
school then the government needs to be fore-
that the reputation of the proposed school will
take.

proposed school, if established, will offer courses
unting, management, post qualification specialist
for professional accountants and managers, and
courses and seminars. Pertinent questions that
e raised at this point would include:—

re the above courses not already being offered
or a number of these institutions in the country?
School of Administration;
Institute of Management and Public Adminis-
ion;
Management Development and Productivity
itute;
Polytechnics; and
Institute of Professional Studies (I.P.S.)

any of such courses are already being offered in
he above institutions would it not be unnecessary
ion and waste of public funds to have another
autonomous institution especially established for the same purpose?

3. If any of such courses are not already being offered in any of the institutions, would it not be more economically advisable to either introduce or incorporate such courses in the existing programmes in one or a number of the above institutions?

4. Rather than establish a new Business School, would it not be more socially desirable and appropriate for the Government to offer the Director/ Proprietor of the I.P.S. reasonable compensation, take over the School (I.P.S.) from him, expand and improve the existing facilities in the school, and establish the proposed programme there? The Committee's reactions or comments on these suggested alternatives will be appreciated.

The Committee's report raises a very important and delicate issue of national interest. The idea of educating and training accountants and allied professionals at this time to cope with the development needs of the country is most welcome. However, one wonders if the Committee's recommendation regarding the implementation of the idea is the most reasonable approach under the prevailing circumstances.

In the first place, it does not appear that the Commissioner for Education and Culture and the Committee are willing to give this issue sufficient time for critical thought, consideration, and evaluation. When the Committee was appointed by the Commissioner on 24th May, 1973, the Committee was requested to submit its report, within two weeks from that date! The Committee, however, realised at a later stage that it would be impossible to submit the report within two weeks. The report was, therefore, submitted in 12 weeks.

The Committee submitted its report on 14th August, 1973, and recommended that the proposed Business School should start in January, 1974. There are indications that plans are already in progress to establish the proposed School. Advertisements for teaching staff have already appeared in the local papers. Five graduates from the School of Administration have been

drafted by the National Service to assist in designing syllabuses and courses for the proposed School. One wonders if all this rush is really necessary and appropriate.

The School Council of the proposed school is to be drawn up of representatives from:—

1. The Institute of Chartered Accountants (Ghana);
2. National Council for Higher Education;
3. Ministry of Education;
4. School of Administration;
5. Management Development and Productivity Institute;
6. Ghana Institute of Management and Public Administration;
7. Auditor-General's and Accountant-General's Departments.

One wonders if any of the above institutions has been furnished with a copy of the Committee's report or if comments suggestions and/or approval on the report have been invited from any of them. Furthermore, since a substantial amount of the taxpayer's money and the public's interest are at stake, would it not be appropriate to generate opinion and discussions on the issue before a final decision is taken?

It is a fact that the country is urgently in need of a suitable programme to educate and train qualified accountants and allied professionals in the country. However, such a need alone should not be sufficient for the Government to introduce mushroom programmes that might either be short lived or end up producing low calibre or mediocre accountants and other professionals in the country.

Rural Development

RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND OUR ECONOMY SOLVENCY

by

K. K. Oduro

SO much has been written and said about the need for a sustained effort at comprehensive development for our rural areas that one is beginning to hope that perhaps our intentions are genuine and it is only some unfortunate handicaps that are keeping us from tackling the problem with all the seriousness that it deserves. One hears these days of all the grandiose plans that the first Republic had intended to operate in order to bring our rural areas out of the woods. The second Republic, not only assured us of its intentions to develop the rural areas but it actually put in operation a taxation system aimed at getting the town-dweller directly involved in the provision of basic amenities for our kith and kin still battling with a prehistoric existence. The N.R.C., although it abandoned the rural development levy of the second Republic, is nevertheless spending large sums of money in a commendable effort to achieve the same objective.

The obvious question one feels compelled to ask is: if we are all so much aware of the dire necessity to bring some succour to Ghanaians living under impossible conditions which are none of their own making, why then has progress been so intolerably slow; and even more invidious, why is it that generally when the government of the day makes the bold attempt to embark on a major development programm in any part of the country, a section of the san Ghanaian community turns bitter and accuses them favouritism, etc.?

It is the aim of this article to examine these as we as other problems related to rural development and make suggestions as to how we might mobilize ou efforts to solve them in a more rational manner.

First, the problem. This is a young country with th vast majority of its citizens living in the rural area No matter who comes to rule us, the leaders are likel to be people who have either had a personal expe rience of life abroad, or would have been abundantl exposed to foreign influences. Such people would mo probably be acutely aware of the great disparit between development here and development elswhere

The result is that our leaders are likely to crave fo the type of development that shows instant result even if these are only tenuous. Our resources, in spit of what we believe of ourselves, are on the other hand extremely limited. With scanty resources and our love to show to the world how much we are capable o achieving, no wonder our initial love was for manu facturing industries almost to the exclusion of all othe vital activities.

Vicious Circle

Since, of course, manufacturing industries have t be established in places with some rudiments of deve lopmental infrastructure our industries had, of neces sity, to be sited in cities and a few urban centres. Hence, with our educational system doing (so faultlessly the work assigned to it, i.e. producing young men and women who cannot accept the lot of their forebears by remaining in the villages and ferreting out a miserable existence through prehistoric methods of farming, we naturally get the familiar exodus from the countryside to the cities. Thus, Accra for example, increased its population by over 73% between 1960 and 1970 as compared to an average increase of just under 25% for the rest of the country during the same period.

Such a phenomenal increase in population over one single decade has of course tended to overtax the city's capacity to provide essential services. So we get tempted to provide more for Accra, and since our resources are hopelessly limited, other parts of the country whose needs may be genuinely greater than those of Accra get neglected. Hence the built-in natural vicious circle resulting from our unintelligent planning con tinues—the ever-increasing population of Accra must be given more and provided with more facilities which naturally attract the youth from the rural areas. The net result of this is what any observer cannot help noticing—a lot of "ghost villages" whose tired and scandalously neglected populace are expected to feed their ailing bodies as well as those of their virile but mostly unproductive enlightened brothers in the cities and towns. What sense, for example, is there, when we decide to bail out our famous Accra-Tema City Council by making the tax payer pay for the repair of our Accra roads, when we invest in ultra-modern markets and a sewerage system for Accra; and indeed when we even begin to agitate for government subsidy for our International/Preparatory primary schools — one children's sure passport to secondary schools whose establishment, we confess, has been due largely to the taxation of rural farmers; in also expecting the rur

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folk to tax and surtax themselves in order to provide their basic amenities as well as erecting their own school buildings?

We urgently need to help make our rural areas liveable not only because natural justice demands it of us, but also because if we let our villages die our cities will lose their sustenance, and then what? Part of the answer is what we have already begun to witness —the atrociously high cost of local foodstuffs and the desperate attempts to contain it! One hopes that we shall never again fool ourselves into believing that shortage of local foodstuffs is due to anything else but our past greed to keep everything that can remotely promote decent and healthy living to cities and towns.

Because all this has been said before, what we need to address ourselves to is how to remedy the situation. First, how do we find money to embark on a comprehensive development programme, and secondly, if we do find the money which aspects of rural neglect do we consider the most acute and should therefore require our immediate attention?

Finding Money for Rural Development

Since it has become fashionable for most of us to point out the extent to which our national well-being has been dependent on the sweat of our rural peoples, we are greatly tempted to suggest that, government should make available all the necessary funds for this "noble cause". We have no doubt that given adequate funds any government of Ghana would do so without any fuss. However, we are told that we have not got enough money for that sort of venture; and one has no reason to doubt the genuineness of that claim. Perhaps our only query would be this: under these circumstances, are those of us who are comparatively favoured setting a good example by making genuine efforts to save money; are we prepared to root out most of the irrelevancies in our social set-up?

Our universities have been accused of unnecessary "oxbridgism" in the matter (including others) of the wearing of academic gowns. We like to add to that by asking whether we are absolutely convinced that the wearing of gowns is a necessary requirement for intellectual excellence. But having said that, can we say that the rest of us are not better? Can our legal men and women convince the rest of us that the practice of wig-wearing endows them with more wisdom for the correct exposition of our laws; do our police service need to wear their heavy dark-blue attire in order to do their work more efficiently and in greater comfort; in times of peace, such as these in which we happily find ourselves, can't straw hats, properly designed, serve our soldiers instead of the many caps and hats they at the moment sport; and in any case, are we really convinced that swords and gloves are an essential ingredient of servicemen's parades? The list can be easily extended to cover other identifiable groups. What is important is that we should not let it be said of us that when this country was in dire need of money to do better things with, we were whittling it away in order to perpetuate customs which, at best, we do not understand and at worst we pretend we have no regard for any way!

One area which most probably lends itself to a critical examination in the hope of saving money for the purpose we are discussing is LEVY COLLECTION. [illegible] the surtaxes that our rural brethren impose on themselves in order to erect schoolblocks and provide other amenities, they are usually more heavily levied by our local and district councils. Nevertheless, these councils never appear to be in a position to provide amenities especially for the smaller towns and villages. It would appear that this situation exists because the lion's share of the monies the councils collect goes into paying council staff salaries and wages. It would not be too unkind on the councils if government were to decree that a stipulated percentage of money collected from any locality should, by right, go directly to that community. Seventy per cent should not be considered too high a figure. After all judging from the meagre benefit the localities derive from the councils there is no reason why they should be made to foot more than 30% of the wages of council staff. If it is impossible for the councils to either pay all their staff or re-deploy them in productive jobs, then government would have to accept the responsibility. There is every justification in making this recommendation because it was government that in its wisdom decided on the establishment and (presumably) the size of the various councils.

What of the money that would be saved? The councils should be made to hold it in trust for the localities. The citizens should then be allowed to decide what projects they wish to spend it on; if council feels like advising against this they can do so, but where the citizens are adamant in their choice, the council should help them with technical advice to undertake the project of their choice.

Naturally, details of such a scheme would need to be worked out carefully in order, for example, to ensure that monies do not get diverted to private pockets, etc.

Projects which would Probably Need the Most Immediate Attention

Any community which lacks good drinking water should be directed by government to make this its first target. Where it is impossible to obtain water by the sinking of wells or other such simple methods, government could justifiably subsidise the people's effort.

The second most important consideration should be that of the provision of clinics/health centres. Here too the community should be encouraged to erect their own buildings. In the provision of staff, however, there should be room for a lot of innovations of which the following are mere suggestions. Government itself may appoint experienced nurse/midwives who should be given a free-hand to treat such common ailments as malaria fever, headaches, stomach-aches, worm infestation and sores. If that sounds too burdensome on government, then such experienced nurse/midwives should be encouraged to rent the structures from the communities and embark on private practice; government should be able to fix reasonable fees for their services. No doubt, fears are likely to be expressed about the possibility of lower standards of medical care being dished out to our rural communities. Such a claim cannot hold much water considering that a trained nurse/midwife is in an eminently better position to offer more succour to our villagers than what they at the moment get (if they indeed get anything at all) from our quacks.

What is really essential is that government should be able to arrange for regular visits by doctors to these posts at no cost either to the community or the nurse/midwife; and the doctor on such a visit should primarily aim at offering encouragement and the provision of some essential medicine which might not be available to the nurse. These proposals might work because there must be Ghanaian nurses who, given the facility of good drinking water and a chance to earn the same or a more decent salary than they are getting at the moment in towns and cities, might consider this an opportunity to render a "satisfying" service to the rural communities.

If we are able to provide such modest amenities as good drinking water, clinics and later, perhaps, electricity for our rural communities, we might find that there is no longer the need to preach, to cajole or insult our youth in an attempt to get them go back to the land. Some may find it worth their while to do so on their own volition. Also we might wake up one fine morning to discover that our industrialists have suddenly developed an itch to move some of their worthwhile activities to our village greens; and that day would surely mark the beginning of a true and intelligent development for Ghana.

Observer Notebook

The Aidoo Report

TOWARDS the end of last academic year the government appointed Mr. E.S. Aidoo, an Accra legal practitioner and a former Judicial Secretary, as sole commissioner to enquire into certain matters brought up by the students of the University of Cape Coast against the then Vice-Chancellor, Professor E. A. Boateng. In view of the urgency of the matter, the government gave the commissioner about a week within which to finish his work. The date-line could not be met, and the report was submitted to the government after about three weeks.

Even before the report was submitted, the then V.C. was "redeployed" and the Commissioner for the Central Region volunteered the information that the removal of the V.C. was not consequent upon the findings of the Committee. Some time has elapsed since the report was submitted, but for some reason or other the government has been unable to make the findings public.

It is known that the students made allegations—some of a very serious nature—against the V.C., and since the whole affair concerns a public institution, we think it is only fair to the public that it should be made aware of the situation prevailing in the University of Cape Coast last year which led to the loss of affection between the students and the V.C. In addition to the fact that the public is entitled to know the outcome of the enquiry, it is also only fair to all concerned, particularly to the then V.C., that the truth of the matters alleged against him be known.

The third reason why we think the report should be published in its entirety is that other top university administrators can learn from the sins of commission or omission, if any, of the V.C. of Cape Coast so that they do not repeat the same mistakes in their institutions. The students can also know if their allegations were well founded or not. The only justification for sitting tight on a report dealing with a matter of public interest is security, and we have no reason to believe that there was any security involved in the present case. If it is only a question of embarrassment to any of the parties concerned, we do not believe that it is a strong enough reason to justify the withholding of the Aidoo Report on Cape Coast University.

On Point of Information, Please

IT is widely known in this country to be a fact that about six weeks ago certain citizens who have at one time or the other been involved in politics were removed and have been in custody since. There have been speculations and guesses as to the reasons for these removals, and it will be appreciated if the government could issue a statement on the matter. The Rumours Decree (NRCD 182) was issued to prevent the circulation of rumours, and the government will be helping citizens to keep within the limits of the law if it could confirm or deny that certain citizens have been taken into custody.

It is, of course, appreciated that where state security is involved, the government cannot rush out with certain details. We do not know whether in the present case security is involved or not, but even if it were a security matter, it is unlikely that a bare statement giving the names of the people involved in the exercise and the general nature of the exercise can affect the investigations which may be now in progress.

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Letters

"Hall" Fees—A Rejoinder

SIR—Your observations regarding the burden of the new examination fees (Middle School Leaving Certificate) on the rural folk is quite appreciated.

However, I am saddened at the antagonistic manner in which you made the point. For one thing, I suppose that it is the intention of that article to persuade Government to review its decision. If this is so, then it would seem that to achieve that objective the case must not only be presented in a convincing way. The language in which such case is made should be so couched, not necessarily in a pleading tone but, as will not at least set Government on the defensive. For another, it would seem that it is not the academic fashion to generalise on the basis of one or two premises.

One is surprised therefore to read in the article the attack on Government on its "middle class bias and the hollowness of its claims to radicalism, populism, socialism or sympathy for the under-privileged". One may ask when Government ever made such claims. But even if it did, is it tenable to so charge Government on the basis of one case of withdrawn subsidy—examination fees, or a second one of a supposed liberal tax on property.

It would appear that for such an attack to stand, there should be an over-all critical analysis of the tax proposals and expenditures, including the areas in which the savings made from such transfer payment are being diverted, to see the expected net effect on incomes, etc. Readers would enjoy reading such analysis to accept or reject the conclusions.

Yet even if such an analysis finds the Government as pretenders, it would demand another kind of language to let the Government take corrective measures in consonance with its "avowed" objectives. Otherwise, the **Legon Observer** would turn itself into a partisan paper declaring war on governments. Of course, there would be nothing wrong if the **Observer** comes out strongly and boldly against any move which it considers inimical to the interest of a section of or the entire general public. However, I suppose it is not the intention of the L.S.N.A. to turn its mouthpiece into an "opposition" paper. It is prudent and productive for calls for policy reviews to be well reasoned and presented in convincing but non-antagonistic language.

Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to ask Mr. Treve whether he did not see in the low property rates a hidden incentive for people capable of investing in such property, housing being a second priority area for the present Government. Is it not possible also that the low rates may help reduce the incidence of tax-evasion, by facilitating property registration for adequate data compilation on properties in this experimental year of separate direct rent income tax?

We in the rural areas appreciate your efforts to seek our interests. Nonetheless, our cases should be presented in such a way as will yield the desired effect, otherwise they may sound like that apostle's cries over Mary Magdalene's ointment.

John Kofi
c/o Presbyterian Church
Nkurakan
via Koforidua

"Disgruntled Politicians and All That"—Rejoinder

SIR—On page 458 of the **Legon Observer**, Vol. VIII/19 dated 21st September, 1973, one Dennis Adjei-Brenyah of Mensah-Sarbah Hall wrote a letter about "Disgruntled Politicians and All That".

It appears that the writer may be one of those affected and afflicted by the radical disruption of the "status quo", espoused by the National Redemption Council, and implemented with the consent of the overwhelming majority of the people of Ghana.

Like all those who indulge in intellectual masturbation, he has failed to take note of the fact that the statements he complains of were made in the context of prevailing circumstances.

With pressures from some former politicians for a quick return to civilian rule—sometimes covert and sometimes overt as in the recent Treason Trial—only the fatuous minded would fail to appreciate the wisdom in those words of warning given by the Head of State.

If, after two horrible experiences from the hands of politicians within 15 years of independence, such a warning can be interpreted as creating "fear and suspicion for our future politicians," then one can only cry: "So be it".

In the final analysis, does not the whole matter boil down to 'whom the cap fits?'

Indeed, Colonel Acheampong's refusal to hand over power to anyone within the forseeable future has the support of all right-thinking Ghanaians; he would be a brave man who could preach such a request in the streets of any city, town, village or hamlet with impunity!

There is a famous saying which runs something like this:—"Let the dogs bark at the moon; it will continue to shine even more brightly".

F. F. Addae
Lieutenant Colonel
Press Secretary
Press Secretary's Office
The National Redemption Council
The Castle
Osu
Accra

EDITOR'S NOTE: Published unedited.

Beware of Such Women

SIR—Mrs. Belinda Bretuo's rejoinder on "Whose Freedom of the Press?" in the last issue of the **Legon Observer** cannot go unchallenged or unanswered. I believe the **Legon Observer** deliberately published that letter unedited in order to bring out fully without polishing, the muddled thinking and extreme sycophancy displayed in it. The point was well taken, **Legon Observer.**

Personally, I do not think the press should be allowed to say just anything at all against anybody, (not only the Government) without challenge, because many people tend to believe whatever is published as right. But there must be well established, civilized and acceptable ways of dealing with offending newspapers. There are laws against libel, subversion, character assassination and all that; and these should be effective and enough. If not, then the laws should be reviewed or strengthened. To resort to the cheap way of banning or stifling any voice that does not sing the master's praises is at worst repressive and at best naive. I do believe in socialist ideals and social justice; but the suppression of press freedom in some communist or socialist countr[illegible]kes

ne disillusioned about such systems. It is easy for anyone to sing the praises of those in authority, and condemn without reason those that disagree with them, in order to win the favour of those in power. However, it is rather of such people that authorities should beware. Most governments are overthrown because nobody is bold enough to tell them where and when they go wrong. People like Mrs. Bretuo would always prefer to hear only what is favourable and pleasing to them—no dissenting voices. Her logic and argument in that letter remind one of the "yes women" of the Nkrumah era. Or is she one of the left-overs? Beware of such women!

Even if we accept that the **Legon Observer** defaulted in not defending the cause of justice in the Busia era in the case of the seizure of the passport of free-speaking journalists (as alleged by Mrs. Bretuo) is that enough grounds to argue that the **Observer** should still keep mute when it senses any injustice from the present authorities; particularly so when the allegedly intolerant regime has been overthrown.

Or by pointing out the faults, if any, to the authorities **now**, is that rather not averting the repetition of the "what went wrong" episode? And should we naively ape President Tubman to stifle all independent thought in order not to let our "government be overthrown by the stroke of the pen"? Why not listen to what the Press has to say, and then take measures to improve the situation, or punish the Press accordingly if it is just being subversive, or unnecessarily vindictive.

P.O. Box 303 **E. K. Kumi**
Koforidua

Whose Freedom of the Press?—A Rejoinder

SIR—To say that an editor who advocates sanctions against another editor who disagrees with a government view is a disgrace to his profession is NOT enough. I think he is a symbol of journalistic illiteracy!

When are Ghanaians going to learn from experience? On the day of our last coup one of our national dailies found itself unable or embarrassed to come out with an editorial; and I still don't know if the editor is at the moment in any employment. The standard of journalism has declined so badly in our national papers that at one time one prominent opposition member (during the Busia regime) avowed vehemently that if he ever got the chance he would fire all the editors of our national dailies. I am sure the editor of the **Ghanaian Times** would show a much higher sense of intellect and maturity and allow Ghanaian **citizens** to disagree at times with their own government. Else, he may have to look for another job whenever there is a new government. Definitely any reasonable person would not dig his own grave so openly.

Ola Bentsir **Charlie-Boye**
Cape Coast

Utopian Legon

SIR—In the middle of October, a new academic session will start at the University of Ghana. In this letter I should like to put forward two suggestions which might, if implemented, facilitate certain aspects of administration, improve the students' understanding of their subjects, and, inevitably, produce better graduates. I say 'might' advisedly, for these proposals are set out here merely as subjects for discussion; there may, indeed, be many practical difficulties in their implementation which I have been too shortsighted to see. I can only hope that this paper will stimulate discussion and evaluation which will not be confined to the arguments put forward below.

It seems likely that the beginning of next session may be delayed for two groups of students at Legon. This session sees the start of a new degree structure for many second-year undergraduates, and this bold and challenging structure will almost certainly be slow in getting under way because of the immense practical problems that it poses—in terms of time-tabling, possible combinations of subjects, compromises between departments etc. However, any new structure is bound to have its teething troubles and it is extremely unlikely that this kind of problem will persistently recur. The reason for the other delay is, on the other hand, one which seems remain unsolved year after year.

The start of the academic year for freshmen undergaduates tends to be postponed because of the lateness of publication of the 'A' level results. No doubt the West African Examinations Council are continually working to speed up their marking machinery but, nevertheless, the University continues to wait on them. I would suggest that a way of avoiding this position would be to adopt a suggestion made at Convocation last session—to put the University on a calendar academic year, starting in January.

This would have the following advantages: the time allowed for selection and evaluation of F.U.E. candidates after the publication of 'A' level results would be greatly increased; students would no longer have to sit important examinations in May, often a most humid month; teaching could be continued throughout the cool season and end with examinations in September; students would have a break of six months between finishing school and starting university, which would allow time to re-orientate, and, perhaps, time to participate on some voluntary service scheme.

My second suggestion is even more radical. It is clear from both informal research (i.e. discussions between lecturers) and formal sampling by the Language Centre that a great many informed academics are dissatisfied with the quality of their students' English. The Language Centre are now attempting to remedy this through their 'Language and Study Skills' course which is open to all first year students. However, since F.U.E. already consists of three subjects plus African Studies, 'Language and Study Skills' cannot expect to get more than a tiny proportion of each student's time.

In a Utopian Legon would it not be possible for first-year undergraduates to follow a full induction course consisting of African Studies, Language and Study Skills, and Scientific Method. During this year the student would be introduced to the techniques of taking notes from lectures, compiling reading lists, speed-reading, etc., whilst gaining a thorough awareness of the range and depth of his own culture. Furthermore, it should be possible for students to become aware of the scope of university education and the nature and content of different disciplines, both by introductory lectures given in the departments and, probably more importantly, through contact with more senior students in the Halls. It is even possible that, in this way, the numbers of students reading Philosophy or Linguistics

may increase at the expense of the more traditional subjects, simply because students are no longer ignorant of what these studies involve.

All this would involve the students in a four or five year degree course. It may be that a majority might consider the time, effort and expense involved to be unjustifiably large. In Utopia one could point to the inevitable improvement in the quality of graduates, not to mention an increase in the international reputation of the University. This is, alas, not yet Utopia but are these proposals really unrealistic?

Department of English **G. M. Ridden**
Legon

"Dignity of the Worker"

SIR—I believe that every human being no matter of what colour, race, creed, ideology is entitled to a reasonable standard of living.

That a reasonable standard of living implies adequate and satisfying food, proper and sanitary protection from the elements by way of housing and clothing. That a reasonable standard of living will include the occasional small luxury. That a reasonable standard of living means the provision of educational facilities within the capabilities of the person. That a reasonable standard of living includes the opportunity to work.

I also believe that if a person is willing to strive and achieve to the full extent of his capabilities both physical and mental he is entitled to recompense commensurate with his strivings. That the only person who should (and must) be a charge of the State is the mentally handicapped or badly physically handicapped person. That the person who will not work is not entitled to aid or consideration.

I do not believe in the "Dignity of Work" but I do believe in the "Dignity of the Workers". I do not believe that there is equality in nature. Because there is a natural inequality, to demand absolute equality must imply a gliding downwards.

Name and Address Supplied—Ed.

Food For Our Neighbours

SIR—The decision of the government to export foodstuffs to our neighbouring countries which have been severely affected by drought is a very laudable action, but deserves approbation only on humanitarian grounds.

In recent years, it has often been reported in our dailies and on the radio that an awkward predicament of acute shortage of food is sweeping across the continent at an alarming rate. And what is the solution to this problem? It behoves every nation to give precedence to farming as the only hope of our survival.

As a matter of fact, Ghanaians are well noted for their internal hospitality and external benevolence. But at this initial stage of our national reconstruction can we help to be too liberal? Those humane qualities must not deceive us into extending our magnanimity beyond reasonable limits. We can only resolve to help the indigent when our own requirements are met and when our needs can be obtained at reasonable prices. It is therefore advisable that we ought to buy 5 fingers of plantain at 10 pesewas before we can show extreme benevolence to our poorer neighbours.

P.O. Box 1907 **Rockson A. Kobina**
Kumasi

Overburdened Commissioner

SIR—The Head of State, Colonel I. K. Acheampong, in assuming additional responsibility as Commissioner for Sports is reported to have said that his action was to ensure that the "civil service way of doing things is left out of sports in Ghana".

This statement raises a number of issues. First, it is an admission of failure of the country's sports policy (if there is anything like that at all). Second, it portrays the effectiveness (or ineffectiveness?) of our civil service set up.

But what Ghanaians would like to hear from the Chairman of the National Redemption Council is a statement of how far the military junta's promise, nineteen months ago, to revolutionise all sections of the country's administrative and policy implementing machinery and rid the civil service of all red-tapism has succeeded.

My personal feeling is that unless the civil service canker is destroyed quickly the already overburdened Head of State and Commissioner for Defence, Finance, Economic Planning, and Sports will saddle himself with the responsibility of administering all the various other departments which constitute the civil service.

L28 Legon Hall **Kofi Akwabi-Ameyaw**
Legon

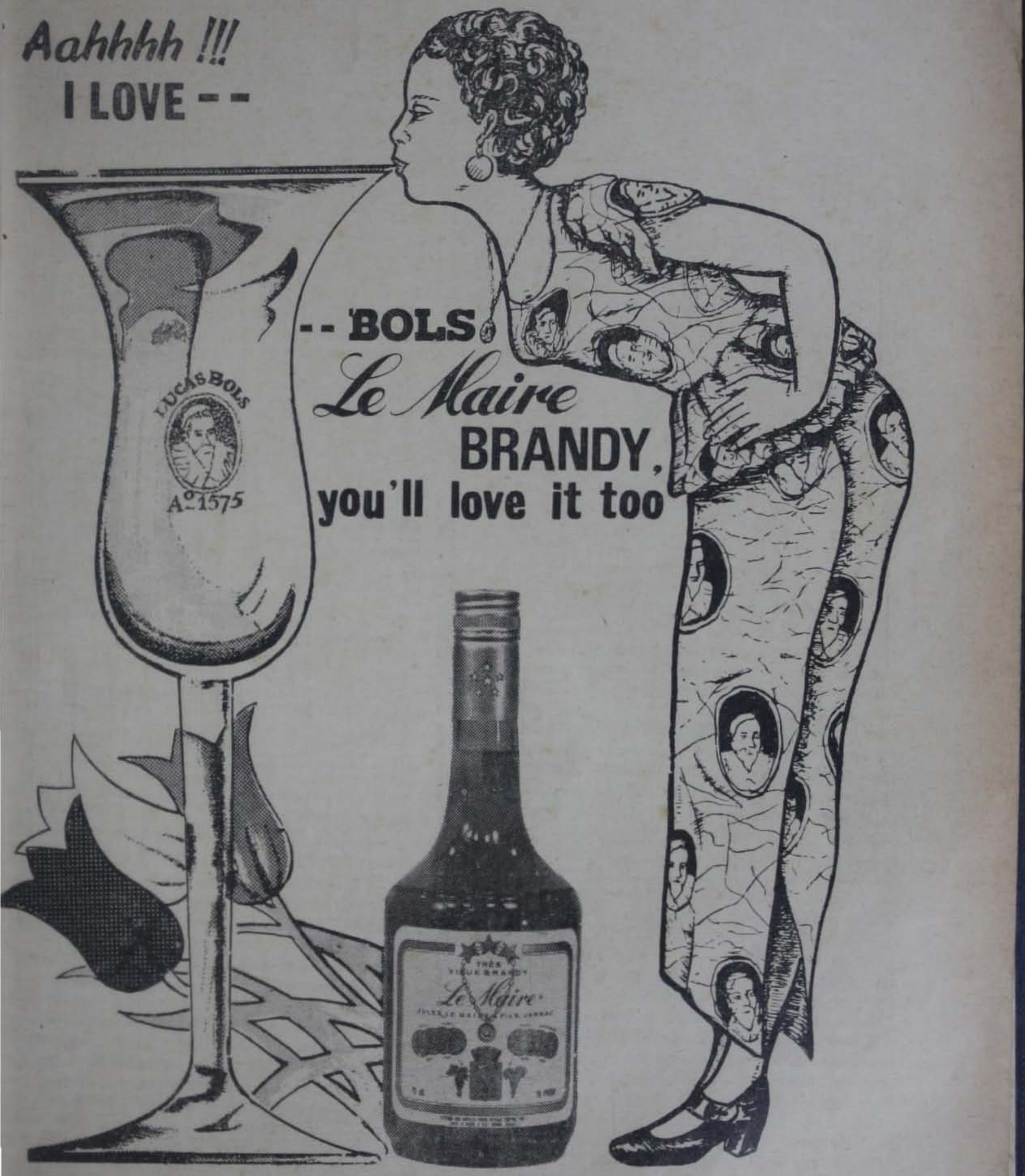
Viewpoint

SELF-RELIANCE AND EXPATRIATE MISSIONARIES

By
R. A. Ampomah

"APPLICATIONS are invited from suitably qualified Ghanaians and **expatriate missionaries** . . ." (Emphasis mine). So ran the Public Services Commission's advertisement for candidates to fill vacant posts of Assistant Headmistress or Vice-Principal of a number of so-called Missionary Secondary Schools and Training Colleges, all institutions for girls.

The specific mention of expatriate missionaries has obviously arisen out of the assumption that there are not enough qualified Ghanaian women to hold the posts of Assistant Headmistress, not to mention Headmistress, in our secondary schools. If it is true that our mission schools cannot recruit top staff locally, then surely there is something basically wrong. The present crop of missionaries have their roots dating continuously back more than 100 years: the Basle missionaries and their successors since early in the 19th century, the Wesleyan (Methodists) since about 1835, and the various Catholic missionaries since about 1880, nearly 100 years ago. During these 100 years, any well-meaning group of missionaries should have been able to train even the least intelligent people in the world to manage all of their own affairs long ago. And if these missionaries have been able to train people who have risen to the rank of Bishop, Archbishop, Moderator, etc., surely there must be enough trained women to hold comparatively lower posts in our educational institutions.



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To be fair, I must point out that the control of affairs in our boys' secondary schools has long, albeit belatedly, been left in the hands of our own people, even if that was never, I imagine, a deliberate policy on the part of the missionaries to hand over without any prompting from outside their ranks; they just were more sensible to capitulate in the face of the country's resentment towards their continued control of the young minds which we expect to grow and shape the policies of this African country in a way that would be truly in the African interest.

The situation with regard to the female institutions is quite different. One is left with the impression that the nuns regard the institutions as their personal property and cling to them like leeches. In most cases they resort to all manner of tricks to thwart the possible progress to the top of the most qualified Ghanaians in their institutions; indeed they see in such qualified Ghanaian women a threat to their positions. This method of ensuring their continued domination is made possible by a system which allows a Headmistress to write a damaging report about a member of her staff, without the member being given a chance to answer the charges. Even the usual Civil Service practice of writing queries and having them answered is not resorted to. The result is that the subordinate concerned might not even be aware that she stands accused.

Discrimination Against Ghanaians

It is common to find a girls' school whose Headmistress, Assistant Headmistress, senior teachers and heads of the various subject departments are all expatriate missionaries—if not missionaries, at best expatriates—even though in many cases some of the Ghanaian women on their staff are as qualified as these missionaries. In one of the more famous Catholic girls' secondary schools, a well-qualified Ghanaian woman on the staff who hinted that she wanted to apply to be promoted a senior teacher was told in clear terms by the expatriate missionary Headmistress that she would have her chance only if an expatriate missionary teacher who is also a senior teacher in the same subject became successful in her bid to be appointed Assistant Headmistress.

In Ghana now, we have a situation where women are considered capable of heading university departments and top executive posts in the public and the private business sectors, but incapable of heading some secondary schools, or even departments in these schools. During the later stages of the Busia government, most people were angered by press reports that the government was planning to engage a large number of expatriates to head our secondary schools and training colleges. The recent advertisement for expatriate missionaries looks very much like the Busia proposal. And the advertisement has come at a time when the government has found the need to impose a selective employment tax of ¢5,000 a year on every expatriate employed by the private companies.

Assuming, for the sake of this argument, that there are not enough qualified Ghanaian women to head our girls' secondary schools, the people who should be held responsible for this situation are the expatriate missionaries. Why is it that it is only in their schools that Ghanaian staff fail to make the grade? Secondary schools like Mfantsiman, Yaa Asantewaa, and Accra Girls, have long been headed by Ghanaians. It is some tribute to the Presbyterians that Aburi Girls' Secondary School is now headed by a Ghanaian. The record of achievement in these Ghanaian-headed schools is not worse—and even sometimes better—than the missionary-headed schools.

The following A-level results in the sciences in four of the best known girls' secondary schools will illustrate the sort of record I am referring to. To save space, the figures given are a summary for the two years 1971 and 1972, the years during which Aburi came under the Ghanaian Headmistress. In these years, as in the years before, the remaining three schools have all had expatriate Headmistresses, and continue to have them.

A-Level Science Results: Average for 1971 & 1972

School	Maths		Physics		Chem.		Biology	
	P	0%	P	0%	P	0%	P	0%
Aburi (Ghanaian)	9	33	26	31	27	53.5	28	67.5
Holy Child (Expatriate Missionary)	—	—	27	20.5	27	54	27	15
St. Louis (Ksi) (Expatriate Missionary)	—	—	24	20.5	25	25	24	8
Wesley Girls (Expatriate)	9	45	37	16	38	21	31	32

Key: P=Number of candidates presented over the two years.
0%=Percentage number of candidates qualified for university in the relevant subject.

These figures tell their own story. It is easily seen that the performance in the Ghanaian-controlled school is easily the best. At least one could say that it is no worse than the rest of them. Who is serving this country best? In case anyone wants to argue that the Ghanaian at Aburi inherited her school's good performance from her predecessor, an expatriate, I would like to point out that the figures for that school in the years prior to 1971 are generally worse. This must not be interpreted to mean that the former expatriate head did not do her best for that school; after all one expects the schools to perform better in the course of time. What the argument is all about is that, at least, the Ghanaian head has been able to maintain, if not improve upon, the standards of the school. Then the only valid way to assess the effectiveness of the leadership of Ghanaian and expatriate heads is to make the sort of comparison I have made above.

The Public Services Commission should re-advertise the posts and omit any reference to expatriates, missionary or otherwise. One would have thought that by now the expatriate missionaries would all be in Northern Ireland, where their services would be required most.

For The Record

Thursday, September 20

Government Takes Shares in Mim Timber Co.

THE Government has acquired 55 per cent shares in the Mim Timber Company Limited, and a decree to this effect was signed today by the Chairman of the N.R.C., Colonel I. K. Acheampong. The acquisition takes retrospective effect from October 1, last year, the date on which the government took majority shares in a number of other timber companies.

American Firm to Prospect for Diamonds

AN American company based in New York, The First International Natura Corporation (FINCO), is prepared to invest 25 million dollars for diamond prospecting in the Birim and Pra river basins.

Mr. Sandy Lesberg, Chairman of the company, who made this announcement at the project site at Akim Wenchi, said that the investment was a demonstration of his company's confidence in the Ghana Government. Under an agreement signed with the government early this year, the company has been awarded the right to prospect for diamond in the Birim and Pra river basins within an area of 24.56 miles from the confluence of the two rivers down to Takrowasi and Asokore in the Eastern Region. The Government of Ghana will take up to 55 per cent of the shares.

Monday, September 24

Over 700 Buses to be Purchased

THE Omnibus Services Authority has embarked on a five-year programme aimed at acquiring 725 buses to help improve city and urban transportation in the country. Nana Fredua Mensah, Managing Director of the Authority who disclosed this in Accra today said that 350 of the buses would operate in Accra and the rest would be allocated to the other regions.

Meanwhile, 13 out of the 100 Willowbrook buses ordered in July this year have arrived in Accra, and the remaining ones are expected by the end of November.

Tuesday, September 25

Buses to be Assembled in Ghana

THE Commissioner for Local Government, Major-General N. A. Aferi, said today that the government, in partnership with Messrs Willowbrook Limited of the United Kingdom will establish two plants to assemble vehicles in Ghana. Major-General Aferi was who commissioning 13 Willowbrook buses in Accra today said that arrangements to establish the plants had almost been completed and that the plants would be set up in Accra and Kumasi.

Union Calls for Probe into Tyre Shortage

THE Tema Regional branch of the Ghana Private Road Transport Union of the T.U.C. today urged the government to investigate the cause of the acute shortage throughout the country of "popular outer covers". The Union also suggested that to improve the situation, the Government should consider granting import licences to reputable firms and spare parts dealers to import tyres. A spokesman for the Union said the Union did not understand why there should be a shortage of certain types of tyre when these were manufactured locally by Messrs Firestone Company. Nor did they understand why the company should export large quantities of natural rubber when they could not meet increased demand for outer covers in Ghana.

N.R.C. Gives House for Raffle

THE N.R.C. has donated a fully furnished house as the first prize for this year's Golden Chance Raffle which is to be drawn in December. This was announced by Major K. B. Agbo, Commissioner for Labour, Social Welfare and Co-operatives when he launched the raffle on radio and television today. He said that an amount of ¢100,000 was expected from the sale of tickets and that the raffle was to raise funds to improve the lot of the physically handicapped. He appealed to all financial institutions as well as individuals to donate generously to the raffle.

Other prizes in the raffle include cash prizes of more than ¢10,000, a return sea-voyage to the United States for a couple, a return flight to London, and a Datsun mini-bus. This year's raffle is being sponsored by the Banks.

Thursday, September 27

Ghana Recognises Guinea-Bissau

AN official statement issued today by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs affirmed Ghana's recognition of the sovereign independent African State of Guinea-Bissau. The statement said that the Government welcomed with profound joy and satisfaction, the declaration of Guinea-Bissau as a sovereign independent African State.

Tuesday, October 2

Corporation to Buy Manganese

THE Government has decided to be the sole buying authority of all manganese ores produced in the country and has accordingly established a new body, the Ghana National Manganese Corporation, to be the government's buying agent. This is contained in an Executive Instrument signed on September 25 by the Chairman of the N.R.C. Also among the Corporation's functions are:

* The mining of manganese ores and other allied or associated minerals.
* The processing of manganese ores into ferro-alloys, chemically pure manganese dioxide and other by-products.
* The marketing of manganese ores and allied minerals in Ghana and outside Ghana.

The Corporation is empowered to enter into joint ventures with foreign or indigenous investors, or both.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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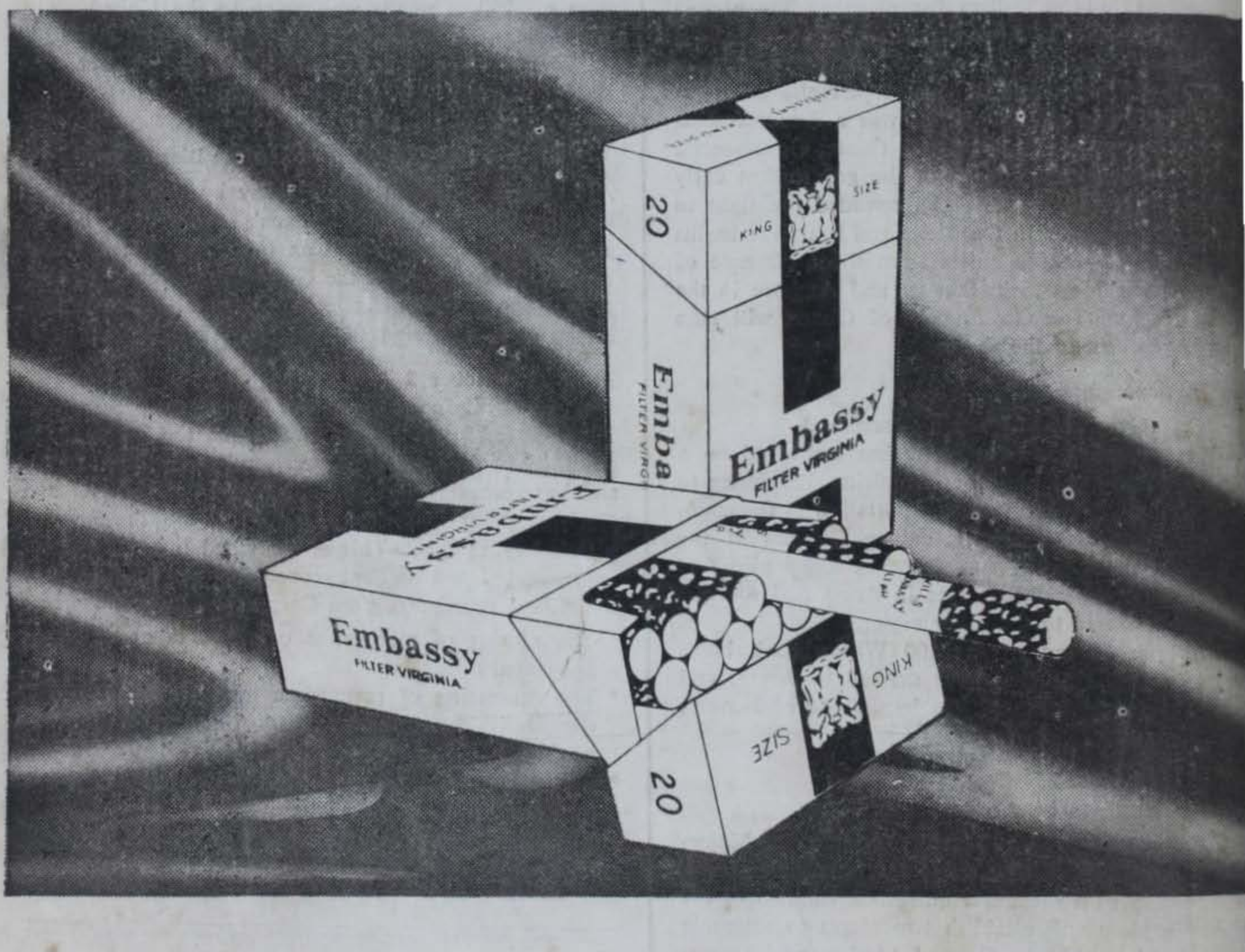
C .N. MURPHY: American Exchange student to U.S.T., Summer, 1973

K. K. ODURO: Lecturer, Department of Biochemistry, Legon

ATO GHARTEY: Lecturer, School of Administration, Legon

R. A. AMPOMAH: Lecturer in Mathematics, University of Cape Coast

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Editorial

ADMISSION INTO THE UNIVERSITIES

For the last two weeks, Sixth Form leavers who had sought admission to any of the country's universities lived in expectation and anguish. The lucky ones have been admitted, while a large number of applicants who satisfied the entry requirements have been turned down because the available resources of the universities cannot absorb all the applicants. At the University of Ghana, Legon, admission was granted to about 410 applicants (including 150 non-resident students) to pursue courses in Arts, Law and Social Studies, out of a total of about 700 applicants. To this number must be added another 300 applicants who selected Legon as their second or third choices.

In contrast to the pressure on places for courses in Arts, Law and Social Studies, resulting in the pitching of admission requirements rather high, the Science Faculty had to lower its entry qualifications slightly in order to be able to find enough candidates for the faculty. The Faculty of Agriculture was able to fill the 40 places allocated to it, and it might take another 18 if teaching facilities make this possible. The total intake of the Faculties of Agriculture, Medicine and Science stands at 237.

The difficulty encountered by many students in obtaining admission to the Universities and the eventual admission of about 150 non-resident students to Legon bring into focus some of the problems facing the Universities in implementing their expansion programme. With the increasing number of Sixth Forms in the country and the generally better performance by the candidates, what is likely to happen in future is a repetition in a more acute form of what has occurred this year, namely turning away a considerable number of qualified applicants for lack of teaching and residential facilities.

The University of Ghana has offered admission to about 150 students on a non-residential basis. This is certainly better than keeping them out of the University altogether, but the problems involved in this arrangement are such as to severely put to the test the perseverance and resilience of the students concerned. The most immediate problem is that of transportation for the 150 students who will be residing outside the campus. Lectures start at 7.30 a.m. and continue up to 6.30 p.m. with free periods and the lunch break intervening. With the appalling state of the country's transport facilities, this difficulty is a real one to which a solution must be found almost immediately. It will help enormously if the Transport Services of the City Council can put some buses specifically at the disposal of these students to and from Legon.

Even if the transportation problem were solved that would not be the end of the worries of the non-resident student. How and where they spend their time in between lectures, where they relax, and how they can participate in extra-curricular activities, all of which help to develop their mental faculties, are further sources of worry. Those students who do not come from Accra face the problem of lodging and feeding, which will further compound their already enormous difficulties. Add to all these the fact that they will not have as easy an access to library facilities as students in residence can have, and it becomes clear that the prospect of being a non-resident university student in our situation is a grim one.

People may argue, as they have argued in the past, that non-residential universities exist and function quite efficiently in several parts of the world. This is quite true, but what is usually forgotten is that in such places the universities are initially planned on the understanding that they will be non-residential, and therefore certain services and facilities are provided or are known to exist even before the university is built. In Ghana we have a situation where universities are sited outside city centres, where student hostels do not exist, where the only enlightened libraries are those belonging to the universities and sited on the campus, and where transport facilities are neither abundant, regular nor reliable. All these factors clearly point to the fact that in our present circumstances, there is no better alternative to a residential university system. In admitting non-resident students, therefore, Legon has tried to make the best of a bad job which doubtlessly does not satisfy the normal expectations of those involved. This measure can only be a palliative; the situation cannot be allowed to persist much longer without causing frustration among the rapidly increasing number of Sixth Form leavers.

The only obvious solution we see is for the government to make more funds available for university expansion. It is a curious fact that expansion in Sixth Form facilities has outstripped university expansion. Even though more qualified students are coming out of the Sixth Forms and the universities are opening new departments, expanding existing ones and offering new courses at graduate, degree and sub-degree levels, the universities are not undergoing any physical expansion. Within the last few years there has been no significant increase in the provision of teaching and residential space with the result that the universities can admit only as many students as pass out the previous year. The universities for their part, have drawn up elaborate development programmes. We understand that Legon, for example, has got plans ready for expanding accommodation facilities for students, for constructing a new library complex and for the conversion of the present library into a teaching faculty with lecture and tutorial rooms. These plans have been ready for some time and the government is not unaware of their existence. The only obstacle to their implementation has been, and still is, the lack of funds.

We are conscious of the economic situation in which the country finds itself and we also appreciate the already large sums devoted to education. Nevertheless, we believe that if future generations of our secondary school leavers are to be spared the frustration and anguish of realizing that despite their passes there are no places for them in the universities, then something concrete ought to be done to alleviate the situation, and quickly too. The imbalance between the growth of university facilities and Sixth Form expansion is a problem that calls for some hard thinking. The university authorities in this country have demonstrated their desire to offer the available opportunities to as many of those qualified as their resources will enable them to cope with; the admission of non-resident students by Legon is a case in point. The ball now seems to be in the court of those responsible for the disbursement of funds.

In the final analysis, however, the problem created by the imbalance between university expansion and growth of Sixth Form facilities is one which needs to be tackled at the source; and we believe the fault lies in the system of education itself. In the present situation, most sixth formers look to the university as the only logical next step in their education. But if secondary education would be diversified to prepare students for a more technical type of higher education and if provision would be made for the establishment of higher grades of technical institutions, then perhaps some students would begin to look elsewhere for a continuation of their education without the nation losing any potential manpower. This would be a meaningful way of easing pressure on our universities.

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Politics

HIEF JUSTICE ON THE RULE OF LAW

By
Agyare Koi-Larbi

IR JUSTICE AZU CRABBE'S remarks on certain ccasions since 13th January 1972 have been viewed ith concern and seriousness by all those who are iterested in the practice of the Rule of Law in hana. I will specifically deal with two statements hich the Chief Justice has made since the 13th anuary coup.

During last year's Legal Year ceremonies he is eported to have said that judges and lawyers hould get involved in the "revolution". At the pening of this year's Legal Year too the Chief ustice unfortunately is again reported to have said hat "the Government of the National Redemption ouncil has exercised the sort of mature restraint hich eluded past governments and adopted course perfectly in consonance with the Rule of aw". In support of this observation he cited as n example a recent case in which the High Court ecided that it has supervisory jurisdiction over Military Tribunals and the "restraint" which the overnment exercised over the decision. To quote is own words "the stage was set for the Chairman o shout 'No judge' from the roof tops but instead he Government as the aggrieved party, accepted the ecision with dignified restraint and fought the natter in the Court and not in the broadcasting tudios and finally emerged the winner. So you ee, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Rule of Law can e practised even in a Revolution!" I wish to heaven hat the respected C. J. had been misquoted.

Taking the first statement, one can only say that t is unfortunate not only for the whole country ut also especially for the judges themselves that he Chief Justice should have urged people to get nvolved in the 'revolution'. But why unfortunate? t is unfortunate for various reasons. Surely t is not appropriate for a judge to use certain liches which are generally identifiable with the olicies of a particular government. Every government that we have had in Ghana has had certain liches which people tend to identify with its policies. or instance the C.P.P. government was identified y such slogans as "Work and Happiness", "Socialist planning"; the Progress Party government hich was the next civilian administration also had slogan like "Progress, sure." The present military egime is characterised by such identifiable words, s "the revolution". The point I am making is that t is always better for a judge in his public utterances to avoid the inclusion of such words and phrases because they give the impression that he is a man of the government in power. Certainly most of these political cliches are meant for propaganda purposes and quite naturally anybody who seriously uses these slogans is seen in the eyes of most people as oiling the progaganda machine of the government in power.

Even when a judge wants to comment on a particular governmental policy which may be relevant to his profession, it is important that he uses only those words whose meaning possesses a generality and lacks too obvious political connotations in the minds of people in the society. For many people the position of a judge, let alone that of the highest judicial officer in the land, is not only important but also sacrosanct, because they are the arbiters of conflict in the society. For many people the issues at stake when they go to the courts are so vital to their existence that any statements which directly or indirectly give the impression that the man who will decide their cases in Court is an agent of the government in power, naturally dampen their confidence in the ability of the courts to be impartial in cases which directly affect the government in power.

The Rule of Law

What the Chief Justice needs to note is that politics by its nature is divisive and therefore any impression that he inadvertently creates as to his political commitment is certain to involve him in controversy either today or in the future. As Chief Justice he needs to be extremely cautious about the kinds of statements he makes particularly in a country like Ghana where political partisanship tends to be so extreme.

The next statement of Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe which I would like to examine is his claim that the government has shown maturity "which has eluded past governments and adopted a course perfectly in consonance with the Rule of Law". To assess the validity of the proposition which our Chief Justice has made, we may have to define what the Rule of Law is and see whether the principles are reflected in the practical situation in Ghana today. The Rule of Law involves three principles; the first principle states that there shall be absence of arbitrary power and arbitrary laws. This means that such things as retrospective laws shall be absent, but even more important in this principle is the absence of laws which tend to diminish unnecessarily the freedom of the individual. Certainly the Chief Justice cannot by any thorough examination of the facts tell the nation that the N.R.C. has attained this standard.

As for retrospective legislation I would not say much about it because it is almost a common

feature of the two military regimes that we have had in this country so far. But what of such laws as the recent one (Decree 191) which excluded the traditional powers of the High Court to supervise inferior tribunals from applying to Military Tribunals? What is interesting is that it was passed immediately after the issue had been tested and the High Court had asserted its right to exercise supervisory function over Military Tribunals.

Another instance in which power is being exercised arbitrarily is the present trend in which civilians are simply whisked off to military custody whenever the government decides to or its agents feel it expedient to do so. Take for instance the brief removal of the former editor of the **Legon Observer,** Dr. Paul Ansah, that of Mr. Ward-Brew, the leader of the National Union of Ghana Students, and the overnight internment of Mr. Kissi-Afari, editor of the **Echo.**

Equality Before The Law

The second principle of the Rule of Law is that all citizens of the land shall be subject to the same laws and shall be equal before the Courts. This principle does not mean that people (such as the Armed Forces) shall not be subject to special laws affecting their special calling. All that it says is that nobody shall be treated as being above the general laws of the land. Has the N.R.C. since 13th January been able to create a society in which equality before the law is assured? I would say, not entirely! For the first time in Ghana's history the unfortunate impression is being created that soldiers are excluded from the general body of laws in Ghana, even when they commit offences while acting in a civilian capacity as administrators. It is understandable to argue that soldiers are subject to Military Courts when they commit crimes or offences within the military establishment. But it is a mockery of justice to use this as a cover to quietly shield soldiers who have committed offences while acting in civilian capacities. A lieutenant leads two truck loads of soldiers to humiliate innocent policemen on their jobs at a police station and all that the nation hears is that the affair is being investigated, and that is that.

The case of the Logistics Committee is another example of this government's attempt to shield soldiers from the laws of the nation. For quite a long time it had become obvious to the nation that something fishy was going on in the Logistics Committee, and not surprisingly, it was finally reported that a single woman had managed to secure nearly half of the allocation of "essential commodities" allocated to one region. There was a general outcry for a public enquiry and the culprits made to face the law. But what did we hear from the government? That the enquiry was going to be held in secret because it was the Armed Forces way of doing things. I am doubtful if there is any law in Ghana which says that enquiries on matters affecting soldiers **involved in civilian administration** shall be held in secret. One cannot help feeling that the secrecy is obviously meant to protect the reputation of some soldiers who might be affected by the scandal. Even now, nobody knows what has happened to the Committee which is supposed to probe the Logistics Committee! These facts show that the N.R.C. has not fully met the requirements of the second principle involved in the rule of law.

The third principle is not relevant to this discussion and will therefore not be dealt with. But the interesting thing about what the Chief Justice said at the Legal Service is the example he cited to support the remark that the government has showed restraint and a belief in rule of law by quietly pursuing its case in the Court alone when the High Court ruled that it had supervisory jurisdiction over military tribunals. He sought to make an unfortunate comparison with Busia's reaction in a similar situation during the Sallah case. What the Chief Justice seems to have forgotten is that Busia's outbursts of "No Court" meant nothing to the judges. In a Court of law it was a statement of no legal effect. Busia was in fact a toothless bulldog who threatened to bite but unfortunately had no teeth because of the kind of constitution and political set-up under which he was working.

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And yet our own Chief Justice would want us to understand that this is an example of the government's perfect dedication to the rule of law! The man whose words have been sounding the truth which has eluded the Chief Justice at the various legal meetings is the President of the Bar Association. He has been bold enough to express his

Politics

CHIEF JUSTICE ON THE RULE OF LAW

By

Agyare Koi-Larbi

MR JUSTICE AZU CRABBE'S remarks on certain occasions since 13th January 1972 have been viewed with concern and seriousness by all those who are interested in the practice of the Rule of Law in Ghana. I will specifically deal with two statements which the Chief Justice has made since the 13th January coup.

During last year's Legal Year ceremonies he is reported to have said that judges and lawyers should get involved in the "revolution". At the opening of this year's Legal Year too the Chief Justice unfortunately is again reported to have said that "the Government of the National Redemption Council has exercised the sort of mature restraint which eluded past governments and adopted a course perfectly in consonance with the Rule of Law". In support of this observation he cited as an example a recent case in which the High Court decided that it has supervisory jurisdiction over Military Tribunals and the "restraint" which the government exercised over the decision. To quote his own words "the stage was set for the Chairman to shout 'No judge' from the roof tops but instead the Government as the aggrieved party, accepted the decision with dignified restraint and fought the matter in the Court and not in the broadcasting studios and finally emerged the winner. So you see, Ladies and Gentlemen, the Rule of Law can be practised even in a Revolution!" I wish to heaven that the respected C. J. had been misquoted.

Taking the first statement, one can only say that it is unfortunate not only for the whole country but also especially for the judges themselves that the Chief Justice should have urged people to get involved in the 'revolution'. But why unfortunate? It is unfortunate for various reasons. Surely it is not appropriate for a judge to use certain cliches which are generally identifiable with the policies of a particular government. Every government that we have had in Ghana has had certain cliches which people tend to identify with its policies. For instance the C.P.P. government was identified by such slogans as "Work and Happiness", "Socialist planning"; the Progress Party government which was the next civilian administration also had a slogan like "Progress, sure." The present military regime is characterised by such identifiable words, as "the revolution". The point I am making is that it is always better for a judge in his public utterances to avoid the inclusion of such words and phrases because they give the impression that he is a man of the government in power. Certainly most of these political cliches are meant for propaganda purposes and quite naturally anybody who seriously uses these slogans is seen in the eyes of most people as oiling the progaganda machine of the government in power.

Even when a judge wants to comment on a particular governmental policy which may be relevant to his profession, it is important that he uses only those words whose meaning possesses a generality and lacks too obvious political connotations in the minds of people in the society. For many people the position of a judge, let alone that of the highest judicial officer in the land, is not only important but also sacrosanct, because they are the arbiters of conflict in the society. For many people the issues at stake when they go to the courts are so vital to their existence that any statements which directly or indirectly give the impression that the man who will decide their cases in Court is an agent of the government in power, naturally dampen their confidence in the ability of the courts to be impartial in cases which directly affect the government in power.

The Rule of Law

What the Chief Justice needs to note is that politics by its nature is divisive and therefore any impression that he inadvertently creates as to his political commitment is certain to involve him in controversy either today or in the future. As Chief Justice he needs to be extremely cautious about the kinds of statements he makes particularly in a country like Ghana where political partisanship tends to be so extreme.

The next statement of Mr. Justice Azu Crabbe which I would like to examine is his claim that the government has shown maturity "which has eluded past governments and adopted a course perfectly in consonance with the Rule of Law". To assess the validity of the proposition which our Chief Justice has made, we may have to define what the Rule of Law is and see whether the principles are reflected in the practical situation in Ghana today. The Rule of Law involves three principles; the first principle states that there shall be absence of arbitrary power and arbitrary laws. This means that such things as retrospective laws shall be absent, but even more important in this principle is the absence of laws which tend to diminish unnecessarily the freedom of the individual. Certainly the Chief Justice cannot by any thorough examination of the facts tell the nation that the N.R.C. has attained this standard.

As for retrospective legislation I would not say much about it because it is almost a common

feature of the two military regimes that we have had in this country so far. But what of such laws as the recent one (Decree 191) which excluded the traditional powers of the High Court to supervise inferior tribunals from applying to Military Tribunals? What is interesting is that it was passed immediately after the issue had been tested and the High Court had asserted its right to exercise supervisory function over Military Tribunals.

Another instance in which power is being exercised arbitrarily is the present trend in which civilians are simply whisked off to military custody whenever the government decides to or its agents feel it expedient to do so. Take for instance the brief removal of the former editor of the **Legon Observer,** Dr. Paul Ansah, that of Mr. Ward-Brew, the leader of the National Union of Ghana Students, and the overnight internment of Mr. Kissi-Afari, editor of the **Echo.**

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ɔcern about the way civil liberties are being s:garded by some members of the Armed ɔces; he has also warned of the dangers of lwing special tribunals to perform functions ɦch were traditionally performed by the ordi- r civil courts.

he Chief Justiceship has unfortunately been n of the controversial posts in Ghana. It is ɔposed to be a non-political post but in actual over the past years the impression has been ɨted that the Chief Justice makes his exit with government which appointed him. If we want ɔility in our judiciary that will last beyond the n of a particular government, then any Chief ɪice would be well advised to avoid making ements and pronouncements which tend to doubts on his political impartiality in the eyes he public.

The Economy

ONOMIC MEASURES FOR 1973-74: CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

by

Emmanuel Treve

s probably safe to state at the beginning that concluding observations will not be directed ly at the Economic Measures for 1973-74; ead my remarks will span the broader field of lgeting and economic decision-making in ana. The four budget statements beginning h the March-June 1972 Mini-Budget will vide the basis of the discussion.

he first point about budgeting and economic sion-making under the N.R.C. is that re is a tendency toward brevity at the expense ital information and explanation. This tendency evidenced by the shrinking volume of the lget document. There is of course no sugges- here that there is virtue in the mere volume budget document. But it is certainly a vice to hhold or to fail to produce information which uld go to support government's economic icies and which enable the public to study policies and debate them without a feeling of brance. Example of policies which could have more fully documented and justified will be n later.

he lack of information on some policies could back into the hands of the decision–makers; would happen if the public undertake to com- t upon policies shrouded in secrecy; the l response of policy–makers is to shout "destructive criticism". It is no excuse to argue that those who dare to comment upon government policies should gather the relevant information. The collection of information is an integral part of decision–making and cannot be thrown on to the public. The public rightly assumes that policy-makers have a duty to produce evidence as justification for new programmes and for the continuation of old ones.

Insufficient Information

Now to examples of policies and programmes which can be adjudged unjustified on the grounds of insufficient information. The first culprit on the charge of insufficient information is the decision to make massive investments in the tourist industry (Economic Measures for 1973-74, page 9, paragraph 34). Under this head the document is silent on the nature of the investment, the costs involved and the expected benefits. Can the public be expected to agree or disagree with that decision? This is a real dilemma which policy–makers should seek to avoid. A second example from the 1973-74 Economic Measures document can be found in paragraphs 109 and 110 on page 24. Here the document laments government's "rather sad (profit) performance as an investor in business". Information is given to show that for 1972-73 out of total profits of ₵34.6 million on government investments the Bank of Ghana and the Department of National Lotteries between them contributed ₵26.7 million or 77 per cent. The information provided in these paragraphs is not quite complete and meaningful: for the public would still be at a loss in judging the profit performance of government commercial enterprises. To be able to make that judgment the public needs to be told the size of government investment in these enterprises. But that information is missing.

Other examples of government programmes and policies which are not adequately supported by information could be cited. These would include the low-cost housing programme; the decision to replace the present fleet of government vehicles which are over four years old by new ones and to limit their use in government departments to four years; the decision to establish the Regional Development Corporations; public pronouncements or statements on the success of the Operation Feed Yourself Programme (1972-73 Budget Statement, page 4, paragraph 13).

Let me turn my attention to another aspect of decision-making which is reflected partly in budgets and generally official pronouncements. This phenomenon I will call "**ad hockery**". Some of the policies and programmes contained

in the 1972-73 and 1973-74 budget documents suffer from this bad omen.

The phenomenon labelled here as **ad hockery** consists essentially in announcement of official policies which clearly show no prior thought. Such policies are either the stuff dreams are made of or the kind of numbers one draws from a hat. Examples of these which do not come from budget statements include the fixing of the prices of meat, the prohibition of supplies of foodstuffs to schools and colleges by private individuals or groups, the initial announcement of a flat 20 per cent rent reduction, the decision to allocate foreign foods to departments and firms and its subsequent cancellation, the introduction of the housing lottery and the cash competition on ways and means of reducing public expenditure (the results of which were never announced).

Regional Development Corporations

But a more serious lapse in budgeting and decision-making is the frightful tendency for these ad hoc policies and programmes to creep into budget statements. The Regional Development Corporations are a case in point. These corporations which have been given "the power to carry on **any** business of an industrial, commercial and agricultural nature" are finding it difficult to lay their hands on anything concrete to do. A more desirable approach would have been first, identify a number of specific projects, distribute them on a regional basis, and then set up the corporations to undertake designated projects. It may be alright for individuals to be in yam production but when the Upper Regional Development Corporation decides to develop a 100 acre yam farm at an initial cost of ₵25,000 (**Daily Graphic** of October 1, 1973) we need to have reliable estimates of costs and expected returns. In the absence of such information we are likely to end up lamenting, three years or so from now, the sad profit performance of the Regional Development Corporations.

To reduce the tendency toward ad hoc decisions I would strongly endorse the call made by the **Legon Observer,** editorial, (Vol. VIII No. 19) for economic planning. In the present circumstances one would have to conclude that the planning Division of the Ministry of Finance is not capable of filling the gap in our economic decision-making.

Another area of budgeting and decision-making which needs strengthening is **review of performance.** Some amount of review is provided in the 1972-73 and 1973-74 Budget documents but these are either too sketchy, skimpy or unreliable. This is true for the review of performance in agricultural production. Given the goals of th Operation Feed Yourself programme it is essenti that the successes and shortcomings of th programme be documented with candour. Exa gerated claims of success (eg. "**considerab** achievement," (my emphasis) paragraph 13, pa 4 of 1972-73 Budget Statement) would only ser to raise expectations which cannot be met. S far as programme review is concerned agricultur production is a notable exception. For oth equally important activities such as provision water, electricity, health facilities, agricultu credit, livestock production, feeder-roads pr gramme and housing, the information provid is almost totally inadequate as a basis for judgi our performance in these areas.

On agricultural credit, for example, the 1973 Economic Measures document makes the po that "many farmers are **frustrated** in their e deavour to expand their farm operations by la of credit facilities" (emphasis mine). The docum puts the Agricultural Development Bank's lendi for agriculture in 1972-73 at ₵16.4 millio Whether or not the farmers' frustration is t result of the inadequacy of **total lending** agriculture or the **allocation** of the availa credit among competing users is not made cl But the mini Budget, March 1972-June 19 page 11, provides the following informatio

Table 1: Proposed allocation of ₵20.2 million agriculture

	₵ mill
Agricultural Development Bank— ..	
small loans to farmers	5
State Farms Corporation	1
Food Production Corporation	5
State Fishing Corporation	1
Settlement Farms	0
Food Distribution Corporation ..	5
Total	20

The above figures indicate that the farmers n not be happy with the allocation of resources agriculture and this kind of allocation needs to reviewed in order to understand and proceed remove the farmers' frustration. But one may a what is wrong with the allocation given in Table To that I would say that allocation to sm farmers is too **small relative** to the share going the Food Production Corporation, for exam There are no figures on the Agricultural Devel ment Bank's big loans to (big) farmers but e if we knew the figures and it turned out that t is more going into big loans one can still argue such allocation as between small and big farm


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is wrong, and this for two reasons. First, the small farmer still provides the backbone for Ghana's agriculture; second, if credit is a bottleneck in the expansion of their farm operations (as the 1973-74 Budget admits) then it is a **non sequitur** to by-pass them or treat them with benign neglect in the allocation of credit. This suggests that some element of review of lending for agriculture might unearth the reasons for farmers' frustrations. The same thing could be said for other programmes for which no meaningful reviews were provided.

Let me emphasise that the kind of programme reviews called for in this essay would certainly swell the volume of the budget document. Reviews mean more work for policy makers and implementors but they cannot be avoided. To try to skirt them would produce the following results: Continuation of wrong or ill-conceived policies and programmes; inability to make programme adjustments based on new information, difficulties in implementation or change of circumstances and failure to follow progression of work. Paragraph 85 of the 1972-73 Budget statement identifies "the primary weakness in the structure of government machinery to be the **lack of efficient follow-up and feed-back devices** for official policy pronouncements and programmes, especially in the area of economic development planning execution." In this context chapter 14 of the Seven Year Development Plan, 1963/64–1969/70 which deals with Plan Implementation and Management is worth reading or re-reading. The first sentence of paragraph three page 284 of that plan made the following point as far back as 1964: "Other important weaknesses in the machinery of the civil service are the **general lack of factual and statistical information, the difficulty of obtaining information which exists, and the slowness with which action is taken on the basis of information."**

Fundamental Problem

There are several other strands in economic decision-making which will be mentioned briefly. A major charge at Ghana's development effort is the failure to develop a broad base in terms of popular participation in government and, more important, in terms of the sharing of the gains of development. The usual rural-urban distribution is an oversimplification. It is more meaningful to talk of fishermen, artisans, farmers and public and private sector wage employees whose income-generating potential needs to be raised not only through handouts such as car-maintenance allowance, subsidised housing but also through devices and incentives, which enhance the individual's own income-producing capability. The present preoccupation with wage/ salary reviews is an admission of failure to solv this fundamental problem. I have had occasio to refer to some of government's policies whic negate the goal of broadening the base of ou economic programme; these policies include th generous treatment of rent incomes, the continua tion of free University education while reducin government's financial support for elementar and secondary education, the small share of sma farmers in agricultural credit, the decision to se up a special housing loans scheme for civil servant and the decision to sell government bungalow

Returns On Government Investment

One may also comment on the tendency to gea whole national policies and programmes towar public corporations. This tendency is inexplicabl given the government's own low opinion of th capabilites of most of these corporations. In th area of housing much reliance is placed on th Low Cost Housing Committee and the Ban for Housing and Construction (which is yet to star operations). In agriculture and fishing the amoun of resources being transferred to the Food Pro duction Corporation, Food Distribution Cor poration and the State Fishing Corporation giv some indication of the importance the governmen attaches to these enterprises. In the case of th Food Production Corporation, for example, would be instructive to know to what extent it m or did not meet the targets established for it in th Mini Budget, of March 1972–June 1972. In a simil light one can question the allocation of ₵1 million (out of a total allocation of ₵2.7 milli for crop developmpent) to the Grains and L gumes, Bast Fibres and Cotton Developme Boards (paragraph 90 of 1973-74 Budget) We ne information on the contribution of the boar to the development of these crops. Such inform tion is not provided. The criticism of the r assigned to these government creations should n be constructed as opposition to public enterpri My concern derives from the following: first, t continuing inability of government to secure modest return on its investments in these ent prises; second, the implied down-grading of priv effort through the transfer of disproportionat large shares of government investible resources its own creations. Some of the large investme made in government enterprises without any turns would stand in bold perspective if we imagine what would happen if such persisten poor investment performance occurred in the vate sector: the private investor would not c tinue in business for long.

ECONOMIC MEASURES (Contd. on Page 5

THE INCREASE IN THE COCOA PRODUCER PRICE—A COMMENT

By
T. K. Buxton

HE Government announced a 20 per cent increase in : cocoa producer price from ¢10.00 to ¢12.00 per ıd of 60lbs on October 5, 1973, and many Ghanaians ıst be wondering what is the rationale behind this. The first reason that comes to mind is that the Go-rnment must have felt capable of paying the increase. ıd surely, the facts show that the World F.O.B. price r ton increased from ¢347.96 in 1967 when the pro-ıcer price was ¢5.00 per load to about ¢700.00 in 71/72 when the producer price was ¢8.00; and the ing trend continues in 1973.

But ability to pay cannot be the only reason for the crease, for there have been times in the past when e F.O.B. price had been higher with national govern-ent expenditure lower than it is now, and the Go-rnment had not increased the producer price to any-ing like its present level. Other considerations that ight have motivated the increase are (i) the desire to distribute income in favour of the cocoa farmers and i) the desire to increase Ghana's supplies by (a) check-g smuggling and (b) increasing production.

An article in the **Legon Observer** Vol. VIII/20 pu-ished on the same day as the increase was announced akes a trenchant case for a redistribution of income ıd shows that the increase was long overdue. But the thors of that article, and perhaps, many other Gha-ians expect a substantial drop in the scale of smuggling ıd appreciable rise in the output of cocoa as a result the price increase. The question is whether such an pectation is justified.

Activities of Smugglers

The argument about smuggling is that since the pro-ıcer price in the adjoining countries (the Ivory Coast ıd Togo) is ¢14.00 per load Ghanaian farmers near ıe borders would want to smuggle their cocoa out nless they are paid ¢14.00 in Ghana. But this is a ther facile view. Investigations by the present author the Volta Region reveal that most of the farmers ho smuggle their cocoa engage the services of porters ıd guards, who might not be different from the Go-rnment's own preventive officers. The charges per load ere 40p for the porters and ¢1.00 for the guards in 970 and might well be higher now. This means that out ¢2.00 out of the price per load goes into pockets her than the farmers' own, suggesting then that other ings equal, smuggling should stop if a differential only ¢2.00 exists between the price in Ghana and at in the neighbouring countries. Perhaps, this ex-ains the increase in price to ¢12.00 instead of the 4.00 prevailing in the Ivory Coast and Togo at present. But other things are not equal; at least they were ot equal in 1970. This author's investigations show that ong the border in many cases, the buyers from the her countries were much closer at hand than the yers in Ghana. Even if prices are the same, who ould carry his crop a long distance when he can sell near? Also, it is known that whereas the buyers in e other countries invariably paid spot cash, the buyers Ghana (one hopes the situation has changed now ith the recent efforts by the present Government to rrect the malpractices) nearly always issued 'chits' to be redeemed at a later date. The farmers themselves intimate that their rate of time preference for cash is so high that although, in many cases, their cocoa was underweighed in the other countries (Ghanaian buyers are also guilty of this in various degrees, though) they still preferred selling their cocoa there. In addition, there is also a number of traders who buy cocoa in Ghana, sell it in Togo or the Ivory Coast, and with the proceeds, buy drinks, cigarettes and other items which are then smuggled into Ghana—a practice that should be expected in a regime of exchange controls and import restrictions. This means that the increase in the cocoa producer price in Ghana, by itself would not stop smuggling.

As regards the effect of the price increase on production, it is known that farmers maintain their farms better and also harvest more efficiently when the producer price is high, the reason being that a high price enhances the credit of farmers so that those who do not have their own finance (and most of them do not) can more easily raise short-term loans from relatives and friends for hiring labour and acquiring spraying materials. Some increase in production might therefore be expected from already existing farms as a result of the rise in the cocoa price. But what prospects are there for an increase in the acreage under cocoa as well?

Import of Price Increase

The logic of those who expect an increase is that the higher producer price makes cocoa cultivation attractive so that many farmers would now take to cocoa farming or expand their present holdings. But attraction alone is not enough for investment. There must be investible resources as well; and this author's investigations show that although 35.9 per cent of the present cocoa farmers have unused land, only 19.7 per cent of them have cash holdings of over ¢200.00 and could be expected to be able to hire labour and acquire other inputs for any substantial expansion. And it must not be supposed that the farmers themselves can provide the labour for expansion, for 76 per cent of them are more than 40 years old (51.1 per cent are more than 50 years) and cannot do much work.

To be sure, the increase in price will raise incomes; and since, generally, a rise in expenditure lags behind a rise in income it might be expected that many of the farmers would now have some surplus for investment. Some spurt in acreage expansion might therefore be expected. But this would happen in about the first year of the price increase only as the present author's investigations indicate; for after some time, consumption expenditure would rise to the same level as income, the savings gap would disappear, and acreage expansion would decline to the previous low level equilibrium for most of the farmers. Too much cannot therefore be expected of the price increase as a stimulus to acreage expansion.

The article in the **Legon Observer** cited earlier compares the 217.9 per cent increase in the Ivory Coast's production from 1953 to 1969 with the 94.3 per cent increase in Ghana. The point to note is that in addition to the more attractive producer price in the Ivory Coast, the Government of that country has also operated policies with a more direct impact on expansion. Specifically, it is known that from about the middle of the 1950's to the latter part of the decade the government

paid subsidies for new plantings of cocoa and also distributed selected planting material free of charge. If, as the evidence available shows, peak yields are attained when farms are between 18 and 22 years old, is it any wonder that the Ivory Coast's production is now rising on a crest?

In sum, the price increase will give cocoa farmers a greater share of the national cake if prices do not rise faster in the rural areas (where most cocoa farmers live) than in the urban areas; and this increase in the farmer's income is justifiable on its own merits. But as a means of combating smuggling it clearly needs to be supported by other measures to achieve the desired effect. In particular, cocoa buyers in Ghana should make a greater effort to reach producers who live close to the borders. For example, buyers could arrange to meet producers at some convenient spots on particular days to transact business. This would save farmers the trouble and the expense of conveying their cocoa very long distances to the existing depots. Undoubtedly, this would increase the costs of the purchasing agents; but the additional costs must be offset against the increased tonnage that they would obtain. Also the present effort to ensure prompt payment for any cocoa delivered at the depots must be sustained; for it cannot be supposed that a mere increase in price would make a farmer reverse his decision to smuggle his cocoa out if he still has to wait a very long time before he is paid for his cocoa in Ghana. The situation might be different if there were opportunities for obtaining short-term credit on easy terms. But such opportunities do not exist for most cocoa farmers in Ghana. In any case, the foregoing supporting measures must go hand in hand with efficient border control.

As an aid to higher production, the price increase would raise yields per acre if wage rates do not rise out of proportion, and if spraying materials and cutlasses are made available at reasonably cheap prices. But acreage expansion would not proceed at any higher rate except, perhaps, in the first year after the price increase. As demonstrated by the Ivory Coast, greater and sustained impact is achievable through more direct assistance to farmers in the establishment of new farms. The present author has always wondered why cocoa farmers are not organised into producers' co-operatives to benefit from loans from the Agricultural Development Bank as the growers of rice, sugar cane and other crops have been. Are cocoa farmers any more difficult to organise? Is the gestation period of cocoa (3 to 5 years) too long for the bank? But perhaps Ghana is not very keen on expanding her production of cocoa after all.

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Education

EDUCATION FOR ACCOUNTANCY IN GHANA

By
Ato Ghartey

THE social needs to be served by qualified professional accountants have existed in Ghana since the turn of the nineteeth century. There was, however, no conscious effort to educate and train Ghanaians as professional accountants until the late 1940s. This apparent neglect to train the requisite number of qualified accounting personnel has left the accounting profession in Ghana in a very rudimentary state and created a vacuum between political, social, and economic development on the one hand and accountancy development on the other hand. Ghana is now urgently in need of a fundamental accounting appproach to bridge the gap existing between political, social, and economic development, and accountancy development.

A number of efforts have been made to bridge this gap. There has been a high level of government participation in the economy since 1957. A number of financial institutions have been established by the Government to aid and encourage investments in the country. A number of detailed economic programmes have been undertaken by the Government. Legislation has been enacted to encourage Ghanaian participation in the industrial and commercial sectors in the economy and to regulate accounting practice in Ghana. There were major political changes in the country on February 24, 1966 and January 13, 1972. Most of these and several other efforts have been thwarted by the dearth of qualified accountants in Ghana.

The Present State of Accountancy Education in Ghana

Until recently, there were mainly four avenues to attain the rank of an accountant in Ghana:

1. By promotion through the ranks to the post of an accountant. Most of the people belonging to this group have had no formal education or professional certificates in accountancy.

2. By attending overseas institutions and serving articleship with overseas firms.

3. Through correspondence courses overseas while working in Ghana and subsequently writing the examinations of overseas professional accountancy bodies.

4. Through a process of formal education on a sandwich basis at the College of Commerce at Kumasi and subsequently passing the examination of overseas professional accountancy bodies.

These processes were found deficient for several reasons. To compensate for the deficiencies, and train accountants, book-keepers, and administrators who can cope with the changing needs of the Ghanaian society, several institutions have been established in the country especially since 1957.

The Auditor General's Department and many technical institutes in Ghana offer training for sub-professional groups of book-keepers and accounting and auditing assistants. Other in-service schemes and private and commercial schools offer courses in book-keeping and

ountancy. Most of the students in the commercial pols are without secondary education. Now a General tificate of Education is becoming a common qualifi- on for most clerical positions in the country.

ome secondary schools in the country now offer ele- ntary accounting and book-keeping to their students. dents taking such courses can present book-keeping. ounting, and commercial arithmetic for their General rtificate of Education examinations.

The purpose of secondary accounting education seems be to equip students to understand simple double- ry techniques and concepts, to enable them to deve- the habit of keeping personal income and expense counts as well as accounts of small privately owned terprises, and to equip some of the students with the cessary background for furthering their education.

Elementary and intermediate accounting courses fered in the commercial and technical schools (inclu- ng the Certificate in Accounting courses at the School Administration), as well as, at most of the in-service hemes are designed to train students to serve as counting clerks in private firms, educational institu- ons, and governmental organizations. They are neither ained or qualified to serve as professional accountants the society.

The foregoing training programmes are worthy deve- pments in the field of accounting education but they nnot be complete unless a suitable educational pro- amme is introduced in the country to train and edu- te qualified professional accountants who can serve e needs of the country.

anging Patterns of Accounting Education

Australia, Canada, and England are among the coun- ies which have the apprenticeship type systems of aining accountants. Under this system prospective countants train under contracts of service called rticleship". Most of the former British Colonies, and any Commonwealth countries, also have the appren- ceship system of training accountants. In most of the untries with the apprenticeship type training systems, udents with minimum education generally the equiva- nt of the General Certificate of Education (Ordinary evel) must have a minimum of five years experience efore sitting for the final professional examinations. he period of practical experience may be reduced to ree years if the student has a university degree.

Most of the countries that have the apprenticeship pe training systems have realized in recent years that e changing demands on the accounting profession emand a new type of education. Commenting on this sue in **The Accountant** (England) v.154, Lord Butler ated:

"Professions have succeeded admirably in strengthen- ing their own organizations and keeping up their standards but if they are to meet the heavier demands which will be made upon them in the future, members of professional bodies must have had the benefits of a liberal education as undergraduates before going on to take a post-graduate course".

The change in attitude from apprenticeship towards liberal based university education for accountants was cognized not later than 1949. One of the most signifi- nt studies in this direction in England is the Carr- anders study on Education for Commerce in 1949. In Australia, two recent studies in this direction are the Vatter's survey of Accountancy Education in 1964, and a study on Accountancy Education sponsored by the Australian government in 1965.

The two Australian studies came to the similar conclusion that the best educational preparation for professional accountancy consists of broadly based programmes offered by the universities in their bachelor of commerce programmes followed by specialized training at the post graduate level and a qualifying examination administered by the professional organizations. These suggestions were implemented in 1967 and as from October 1971, a recognized university degree became a prerequisite for the professional examination.

In Canada, there have been very significant changes in the admission requirements for entry into the profession. Possession of a recognized university degree was made the prerequisite for admission to the Uniform Final Examination in 1970.

In the United States, there are no uniform rules governing admission to the profession. Some states by law require university degrees. In spite of this lack of uniformity in admission requirements, about 95 per cent of CPA candidates in the United States have university degrees or have attended a university.

In Brazil, Mexico, and Peru recognized university degrees are now recognized as entry requirements to the profession. No practical experience is required. In Columbia one year's practical experience is required in addition to the university degree.

In Germany, Italy, and France candidates with the requisite university preparation and/or practical training are required to prepare a thesis and submit to an oral examination.

The Antecedents of University Accountancy Education in Ghana

The beginnings of the School of Administration date to 1952 when the Kumasi College of Technology was established. Among the departments of study of that College was a Commerce Department which prepared students for the examinations of the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants (A.C.C.A.), the Chartered Institute of Secretaries (C.I.S.), and the Corporation of Certified Secretaries (C.C.S.), all of London.

The A.C.C.A. course was of five years' duration and it was run on "sandwich" basis patterned on an agreed scheme jointly with the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants of London and the erstwhile Association of Accountants in the Gold Coast for the training of Ghanaian students.

The course was primarily designed to meet the accounting requirements of the United Kingdom. The number of students who entered for the A.C.C.A. between 1952 and 1962 was 195. Of these only 8 had successfully taken the final examination in 1962 and 58 were still at various stages of preparation of the course. Six out of the 58 passed the final examination between 1962 and 1965.

The results of the A.C.C.A. examinations were very discouraging. Also, those successful students knew much of the foreign contents of overseas based examinations but very little about the laws and practice prevailing in their country. Thus, a Commission was established to explore the possibilities of providing local training, facilities, and examinations for students.

Upon the recommendations of the Commission, the Commerce Department of the Kumasi College of Technology was moved to Accra in 1960 to form the nucleus of a new independent educational institution—The College of Administration. The College of Administration was established for the training of accounting and management personnel for industry and commerce as well as for the public service. In addition, the College of Administration mounted new courses for Local Government functionaries of all grades, Hospital Administrators, and middle grade statisticians.

In order to attract the best candidates to undertake courses which would equip students to fill the roles in the public and private enterprises, it was considered necessary that some of the courses at the College of Administration be given their proper recognition and be done at the university level.

On the recommendation of the International Commission on University Education in Ghana, the A.C.C.A. course and the Secretaryship and Administration courses were replaced by a B.Sc. (Administration) degree course in 1962. The degree course, it was asserted, would give candidates the depth and breadth of a university education which is considered desirable of future businessmen, and steer the academic requirements of the profession towards the needs of Ghana. Thus, as from October 1, 1962, the College of Administration became an integral part of the University of Ghana and was redesignated "The School of Administration" of the University of Ghana.

The B.Sc. (Administration) course offers three options of concentration—Accounting, Business Management, and Public Administration. To date (between 1965 and 1973), the School has produced 229 accounting graduates, 172 business management graduates, and 13 public administration graduates.

The Need for a Professional Programme in Accountancy

In the Faculty of Law at Legon, students are expected to do a two-year post graduate work in "Professional Studies" after their three-year LL.B. course. In the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Science and Technology, students are expected after their first degree to stay at the University to study for a Master's degree. After the Master's programme, a candidate becomes eligible for a licence. Teachers in Secondary Schools and Training Colleges with University degrees are usually expected to do a year's post graduate diploma course at the University of Cape Coast.

Students at the Ghana Medical School spend their first four years at Legon and the last two years at the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital. At the Korle Bu Teaching Hospital, the students are subjected to the kind of conditions physicians are likely to face in practice. On successful completion of the six years programme, candidates are expected to undergo a year's internship programme before they become eligible for a practising licence. Pharmacy students do a three year degree course at the University of Science and Technology. No formal post graduate education is required but candidates do not become eligible for a practising licence until they have worked for one year.

Engineering students take a four year course at the University of Science and Technology. No formal postgraduate or practical experience is required before students become eligible for membership to the Engineers Association. The University of Science and Technology, however, organizes summer internship programmes for all engineering, pharmacy and architecture students.

A cursory examination of the education for these professions discloses that they all have separate schools, or faculties or departments within the Universities of Ghana and that the education and training of all such professionals are being sponsored by the government. On the other hand, nearly all the preparation of professional accountants has been left completely to the individuals.

Lately, when accounting was recognized as a field of study in the University of Ghana, the organization of the accounting programme was left to the School of Administration working within the general framework of the University of Ghana.

Post graduate training for the profession has been left completely to the drive and initiative of the candidate. Candidates are expected to work with a recognized accounting firm for a period of three years. After the first eighteen months, candidates become eligible to write Part I of the professional examination. Candidates passing the Part I examination can write the Part II examination at least one year after the Part I examination.

Discouraging Development

Of the 229 accounting graduates that have been produced by the School of Administration between 1965 and 1973, only 5 have successfully passed the final examinations of the Institute of Chartered Accountants of Ghana. This patently defeats one of the main aims for establishing the School of Administration.

The degree course at the School of Administration was established, **inter alia**, to give candidates the breadth and depth of university education which is considered very desirable of future accountants, and to attract the best students into the profession. The profession has so far not been very successful in attracting many of such "best students".

There may be several reasons for this discouraging development in accounting education in Ghana. Accounting graduates from the School of Administration complain that:

1. The Institute of Chartered Accountants does not offer them any encouragement to take the final examinations.
2. The Institute does not have any international recognition. Members of some of the British Accountancy associations qualify for admission to the Ghanaian Institute but the Ghanaian Institute has not as yet made any reciprocal arrangements with such Institutes.
3. People who are already members of the Institute have not benefitted enough from their membership for outsiders to consider entering the association. Besides, some qualified accountants in the country have refused to join the Institute.
4. There are virtually no training facilities available to the students to aid them in the preparation of the examinations. All that the Institute does is to set the examination questions and to grade the examinations. Whether the students do well at the examination or not is apparently not the Institute's problem.

Students think that it is too much of a sacrifice to undergo the internship programme in Ghana. The average salary paid to interns is approximately one-half of what their colleagues in regular employment receive. Students go through the internship requirement and learn that they are neither obtaining the professional qualification nor receiving the regular salary commensurate with their qualifications. The demand for B.Sc. (Administration) accounting is high and the remuneration is also high. The social demands and pressures on the graduates are high. To satisfy such social responsibilities, graduates find it more convenient to take regular employment than go through the highly uncertain and risky internship programmes. It may be of interest to learn that three of the four students who have successfully passed the Institute's examination under the internship programme were employed by the Ghana Commercial Bank. They received their regular salaries from the Bank while they served their internship with a public accounting firm. This was a special arrangement between the Ghana Commercial Bank and the accounting firm.

Over-centralization of activities in Accra makes it difficult for students living outside Accra to prepare for the examination. A student wishing to study for the examination should necessarily have to stay in Accra where he will be in close touch with his colleagues and have access to the limited educational facilities in the country.

Possible Solution

Some of these problems could be solved by a joint ort of the Institute of Chartered Accountants, the niversity of Ghana, and the government. It is pro-bly true that some of the features that give accoun-ncy an unusual status among the other professions in e country can explain the difference in the organization an educational programme for accountants and other ofessionals in the country. The newness of the counting profession in Ghana and the fact that the ajority of accountants enter private employment where-the majority of the other professionals enter govern-ent employment might account for the difference in ucational organization.

The important role accounting can play in the eco-mic development of Ghana cannot be over em-asized. Realization of the importance of accounting the country should justify the need for the govern-ent to accord accounting an educational programme nilar to those accorded other professions, and to offer ancial support to post graduate accounting students nilar to those granted to other post graduate profes-nal students. Other professionals in the country can-t serve the society very efficiently unless they have alified accountants to furnish them with the reliable d timely information they need.

The higher status of the accounting profession and wider range of responsibilities imposed on the countant in a developing country such as Ghana de-nd a high level of intellectual capacity, knowledge, d skills on the part of future accountants. These quirements can best be met through formal univer-y education. A university degree, therefore, seems a logical prerequisite for entry to the profession. The curriculum for such degree and professional courses should be designed through a joint effort of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in Ghana and the University of Ghana.

Observer Notebook

The Middle East War

FOR the fourth time in a quarter of a century guns are thundering in the Middle East, and Israel and her neighbours of the Arab world are clenched in another full-scale war which promises to be different from the brief six-day affair of June 1967. This one is reputed to be costing Israel hundreds of thousands of pounds every minute and has now lasted nearly a forthnight: nor is the end in sight. Losses on both sides have been tremendous and both sides are having to depend on fresh supplies of arms from the two super powers, and indeed America has openly announced its readiness to come more directly to the aid of Israel should the need arise. In Egypt taxes and prices have been substantially raised to make money to support the war effort. The number of human lives lost on both sides cannot be exactly known but the estimates are high. As at Thursday October 11, when the war was six days old, it was estimated that the dead and wounded on both sides totalled about 18,000 and it would not be unreasonable to estimate that now, a week later, the figure has more than doubled. In addition, civilian centres have been hit in Syria with some loss of life, and President Sadat has in turn warned of long range missiles trained on Israeli towns. For both sides, the situation is grim.

Frantically, the Security Council is searching for a ceasefire formula and among the proposals put forward is an American one which calls for a return to the situation which obtained before the present hostilities broke out as prelude to negotiations. That this is a futile proposal should be obvious. For if the Arabs have been goaded into risking another war against an enemy who has an almost guaranteed knack for emerging victor, it is because they feel particularly insulted by the continued occupation of their lands by Israel; also, it is because they fear that continued Israeli occupation and exploitation of these areas will eventually give the enemy **de facto** claim over them. It is this insult and this fear which have given the Arabs the tenacity with which they now fight; and to call upon them to voluntarily surrender such of these lands as they have regained without a reciprocal gesture from Israel is to make an unrealistic demand.

Israel has always been a nation concerned with attracting the sympathy of the world community. In recent days and months however, she has lost some of that sympathy. The shooting down recently of a civilian plane and the bombing during the current war of Syrian civilian centres have not been exactly compassion-winning. Israel could however recapture world sympathy by doing what is perhaps the only logical thing to do in the circumstances — especially now that that it has been proved that Arabs can fight. Israel needs to show readiness to give up the Arab lands she occupied after the 1967 war. President Sadat has said that he will only agree to a ceasefire on that condition. Such a gesture by Israel will convince the Arabs and the world of her genuine wish for peace, and might possibly induce the Arabs to adopt a more conciliatory attitude to Israel. Such a move could be a prelude to a negotiation along the lines of the Security Council Resolution 242 which promises secure and guaranteed borders for all nations in the area. Neither Israel nor the Arabs can desire a war every eight or so years, but it seems as if it is Israel which has to take the first step towards a more permanent peace by letting go of occupied Arab lands.

Korle Bu and Guggisberg

ON an occasion such as the 50th Anniversary of Korle Bu Hospital, which fell on October 9th, one is tempted to repeat the usual homilies: nurses need to be less brusque and hostile; doctors on call ought to be more readily at hand; the pilfering of drugs needs to be stopped, and shortages of hospital equipment including drugs ought not to be allowed to continue.

Indeed some of these familiar notes are worth sounding again. Within the last fortnight it has been reported that patients who go into Tamale hospital for minor operations are expected to go equipped with their own cotton wool, lint etc; it has been reported that Kumasi Hospital lacks Oxgyen partly because the hospital supplies are allegedly being diverted; and a call has been made by a Regional Commissioner to doctors to be ready to go and take up service in the Northern Region. In short, it is obvious that all is not well with our medical services, even though many doctors and nurses and other medical staff try to give of their best in a situation that is far from ideal.

However, on this particular occasion the **Observer** would like to direct attention to the appeal which has been launched to raise funds for the erection of a memorial to Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg, the colonial governor to whose efforts Ghana owes Korle Bu Hospital. It is our view that if Guggisberg is to be so honoured, then the memorial should be in form of fellowship or a grant to be awarded for research work into a tropical disease. We believe that a memorial of this nature will not only do honour to the man, but could do a great deal of good to many suffering Ghanaians. For it is a fact that Sir Frederick Gordon Guggisberg has more than enough monuments to his memory. Just outside of Takoradi Harbour there is a monument built to his memory; one of the houses in Achimota School is named after him, and so too is one of the houses at Prempeh College; and at Dodowa, the building in which the chiefs of the Eastern Region hold their deliberations is known as the Guggisberg Memorial Hall. Do we need to encumber the man's memory with more structures? Would not a memorial of the sort we suggest be more appropriate?

ECONOMIC MEASURES (Cont. from Page 496)

Another area of government decision-making which still leaves room for improvement is the pricing of both foreign commodities and domestically produced agricultural commodities and fish. The obsession with setting "correct" prices for foreign commodities is turning out to be a waste of time and talent. Take for example the case of sugar. When it was first suggested that more attention should be paid to the **availability** of sugar and less to its market price the reaction was negative; that suggestion was deemed politically unwise. But what do we see now? The price of sugar went from 29 pesewas per packet to 55 and now stands at 65 pesewas, that is, if one gets it at all. With regard to the fixing of guaranteed minimum prices for crops such as maize, yams, plantain and cassava there is some confusion based on ignorance on the part of some of the officials operating the scheme; officials have been known to harass farmers and seize some of the farmers' produce if the latter refuse to sell at the minimum price. Such price intervention in the market must be discouraged through proper education on the rationale and operation of guaranteed minimum prices.

The foregoing pages have sought to show that the decision-making process itself needs improvement; some of the policies and programmes which have come under fire in this essay or elsewhere could benefit from some of the suggestions made here.

Letters

"Intellectual M * * *" and All That—Rejoinders (3)

[R—Quite a good number of our countrymen who ere all for the policies of the last civilian Government ould not bring themselves to shed tears at the fall of at government. Individual members of the government id succeeded in alienating them by their over-haughty aring and smugness. If the present military administra- on comes to excite similar contrary feelings in the ublic, they can thank the Press Secretary of the N.R.C. r it.

During the New Year School of 1973 at Legon, the ress Secretary was reported to have said in answer to question that the reason why persons who were taken nto military custody often came back with their heads haved was because the military did not like to live ith lice. Call it a joke if you like. But recent pro- ouncements make one wonder. In Vol. VIII/19 of the **egon Observer** a writer complained that the Head of tate's strictures on politicians were not entirely fair. When the Press Secretary comes to reply in No. 20 he alks about "intellectual masturbation", whatever that eans. He also refers to the "fatuous-minded" and ttempts to distinguish between "right-thinking" Gha- aians and some other types of Ghanaians. He is indeed preoccupied with heaping invectives that but for his st paragraph the point of his reply is hardly visible.

And what sort of reply, anyway? He reminds us of an phorism—"Let the dogs bark at the moon, it will con- nue to shine even more brightly"—which is to say, Go to hell with your criticism, we are ruling".

One understood that besides functioning as a source f information to the public a Press Secretary like a ublic Relations Officer was supposed to ensure that here was no love lost between his employers and their lients. Surely the ability to tell a good joke where a oke need be told must be an asset for the effective dis- harge of this high and delicate office. A writing style hich evinces refinement and good manners will also elp, no doubt.

egon **Ebow Daniel**

IR—Dennis Adjei-Brenya's letter, "Disgruntled Poli- cians and All That", and Lt.-Col. Festus Addae's re- inder pose a very interesting question: "Who is a olitician?"

According to HORNBY AND PARNWELL English cader's Dictionary "Politics is the science or art of overnment". Politicians are therefore, persons taking art in or interested in the science or art of govern- ent. The dress such people wear, be it an academic own, lawyer's gown, judge's robes, doctor's coat, ntama, takari, Mao suit, Afro suit, imperialist's suit or mili- ry uniform does not really matter. In view of this finition, I humbly submit that every citizen of this ble country of ours (Lt.-Col. Festus Addaes not ex- uded) is a politician because we are either taking part the art of governing or are interested in how we are verned.

As for the saying that "this or that was done with the consent of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country", we have heard this before. The notorious P.D.A. was said to have been passed with the consent of the overwhelming majority of the people; so also was the infamous dissolution of the T.U.C.

P.O. Box 3128 **M. S. Braimah**
Accra

SIR—The letter from the Press Secretary's Office of the N.R.C. which you published in your last issue, VIII/20, could be attacked on many grounds. However, I write as an enraged housewife to take issue with the kind of language that was used in parts of it. If decent and temperate language, as you have often claimed, is a feature that you insist upon before you accept to publish a contribution, then I would like to know how you could possibly have published that letter, even if unedited.

I am now almost forced to conclude that you operate double standards: that you apply a severe standard when accepting letters from the ordinary Ghanaian whose interests you claim to be representing, but that when an item comes from an authoritative source you feel compelled to accept it no matter how badly written it may be. For surely, an official release which talks about "intellectual masturbation"—even as I write the words, I blush under my dark skin—should normally find no place in the **Legon Observer.**

Mr. Editor, you have shocked every decent Ghanaian!

136/4 Market Circle **Effie Hinson**
Takoradi

Newsprint Used for Wrapping

SIR—There is a sharp fall in the supply of newsprint the world over, and this had led a number of overseas papers to reduce the size of their publications. Those involved in the production of newspapers in this country know how difficult it is to obtain the stuff, and at what cost.

In the light of this situation I find it almost criminally irresponsible that some merchant houses in this country use good quality newsprint to wrap goods for their clients. When I saw this in one shop, I thought it was a momentary aberration, but I was scandalised when I realised on checking that the practice is widespread at least in U.A.C. and G.N.T.C. shops in Accra and Cape Coast. I wonder whether those who issue out quantities of newsprint for wrapping goods in shops are aware of the harm they are doing to the cause of enlightenment in this country. Just from a business point of view, I can assure those who have lots of newsprints floating around that they can be disposed of more rationally and for better rewards than is the case at present.

If this preposterous situation is not arrested immediately, correct quantities of newsprint may be imported into this country and yet there will be scarcity caused by this perverse misuse of newsprint.

Ringway Estate **Thomas K. Sarpong**
Accra

Stealing at the Ports—A Correction

SIR—In your edition of 10-23rd August, vol. VIII/16, I wrote a letter about stealing of imported items at the Tema Port. Following the publication, the authority concerned instituted a committee to investigate my accusation and I appeared before it.

It was established with supporting documents that in the case in question a set of 100 dozen cutlery was landed from the ship already broken, leaving 20 dozen. The alleged theft of the 80 dozen was not committed at the Port.

Any embarrassment which the letter has caused the authority concerned is therefore regretted.

House No. F761/2 **Okoe Laryea**
Osu
Accra

Business Students Need Help

SIR—Kindly allow me to use the medium of your journal to make a personal appeal to the authorities of the Cocoa Marketing Board (C.M.B.). If I am not mistaken the C.M.B. was established with the aim, among other things, of helping cocoa farmers not only to improve their farms, but also to help their children through the award of scholarships. For some reason or other students in commercial schools in the country are not benefitting from the C.M.B. scholarship scheme. It is believed that an amount of ¢14 million has been invested to finance the scheme but only students in Technical and Secondary schools benefit from it.

May I know if commercial students are not considered students in their own right, or is there any reason which makes the Board exclude them from the scholarship scheme? If commercial students are not excluded from the scheme, then why is it that the authorities of the C.M.B. have neglected them for such a long time?

Commercial students also have parents and guardians who are illustrious cocoa or cash crop farmers and therefore if the "scholarship cake" is being shared among the students in the country they must be taken into consideration and given their share.

I wish to point out to the C.M.B. authorities that the services of commercial students when they graduate from school are of vital importance to the country's well being; therefore, they must think about this appeal and do something about it as early as possible.

Modern School of Commerce **K. E. Antwi-Yeboah**
P.O. Box 14
Effiduase-Ashanti

Let There Be Light!

SIR—"Let there be light", so said the good Lord, "and there was light", so reports the Good Book. Without any pretence to create light as was done of old, some of us lucky chaps in the urban areas had in the not too distant past, been able to bring light into being with only a little more effort than the original Creator. Where He used words, we only had to press a switch, but these days, the story is a little different.

Within the last few weeks electric light bulbs have come to be added to the long list of commodities in short supply in the country. After a long search one is lucky to come across a few 20 watt bulbs which are available only because nobody wants them. The situation is becoming so alarming that the authorities are hereby called upon to correct it before cynics start speaking of "dark days in Ghana"—which will be literarlly true. It is quite true that light is not essential for survival, but at least it helps to make life less miserable.

To conclude in the same inspired mood as I began one may well ask, "what doth it profit a nation to obtain quantities of electricity and suffer from the penury of electric bulbs?"

A69 Prabiw Street **Kwesi Enu**
Saltpond

Doctors' Prescription

SIR—I should like on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of Korle Bu Hospital to draw attention to a little detail in our hospital routine which puzzles me. Why do doctors almost always write out their prescriptions in an illegible scrawl, making it impossible for the patient to know just what is being dealt out to him and in what quantity?

Very often, the name of the drug is finally very readily apparent to the patient when the hospital pharmacists at last hand it over, but if doctors' handwriting would be more legible, patients would not only know what they are going in for, but would know if the druggist has dispensed the proper quantity and is not saving some for private use or indeed abuse.

They say that in the bad old days doctors used to talk shop in Latin. Mercifully, they have changed their tongue, but I believe they need also to change their hand.

P.O. Box 0118 **Kofi Kuttin**
Takoradi

Re-establish the C.C.E.

SIR—I suggest that serious consideration be given to the re-establishment of the Centre for Civic Education. This Centre was set up to educate Ghanaians on their civic rights and responsibilities, as it was felt that the majority of us did not know them. I doubt if at the time of the dissolution of the Centre all Ghanaians had received all the civic education they needed and were exercising their rights and responsibilities.

It may be argued that the Centre was used by the P.P. government to gain political advantage over the other political parties, and that it was the activities of the Centre which made its chairman, Dr. Busia, gain a political lead when the ban on party politics was lifted. The arguments are fair and in order, but the fact remains that the intention behind the setting up of the Centre was very sound indeed.

The fact that Ghanaians still hoard, practise nepotism and tribalism, receive bribes, evade taxation and indulge in trade malpractices, suggests that we still do not know our responsibilities. And it is for just this reason that civic education should be intensified and by a special body like the Centre for Civic Education, never mind the name.

To prevent prospective politicians from gaining a political lead over their opponents or misusing the Centre, I suggest that the topmost officers of the Centre should not be eligible for election to parliament for at least the period just after they had left office. This will generally ensure that people with some advantage over others do not rush onto the political band-wagon when the time comes. Furthermore, the Centre should be insulated against political pressure from any quarter.

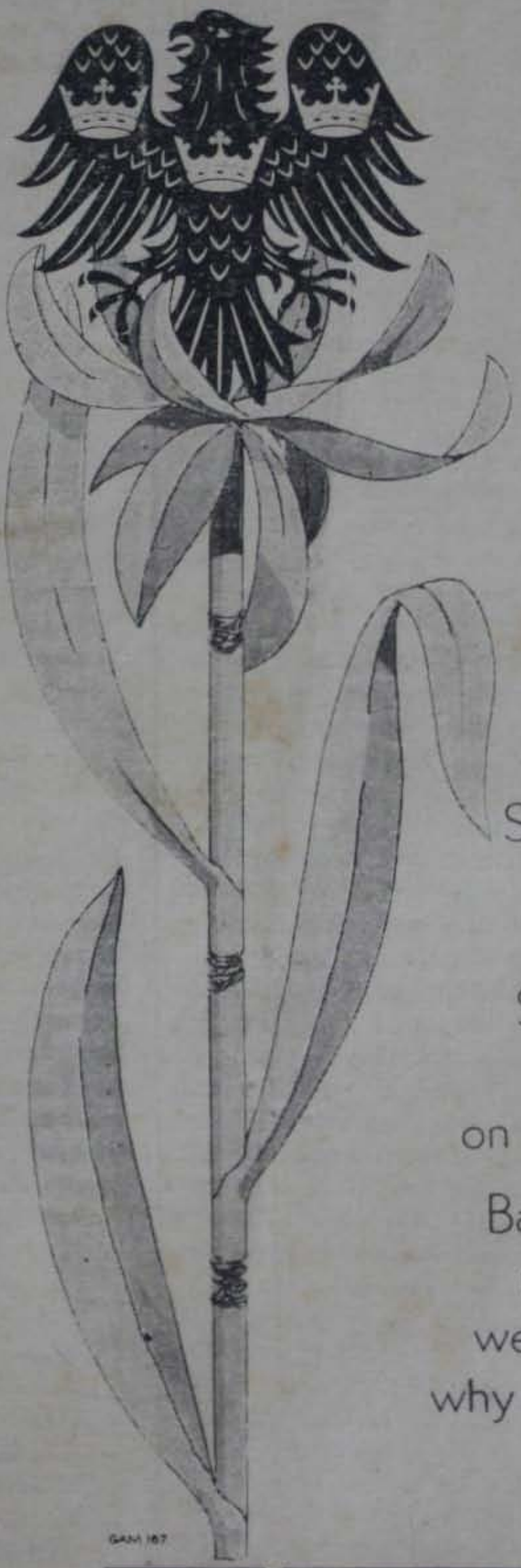
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HELP YOU TO GROW BETTER

We should avoid the expensive mistake of having to go back and re-activate projects which would have benefitted Ghanaians for all time, but which were suspended or cancelled simply because they were set up by a political opponent. Such capricious acts are expensive in both material and financial terms.

Atlantic Hall **Paul E. Ackom**
University of Cape Coast

Ten Seconds of English, Please

SIR—May I through your column kindly ask Dr. Lawrence Boadi to tell announcers on Ghana Broadcasting Corporation that "Here **are** the rest of our programmes" is bad English. I believe that through some linguistic acrobatics, bold attempts may be made to justify this barbarism, but to the average user of the English language this expression is offensive.

I am sure Dr. Boadi will need only ten seconds to correct this solecism which is being daily inflicted on the viewing public. Charity should begin at home, even at the Ghana Broadcasting Television.

(Name and Address Supplied)—Editor

History

THE GARVEYS AND THE BACK-TO-AFRICA MOVEMENT: A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

By
S. K. B. Asante

THE passing away in Kingston, Jamaica, of AMY JACQUES GARVEY, the loyal, devoted, and unusually energetic widow of MARCUS GARVEY, the ardent West Indian pan-African nationalist, as reported a few weeks ago, closes a significant chapter in the 'Back-to-Africa' movement of which the Garveys were the chief advocates. It is indeed remarkable that Mrs. Garvey should die at a time when the pan-African tradition among Afro-Americans, to which she and her celebrated husband devoted the whole of their lives, seems in the process of being vindicated. And it is perhaps historical justice that she should live to see this. On a visit to Harlem in August 1968 she noted: "I am happy to know that black Americans have returned **spiritually** to Africa. I have come back to America (from Jamaica) and found a new Africa in America. Marcus Garvey's and my philosophy have come into its own and I'm alive to see it". Today, in almost every part of the African continent, we encounter a growing number of black Americans who appear to agree with the Garveys that it is in their interest to "return" to Africa not necessarily physically but psychologically and culturally to develop a working unity in the framework of pan-Africanism. The death of Mrs. Garvey at an advanced age of 77 seems, therefore, to be a compelling moment in which to review briefly the great service which the Garveys have rendered to the African race.

The pan-African impulse among Afro-Americans of the post-revolutionary years reached a high point in the Marcus Garvey Movement of the 1920s. Born in Jamaica on 17 August, 1887, Marcus Mosiah Garvey, as a young man in his native country and in his travels and work in South and Central America and England between 1910 and 1914, became increasingly concerned about the plight of the labouring black man, and of the low status of black people everywhere. A printer by trade and devourer of books on black history and culture, Garvey saw that the problems of Afro-Americans were not local and peculiar: the black man everywhere suffered from powerlessness and exploitation and humiliation at the hands of the white man: in the new world he was, for the most part, either a slave or a pariah: in Africa, he was reputedly backward, suffered the ravages of the European-stimulated slave trade, and by the end of the nineteenth century of European colonial domination.

But it was during his comparatively brief sojourn in the metropolitan capital of London that Garvey became more than ever convinced that the Negroes must do something. It was here that he became closely associated with another ardent pan-Africanist of the time, Duse Mohammed Ali, a scholar of Sudanese-Egyptian extraction, who later came to settle in Nigeria as editor of a well-written weekly, the **Comet.** For some time Garvey was employed on the **African Times and Orient Review**, a monthly magazine published in London by Duse. He read **Up from Slavery** by Booker T. Washington and it was after this, as he later admitted, that the thought of being a leader of his people dawned upon him. Burning with excitement, Garvey hurried home from London. The first seeds of Garveyism were about to be sown.

Black Mass Movement

Garvey returned to Jamaica on 15 July, 1914. His brain was afire and his existence was a world of thoughts. Within five days of his arrival he organised and founded the movement whose name was destined to be on the lips of millions—The Universal Negro Improvement Association (U.N.I.A.) Briefly, the purpose of the Association was to unite all the Negro peoples of the world into one great body to establish a country and a government absolutely their own. Inspired by the lofty principles and high ideals, members poured in. In a fantatistically short time, the membership reached four figures. And on 23 March, 1916, whilst Europe was busily engaged in self-destruction after the fateful shots at Sarajevo, Marcus Garvey arrived in the United States. Unwittingly, he had found the correct stage for his magnificent design.

The revolutionary and tireless Garvey travelled extensively in the United States and quickly sensed the mood of frustration and alienation among the black masses, a mood that was to be accentuated during the post-war economic crisis in which, as usual, the black urban masses were the hardest hit. He thus communicated to a most receptive audience and consequently touched off a spark, which soon developed into a gigantic conflagration.

The base of Garveyism was set up in Harlem, the fast-growing black metropolis which exemplified all the ills of the black urban community. There, in 1917 he established the first North American branch of the U.N.I.A. Within a few years, the Garvey Movement developed into the first major black mass movement in the United States with a significant following in the Caribbean, Latin America and Africa as well, especially in Lagos, where a small but vigorous branch of U.N.I.A. was actually established in mid-1920.

After 1924 the Garvey Movement went almost steadily on the decline despite brave attempts to rehabilitate it. The activities of this 'largely self-educated but supremely confident black man' brought him into conflict with the American authorities, and he was imprisoned, and subsequently deported to Jamaica in December 1927. For the next thirteen years until his death on 10 June 1940, Garvey, from his base in Kingston and from 1935 in London, sought to continue his role as a champion of the black man but without his earlier impact. The fire had finally gone out of the "BLACK MOSES".

But Amy Jacques, whose death was recently announced, unabatedly and courageously continued to propagate Garveyism and the noble work of her indomitable husband, the passionate apostle of 'back-to-Africanism'. Married to Garvey in 1922, Amy Jacques gained the satisfaction of sharing completely her husband's ideals and the unrewarding burden of leadership. She was the second wife of Garvey, the first being Amy Ashwood.

Garvey in his life time never ceased to acknowledge the distinct role of his wife in the great task of African redemption and promotion of black solidarity. During Garvey's absence in Atlanta prison, the U.N.I.A. was kept going chiefly by the courageous efforts of Amy Jacques. In a message to his followers at the beginning of his prison sentence, Garvey happily commended his wife to them:

> I entrust her to your charge, to protect and defend her in my absence. She is the bravest little woman I know. She has suffered and sacrificed with me for you; therefore do not desert her at this dismal hour, when she stands alone. I have left her penniless and helpless to face the world, because I gave you all but her courage is great.

"Africans Abroad and at Home"

Amy Jacques was a prolific writer, editor and publisher of the highest esteem. She was ever too ready and anxious to furnish research students of pan-Africanism with the relevant private papers of her husband, the pan-African nationalist **par excellence**. The present writer is a beneficiary of her kindness and generosity. Professor Essien-Udom once rightly described Mrs. Garvey as perfect a wife and companion to her husband as any woman possibly could be. She is survived by two sons, Marcus and Julius Garvey.

Taken together, the Garveys have rendered a great service to the African world. Marcus Garvey gave to the Negroes of the twentieth century a sense of self-awareness, a sense of pride and dignity that largely overcame the inferiority complex bred by centuries of 'racial and colour oppression'. He was unswervingly committed and dedicated to the cause of the "fatherland" or the black race. Garvey's stated goal was the political independence of Africa. In the editorials of his well-edited and highly esteemed weekly, **The Negro World**, he declared: 'Africa must be redeemed and all of us must pledge our manhood, our wealth, and our blood to this sacred cause'. Garvey was aware that 'all of us may not live to see the higher accomplishment of an African empire—so strong and powerful as to compel respect of mankind, but we in our life time can so work and act as to make the dream a possibility within another generation'. He was realistic. Every other activity of Garvey was either secondary or instrumental to this basic goal: the acquisition of political power in Africa by "Africans abroad and at home". This dream of Marcus Garvey is almost about to be fulfilled. With the formation of the O.A.U. dedicated to the liberation of the few remaining white minority ruled areas, Africa today surely "compels a lot of respect". African personality is indeed no longer an empty phrase. It has manifested itself in the councils of the civilised world. It is a reality.

Today, more than at any other period, Garvey's 'Back-to-Africa' dream is in the process of being realised. The intensified post-war struggle for African independence and the actual independence in black African countries, starting with Ghana in 1957, all served to encourage black Americans to identify with Africa. Our black 'soul' brothers and sisters have happily realised to their surprise that the image of Africa disseminated by some white people is a grossly distorted one. The land of 'half-naked cannibals and wild animals', which Afro-Americans were accustomed to seeing in movies, has been revealed to be largely a figment of Hollywood's imagination. Within the last sixteen years, almost every major black American leader has had the pilgrimage to Africa, and the rank and file are doing so in increasingly large numbers. Afro-Americans are today demonstrating their new conceptualisation of Africa and, in reality, of themselves. They now increasingly look upon Africa and their African heritage with less disdain and shame. Self-pride, the very essence of any people's struggle for equal rights, is being restored to many American blacks. Above all, there seems to be a fast-growing recognition on the part of black Americans that positive identification with Africa can be a major psychological weapon in their continuing struggle for human dignity in a still racist and hostile society; that, moreover, blacks do have many common problems which demand close co-operation. This, in essence, was what the Garveys were preaching all along.

Garvey's Influence in Africa

In Africa, too, the impact of Marcus Garvey, the patron saint of black nationalism and the progenitor of Black Power, on the struggle for independence has generally been acknowledged by many an African nationalist leader and scholar. Among the post-war African leaders it was Kwame Nkrumah who perhaps most explicitly practised and acknowledged Garvey's influence on his nationalism. On the eve of independence Nkrumah acknowledged Ghana's debt to Marcus Garvey. And in his autobiography Nkrumah stated that Garvey's **Philosophy and Opinions** did more to fire his enthussiasm than any other book. The late Ghanaian President also adopted the name of Garvey's steamship company, the ill-fated "Black Star Line", as the name of Ghana's national shipping line. Significantly, too, a black star is imposed on the red, green and yellow flag of Ghana. Another clear evidence is the name of Ghana's national football team, the Black Star. In the 1960 Republic celebrations Mrs. Garvey was the honoured guest of the Ghanaian Government.

Similarly, present-day African leaders such as Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia have in various ways acknowledged their indebtedness to Garvey's influence. In November 1966, President Kaunda told a delegation from U.N.I.A. (in Jamaica) how much the teaching of

Marcus Garvey, the founder of U.N.I.A., had helped him to build his new nation. In recognition of Garvey's contribution to African emancipation the Nigerian Government invited Mrs. Amy Jacques Garvey to the inaugural ceremonies of the installation of Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe as Governor-General in November, 1960. Among distinguished African scholars of our time, it is Professor Alex Kwapong, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, and Professor Essien-Udom of Nigeria, who have perhaps paid the greatest tribute to Garvey. In an extremely interesting and scholarly address to the Board of Trustees of the Phelps-Stokes Fund in New York on 16 May this year, Professor Kwapong, for instance, fittingly and admirably stressed the importance of Garvey's influence in the evolution of African-American relations. These are indeed the tributes to a man who, throughout his fifty-three years, never did set foot on African soil. The Garveys are gone but their stature will never cease to grow around the African world. And the Black Star will remain a symbol connected with the Garveys and Garveyism.

Play Review

WOLE SOYINKA AND RADIO

By

James Gibbs

WOLE Soyinka's most famous encounter with radio took place in 1965 when he was accused of holding-up a radio station after the turbulent elections in the Western Region. Eldred Durosimi Jones' valuable monograph on Soyinka almost completely disregards his contact with the medium, but, in fact, Soyinka has had a long and important relationship with radio and has written two fine plays for the BBC.

In 1951, the year he left school and was working in the Government Medical Stores in Lagos, Soyinka had a short story accepted by the Nigerian Broadcasting Service. This was followed by a twelve-minute radio play which he recently described as ' . . . seven-tenths derivation from the wit of the housewife comedy hour, a stock situation transferred from London suburbia to the Nigerian nouveau riche with an extravagant run of puns.' The first "offering" was followed by a 'second and far more pun-demented play.' In these works Soyinka was preparing himself for his famous telephone conversation, and more seriously, for the play on "beer" and "bier" in 'Post Mortem'. Recently he has published a crisp, satirical domestic drama, **Childe Internationale,** where crude verbal twists are carried along by firm characterization and a strong dramatic conflict.

While a student at Leeds, Soyinka gave a series of talks on the BBC about African Literature. These were criticised for being too elementary and for 'talking down' to the audience. These charges are unlikely to be levelled at Soyinka's more recent literary criticism or cultural analysis, such as "And after the Narcissist?" and "The Fourth Stage" which revel in profundity and sometimes seem to take a delight in obscurity. The talks on African Literature were followed by 'a part-narrative, part-interview and part-ballad' account of a canoe trip through Britain, which he describes as having been 'a flop.'

Soyinka has had radio productions of a number of his plays and revue sketches, and he has recorded 'Idanre' and an extract from 'The Man Died' for the BBC. But far more important than these are the plays which he has written especially for radio, **Camwood on the Leaves** and **The Detainee.** Both were transmitted in 1965, the latter in connection with the Commonwealth Arts Festival at which **The Road** was performed and for which 'Idanre' was commissioned. Neither of the radio plays has been published yet, but the former, which Soyinka described in 1966 as "one of his favourite" works, is due out as a Methuen Playscript later this year.

In **Camwood on the Leaves** the interest is focussed on Isola, the son of the Reverend Erinjobi and his wife, Moji. Isola has violated the narrow customs of his parents' community by eloping with his girl-friend Marounke, whom he has made pregnant. The play consists of a series of interwoven scenes in which nightmare and reality flow into one another and which build up to a confrontation between Isola and his father. Finally Isola, who is apparently no longer able to distinguish between his father and a threatening python, shoots the Reverend Erinjobi. Like most of Soyinka's plays, **Camwood on the Leaves** works through a series of contrasts and develops through a fluid structure. It is particularly interesting as a study of symbolism — the python and Isola's father are symbolically related; as an exploration of a mind wavering towards insanity — a state Soyinka has described in 'Massacre, October 66'; and as an assertion of the primary of personal relationships—Isola and Marounke simply accept one another. The difficulties of writing for radio, which Soyinka describes in a passage which I quote below, are not entirely overcome in this play. For example, Isola is too clearly a spokesman for Soyinka and Erinjobi is too much of a symbol and too little of a man. But despite this the play uses radio inventively and sensitively, it shows the versatile Soyinka establishing himself in yet another medium with authority.

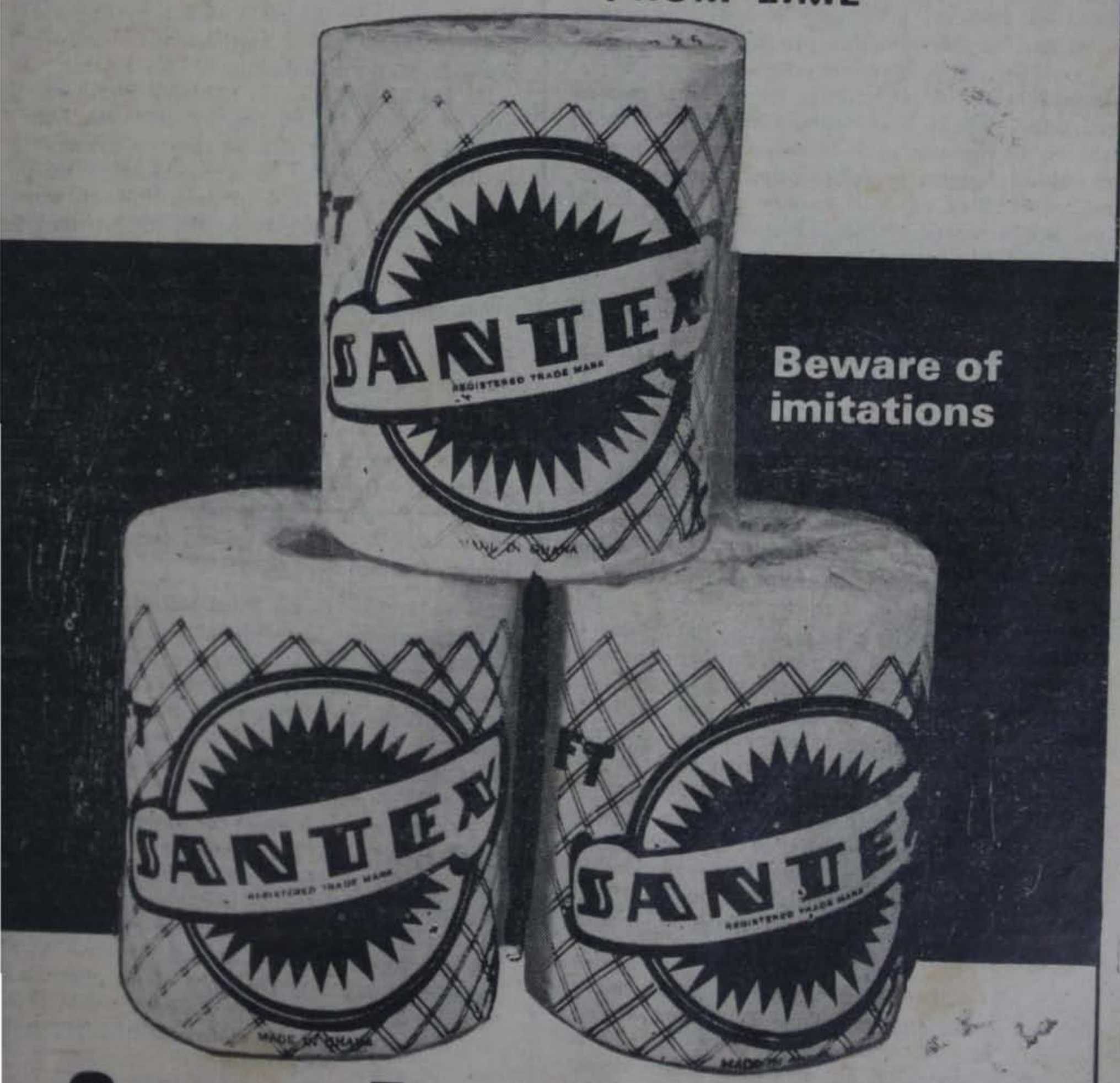
Political Comment

The Detainee was first broadcast in September 1965, six months after **Camwood on the Leaves** and near the end of a violent and corrupt election campaign in Western Nigeria. It reflects the political desperation that Soyinka felt as dictatorship replaced democracy, and weeds choked the flowers of freedom in fields which had looked so hopeful at Independence. The play is in the form of a conversation between two men who had been prominent in their country's struggle for freedom. One, Konu, is a detainee having ridiculed the rhetoric of the new nation and crossed Haruzai, the autocrat who had siezed power after independence. The other, Zimole, is a fat, frightened sycophant who has lost almost all his integrity, honesty and self-esteem. Zimole comes to tell Konu that his son has been involved in a plot to assassinate Haruzai and to ask whether the young man should be smuggled abroad. Konu, a part which was significantly played by Soyinka in the BBC production, holds the initiative throughout the conversation, reminds Zimole of the man he was and of the principles he upheld, and,

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finally, rejects the possibility of sending his son out of the country. There can be no easy escape, no abdication of responsibility. Both this play and **Kongi's Harvest** end with the clang of gates, and the resemblance is more than superficial. Both present the regimes of the mid-1960s from the perspective of the detainee, both examine the fall from grace which accompanied the rise to power in Independent Africa, both touch on the possibility of assassination and, most important, both emphasise the necessity for self-assertion, for refusal to compromise, for "living dangerously". More direct than **Camwood on the Leaves,** more political and less poetic, **The Detainee** shows once again an issue about which he has deep feelings as a play rather than as a polemic. This play deals with corruption but it does so with a wit and compassion which save it from becoming a soap-box declamation. In view of the commitment reflected in **The Detainee** and **Kongi's Harvest,** and in view of the tactics employed by Chief Akintola in the Western Nigerian election of 1965 the holding-up of the radio station can be seen as the inevitable product of passionately held and forcefully expressed convictions.

Soyinka is not only a creative writer, he is also an astute critic. Indeed it is doubtful whether his work would be as vigorous as it is unless he had brought fresh critical insights to African and European traditions. In March of this year he was one of the judges of the BBC's second 'Write a Play for Africa' competition, and his answer to the question "What new qualities do you find in the African radio plays you have read?" should be put on record. It illuminates not only a development in an important area of African writing but it also sheds light on his own experience as a radio playwright. He said:

> I found an increasing awareness of humanity in the deepest sense. In other words making comparisons . . . to previous plays of this kind there is an interest in human beings for their own sake and as individuals who occupy problematic positions in society not merely as mouthpieces for spouting the author's particular hang-ups. In fact there's a fascinating wealth of character study here in this collection which (is) also skillfully interrelated to the various themes of the plays. So that even when you have a play which deals with superstition, which has been one of the stumbling blocks to purely creative writing in many cases, you find yourself gripped by the interesting study of the characters involved. . . . Even (in) plays which deal with corruption it isn't getting on a soap-box and merely making denunciations. The whole problem comes crystal clear through the relationships of characters, their methods for survival. It is very, very clear vital pictures which are created by dialogue in all these plays.

Soyinka's observation about superstition and character studies are acute and revealing. Too often African playwrights have introduced superstition to add an exotic African touch to an otherwise dreary drama, or to provide a simple, 'theatrical' resolution to a tangled plot. One looks in vain for a Babalawo or for juju charms in Soyinka's plays. In his radio plays, and in **The Swamp Dwellers** and **Kongi's Harvest,** the difficulties of presenting problems 'through the relationship of characters' are not always overcome. Kainjohi, the Beggar in **The Swamp Dwellers** and Segi in **Kongi's Harvest** are insufficiently developed as individuals to carry the burdens of 'significance' which Soyinka thrusts upon them. But in these and other plays there are also numerous examples of characters, varied and vivid, who are individual enough to sustain a partly representative role.

Soyinka was subsequently asked what he regarded as the likely preoccupations of African radio playwrights in the future. He hesitated before assuming the role of a prophet and then said:

> A decided shift has been made. I think now that we're going to get more and more plays that are not merely competent, but also more frankly inward looking. . . There is going to be very little (escapist literature) of the kind we used to have in times past which fastened onto all kinds of very convenient and safe and quite undemanding themes. I think now the writers have got their teeth into society and they're going to respond more and more to the urge of their critical humanity.

Soyinka thus sees the radio play as moving away from the never, never land of negritude and responding to the demands of the tumultuous African present.

He has himself been so ruthlessly responsive 'to the urge of (his) critical humanity' that **The Man Died,** his account of the period he spent in detention is 'not available' in Nigeria. In a continent in which even established writers have drawers full of work they "cannot" publish. It may be that the African Service of the BBC will have to choose again and again between political expediency and transmitting plays about contemporary Africa. Having encouraged African radio playwrights so much, the BBC has an obligation to support them now that they have sunk their teeth deeply into their societies.

For The Record

Friday, October 5

Cocoa Price Raised

THE Government has with immediate effect raised the price of a load of cocoa weighing 60lbs from ¢10.00 to ¢12.00. In addition, bonuses will be paid to cocoa farmers at the end of the cocoa seasons.

It will be recalled that the National Redemption Council last year raised the price of a load of cocoa from ¢8.00 to ¢10.00.

On the Spot Fines for Motor Offences

THE Chief Justice, Mr. Samuel Azu Crabbe, disclosed today at the opening ceremony of the 1973-74 Legal Year that motor offenders would very shortly be served all fines relating to motor offences on the spot. Under a new system to be implemented this year, an offence slip will be issued at the scene of the offence and the offender, if he admitted the offence, would then only have to pay the penalty at the registry. The system is aimed at saving valuable time.

Saturday, October 6

Tyres Shortage to Continue

A SPOKESMAN for Firestone (Ghana) Limited has said that there will be a "tight supply" of vehicle tyres for the next six months. He pointed out that there was a world-wide shortage of tyres and that the raw materials

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onday, October 8

Botsio, Tettegah, Ayarna and Others for Tribunal

announcement from the Office of the National demption Council has revealed that five persons are stand trial for plotting to overthrow the government the N.R.C. The five persons are Kojo Botsio and nn Kofi Tettegah both former Ministers of the Nkru- h regime, Major Alexander Alangenona Awuviri of Ghana Air Force, Imoru Ayarna, an Accra business- n and founder of the disbanded Peoples' Action rty, and Albert Kwaku Owusu Boateng, a journalist. They were arrested on August 31, this year, at their t meeting before the D-Day at Imoru Ayarna's house the Achimota Forest.

ohn Alex Hamah, a Ghanaian businessman, resident Nigeria will, in a separate trial, face a similar charge subversion.

Lt.-Col. Benni Resigns

STATEMENT from the Office of the National Re- mption Council said today that the government has epted the resignation of Lt.-Col. C. D. Benni from membership of the National Redemption Council as Commisioner for Information.

esday, October 9

N.R.C. To Stay On

LONEL I. K. Acheampong, Head of State and Chair- n of the National Redemption Council, said in Accra ay that his government has no intention to hand over wer to civilians until it was satisfied that the economic oblems of the country were solved. He said that the hantment of getting into power blurred the good se and judgement of most politicians, inciting them o acts of subversion. He declared, "We shall not hand r power to politicians today or tomorrow, because we ow if we do so, they cannot achieve any better results the nation". He was addressing a 45-member dele- ion of cocoa farmers at the Castle, Osu.

Fish Harbour for Volta Lake

ANKWAKROM, a village on the banks of the Volta ke in the Eastern Region, has been selected for deve- ment into a commercial fishing centre to increase fish supply in the country. The centre will be equip- l with landing facilities for passengers and fishing ts, a boat-building factory, and a fish processing nplex. Also, well-equipped boats will be loaned to cted local fishermen who will sell the catch to the tre. This is contained in the annual report of the lta River Authority.

dnesday, October 10

Ghana Calls on Israel to quit Arab Lands

E Government of Ghana, in an official statement ed today in Accra, urged Israel to withdraw from b territories which she has occupied since the 1967 ddle East War. It said that the fresh outbreak of full tilities in the Middle East was a matter of deep cern to Ghana as it posed another grave threat to world peace. "The conflict", the statement said, "is a tragic reminder to the International Community that the restoration of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is an urgent necessity which can only be attained by the full implementation of Security Council resolution 242 of 1967".

Monday, October 15

Assets of Botsio and Others Frozen

THE assets and bank accounts of Mr. Kojo Botsio, a Minister in the Nkrumah regime, as well as those of his wife and four others have been frozen, according to a Legislative Instrument published in Accra yesterday. The others are Mr. John Tettegah, also a Minister in the Nkrumah regime, and his wife; Mr. Imoru Ayarna, a businessman and leader of the disbanded People's Action Party, and his wife.

Botsio, Teteegah and Ayarna are among five persons due to stand trial before a Military Tribunal on Wednesday October 17 on charges of conspiracy to commit subversion, subversion and concealment of subversion.

ADB Loan for Ghana

THE African Development Bank (ADB) has approved a loan of 1.3 million pounds sterling to the Ghana National Investment Bank for the extension of the Nasia Rice Project in the Northern Region. An official of the Investmenet Bank revealed yesterday that the details of the utilisation of the loan were yet to be worked out. Other countries which have similarly benefitted from the ADB are the Sudan, Liberia, and Sierra Leone.

Tuesday, October 16

Producer Price of Rice Raised

THE Government of Ghana has decided to raise the producer price of rice from ¢10 to ¢12. Colonel Frank Bernasko, Commissioner for Agriculture, who announced this, said that the raise was to encourage farmers to increase their produce and discourage the smuggling of rice out of the country.

Wednesday, October 17

Trial Begins Today

THE trial of Kojo Botsio, John Tettegah and three others accused of plotting to overthrow the N.R.C. opens today at the Burma Hall, Accra. The men face charges of conspiracy to commit subversion, subversion and concealment of subversion. The Attorney General and Commisioner for Justice Mr. E. N. Moore, will lead a team of attorneys for the State. The prosecution will call 15 witnesses and tender in evidence a number of documents in support of its case.

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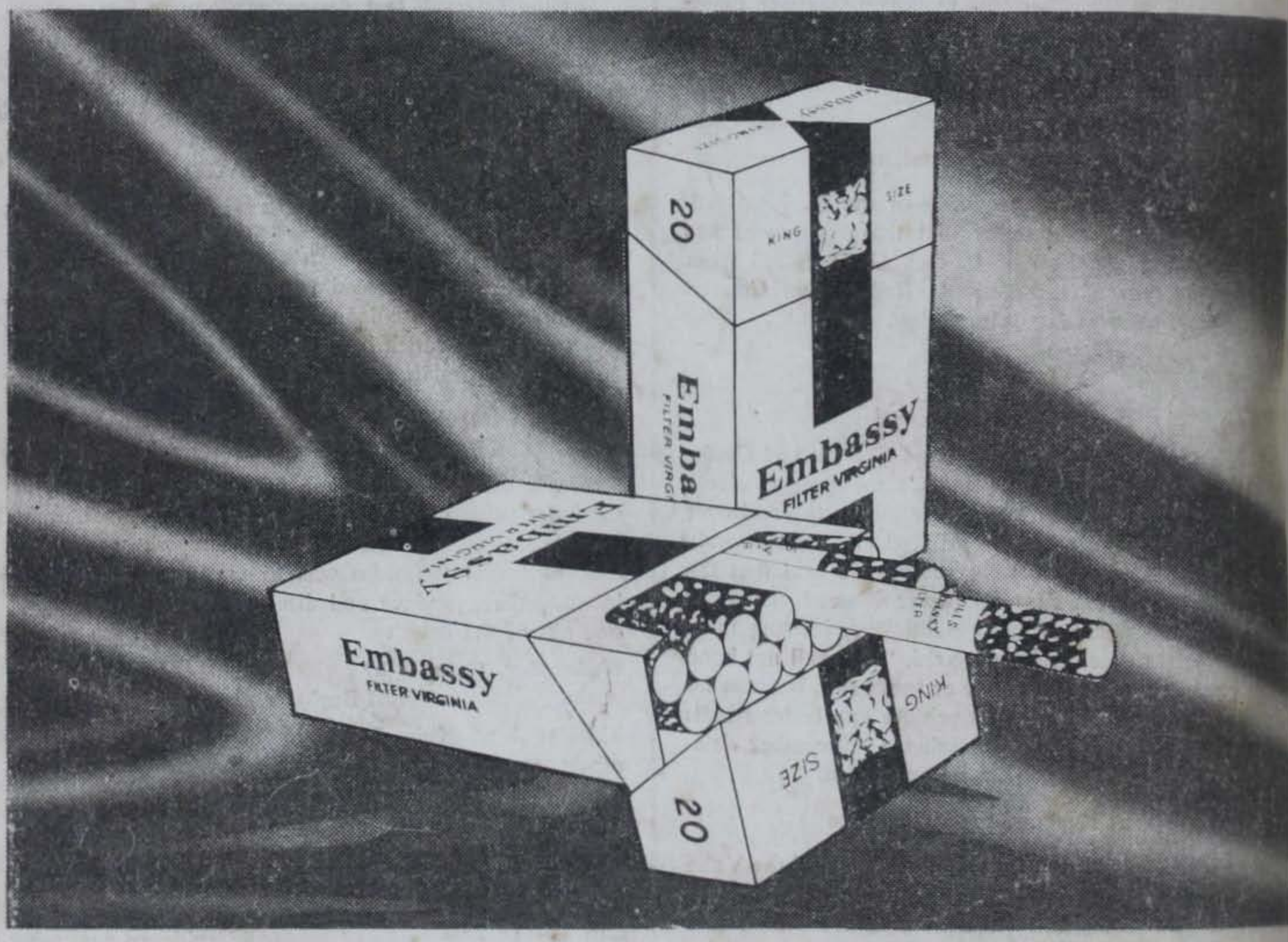
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Editorial

GHANA AND ISRAEL

GHANA'S decision to break off diplomatic relations with Israel must rank as one of the most painful steps which the Government has had to take, for Israel over the years had through various means built up an immense fund of goodwill not only among the people in authority in this country but within the populace generally. Many are the Ghanaians who have received training in Israel with Israeli funds in the fields of Medicine, Agriculture, Regional Planning, etc., and the other forms of assistance which this country as a whole has obtained from Tel-Aviv have been numerous and varied. The relative lateness of Ghana's decision, after about 20 members of the O.A.U. had already broken relations, attests to the fact that for the Government this has not been an easy issue over which a snappy decision could be arrived at. Indeed, the lateness suggests that very serious thought has gone into the making up of minds and even suggests an unwillingness on the part of the government to take the decision at all. However, it is our view that the severing of diplomatic relations, even though painful, was the only logical course of action to be taken in the circumstances. Our own Commissioner for Foreign Affairs had only a week before chaired a meeting of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee at which a resolution had been adopted calling for action against Israel, as, earlier, the O.A.U. summit had done.

It is often claimed that on the particular issue of the Arab-Israeli dispute, the O.A.U. is being exploited by the Arabs on this continent for support in a matter which only marginally concerns Africa. It is our view that such a claim is cynical. It is the worst form of opportunism to differentiate in this way between member states of the O.A.U., and it is especially heartless to perform such acts of discrimination at a time when a member state is beleagured by war. Egypt is no less an African state for being Arab and her membership of the O.A.U. is not on a part-time basis. Therefore, Israel's occupation of Sinai should rightly be a matter of concern to every member state of the O.A.U. Indeed some revolutionaries would even claim that Israel's occupation of Sinai poses in principle the same problem as Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. But we need to remember that Israel has always insisted that it holds the Arab lands as a buffer against Arab fury and to save the state of Israel from being overrun. In other words, there is a consideration of security which makes Israel's occupation of Sinai, though unacceptable, rather different from the brutal case of colonial domination that

we find in say, Angola.

The lateness with which Ghana's decision came raises another point which is not often noticed. Ghana, together with many African countries, broke off diplomatic relations with Israel at a time when a ceasefire was already in force in the Middle East and when some kind of talking was already going on between the two sides. This means that we should not deceive ourselves into thinking that our severing of diplomatic relations is a decisive factor in the recent Middle East developments which were in fact already going on without our help. We should see our action more as a symbolic gesture which shows solidarity with the O.A.U.

But even if lateness reduces its impact and makes it something of a symbolic act, the fact remains that the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Israel was not a pleasant decision for Ghana to make. And one of the reasons is that the extent of Israel's assistance to Ghana has been simply staggering; and the **Observer** believes it would be useful to take a brief look at some of it. Aside from the more obvious kind of aid in the form of training facilities to Ghanaian students to study such varied subjects as Medicine, Geography, Music, Engineering, Administration, Community Development, and Adult Education, Israel's aid in the form of Technical Assistance in the field of Agriculture has been immense. Again, Israel has extended training facilities to the Ghana Police Service; and the Ghana Air Force has enjoyed the supervision of several Israeli Air Force experts since Independence. It is worth remembering that Israel was very helpful in the establishment of the Ghana Nautical College, and that the G.N.C.C., now S.C.C., was set up with aid from Tel-Aviv.

In addition, an appreciable portion of Israeli activity in Ghana has taken the form of joint ventures between Israeli and Ghanaian entrepreneurs: for instance, the **Dizengoff** Company is a Ghana/Israeli trading firm. Other Israeli establishments include **Motorola** which is training Ghanaians in radio communications, **Zim Lines** (once a co-partner to the Black Star Line) which now acts as adviser to our National Shipping Line, and **Volta Petroleum Company** one of the firms engaged in oil exporation in Ghana.

It is on account of such massive assistance and co-operation most of which we have been unable to mention that the decision to break diplomatic relations with Israel has been such a difficult one for Ghana to make. But we repeat that it was in many ways an inevitable decision; and now that a more lasting ceasefire has been accepted in the Middle East and an exchange of some prisoners is being agreed upon, it is our hope that negotiations will begin for a more lasting solution to the dispute and that, in particular, this settlement will provide for the withdrawal of Israel from Arab lands, having guaranteed for Israel such security as will make it needless for her to pursue her disquieting policy of defensive expansionism.

A palatable aspect of Africa's unified support for Egypt is that we can now with reason expect the Arab African states, in the event of a more permanent settlement with Israel, to commit themselves more fully to the emancipation of the African countries still under the colonialist's bitter yoke or the racialist's oppressive harness; and this would be adequate recompense for our painful and possibly expensive gesture of solidarity.

International

THE UNITED NATIONS: TWENTY-EIGHT YEARS OF TRIAL

By
S.K.B. Asante

TWENTY-EIGHT years ago, on 24th October, 1945, the world's first global peace treaty—the Charter of the United Nations—came into effect. Conceived while the second world conflict was still raging and born before the guns were cold, the United Nations was to seek a lasting peace and a better lot for men. Today, more than a quarter of a century later, the world's Organisation and its agencies are accepted as indispensable instruments for global co-operation in practically every field of human endeavour. The instruments for survival, peace and progress on this interdependent planet have been forged. But the many useful activites of the United Nations should not blind us to its faltering and disappointing progress in the fulfillment of its primary objective. In this brief review, an attempt will be made to look back over the road that mankind has traversed since the victory over fascism twenty-eight years ago.

While there may have been doubts and misgivings as to how the primary objective of the Charter was to be achieved, there was and can be no doubt what the primary objective of the Charter was and is. It is not necessary to recite at length the purposes and principles of the Charter as enumerated in Articles 1 and 2 and as embellished in the Preamble. Paragraph 1 of Article 1 states the first and primary objective of the Charter—"to maintain international peace and security. . .". All of the other stated purposes and principles of the Charter are designed to strengthen and safeguard the primary purpose of maintaining peace among

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nations. The question that forces itself upon us is this: To what extent has the United Nations achieved its primary objective? And, perhaps, we may add: How far has the Organisation stood the test of time?

When the Charter was drafted, it was contemplated that the great powers would work out an acceptable peace which the United Nations could maintain. But a stable and acceptable peace—a consensus or modicum of common understanding on the basic principles of co-existence—was never established after the last world war. The great powers were in no position to co-operate to maintain a peace the terms of which they were unable to agree upon. Hence the task of the United Nations has been encumbered almost from the start by great conflicts. Its efforts to promote social progress has been hampered by discord and strife. It has been called upon to keep peace where there has been no peace in the hearts of men. It has been buffeted by the winds of racism and nationalism as the people of colonial territories have moved to rule themselves in freedom and to assert their right to speak, and vote, as equals in the forum of the nations. And, above all, in recent years, it has been beset by financial and constitutional crises threatening to bring it to a standstill and to tear it apart. Indeed, the very survival of the United Nations under these circumstances attests to humanity's essential need of the United Nations as an instrument of international co-operation in a world which has become increasingly interdependent despite ideological, national, and cultural differences and outlooks.

Ignoring the U.N.O.

Shortcomings exist in nearly every facet of United Nations operations. The most important of these is perhaps the abandonment of the basic law of the Charter. Professions of faith in the Organisation and the law of the Charter continue to be made by heads and governments in their formal addresses. But there has been a perceptible decline in the recognition and observance of the law of the Charter—in the obligation to seek peaceful settlement or containment of disputes through the UN before using or threatening to use force to resolve them. Charter obligations are becoming illusory and the Charter as the best hope of peace on earth is becoming a dying hope as some member states resort to war for the settlement of their differences without first at least invoking the good offices of the United Nations.

Thus, much to the utter disappointment of the peace-loving world, many problems have remained beyond the United Nations' realm of effective

influence. States have with disturbing frequency resorted to force or the threat of force without feeling even a sense of obligation of reporting their action in advance or even subsequently to the United Nations. One need only mention the Soviet Union in the case of Hungary and of Czechoslovakia, India in the case of Goa, and the United States in significant respects of the Guatemalan, Cuban, Dominican and Vietnamese episodes.

However, the situation during the twenty-eight years of United Nations existence cannot be all black nor all white. For despite the neglect of the pacific settlement functions of the Organisation, there is enough in the past activities of the United Nations to justify faith in its great potentialities. The United Nations ledger bears entries such as Iran, Kashmir, Palestine, and Cyprus, all of which represent situations which might have resulted in serious hostilities had the United Nations been unable to intervene.

The Middle-East

It is, however, worthy of comment that the United Nations by and large has been unable to bring about settlements of situations it has been able to stabilize. In other words, the United Nations has been able to bring hostilities to an end but not to resolve the issues that led to the hostilities in the first place. Hence such unhealed and intolerable wounds as the Middle-East problem of which the Organisation has been seized since 1947 still subsist. The United Nations has even been incapable of putting into effect some of its own resolutions as, for example, the Security Council's Middle-East Resolution of November 22, 1967. The current outbreak of the Arab-Israeli crisis is clear evidence of the United Nations' inability to produce long term solutions to crucial international conflicts. The continued existence of such unsettled, often emotion-laden issues has given rise to much frustration.

Similarly, although the United Nations has offered a powerful impetus to the aspirations of peoples of former trust and non-self-governing territories, and has exerted powerful political and moral pressure to step up the process of decolonisation, the fact remains that the Organisation has so far failed to bring this process to an end. It has proved unable to eliminate the remaining colonial strongholds in southern Africa, for example, strongholds which constitute a growing danger to development on the African continent.

It is indeed unthinkable that vestiges of colonialism should still remain with us as a stubborn reality. That millions of people are still deprived of their inalienable right to self-determination and independence is not only an anachronism in the modern world, but it also seriously undermines the effectiveness of the United Nations in its efforts to promote world peace and co-operation. The perpetuation of colonialism runs contrary to the purposes and principles of both the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But the United Nations does not have the political will to meet squarely this outright challenge to its authority.

Over the twenty-eight years of its existence the United Nations has done well, but it has not done well enough. There have been surprising disappointments, setbacks and failures in the course of its efforts to build a better world. It is unforgivable that so many problems from the past are still with us, absorbing vast energies and resources desperately needed for nobler purposes: a horrid and futile armaments race instead of world development; remnants of colonialism, racism and violation of human rights instead of freedom and brotherhood; dreams of power domination instead of fraternal co-existence; extension of ideological domains instead of mutual enrichment in the art of governing men to make the world safe for diversity.

Best Hope for Peace

While these antiquated concepts and attitudes persist, new threats and challenges which daily cry for the world's collective attention and care are crowding upon us: the dangers of aimless technology, the increasing discrepancy between rich and poor nations, the unchecked growth of populations, the deterioration of the environment and the excessive consumption of resources by insatiable societies and institutions. We certainly need an ever stronger United Nations to meet these great problems, old and new.

Yet, despite all its shortcomings, imperfections insufficiencies in terms of effectiveness, and failures the United Nations, even in its present position remains an organisation without an alternative, an imperative instrument of peace and peaceful solution of international controversies; it remains the most significant international forum in the struggle to preserve independence, the right of peoples to self-determination, accelerated economic development and promotion of international co-operation in peace and equality. Over its twenty-eight years of existence, the United Nations, in some important respects, has demonstrated its usefulness to the point where it would be difficult to visualize a world which did not have a United Nations. The United Nations even when we feel impatient seeing how much

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is still to be done, is the best attempt yet to transform mankind's aspirations into realities. We might well conclude, then, that the United Nations' problems are basically problems of growth and adjustment and not specifically signs of a decline.

WATERGATE, LAW AND COMMONSENSE

By

S. O. Gyandoh Jnr.

In a crucial sense, the Watergate affair, which has achieved global notoriety for some time now, may be considered as a test of the claim that the American Society stands for the ideals of democracy, ordered liberty and human dignity. The energetic and fearless newspaper reporting of journalists which eventually rudely awoke the national conscience and set in motion the sequence of events which culminated in the prosecution and conviction of several persons (for their complicity in the Watergate scandal of legally reprehensible political espionage) must rank as one of the finest manifestations of the value of a free press. The role of Federal Court judges of the type of the indefatigable Judge Sirica (who, among other things, ordered the production of the famed Watergate tapes by President Nixon) must be a constant source of inspiration for judges everywhere who are determined to at least ensure that posterity shall not pass upon them the ignominious judgement of being "spineless timorous souls", whose only claim to recognition is that they were once appointed, or elected, judges. And the devastating but fair manner in which Senator Sam Ervin's Special Watergate Committee has performed so far its arduous task of investigating the full extent and the surprisingly varied ramifications of the Watergate scandal, must command the admiration of all who value decency, no matter what their political colouring may be.

All this is fine and encouraging. But the most recent turn in President Nixon's handling of Watergate affair is apt to induce a sense of bewilderment among many of the more sensitive observers of the American scene. Mr. Nixon's summary dismissal of Special Watergate Prosecutor, Archibald Cox, has raised eyebrows in the United States and abroad and has compelled some of us to pause and reflect on the proper relations that must exist between the Executive branch of government, especially at the highest level, and the forces that stand for morality, decency and probity in public life. The resignation, in protest against Prosecutor Cox's dismissal, of the U.S. Attorney-General, Elliot Richardson, lends poignancy to the concern being shown within and outside the United States over Mr. Nixon's high-handed conduct in the Watergate affair.

One must allow that observations on the legality and/or propriety of Mr. Nixon's actions must be based on close and meaningful analysis of the constitutional allocation of powers within the United States. However, the concept of ordered liberty has universal relevance, and it is for this reason permissible to forgo such analysis and to concentrate rather on the need, in every decent society, to relate the express norms of the constitutional frame of reference to the more comprehensive social and political process of the body politic. Such an exercise is particularly appropriate in Ghana and other young countries of the international community of nations, because it is in this way that we can best assess our past experimentation with principles of governance that are not entirely home-grown, and look forward with confidence to future gropings for a viable system of constitutional government. The path of such future gropings can be illuminated considerably by sober and careful reflection on happenings elsewhere in circumstances similar to what is happening in America now.

Firing The Ghana C.J.

Let me give a concrete example of the point being urged. I happened to be on a visit to the United States when the late ex-President Nkrumah dismissed from office the then Chief Justice of this country following the Supreme Court's pronouncement of a judgement (in a treason trial) which was seen by many as unpalatable to the Government of the day. At that time, I was subjected to a barrage of what I considered then, and still consider, as healthy questions on why the President of any country should **unconstitutionally** "fire", as the Americans say, a high judicial officer for doing no more than performing his judicial functions. In spite of my correction that what the then President of Ghana did was entirely within his powers, as granted by our Constitution of that time, I was told that what the President did could only be done in a totalitarian or communist state and was assured that it could never happen in America. I fully shared the sentiments thus expressed, whose main thrust, as I see it, is that it is essentially indecent and uncivilised to dismiss a judicial officer — with or without the power so to do — simply because he has pronounced a judgement which is unacceptable to the person or body effecting such dismissal.

In my view, though special Watergate prosecutor Cox is not a judicial officer, similar considerations as above-stated should apply to his dismissal by the Chief Executive of the United States. Although Mr. Nixon describes the decision to dismiss Cox as "painful and agonising" it is patent from Attorney-General Richardson's protest resignation that the latter did not think it was imperative or even desirable that the special prosecutor be so summarily dismisssd. By his action, Mr. Nixon has dared the mainstream of public opinion in the U.S. to do its worst. He is saying, in effect, that he alone, as the nation's Chief Executive, has the constitutional power and final responsibility to appoint and dismiss a person in the position of Mr. Cox and that once he has performed this duty, it is not open to anyone to challenge his authority. This argument, coupled with Mr. Nixon's earlier exaggerated claims to absolute Executive privilege, give the lie to America's supposed adherence to the ideals of democracy, ordered liberty and human dignity which have been mentioned earlier in this article.

Concept of Ordered Liberty

It may well be that Mr. Nixon is legally right in arguing that he has the sole and undoubted power to dismiss Cox. Indeed subsequent and current efforts by the U.S. Congress to ensure that Mr. Cox's successor, if any, will be secured in his office and unanswerable to the Chief Executive would seem to lend credence to the legal position taken by Mr. Nixon. The question is, assuming that Mr. Nixon has the power to do what has been done is his action in consonance with the commonsense view that must be taken of the American constitutional system as a whole? More specifically, is Mr. Nixon's action in conformity with the concept of ordered liberty?

This is the crucial question that should legitimately concern us in this country. As a relatively young nation, we are entitled to watch critically how the long-established developed nations tackle cognate problems of how to maintain and preserve the "stability curve" in steering the ship of state, in moments of crisis as in normal times; and, so far as the present writer is concerned, Mr. Nixon's leadership in this crucial area does not offer an example worthy of emulation.

We may with profit look at a different kind of example from the other side of the Atlantic, namely, Britain, where the question of Executive Privilege of the type claimed by Mr. Nixon has received profound attention in recent times. In the now celebrated case of **Conway v Rimmer** (1968) the House of Lords (sitting as the Highest Court in England) ended a long, controversy over the Crown's claim to withold documents in its possession in any civil or criminal proceedings on the ground of public interest. Their Lordships in the House of Lords held that a Minister's certificate that disclosure of documents (whether specific or of a class) would be injurious to the public interest is not conclusive against disclosure; and the courts may inspect the documents without their being shown to the parties in order to reach a decision as to whether disclosure is justified. This was done in the case under mention.

Double Standards

It is, of course, arguable that Federal Judge Sirica's ruling that his Court was entitled to examine the controversial Watergate tapes to decide on the claim of Executive privilege by Mr. Nixon follows the line of reasoning adopted in **Conway v Rimmer.** But Mr. Nixon's stubborn rejection of the impact of high judicial reasoning both in the United States and in Britain (assuming that **Conway v Rimmer** has been brought to his attention by his able legal advisers) must disturb constitutional lawyers and critical observers everywhere, especially in the newer countries, where happenings of this type, have a way of exercising a magnetic influence on decision-makers at the highest levels.

We do not know the eventual outcome of the present constitutional crisis in the United States. As a recent visitor to the United States, I can say without any fear of contradiction that whatever the outcome, it cannot be said that the people of the United States have given up their long struggle for the establishment of a society based on the concept of ordered liberty and a sensitive concern for human dignity. What ought to be clearly understood is that the world community can ill afford the existence in juxtaposition of double standards, by which the conduct of those who govern is judged according

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to whether they belong to the developed nations or to the developing nations. It is to be hoped that the relatively long-established democracies, like the United States, will always remember that their positions of leadership thrust upon them a responsibility that transcends their national boundaries. This responsibility should be seen in mature responses to crises of the type of Watergate. This much is dictated by commonsense, not by any rules of law, national or transnational.

Africa

BIG DADA'S HISTRIONICS

By

P.A.V. Ansah

THERE is no doubt that in recent times no African leader has caught the attention of headline writers more than General Idi Amin Dada of Uganda; and all indications are that the Ugandan leader deliberately sets out to attract attention and to court popularity or notoriety, depending on how one looks at some of his antics. For the title of ace public performer in Africa he was challenged sometime ago by General Bokassa of the Centrafrican Republic—that President who proposed to solve the May 1968 troubles in France by challenging Cohn-Bendit to a single combat, who cried loudly—not wept—at De Gaulle's burial, who personally led soldiers into prisons to beat up prisoners and administer instant correction, and who is constantly dressed up in either trendy playboy suits or in heavily bemedalled military uniform. Of late, however, President Idi Amin stands unchallenged as the top performer on the African scene.

Since General Amin took over power from President Obote in the manner that is almost becoming the African norm, he has taken some very radical measures which have won him the admiration of African patriots both within Uganda and elsewhere on this continent and beyond. Those who knew the situation in Uganda were unanimous in thinking that the "Asian problem" had to be solved as a precondition for making it possble for Africans to live as first class citizens in their own country. The problem had grown almost desperate and called for equally desperate measures, and in his own original and effective manner, Amin provided the solution. As the General himself has boasted on more than one occasion, he has taught Britain to accept her responsibilities for the welfare of a minority group of British citizens, and he is perfectly right. I am certain that when the details of their departure come to be relegated to footnotes, most of the Asians in the final analysis will be grateful to Amin for having helped them to attain an objective—settling in Britain—which successive British governments, Labour and Conservative alike, had continually refused them. To most of the ex-Ugandan Asians, Amin has obtained for them a right—or is it a privilege?—which would have taken them years of begging and subterfuge to obtain through the regular channels.

All this is granted, but did the sacking of the Asians need to be attended by the callousness which Amin displayed? And was it necessary for him to declare seriously that he had decided to sack the Asians on a cue from God or Allah through a dream? Certainly one does not expect a serious leader to base his acts on the recommendation of soothsayers or on visionary promptings! And even if the General had a dream in which his duties were clearly spelt out to him, could he not rationalize on it and give the world a serious explanation of his acts instead of presenting himself only as a tool in the hands of Providence?

Courting Cheap Popularity

Let me not be misunderstood. I fully endorse the General's action on a rational basis, even if I don't approve of the details of carrying out the design, but I profoundly deprecate the comic antics which accompanied the execution of the plan. For, come to think of it, several actions by political leaders have no solid basis in rationality, but in presenting them to the public, efforts are made to give them some veneer of rationality. This practice appears to be the opposite of what the General believes ought to be the case: actions which are perfectly justifiable on the basis of reason are presented to the public in such an incoherent, inarticulate and comic manner as to devalue them in the minds of serious-minded people.

One cannot escape the impression that General Amin has a complex for courting publicity, and does not bother how cheaply he comes by it. Take for example his reaction on hearing of the engagement of Princess Anne: he sent a message to the Queen expressing his delight at the news and suggesting that if he got an invitation he would certainly attend the wedding. From all indications the invitation the general has begged for has not been given, and if the general acts true to character, the world may yet be treated to another verbal free show as the wedding draws near.

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Air Force plane with a Scots guard to take him to Ottawa. When the request was properly turned down, the general in his own inimitable logic suggested that it was all a plot to keep him out of the conference because Edward Heath was afraid of meeting him in person. Asked in the course of a B.B.C. interview why he made such a request, the general explained that a plane to take him to the conference was his entitlement since the Queen was his former Commander-in-Chief!

Amin and Nyerere

Before all this there was the unfortunate misunderstanding between Uganda and Tanzania, following the abortive attack on Uganda by pro-Obote forces. There followed a series of altercations between the leaders of the respective countries. While President Nyerere displayed the maturity of a statesman caught in a tight corner, General Amin behaved like an immature schoolboy gleefully exploiting the discomfiture of an opponent on a minor issue. Individual African leaders intervened and some form of reconciliation was arrived at. In a bid to show that he bore President Nyerere no malice, General Amin sent him a note in which he expressed his love for his colleague and went further to suggest that he loved President Nyerere so much that if Nyerere had been a woman he would have married. . .him/her despite the grey hair Nyerere had on his head. I am sure that knowing Amin as well as he does, President Nyerere must have been relieved and most grateful to God he is not a woman!

Then there was the deplorable telegram General Amin sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in which he posthumously congratulated Adolf Hitler on his extermination of millions of Jews. I am not interested in the general's feelings towards the Jews, but it is worth remembering that no serious Arab leader has so flagrantly endorsed the massacre of the Jews in a public statement with the same regrettable callousness as the Ugandan strongman. This same general, unsolicited, sent a telegram to President Nixon when the latter was indisposed, wishing him "speedy recovery from Watergate". To somebody with a literary turn of mind, there is an interesting play on words—cruel thought it is—which must certainly have been lost on our general. I think he was just trying to be gratuitously provocative and impertinent so as to get the world to take some notice of him. The Watergate scandal is a disgraceful affair which has exposed the weaknesses—and strengths—of the American system. But I grow impatient of any African leader who tries to capitalise on it, because in both Uganda and almost everywhere else on this continent, the scandal would not have come out. Some president or general would have decreed that "the matter (was) closed and buried forever" and so it would be. In the general's own country the officials of the press and other organs of the state who would have been audacious enough to raise the lid off such a scandal would simply have disappeared, and everybody would have found this normal. And yet the general has the cheek to make an unconscious pun on that sorry affair!

Idi Amin and Golda Meir

The general's eccentricities did not end here. Shortly after the recent Middle East war erupted, he undertook to visit some Arab countries to show his solidarity. Nothing wrong with that; nor is there anything wrong with the fact, as evil tongues have revealed, that he appeared before his Arab hosts wearing the paratrooper wings offered him by the Israeli Air Force. That was only a minor blunder; after all the Israelis were some of his best friends at the beginning of his political ascendancy. Other African leaders have shown their solidarity towards our Arab brothers in sober and less spectacular ways, but even at this tragic hour the general felt that he owed the world the duty of providing some comic relief. He let it be known that he is a giant of a man — six feet three inches tall — and an ex-heavyweight boxing champion of his country. He further advised — or invited — Mrs. Golda Meir, the Israeli Prime Minister, to put on her knickers and run off to Washington before she is fully consumed by the approaching fires. I personally think that this is the absolute limit. Even in the so-called liberal, permissive and blase world, it is still offensive to decent taste and pious ears to speak of women's knickers in respectable society. And to think that this comes from a head of state, and the head of an African state!

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The foregoing is only a small sample of General Amin's disastrous and obscene outbursts. As far as decorum in public utterances is concerned the man is an embarrassing problem to his own country, but I think we in this part of the continent have some interest in the manner in which African leaders comport themselves in public. If an African leader displays maturity the credit redounds upon us all; similarly, if the head of an African state swears mortal hatred towards decency, maturity and ordinary good taste, we all share the embarrassement and the disgrace. That theatrical general wants to be told that some of us are not amused by his capricious and indecent outbursts, even as mere comic relief!

I suspect that my strictures on the general's abundant lack of manners may sound intolerably bourgeois or reactionary or even perverse to some new-fangled radicals in these parts. Some people too may even accuse me of being so frivolous as to be more concerned with Amin's methods than with the substance of his policies. I shall not be impressed by any such sentiments because I am convinced that a certain amount of diplomatic propriety and finesse is expected of anyone who takes it upon himself to rule a nation or to pontificate on world problems. I do recognise that the general's original vocation does not especially predispose him to gentleness of manners or felicity of language, but I maintain that since he is operating on a different level and in a different context, he should learn to conduct himself and refine his utterances in a manner that befits his present station. After all, our continent has several other soldier-politicians who yield no ground to anyone in decency of behaviour and refinement of language, at least in their public conduct and utterances.

I am certain that if it had been some wretched white leader who periodically entertained the world to such quixotic exhibitions of bravado and crudity, we Africans would have been at his throat. If we want to avoid being accused of maintaining double standards, then it is in our interest to use all necessary avenues to restrain General Idi Amin Dada from inflicting on the world any more of his histrionics and effusions.

I am hereby appealing to General Amin's friends, colleagues and equals to advise him to refrain from providing the world so cheaply with farcical interludes at such disturbingly regular intervals. He needs to be told that if he has catapulted himself into the exalted position of a head of state he should behave with at least an elementary version of the decorum attaching to that high office. It is bad enough to be said of somebody in Amin's position that he is making a nuisance of himself, but one cannot escape the conclusion that the general has gone beyond that stage and become a gigantic embarrassement not only to his country but to the whole of the continent. Those who want to be entertainers are well advised to do so in their own homes or at a professional level, but I think it is a little too much to combine the demanding duties of a head of state with that of a public entertainer on a world scale.

The Economy

THE INCREASE IN PRODUCER PRICES: A COMMENT

By

T. K. Buxton

IN RECENT weeks the producer prices of three agricultural commodities have been increased. The price of cocoa has been raised from ₵10.00 per load of 60lbs; that of rice, also from ₵10.00 to ₵12.00 per bag; and that of cotton from 8p to 10p per lb, the highest in the market in Africa. In each case the price increase is expected to check smuggling and/or stimulate production.

In the **Legon Observer** Vol. VIII No. 21 the present author examined the case of cocoa and showed why the expectations are not justified. At the time that article was written the cocoa price was the only one that had been changed. But with the announced increase in the prices of two other commodities, all within a week, one wonders whether other increases would not follow and whether the whole exercise is not ill-conceived.

Presumably, the expectations of the policy makers for a rise in production is based on the elementary economic principle that, other things equal, the higher the price of an item, the greater the quantity that would be supplied. But this principle assumes availability of finance, expertise, and all other resources needed for production. Such an assumption is untenable for the agricultural sector of Ghana today; and if farmers do not have the financial resources and the technical know-how, it is idle to expect that an increase in the price of a produce would bring about any increase in its output. It is in this respect that the decision by the Cotton Development Board and the Agricultural Development Bank to grant loans to cotton farmers in the Eastern Region to help them prepare their land for sowing and also to supply improved seeds, fertilisers, insecticides and spraying machines free of charge is

commendable. It cannot be overemphasized that such improvements in supply conditions do in the long run achieve a greater impact on output than price increases.

Supporters of the price increases might argue that even if most of the resources needed for investment are supplied gratis few farmers would take to the cultivation of particular crops if their prices are so low that profit margins are minimal. But this means that profit margins are what the Government must consider in its bid to increase production and profit margins depend not only on prices but on production costs as well. It is not known how the recent increases in price were decided upon, but it is highly doubtful if they were based on any observed increases in production costs. The question then is, if prices have been increased any how and if costs of production have actually increased more than proportionately, say because resources are in short supply, how would the expected increases in production come about? Or is it being supposed that the farmers suffer from a money illusion?

Objective Criterion

This leads to another point—the timing of the price increases. In the past the increases have generally been announced at the beginning of the harvest and not at the time of cultivation. It would be agreed that where the long run patterns in a market have not been studied, the producer price of an export commodity like cocoa which must necessarily relate to the world F.O.B. price over a period cannot be announced until harvests have been estimated and expectations regarding the world price have been formed. But what of a local crop like rice? Since the Government would not allow free market forces to determine the price and is apparently interested in raising production, would it not be more expedient if the price is decided upon, on the basis of some objective criterion, say cost plus profit, and announced at the time of cultivation so that prospective farmers can make more certain profit calculations and reach meaningful production decisions? The wisdom of the present approach is not easy to see, except that it puts more money into the pockets of the farmers. Needless to say, total output in a particular year is always about the same as it would be without the price increase. On the other hand, if the price increase is granted at the time of cultivation it cannot be denied that some otherwise sub-marginal farmers could be induced to undertake production.

The expectation regarding smuggling is even more suspect. It appears the price of rice, for example, is not controlled in the neighbouring countries. If that is so, and if, as is the case at present, famine rages in one of them (the Upper Volta) so that the price of rice is likely to be excessively high there, one wonders how the increase of ₵2.00 per bag in the price in Ghana is going to check smuggling if the preventive officers would not or cannot do their work.

But perhaps the price increases are simply meant to give the farmers more money in line with the recent decision to review and increase the incomes of low income earners in the government sector. If this is the case, no one begrudges the farmers' share, for it is not often they are included in such income review exercises. The point that worries the minds of some Ghanaians at present is that even in this particular case where the increase earnings need not be inflationary because, as argued earlier, price increases announced at the time of cultivation and backed by appropriate supply efforts would stimulate production, it appears careless policy making is still going to frustrate the nation.

In conclusion the following points would be noted:

(1) that price increases, by themselves, might not raise production. They must be supported by carefully designed improvements in supply conditions;

(2) that producer price increases announced at the time of cultivation are more beneficial than those announced just before the harvest; and

(3) that if prices must be fixed by the Government then they must necessarily be based on a proper appraisal of facts; in this case those relating to costs of production.

Is it too late getting the Prices and Incomes Board to fulfil its proper role in this country? Far too many of our price decisions are 'ad hoc' and carelessly thought out.

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Observer Notebook

The Purpose of University Education in Ghana Today

When the University of Ghana was founded some twenty-five years ago, the purpose of University education as conceived by the founders and certainly by the first principal of the University was the provision of a liberal and not an utilitarian type of education. Nothing illustrates this better than the first set of departments in the faculties of Arts and Social Studies that was established. This set included Classics, Philosophy, Theology, Archaeology, English, History, Economics, Geography and Sociology. Professionally orientated courses such as Law, Statistics, Administration, Library Studies, Journalism etc. were frowned upon and regarded as unacademic and rather American, and well into the early fifties, the most popular subjects in this University were certainly Sociology, Political Science, which hived off from the Department of Economics, History, English and Geography, roughly in that order.

A careful analysis of the choice of subjects in the Faculties of Arts, Social Studies and Law by A-level students seeking admission into the University of Ghana this academic year throws a most illuminating though for those of us steeped in the liberal tradition of University education a rather disturbing light on the purpose of University education at least as conceived by the students themselves today. Of the sample of 287 students who applied for admission, 130 of them selected Administration as their first choice, 83 selected Law, 17 selected Political Science, 14 selected Modern History, 13 selected Economics, 10 selected English, 9 selected French, 4 selected Sociology, 3 selected Geography, and one selected each of Archaeology, Religions, Linguistics and Mathematics. In other words, the key subjects in the University of Ghana today in a descending order of popularity are Administration, Law, Political Science, Modern History, Economics, English, French, Sociology and Geography. That the first two tower very high above the rest is evident from the fact that as many as 213 out of our sample of 287 students made those two subjects their first choice. It is rather revealing that not a single student put down Latin, Greek, Russian, Ancient History, or Philosophy as a first choice.

These figures more than speak for themselves as far as the conception of these students of

the purpose of University education goes. Administration and Law are the only courses in the Faculties of Arts, Social Studies, Law as well as the School of Administration that are directly professionally orientated hence their popularity, and that as many as 130 of the total of 213 preferred Administration even to Law is a further indication of the preoccupation of these students. Obviously, it has dawned on our students that the field of Law is getting glutted while that of Administration is still virtually virgin, and this hunch of the student is borne out by a recent survey conducted by the Careers Advice Centre of the University into employer attitudes to University graduates. According to the findings of this survey, most employers prefer graduates with specific qualifications preferably in Administration and Economics.

These conclusions are a little disturbing to some of us. In the first place are Universities in Ghana now being looked upon as places for the training of professional people? Admittedly, the country's man-power requirements demand a diversification in the courses offered at our universities but does this mean that universities should now be regarded as glorified polytechnics or technological institutes? Secondly, if the fields of Law and Administration become as glutted as, say, that of the Civil Service which has hitherto been the principal absorber of Liberal Arts graduates, what next then? Will students then stop entering the Liberal Arts Department of the University of Ghana and concentrate, say, on Cape Coast University which is supposed to produce graduate teachers for the secondary schools and training colleges? And when the teaching-field does reach its saturating point what happens?

In our opinion, the present trend is disturbing and calls for some immediate mea to halt it. While not fully subscribing to the teenth century conception of University educ as mainly for the culture of the intellect, while not continuing the centuries' old deba utilitarian versus liberal education, it is still ou belief that Universities must be considered as where one develops and sharpens one's intelle capacities and prepares oneself for the di job of living, rather than as a place fo acquisition of specific professional skills. W admit the need for, indeed the urgency of, skills but we would like to see them acq after and not during the primary degree In this sense, should not Law, Account Business Management etc. be made post-gra or post-degree courses? Surely, what a ra developing country such as ours needs m not well-trained but narrow-minded profess and technicians, but well-educated citizens trained minds and a good general educ and therefore versatile enough to fit into as positions especially of an administ or managerial kind as possible. It is surel this reason that the University of Ghana has turned away from the old degree structure, encouraged narrow specialisation, in favour more broadly-based degree structure. T a move in the right direction, and the Univ should see to it that this move is not frus by the mundane considerations and opport of its future students.

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Letters

Self-Reliance and Expatriate Missionaries—Rejoin

SIR—I should like to make a few remarks on the which appeared in the **Legon Observer** VIII/20, Viewpoint, entitled **Self-Reliance and Expatriat sionaries**, by R. A. Ampomah.

It appears the writer in that article was r against the Public Services Commision's adverti for certain vacant posts which began thus: "Appli are invited from suitably qualified Ghanaians a patriate missionaries . . .". I do not blame the for the emphasis he placed on the words "exp missionaries" but I think he needs to be inform the principle of self-reliance adopted by the N. not opposed to accepting help from outside wh some reason such help cannot be obtained from Self-reliance is not the same as self-sufficienc Ghana Government White Paper on the Out Ghana's Investment Policy has this to say: "Th ciple of self-reliance means that Ghanaians **as far as possible**, (emphasis mine) rely on the human and material resources for the economic d ment of the country". This of course, leaves ro asking others to help us when we are in difficul

ough the writer picked on the advertisement of the uic Services Commission, it was nevertheless clear h he was blaming the missionaries, and for that ner, the Churches for the advertisement, because they hold by now have been able, according to him, "to m even the least intelligent people in the world to nage all of their own affairs long ago".

nce the writer chose to dwell on the girls' institu- ions I would have thought that he would take the trou- ble to find out what efforts the missionaries and the rch leaders have been making to find Ghanaian acements in those institutions before writing his cle. He stated the following: "If it is true that our ion schools cannot recruit top staff locally, then ly there is something basically wrong". It is easy out the blame on the missionaries and the Church ers, but if only we take the trouble to investigate, shall realise that when it is a question of girls' ols there is a problem in getting suitably qualified naians to fill top posts. The young Ghanaian woman duate starts teaching after leaving the University, before she is able to satisfy the number of years ired by the Ministry of Education for the Headship Assistant Headship, you invariably find that she has eave that school because she is either married or ut to get married to someone who is not working in same place, and therefore has to go away to live her husband. Men do not usually leave their jobs oin their wives, so it is usually the woman who, e wants to save her marriage, has to relinquish her . If in her new station there is no female institution would have to go into a male institution where chances of being head or assistant head are very

e cannot sincerely blame our women graduates who us that they cannot accept certain top posts because heir family obligations. And if this is the case, why we pick on an advertisement which only seeks to e it possible for certain posts which must be filled e filled? It would have been a different case if the ter had cited an example in which preference was n to an expatriate missionary even though an equally ably qualified Ghanaian had applied for the same t. As I see it, the advertisement referred to by Ampomah is only trying to make sure that the posts g advertised are applied for. The Public Services mmission out of experience knows that it is difficult get suitably qualified Ghanaian women who are able willing to accept such posts at short notice.

Mr. Ampomah in conclusion suggested strongly that Public Services Commission should re-advertise the ts and omit any reference to expatriates, missionary otherwise, but it will be interesting to find out if it is ause of the reference to expatriate missionaries, that suitably qualified Ghanaians did not apply in the t instance.

May I be allowed finally to say that the Churches, least, if not all Ghanaians, are still very grateful for dedicated service being rendered in our female insti- ons by expatriate missionaries and we hope they not be disturbed unduly by the article under review. of the Church urge them to have courage and keep the good work they are doing. May God bless the rts of these very dear expatriate missionaries.

tholic Schools (Ghana) **Rev. Father. H. Senoo**
. Box 54 **Education Secretary**
cra

SIR—Is your correspondent Mr. Ampomah a racialist who likes apartheid? If not, why does he object to people with white skins teaching in Ghana? If the missionaries built the schools, it is only fair for some missionaries to teach in them. There is plenty of opportunity for Ghanaians to teach in other schools, or to open schools, for Ghana is a free country.

There is some advantage in having Ghanaian teachers; they are often good disciplinarians and unlikely to be deceived by lies and excuses from the boys and girls who have broken the rules. But there are some advantages in expatriate teachers. Firstly, they speak fluent and idiomatic English. Secondly, the sort of person who becomes a missionary on purpose is not going to grouse about long hours, discomfort, and salary nine months in arrears, (That did happen once, but at an independent school) nor will they embezzle the fees, nor will they cook the examination marks, nor if they are men teaching in a mixed school, will they annoy the girl boarders at night. If they had wanted to do these things, they would not have been missionaries. Thirdly, some of them come from Universities where every undergraduate has an hour with his tutor every week, being taught. Unless Legon and Cape Coast are prepared to do this, they must admit that their students, however brilliant, will be less well taught than the expatriates, unless they go to England after graduating at Legon.

Mr. Ampomah's statistics are misleading because they refer to science only. Can he produce similar ones for Latin, Greek, and Ancient History?

15 High Street **Daphne Hereward**
Toller Porcorum, Dorchester
Dorset, England

Transport for Non-Resident Students

SIR—One should have thought that the University of Ghana is more directly responsible for the welfare of its students than the Accra-Tema City Council. It is thus strange to read in your editorial (**L.O.** VIII/21) a suggestion that the City Council should make special arrangements for the transportation of the University non-resident students.

The City Council does not operate the public transport service anyway. Furthermore, the performance and resources of the Omnibus Services Authority, as is well-known by 'the masses' especially, is a mere token contribution to the solution of the transportation problems in Accra.

On the other hand, the University of Ghana has a fleet of buses which convey its workers to Accra at specific periods, and do nothing in the meantime. As things stand it is not a pleasing sight to see empty University buses hustling along the roads towards Legon to close for the day, while people stand in queues for long hours and stampede to board rickety tro-tros.

Add to this state of affairs the fact that the University knows what demands it requires its students to fulfil, and what schedules (including African Studies lectures at 8 o'clock in the night). Do these conditions then not place the responsibility of making transport facilities available to these 150 non-resident students squarely at the door of the University of Ghana?

G.26 Legon Hall **Ike Minta**
University of Ghana
Legon

G.N.T.C. and Crash Helmets

SIR—The G.N.T.C. Motors, the sole distributor of Honda motor-cycles in the country, do not seem to care about the safety of Honda motor-cyclists. The Honda motor-cycle 125cc in particular is supposed to be sold with a crash helmet. This is true when you look at the top of the fuel tank where there is a reminder about personal safety and the wearing of a helmet. Somewhere again at the lower part of the back seat there is a "Helmet Holder". But what happens currently is that Honda motor-cycles are sold without this vital accessory —the helmet.

It is therefore clear in the case of Honda motor-cycles that helmets provided by the manufacturers are always detached and sold separately not only to motor-cyclists but to anybody who cares for any, including the jockey and the miner! This is certainly not in the interest of the motor-cyclist and cannot be a healthy practice. Helmets like certain motor spare parts are not easy to come by. For this reason, the price of the Honda helmet which is about ¢24.00 (at Tamale G.N.T.C. Motors) should be included in the selling price of the Honda motor-cycle so that the buyer is saved the trouble of having to look elsewhere for a helmet or extra money to buy one in the case of a government loan beneficiary.

Granting that some motor-cyclists could even ignore their personal safety by not using a crash helmet, could they equally ignore police action against them since it is a traffic regulation that they should use helmets? I doubt it. In order to ensure the safety of motor-cyclists in the country and help them to avoid unnecessary trouble with the police, it would be appropriate if the Ministry of Transport and Communications passed a ruling obliging all motor-cycle firms and dealers equip their motor-cycles with crash helmets befo selling them to the public.

Oguaa Hall, **B. J. L. Kum**
University of Cape Coast
Cape Coast

Improving Ghana Airways' Services

SIR—In making the following observations, I hope convey to the Management of Ghana Airways t awareness that the criticisms that your journal h carried are meant not to run down the Corporation, b rather to make it the kind of airline that we could be proud of.

As a result of fairly extensive air travel in four co tinents, I have observed that standards of efficiency a courtesy in our part of the world are somewhat lo Luckily for us in Ghana, we have an international ai port that gives us an advantage over other airports neighbouring countries. It is therefore imperative th we attempt at least to match the kinds of services th air travellers expect and do get in other parts of th world. And much of this we can do without having t install any further equipment.

Take the matter of issuing boarding passes fo instance. Why on earth cannot the ladies who perfor this duty present themselves at the counter at the sam time as the baggage checkers do, so that tense traveller can go through both operations smoothly downstair before they go upstairs? Instead, the ladies tend to show up long after many passengers have checked in thei

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4 COMMONWEALTH STUDENTS ASSOCIATION	17TH DEC. 1973	—	19TH JAN. 1974

For further information, all interested persons should please contact Ghana Airways Airtours Lt 41 Liberty Avenue (Cocoa House), P.O. Box 4636, Accra, Telephone 21921 or 24801 or 12 Old Bo Street, London W.1 Phone 01-449-0201/7.

VISIT FRIENDS AND RELATIONS

M. K. SENCHER
General Mana

ggages, they smile at no one and, in their anxiety to ake up for lost time, they sometimes assign the same at to more than one passenger.

Another stage, in my experience, which presents unecessary annoyance to air travellers is the anti-hijacking curity check. One night in September when I was in e queue for this check, I noticed that some uniformed officials (possibly of the Department of Civil viation) were helping some passengers to jump the cue in full sight of those who had civilly lined up. ch a practice is as cheap as it is crude. Where were y hurrying to, anyway, since we had all been assigned ats already?

A third annoyance, which Ghana Airways must reove at once, is the practice of piling passengers' luggage at the foot of the gangway and expecting every ssenger to know (even on dark nights) without being ld that they must identify their luggage before climbg on board. This again is a crude procedure. What rlines do elsewhere is to write passengers' names on e baggage tag, load the bags, cross check these names th the names on the boarding passes which are collected at the foot of the gangway and assure themselves that one has put an explosive Trojan horse in the baggage mpartment and failed to board the plane. In such an entuality, efforts are made to locate the passenger, ling which—and this would be rare in Accra—the gs concerned are unloaded.

Finally, to ensure passengers' comfort, it is usual these ys to assign the front of planes to non-smokers and back to smokers. This operation can be done without due trouble by the ladies who issue boarding passes. is imperative that this practice is introduced without ay.

Surely, we should aim at making our airline's operans so attractive to the traveller that those citizens o are obliged to fly by it enjoy the experience and, n more important, those who are free to choose ween carriers should give us their custom.

Not having managed to invent aeroplanes ourselves, hink we should at least try to keep in step with those des of operating air services which countries with a der experience in this matter have evolved, and conue to evolve.

orgia **Jawa Apronti**

Give It Another Thought, N.R.C.

—I should like to use the medium of your journal voice out a problem which has been agitating my nd. And it is about a press conference given to the GS at Tema not long ago.

Among other things, the President of the NUGS was orted to have appealed to the Government to set a commission to probe the affairs of the National eration Council. This to me is very necessary, for ice demands it. After all military governments ear to have come to stay, and if probing is a perma- exercise for fallen civilian governments, why it ld not extend its tentacles equally to past military rnments beats my puerile mind.

uch a commission, when set up would certainly put nd to speculation as to who did what during the .C. regime and will either vindicate the members of government as blameless, or at any rate expose them for what they were. And surely the people of Ghana need to know as much about the financial conduct of the first military government as about the conduct of the civilian administrators. Therefore, if the 13th January Revolution is to go down in history as having ushered in an era of fairness and impartiality, then the N.R.C. should give serious consideration to the appeal by NUGS.

At least, for the records' sake, set up the commission, our gallant soldiers!

Legon Hall **Baffour Assasie-Gyimah**
University of Ghana
Legon

Granulated Sugar and Foreign Exchange

SIR—Sometime last year, the first Logistics Committee headed by Major Weir announced that the committee was considering importing **only** granulated sugar because it was cheaper on the world market. This plan could not be implemented and the Committee was disbanded.

If this move is in the country's interest, the Ministry of Trade is obliged to give directives and issue licences to firms and organisations for the importation of **only** granulated sugar into the country. This will in no small measure help in conserving some of our hard earned foreign exchange for other projects. Ghana needs money and effort must not be spared on any front in our conservation of foreign exchange.

P.O. Box 0265 **Saka Adotey**
Osu, Accra

"Ten Seconds of English, Please"—A Rejoinder

SIR—I was very much impressed when I read a letter captioned "Ten Seconds of English, Please" which appeared in the **Legon Observer** VIII/21 of 19th October, 1973.

In this letter, the writer urged Dr. Lawrence Boadi to tell announcers on Ghana Broadcasting Corporation that "Here are the rest of our programmes" is bad English. Had the writer been bold enough to come out with a correction, we who have always been plagued by this error would have been cured of it for ever. As it is, the writer merely unleashed fury at our "barbarism" without leaving the reader any wiser.

Liberty Press Ltd. **J. K. Ampah**
P.O. Box 1957
Accra

On Training Accountants—A Rejoinder

SIR—Permit me to make a few comments on Mr. Ghartey's article which appeared in your journal, the **Legon Observer,** VIII/20 of 5th October, 1973. Mr. Ghartey's article raises two issues, namely the shortage of critical manpower in the vital sectors of the economy and the frustrations of successive governments about the inability of our Universities to produce enough people to man these vital sectors. I take it that Mr. Ghartey agrees with the government that there is a shortage of accountants and allied professionals and that more of these must be trained, but disagrees with the method of solving the problem.

While noting that there is scope for genuine disagreement in this matter, I would like to say that I

agree that the possibility of expanding with regard to numbers to be catered for is an all important factor for medium and long term planning in accordance with the needs to be satisfied over a period of years. This pre-supposes forecasts of accountants and allied professionals which should pay due attention or regard to likely developments in the composition of the types needed by age groups and the prospective increase or decrease in particular sectors of the economy. By comparing these theoretical needs with existing facilities with a keen eye on costs, it is possible to determine as a percentage the extent to which requirements are at present being satisfied and hence the absolute or relative urgency of the need for setting up new institutions or expanding facilities in existing centres of training.

Mr. Ghartey has in the course of his article advanced arguments for and against the new institution being set outside the confines of the School of Administration, but he has failed to convince the sceptics about the need to expand the facilities of the School to meet the training of the accountants at the University. One of the questions he failed to answer is whether the School of Administration, which had been training accountants and allied professionals long before it joined Legon, had a better performance in terms of numbers and quality then than when they joined the university. The arguments over these questions are likely to be more important for the future direction of training professionals in Ghana than the all too often repeated theoretical dispute over academic freedom for Ghana's universities.

Mr. Ghartey also made a number of statements which need clarification. Among other things, Mr. Ghartey wrote, "Indeed there have been several instances where apparently qualified professional accountants have been **legitimately** (emphasis mine) rejected by the Appointments Boards of the University on the grounds that such persons were unable to satisfy the University teaching qualifications. If the Committee ever contemplated employing such **rejects** (emphasis mine) as lecturers of the proposed school, then the Government needs to be forewarned that the reputation of the proposed school will be at stake".

The warning is well taken but before the Government reconsiders its strategy, it would help if Mr. Ghartey could answer these questions:

(1) Is he aware that the Appointments Board is a selection board and that the probability of rejecting a candidate when in fact he is qualified is always there?

(2) Has the University of Ghana never appointed anyone to its academic staff who has been rejected by one or another University elsewhere, and does this in any way detract from the reputation of the University? If the University of Ghana can recruit staff from all the corners of the world, what prevents the new Institute from doing the same?

It is certainly erroneous and bigoted to think that because one cannot get a lectureship or promotion in Legon one cannot get the same elsewhere. From personal experience I can say that there is something to be said for the Government locating this Institute outside the umbrella of Legon. Legon with its straight-jacket salary structure and what have you lacks the flexibility to cope with Ghana's pressing manpower problems.

(Name and Address Supplied)—Editor

The Thieves of Teshie-Nungua

SIR—We who are resident at the Teshie-Nungua Esta are being very severely harrassed by thieves, or, in fac bandits. Many of us have lost a good deal of propert and the situation is such that one cannot be away fro one's house for any length of time—even during th day—without grave anxiety as to whether one's hou has not been broken into. Needless to say, the situatio is much graver at night.

Could the Police Service not extend its patrol to th easily accessible part of Accra to ensure a reasonab safe existence for those of us who live here?

Teshie-Nungua Estate **A. K. Philip**
Accra

Viewpoint

OUR STAND IN THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

By
G. Adali-Mortty

AT this moment of intensive, super-power diplomac over the controversial Middle-East conflict, when th world's people are disturbed by the perils of brinkman ship to peace and security, and when some tiny, poverty striken bemused African national leaders have alread lost their heads, it is important to reflect on the com plexity of the causes of the conflict and to remind our selves that things are not as simple as they appear.

Totem-making in man may incline us to sympathis with one or the other combatant side. Naturally s perhaps! But good counsel and wise deliberation shou advise us to caution and should seal our mouths lik the mature and wise people we believe we are in Ghan For one thing, we are not in possession of the full fac and the sentiments which went into the eruption of t power-keg of turmoil. Besides, paramount nation interest dictates that we should be circumspect a avoid involvement in an issue which only margina touches the national interests of black Africa. Con nental union may have been a resounding theme a sometime thing. Realistically, we know who belong whom, and who feel for whom. The resolution-hap OAU does serve the heady wine. But some heads impervious to alcoholic draughts. And we must not all the rhetoric of continental union to confuse us e though such a union is eminently desirable. We h grown a little wiser, more sober, less romantic than were during the heady days of the early African awakening. Consequently, our diplomatic approac must reflect our stage of social and international awa ness. Those who speak for this socially sophistica society of ours must do so with circumspection, if with the wisdom of our elders, living and dead.

The truth is that the warring factions have b matched in ancient mutual animosity and suspic Since the Israelites languished in slavery in Egypt u Moses led them out of Egypt, through the restless y of existence in the area variously known as Can then Palestine, until King David gathered the scatt Hebrew tribes into a kingdom based at the hear Jerusalem: thereafter the reign of Solomon, the split

of the Kingdom into Israel and Judah, only to be destroyed by Assyria and Babylonia: the Jews have had it rough. Over the centuries, belligerent boots have trodden and guns have boomed over Palestine. The Greeks, the Romans, the Moslems in the 7th century and the British in the teenage years of this century—all swept over the territory as conquerors or rulers.

In 1947 the United Nations approved the division of Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state, and the state of Israel was proclaimed in 1948. When Arab opposition to the creation of an Israeli state soon after the departure of Britain resulted in war between the state and the Arab League, Israel increased its territorial holdings as a result of gains in the war. The joint hostility of Egypt, Syria and Jordan kept Israel restive and belligerent. In 1967 when Egypt re-imposed a blockade of the Strait of Tiran against free access to Israel, beleaguered Israel struck and won, as earlier in 1956 it had done.

The aggressiveness of Israel and humiliations in defeat increased the uneasines of the Arabs and aroused an intense solidarity in the Arab World. This was particularly so when after the six-day war, the Israelis occupied all of Sinai, Gaza, the east bank of Suez and the Golan heights, thus, exarcebating the tensions already present in the area. Since then commando attacks and incursions into one another's countries became the order of the day. Terrorism strode the area, spreading death and devastation. However, like in black Africa, Arab countries are divided in outlook, in political and social structure and in national aspirations. They are united by a common Arabic tongue, and partly by adherence to the Moslem religion; and racial and religious considerations have not made for calm reflection at any time in the history of peoples anywhere.

Neither Nasser's "war of attrition", nor the combined resolution of the Arab states, except Tunisia, to "drive Israelis into the sea" were likely to bring about a lasting solution to the Middle East problem. The Israelis on their part were not likely to relinguish hold on their hard-won land and the prosperity they had wrested from grudging nature and arid desertland. In a constant state of military preparedness, with 20% of their national revenue committed to defence, the Israelis are not much impressed by the Islamic apathy and feudalism found in the Arabs states around them. Even the rabid enemies of Israel could hardly fail to take note of the skill and ingenuity of the Israelis. And no wonder; for their population includes some of Europe's most skilled professionals, scientists, economists, businessmen, technologists and administrators.

The Israelis alienated some favourable world opinion by holding on to the land they had won in the 1967 war. In the minds of the Isaelis, the geographical gain was an added land buffer against hostile neighbours. They did not see the wrongness of a conquering nation holding on to the territories it had won in war. Also, though it could be argued that security based on geographical considerations could be ephemeral, and that it is better to secure a political settlement instead, yet, political settlement has so far eluded the parties concerned. Even the will to try to achieve it has been lacking. For indeed the issues at stake are difficult to resolve. Where is a secure guarantee for the survival of the State of Israel and where is the solution to come from one day to the problem of the displaced Palestinian Arabs? Who is to judge which of the parties is more entitled to the land now occupied by Israel? Which of the two super powers that have been feeding the war machines of the factions at war is more erring and blameable?

Our Role

In this tense, emotional and confused state of affairs, would we in Ghana not be helping the cause of world peace by keeping our peace? With the United States committed to sustain the State of Israel, and the Soviet Union interested in maintaining a hold in and around the Mediterranean zone; and with super-power rivalry for supremacy in the Middle East, any small nation which got in their way would be doomed to instant crushing like would be a toad under an armoured tank! If you ask me, we should as a nation behave with the wisdom of Switzerland. We do count but insignificantly in the world assembly. We can count as a people, if we know our place, and if we shun delusions of international importance. If we apply ourselves to industry at home and decorum towards other nations, truly as non-aligned, we may command some respect out of all proportion to our size and economically unenviable condition.

Meanwhile, oil blackmail may boomerang in our favour by stimulating intensive research into alternative sources of energy and power. Even the oil we sporadically hear about which is said to flow in the bowels of our land somewhere near Saltpond and Keta, and which, hitherto, may never have been declared viable, owing to oil prospectors' uncertainty about the trend in our politics, may suddenly find commercial diggers.



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For The Record

Friday, October 19

¢1.25 Million for Food Farmers

MR. F. Ofori-Buadu, Regional Manager of the Agricultural Development Bank disclosed today that the Bank had granted loans totalling ¢255,664 to farmers in the Brong-Ahafo Region for the cultivation of various food crops during the current phase of the "Operation Feed Yourself" programme. The crops include maize, yam and ginger. The Regional Manager disclosed further that the bank would embark on ¢60,000 cassava farm projects at Kantro, Nsuatre, Wamfie, Wamanafo, Agosa and Bunso to feed the Cassava Processing Factory at Nsuatre.

Producer Price of Cotton Raised

THE producer price of cotton has been raised with immediate effect from eight pesewas to ten pesewas per pound weight. The increase is to serve as incentive to cotton farmers to increase their production.

According to a statement issued by the Cotton Development Board, the new price is the highest in all Africa. The statement added that it hoped the new price in addition to the free supply of improved seeds, fertiliser, insecticides and the use of spraying machines would attract more farmers to take to cotton production.

Tuesday, October 23

Burnt Bus Replaced

MR. G. O. Ijewere, Nigerian High Commissioner in Ghana, presented a Setra Bus to Major G. K. Amevor a member of the board of directors of the State Transport Corporation at a ceremony in Accra today. The bus which costs ¢69,000 is to replace one belonging to the Corporation which was destroyed by soccer fans in Lagos in February this year.

Wednesday, October 24

Special Court for Rate Defaulters

A SPECIAL court to try general and basic rate defaulters in the Greater Accra Region will be opened in Accra on Thursday, November 1, by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Samuel Azu-Crabbe.

The court which will be the first of its kind in the country will be known as the Accra City Court and will be presided over by a magistrate. Meanwhile, the Treasury Department of the Accra-Tema City Council whose bye-laws the court will be helping to enforce is compiling a list of basic rate defaulters as well rate-defaulting landlords who will be arraigned before the court.

The court will also try offences relating to:

The bye-laws controlling public gutters and drains
The selling of food under unhygienic conditions
The building of unauthorised structures .
The indiscriminate posting of bills and placards in the city.

Government to Take 55% Shares in Bauxite Company

THE government is to take 55 per cent equity shares in the operations of the British Aluminium Company of Awaso in the Western Region. An agreement to this effect has been reached between the two parties and the necessary documents are being processed. Sources close to the Aluminium Industries Commission disclosed today that since bauxite was a "wasty asset" it was expedient for Government to participate more fully and to become the bigger beneficiary.

SWISSAIR'S 1973/74 WINTER TIME-TABLE

Swissair's winter time-table will enter into effect on November 1 and remain valid until March 31, 1974. Within this period the carrier will add two more DC-10-30s—bringing the total up to five—to its present fleet of two Boeing 747Bs, eight DC-8s, seven CV-990 Coronados, and 22 DC-9s.

In **Europe,** Swissair is going to augment its services to a number of destinations, notably in Eastern Europe where the frequencies to Warsaw, Moscow, Budapest, Bucharest, Zagreb and Belgrade will be increased.

North Atlantic services to New York will predominantly be carried out by Boeing 747 Jumbo-Jets and, occasionally, by DC-10s. Boston, Montreal and Chicago get more DC-10 flights.

In the **Middle East** Swissair services to Istanbul, Beirut, Cairo and Tehran will each be reinforced by one weekly flight.

In **Africa** all destinations in West and Central Africa will be served by DC-8s instead of CV-990 Coronados. Both weekly flights to South Africa are going to be operated with the DC-10 widebody jets.

Accra will be served with two weekly flights in each direction. e.g. Tuesday and Friday Europe-Accra and every Wednesday and Saturday from Accra to Europe whereby the Wednesday departure is at 0800h and the Saturday departure is at 09.15h. Both flights offer excellent connections to all major cities in Europe.

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lursday, October 25

67 Combine Harvesters Ordered

HE Commissioner for Agriculture, Col. Frank G. rnasko revealed today that his Ministry had ordered Combine Harvesters worth ¢2.5 million to meet the quirements of rice farmers. Colonel Bernasko said t in view of the increased acreages expected for next ar's harvest, the combines ordered, together with the now in use in the Northern Region would enable Ministry to serve the country's needs.

Committee on Timber Formed

COMMITTEE of representatives of the Ghana Tim- r Marketing Board and the Ghana Timber Producers sociation was appointed yesterday to examine all oblems facing the timber industry. The committee s appointed by the Head of State after he had met legations of the two bodies at the Castle, Osu. The mmittee will examine, among other things the con- stion of logs at railway sidings and the harbours, and negotiation of prices of logs.

nday, October 28

Ghana Breaks with Israel

HANA decided today to break off diplomatic relations th Israel. An official statement issued in Accra said: nce the outbreak of hostilities in the Middle East, Government of Ghana has kept under close review relations with all countries in the region.

"The Government of Ghana has never hesitated to press its objection to the acquisition of any African ritory by force, but at the same time has indicated support for a just and peaceful solution of the Middle st problem as a whole".

The statement went on to remark that the Government Ghana could not remain insensitive to African feel- s and objectives regarding the security and territorial egrity of O.A.U. members states, and continued:

"The Government has therefore concluded that con- ued diplomatic relations with Israel, which is in lation of the territory of an O.A.U. member state, undesirable".

esday, October 30

At the Military Tribunal

LONEL Robert E. A. Kotei, Commander of the 1st antry Brigade who is the second prosecution witness the Military Tribunal trying five persons on charges subversion, today continued to give evidence before tribunal. He told the Tribunal that Imoru Ayarna, first accused, requested him to stage a coup when y met at the Trade Fair Site on July 18, 1973. Ayarna, ording to witness, had earlier claimed to be one of architects of the January 13 coup, and was dis- sfied with the way things were going subsequent to coup. Witness said that at the meeting at the Trade r Site Ayarna asked him to stage a coup as early as sible or else somebody else would do it since he arna) had the support of all civilians and junior y officers. According to witness, Ayarna then said Brigadier Erskine "A Fantiman", would support coup and that a Malam was coming from the North would make him (Col. Kotei) bullet-proof and ensure the success of the coup. Witness said that he had earlier informed both the Army Chief of Staff and the Director of Military Intelligence of these meetings with Ayarna. At a later meeting, this time at Ayarna's house, witness said that Ayarna had told him that Mr. K. A. Gbedemah had claimed to be planning the secession of the Volta Region with the help of the Togo Chief of Defence Staff. Witness submitted too that on or about July 30 he had been introduced to Malam Sidi who had performed fortification rites allegedly to make him impregnable.

Earlier, the Tribunal had heard evidence from the first prosecution witness Corporal Abdulai Kusasi, a bodyguard of Col. Kotei, who had told the tribunal that Ayarna had sent for him through a Mr. Ayamba Kusasi on the pretext that he wanted him (Kusasi) to get him a soldier to take a letter about a chieftaincy dispute to the government. Witness told the Tribunal that Ayarna had asked him to put the matter before Colonel Kotei and when he had done so, the Colonel had requested to see Ayarna at the latter's house. Witness said that relations between Colonel Kotei and Imoru Ayarna had grown less formal during the funeral celebrations of the Colonel's sister which Ayarna had attended. He said that Ayarna had later requested to see Colonel Kotei again, telling him (Kusasi) to inform his master that Major Zuma, Commander of the Recce Squadron was a "bad man for Colonel Kotei". Corporal Kusasi told the tribunal that when he had informed Colonel Kotei, he had in turn sent him to tell Ayarna to meet him at the Trade Fair Site at 7 p.m. This, witness said, had been only one of a number of meetings which he had arranged and at one of these both Kojo Botsio, 2nd accused, and Owusu-Boateng, fourth accused had been present.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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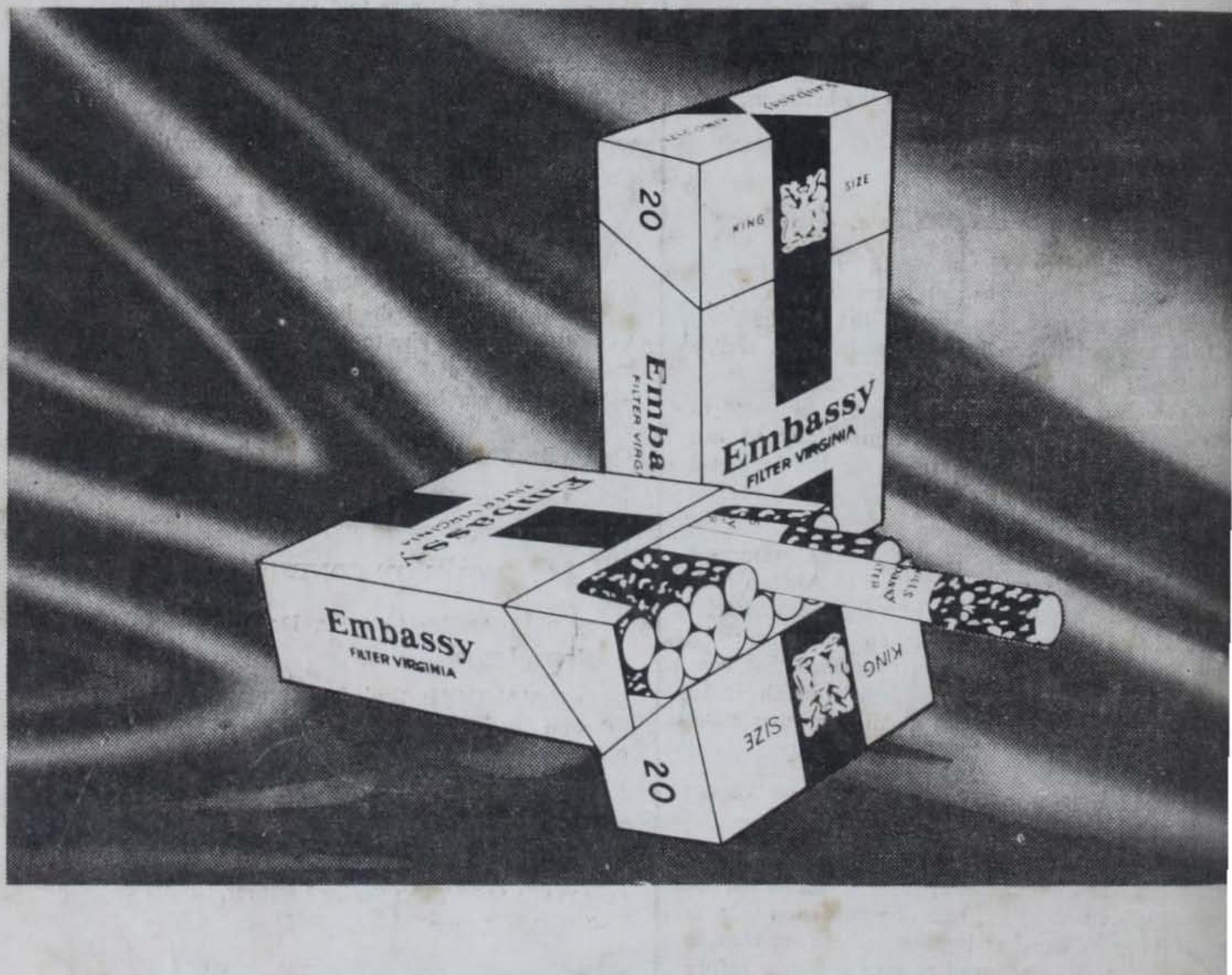
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OBSERVER NOTICE

Owing to circumstances beyond our control, we are compelled to increase the price of THE LEGON OBSERVER from 15p to 20p per copy. This increase takes effect from our next issue due to be published on November 30th, 1973.

Editorial

THE RETIREMENT OF THE 3,000

ON SUNDAY NOVEMBER 11, more than 3,000 civil and public servants were expected to have compulsorily retired from their jobs in compliance with the Civil Service (Amendment) Regulation, 1971, which pegs the age of compulsory retirement from the civil and public services at 55 years for men and 50 for women. This policy, it will be recalled, became law during the last civilian administration when it was felt that owing to its rather sudden introduction a two-year period of grace should be allowed for individuals and establishments affected to put their houses in some sort of order. In the course of that period of grace, the civilian administration was overthrown and many of the affected hoped that the new government would withdraw the policy; but the government of the N.R.C. which has shown itself to be very responsive to civil servants' needs has not seen it fit to withdraw the retirement policy—the suggestion being that the policy recommends itself as strongly to the N.R.C. as it did to the civilian administration which introduced it.

The appeal of the policy is indeed very strong, almost seductive. It promises brisk and energetic civil and public services for Ghana, services full of the so-called young blood and with a potentially very high productivity. In its first swoop, the policy eliminates many of the allegedly colonial-minded administrators who have made the Ghana Civil Service notorious for its slowness. It is worth noting in this respect that most of those affected immediately are in senior positions despite a rather low educational attainment on the whole. The policy is also expected to make available, especially in its first years of operation, openings which will make it possible for more young university and other school leavers to enter the public services. These goals are worthwhile.

In addition, a couple of equally attractive side effects can be expected. civil and public servants will now be retiring at an early enough age to enable them to engage in useful enterprises, especially farming, which will be of benefit to the community; and if people go on retirement young enough to build up worthwhile enterprises, they will be less likely to become a bother to other people.

Sensibly, the policy provides for exemptions, so that doctors, engineers, teachers, members of the Armed Forces, members of the judiciary and politicians will be eligible to stay on after 55. The argument is that in these areas, people tend to get better with experience, but the more obvious fact of course is that these are mostly professional categories in

which Ghana cannot afford to dispense with the services of experienced staff when they are only 55 years old. In any case, however, it does seem as if there is discrimination in favour of these professional categories and against other groups in the public services.

It is in the light of this discrimination that the human aspect of the recent retirement exercise should be of some concern to all Ghanaians and particularly to the Government. Many of those affected have had their plans disrupted in spite of the two-year grace period. Many have children in school; many owe debts to government in the form of loans granted them, and many are going to have difficulties over housing. These people should have all their benefits and entitlements paid to them as a matter of urgency, and it would be more humane, in the case of those with outstanding loan repayments, if they are allowed to make payments over a period of time.

The problem of housing is more intractable. Some of the public servants who have recently retired certainly do have their own houses, but many do not, and it would be cruel to adopt the attitude that each of them should have been able to build a house by now. Some of them will require assistance for the purpose of housing and it ought to be possible for modest loans to be arranged by the banks and other establishments especially where applicants have plans to embark on viable projects.

Finally, as already pointed out, at 55, people are too young simply to go and sit at home and wait for the end to come. They will feel the need to engage in some useful activity. Perhaps a scheme for an organised rehabilitation of people on retirement which will advise them on the kind of ventures they can usefully and gainfully pursue should be considered by the government. And in this connection, the report that the Agricultural Development Bank is prepared to help those on retirement who wish to go into farming is most welcome. In any case, as we look forward to a vigorous civil and public service, let us not discard the men who have served us in the past as if they were worn-out sponges.

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Social Problems

THE HOSPITAL FEES REPORT

By
R. G. Brooks

THIS article attempts to provide a brief assessment of the Report of the Committee appointed to investigate Hospital Fees. Presented to the previous civilian government in January, 1970 it has recently been published with a brief preface written in August, 1973 by Dr. F. I. D. Konotey-Ahulu, the Committee's chairman. The terms of reference for the Committee were "to look into and submit recommendations on the payment of hospital fees generally."

Report Structure and Contents

The Report begins with an interesting historical summary of the hospital fees schedules in operation from 1907 onwards. Apart from drawing attention to the fact that charges for various services were (in real terms) much higher in the past than is the case now, the Report stresses the distinction that was usually made between "free medical attention" and "free medical treatment" particularly in the contracts of civil servants. The latter were entitled to free attention (consultation without treatment) but not free treatment. Accordingly the Report's first recommendation is that in the letters of appointment for civil servants it should be made clear that there is entitlement to free attention but not free treatment. This principle is extended later in the Report to other categories of Ghanaian patients referred to hospitals.

This first recommendation is the only one made in Chapter I, but a feature of the Report is that recommendations are made as an integral part of the discussion in each chapter. So that in Chapter II, which considers the fees position as it was in 1969 in the government hospital system, a number of recommendations mainly with respect to aliens, are made. The Report goes on to consider the cost of health services giving 1966-67 figures, followed by a discussion and tabulation of the fees paid in non-government hospitals.

Chapter V is the most important section of the Report since it contains the majority of the Committee's recommendations. In essence, the Committee have taken the N.L.C. Hospital Fees Decree of 1969 (N.L.C.D. 360) and revised the provision of the Decree in great detail so as to conform with the Committee's beliefs about the appropriate fees to be charged for hospital services of all kinds—attendance, accommodation, main

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Further chapters deal with (a) the wastage problem (a short, but highly disturbing chapter dealing mainly with the "plain robbery" (the Report's words) of various items like hospital linen from Korle Bu in 1967); provide (b) schedule of fees for patients wishing to be treated privately (higher than "ordinary" treatment); and discuss briefly (c) the possibility of a National Health Insurance Scheme and a National Ambulance Service, (the former is recommended on a small-scale experimental basis, the latter on the basis of finance from an annual tax of ₵4 on all vehicle owners).

All the recommendations are brought together in the final chapter and there are a number of useful statistical appendices.

Assumptions and Value-Judgment Underlying the Report's Recommendations

(1) "There can be no health service without fees." (Para. 208). This is the basic presumption of the Report. Reinforcement of this view comes from the Preface:

> "This report presents several facts which would surprise, even shock, many readers. It is hoped that through the careful appraisal of these facts most Ghanaians, if not all, would come to conclude that unless something was done urgently in the realm of "Hospital Fees" the present Health Services would not only collapse but the 80,000 tuberculosis patients, the 70,000 lepers, not to mention the thousands of chronic mentally ill patients in Ghana, would have little hope of receiving the treatment which they must of necessity be given free of charge."

The objection to this belief that the health services will collapse without hospital fees is that it is simply over-dramatic. It is in order therefore to make a counter-assertion: that the health services are unlikely to collapse, given the large amount of resources currently allocated yearly to these services, even if the belief is that the "large amount" is still not large enough. It should also be pointed out that this first assumption rules out the policy alternative of **not** charging any hospital fees.

(2) Current fees payable at hospitals are too low. In the introduction to the Report we read: "the present policy of charging patients a mere 0 to 5 per cent of the actual cost of looking after them ought to be changed, and soon."

This view seems to have been developed from a number of factors (a) Historically, higher fees were paid in real terms, (b) Private patients and certain classes of aliens could afford and therefore should pay a lot more. (c) Reinforcing assu ption (1), unless nigher fees are charged, standar of service will deteriorate. (d) Ghanaians not bei treated privately also ought to pay more towar their "expensive" drugs, "hotel" costs in hospita and so on. Again, a counter assertion that hospi fees are not "too low" could be made. Clear whether fees are too low or too high depen on a number of factors — the way the ex revenue is raised, the impacts of fee increa on such matter as patients numbers at hospit and the standards of treatment received, a finally on how the extra revenue is subsequen used. (3) Fees should be weighted geographica according to a prescribed scale. This reflects t assumptions that (i) 'ability to pay' between c areas and non-city areas, and between certa areas of the country and others, differs; access to medical facilities differs between are

In principle the notion of subsidising the persons who are less able to pay for servi should equalise the distribution of income betwe those subsidised and those who are not. T applies both within and between geographi areas. Hence one cannot quarrel with the commendation for differential charges betwe areas. The problem is that the distributi of incomes **within** areas is usually far from unifor Hence the application of uniform charges treatment within areas (with the usual exceptio like paupers) discriminates against poorer perso in each area.

Those Exempted

(4) Certain categories of persons should exempted from paying fees: (i) paupers; (ii) a certified psychiatric patient; (iii) any pers suffering from small-pox, yellow fever, relapsi fever, typhus, leprosy, venereal disease, typho yaws, measles, acute poliomyelitis, trypanos miasis, cerebro-spinal meningitis, tuberculosis, c cken-pox, kwashiokor, diptheria, onchocercia schistosomiasis, whooping cough, tetanus, trach ma, malnutrition, and other diseases as specifi by the Commissioner for Health; (iv) any stude in the health service; (v) nurses and mortua workers at especial risk because of occupatio hazards. Other categories should be partia exempt e.g. persons 18 years of age and unc should not pay for drugs and their hospital a commodation fees should be a nominal 10 pesew per day.

All one can say here is that there appears to an appreciable number of exceptions to the r that payments should made! The impact of t assumption is that potential revenue from f is much reduced. It is difficult to make any comm

eher way on whether too many **or too few** ptients categories are to be excluded from pay-nt. One curious anomaly is worthy of comment. Fragraphs 192-193 recommend that persons with skle-cell disease should pay one pesewa per day om the day of diagnosis (on a yearly ₵3.65 sis) and that similar schemes should be roduced for diabetes and epilepsy sufferers. l care and treatment would then be provided free. what grounds can one advocate payments these three categories and not, for example, the mental patient category?

Treatment charges at health centres and nics should be half those made at hospitals. ere we may ask, why? Presumably since many tients in urban areas are only referred to hospital bsequent to attendance at a clinic, then it could argued that a hospital provides somehow a better service with, perhaps, specialist attention. t this surely does not apply in the prescription drugs, for example. As it stands a patient ould have to pay twice as much for drugs if escribed at a hospital rather than a clinic. ne other possibility the Committee may have d in mind was to reduce congestion at hospitals, ich tend to be more costly institutions anyway, t this possibility is not explicitly linked to the ginal differential charging recommendations. Monies collected from the various charges oposed will subsequently be used in the health rvices. Para. 203 states: "A review of the present sition in government hospitals compared with her hospitals showed that the government as giving away almost everything, and that ere was no way of expanding the Health Services the present over-generous trend was allowed continue". This clearly implies that expansion health services is dependent on the generation revenue within the health services. A return ill be made to this point after a brief look at the pected revenue impacts of the Report's re-mmendations.

Revenue Impacts

The Report makes no attempt to assess the venue that might accrue from the proposals ade. This is not surprising, considering the mber and variety of proposals, the lack of lequate data available on who uses the health rvices, how often, what their illnesses are, and on. For example, knowledge of the pattern illness exhibited amongst patients is crucial the estimation of revenue since some disease-fferers are eligible to pay and others not.

Despite these problems it is proposed to give example of the revenue that may accrue from e of the proposals, drug charges.

Recommended patient payment for drugs at hospitals (with minor adaptations by the present writer) are as follows:

Accra-Tema, Sekondi-Takoradi, Kumasi City Areas	—	30% of cost price
Upper, Northern, Volta Regions	—	10% of cost price
Rest of Country	—	20% of cost price

Recommended charges at health centres and clinics are half these proportions. If we consider the 1972-73 Estimates for Drugs and Dressings (see Ref. 1) and apply the above percentages to these figures we can arrive at a rough estimate of how much patients would have been expected to pay (See Table 1).

Table 1

Potential Revenue from Drug Charges 1972-73

	₵	
Greater Accra (1)	228,000 x 30%	68,400
Volta Region	135,000 x 10%	13,500
Eastern Region	225,000 x 20%	45,000
Central Region	202,000 x 20%	40,000
Western Region (1)	200,000 x 30%	60,000
Ashanti Region (1)	250,000 x 30%	75,000
Brong-Ahafo Region	125,000 x 20%	25,000
Northern Region	150,000 x 10%	15,000
Upper Region	175,000 x 10%	17,500
	1,689,000 (2)	359,800
Korle Bu Hospital (3)	480,000 x 30%	144,000

Notes: (1) Assumed as an approximation that all drugs in Greater Accra, Western Region, and Ashanti Region are dispensed in the "City Areas", i.e. 30% weighting applied. This clearly produces an overestimate of revenue for these regions.

(2) Excludes overall national expenditure of ₵276,750 on Drugs and Dressings for Dental Services, Health Laboratories, Maternal and Child Health, Epidemiology, Mental Health.

(3) Korle Bu is treated separately in the Estimates. Figure excludes expenditure on dressings at Korle Bu.

The ₵359,800 figure represents the amount that would have been paid by patients for drugs if all drugs were dispensed at hospitals. Clearly it would not be if all drugs were dispense

at health centres and clinics; then exactly half the revenue would accrue — ₵179,900. The answer appears to be somewhere in the range between the two figures. We have, however, ignored one factor: the large number of exceptions — persons who do not have to pay the drug charges. Hence a proportion of the estimated drugs expenditure would not be liable to any payment by patients. Thus, even if a mid-range estimate is used, say ₵269,625, we have an overestimate of drugs revenue. Similarly, the Korle Bu figure of ₵144,000 needs to be reduced.

False Assumption

The figures given above do at least provide us with crude estimates of the revenue to be gained by charging people something towards the cost of drugs. Estimates need to be made of the potential revenue from all the other areas where fees are proposed. Hazarding a guess, it would seem unlikely that the fees would bring in revenue sufficient to cover more than a small proportion of the Ministry of Health's budgeted expenditure. (1972-73 Estimates: ₵33 million current expenditure, ₵7m capital expenditure. See Reference 1)

Now the assumption made ((6) above) by the Report is that the revenue collected will find its way back to the health services. But this is not necessarily the case. Suppose, for the sake of illustration, (i) that ₵2 million **was** spent on drugs in 1972-73, and the Report's recommendations were implemented in time for 1972-73, (ii) that drugs revenue (including Korle Bu) amounted to ₵300,000. Assumption (6) would seem to imply that ₵2 million (or some other figure depending on all **other** budgetary considerations) would be allocated for 1973-74 and that the ₵300,000 realised in 1972-73 **would be added to the health budget** in 1973-74, either to be spent on drugs or any other aspect of the health services. The government, however, which must ultimately receive the revenue, can decide to do what it likes with the money and can spend it elsewhere if it wishes or even not at all. It is true that greater revenue can, especially, in the long-run, produce greater flexibility for government expenditure policies and so health services may benefit, b this is by no means certain.

Some General Considerations

(1) **Resource Allocation:**

(*a*) Payments by users of hospital service can involve doctors, pharmacists, nurses, an other medical personnel in additional administra tion which might affect their efficiency in the primary roles. The alternative to increased i volvement by such personnel in costing an economic matters is to train extra staff to hand these matters. This implies increased costs health service administration.

(b) The levying of fees may discourage som potential patients from using the services, thu relieving congestion, reducing waiting list shortening queues at hospital dispensaries an so on. Such levies may of course discourage som persons who do actually **need** treatment fro attendacne at hospital. On balance it would b difficult to forecast whether these needy woul outweigh those discouraged from attending wh do not, in the medical sense, need the service

(2) **Income Distribution and Distribution of Health Services:**

(*a*) A system of fees with exemptions, as pro posed, will tend to redistribute income and healt services, amongst health service users, from thos not exempted to those who are.

(*b*) Insofar as fees are currently payable i for example, Mission hospitals, some of whic are the major providers of hospital services certain geographical areas, then the fact th higher fees would now be payable also in gover ment hospitals would bring about a more equitab distribution of income, again **amongst heal service users.** The same result could be achiev by abolishing Mission hospital fees and providi adequate government subsidies for such hospita

(*c*) Despite the carefully prepared proposa in the Report, the payment of high fees by priva patients would tend to lead to at least two sta dards of service—one for the rich and one f everybody else. Other things equal, resources wou be attracted into the private patient sector an away from the other sector. It may be argued th this division already exists in the Ghanai hospital services, but the Report's proposa may only serve to exacerbate the position, **unle the extra revenue and resources generated a deliberately channelled to the 'everybody else' secto**

Conclusion

Like the authors of the Report, the prese writer feels "hemmed in" by being forced to co

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centrate almost exclusively on a consideration of hospital fees alone. What is urgently required is a broad review of **all** the aspects of health service financing in Ghana, including such matters as a possible national health insurance scheme and/or an extension of the social security system.

As a revenue-earning excercise the implementation of the Report's proposals are unlikely, as suggested above, to bring in more than a small percentage of the overall health budget costs. This assertion could of course be tested by more detailed work on the potential revenues. Any additional administrative costs (mentioned under General Considerations (1) (a) above) would have to be offset against the extra revenue. If, then, the **net** extra revenue is only going to be a relatively small amount in relation to the health budget, and if it is true that this revenue will not necessarily return to health service use, then the implementation of hospital fees on the lines proposed would not seem worthwhile at this stage.

Useful Report

In addition there must be real worries about the 'one health service for the rich, another health service for everybody else' problem, although it is conceded that this situation may already exist in an acute enough form as it is. In particular, on a different but related point, the geographical mal-distribution of resources is especially worrying. Although the Report's geographical weighting recommendations could go some way towards tackling this problem, one suspects that the redistributive effects on health resources would only be marginal.

A number of assertions have been made in these concluding remarks which have not been backed up by quantitative evidence. What is needed, then, is to test quantitatively, in more detail than in this article, the impacts of hospital fees and to compare these impacts with the impacts of other forms of financing. For example, one calculation seen by the writer suggested that an additional contribution of 2½% of salary (that is, by employer, employee, and both in total) on behalf of those in the Social Security Fund would have arised approximately ₵4.5 million in 1971-72. Such an additional contribution could be specifically earmarked for health service purposes. On balance, the present writer is against the introduction of hospital fees in isolation from other measures, until the broader aspects of health service financing are taken into account.

References 1. The Annual Estimates for 1972-73 Vol. VIII, Health, Ministry of of Finance, July, 1972.

A number of specific criticisms of the assumptions and recommedations of the Report have been made above. These should not detract from the useful function the Committee performed in studying in some detail the whole question of hospital fees and in eventually having their findings published. The information and data the Report provides on the Ghanaian hospital system are most welcome. In addition the present writer found the Report one of the most stimulating government-publisehd reports it has been his pleasure to read.

Education

UNIVERSITY ENTRANCE AND GUIDANCE IN SCHOOLS

By

Ayi Kwei Bulley

ONCE again the Admissions Boards of the Universities have gone through their onerous job of screening applicants for the places in the country's three universities. The results have been given very wide publicity firstly because they were so late that the daily newspapers were used to inform the fortunate candidates of their admission to the various courses in the universities. Secondly an editorial in the **Legon Observer** (Vol VIII/21) did a fair analysis of the admission situation in Legon.

Every year the Admissions Board of Legon has been faced with a situation which is remarkable for its constancy in recurring, the problem of students with good grades who cannot be admitted to pursue their own chosen subjects. This unfortunate situation arises year by year because pupils in secondary schools have not had the benefit of guidance and conselling in their respective schools and have thus chosen their 'O' and 'A' level subjects without due regard to the regulatory requirements of the universities. There are many classic examples of this situation: student X who has gone through 'O' levels without elementary mathematics, offers Economics at the 'A' level. He passes with a good grade, either a 'B' or a 'C'. He fills his forms for the university and chooses Economics as one of his subjects but the Department of Economic refuses to accept him because he does not have the 'O' level mathematics which is a requirement for entry into first year Economics. Such cases are many, not only in Economics but in most of the subjects offered at Legon which impose special requirements.

The result is that the unfortunate student is offered subjects which he does not want. He

ered Latin because he did Latin at the 'O' els, and he gets Philosophy — which he did t ask for — because he had 'B' in the General per. He finally gets Religions because the department wants to 'save' him and get him place in the university; and our hypothetical dent thus enters the university with subjects does not want, but which he has to read if must be in the university now and save himself bother of waiting another year and facing mpetition from younger students.

Since last year Legon has been making efforts get across to the secondary schools the entry quirements which the individual subjects demand well as the job opportunities that the various bjects have to offer. Last year, the Deans of the rious Faculties went on such instructional urs of secondary schools. However, these are d-of-line efforts that serve very little purpose. e talks come at a time when pupils have chosen eir subjects already, done their 'O' levels two ars before, and have already decided by choice circumstance, the subjects they wish to read the tertiary stage of their educational career. ith the best will in the world, it is virtually possible to expect students to derive much nefit at that point from the wise counsel that y be given.

A Planned Programme

What is needed is a planned guidance and unselling programme to start as far back as fourth year of the primary phase of each ild's academic career.

Efforts have been made in the past by govern- nt and individuals to establish in one form other a guidance scheme in the schools of ana. The initial programme of the manpower ablishment in the early 60's led to studies d programmes to this effect. A specialist from .O. worked with the Labour Department on a dy in Guidance and left voluminous proposals the department, which are, one suspects, lecting dust somewhere in the archives of the partment of Labour. At Okwapeman Secondary, tudy which became the source of a Ph.D. thesis, e rise to no follow-up efforts. Recently, in the 60's a team of Canadian 'Experts' came into country at the instance of the Ministry of cation to study various aspects of the non- mal but essential aspects of the educational cess. They left most valuable information which et to be fully utilized. These and other records available for a start. In most of our educational elopment plans, the importance of guidance been emphasised but these good intentions are to be pursued and realised.

The surprising aspect of all this w ilcon neglect is that the Ministry has sent Gh ians to universities overseas to study th echniques of guidance and counselling in schools. A s is the usual practice, these students come back with their new knowledge to jobs that have nothing to do with their special areas of training. They are intentionally put through a well planned process of extinction in the course of which they forget the new techniques or find new and less relevant avenues for their energy.

Educational and Vocational Guidance involves not only data on scholastic achievement but records of aptitudes, interests and attitudes. Keeping and interpreting such records for the purpose of helping pupils realize eir potentials and motivating them towards the realisation of such potentials, is a specialist's job. Choosing subjects with the aim of preparing for future vocation cannot be left to be determined by what a child picks up by chance from discussions with friends, or by a desir to emulate an older friend whose aptitudes and interests may be quite different.

Official Recognition

To arrest the present frustrating situation, a proposal worth considering might be to bring together all the specialists in this area, and there are at least five such specialists in Ghana — to plan vacation courses for at least one interested teacher from each of our secondary schools for a start.

Such teachers should be charged with the job of guiding pupils as early as the first year in secondary school, towards the gradual process of discovering their potentials and making possible the conditions that will motivate the pupils to use such potential to serve their own interest.

Such a programme would require extra remuneration as incentive for the extra duties and a recognition of such duties as contributory factors for promotion in the service. It would also require the Ministry's willingness to spend funds on a semi-standardized record format for use in schools to keep the requisite data necessary for appraisal of pupils' growth.

A training in the techniques of counselling, under the auspices of Cape Coast University, could consider the development and keeping of cumulative records, aptitude tests, the interpretation of test results, development of interest blanks, the use of such records for counselling and some aspects of educational statistics.

A very essential prerequisite of such a programme would be first and foremost official recognition of and support for it. Most of the previous efforts

have failed to yield any worthwhile fruits because the Ministry of Education has paid lip-service to the programmes and has accepted 'specialists' with no definite programme for the follow-up of their proposals and work. Official attitude has not indicated an awareness of the importance of such a service.

It is necessary to remove the present conditions of uncertainty in which pupils are unaware of what it takes to be admitted to a university department, what the future holds for certain degrees and how best to utilize one's innate potential; conditions in which potentially good students are forced into subjects they have no interest in or to choose subjects they are not interested in or aptitude for except that these subjects happen to be fashionable. The introduction of guidance and counselling programmes in secondary schools would be more than just another innovation. It should be considered as one of the national priorities, if we are to end frustration in our young men and be able to orient them towards useful and satisfying careers.

International

A BACKGROUND TO THE REVOLUTION IN GUINEA-BISSAU

By
Kofi Buenor Hadjor

AFTER a protracted revolutionary armed struggle stretching over a decade, the **African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Islands** (PAIGC) on September 24 declared the country politically free from the shackles of Portuguese colonialism. For those who are familiar with the nature of the freedom cause in that small though significant West African country, the declaration of independence by the revolutionaries is simply an act of diplomatic formality. United Nations findings show that the guerilla movement and **not** Portugal has been in the main, the genuine and effective government of the Guinean people in the last couple of years. The PAIGC did not only demonstrate its superiority over Portugal in the battlefield but also successfully accomplished the task of building the necessary political and economic structures essential for the running of a government of the people, for the people, by the people. Guinea-Bissau, in actual fact, is made up of a mainland and a number of small islands, the chief of which is the Cape Verde Island. These islands lie in the Atlantic while the mainland is sandwiched between Senegal and the Republic of Guinea (Conakry). The combined populatio is estimated at 800,000.

As is the motive for all imperial expansion the acquisition of raw material, cheap labour and market for manufactured goods prompted Portugal alongside other European powers at th time to embark on a colonial career in Africa in the mid-fifteenth century. Even though Portugal has been reduced to total ridicule by th African revolutionaries, it still stubbornly refuse to grant political independence to her colonies for the simple reason that, without extensive financial and investment controls over her colonies she could not afford formal decolonization. As a result, she has been forced into an inevitable confrontation with the movements of national liberation. To impose its colonial domination, Portugal has spent vast sums of money to maintain 35,000 troops in Guinea-Bissau, 40,000 in Mozambique and 45,000 in Angola.

Assassination Campaign

An even more vicious tactic is Portugal's assassination campaign, whose purpose is the liquidation of the leadership of the national liberation movements in these territories. First, it was Jaime Sigauke, a leading military commander of the Front for the liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), assassinated in the summer of 1966 in Zambia by a Portuguese agent. In February 1969, Eduardo Mondlane, the founding President of FRELIMO, was assassinated by the same agents in Tanzania. Many other attempts have been made on the lives of a number of leaders of the national liberation movements. In January this year, the extraordinary African revolutionary leader, Amilcar Cabral died at the hands of an assassin. By this act of treachery, Portugal had hoped to assassinate the Guinea Revolution. This way of reckoning is based on a false premise. The truth is, a genuine revolution never withers away when leaders are gone. It is an on-going process.

Since 1446 when Portugal first established contact with Guinea, the exploitation of the country's natural resources has been ruthlessly carried out by a giant national firm of Portugal, the **Campanhia unia fabril** (CUF) which operates through subsidiaries. **Antonio da Silva Gouveia** is one such subsidiary; it controls the purchases and processing of oil bearing plants and the production of oil. Sea carriage between the two countries is monopolised by another subsidiary, **Sociedade jeral de comercia e transportes.** Other big companies are **Sociedade comercial ultramarina** and **Barbosa e Costa.** Several other companies

(Continued on page 553)

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Supplement

MATRICULATION ADDRESS DELIVERED BY THE VICE-CHANCELLOR IN THE GREAT HALL ON SATURDAY, 3RD NOVEMBER, 1973

THE present meeting is one of a number of formal gatherings that our conventions in this University oblige us to convene every year. It is a formality which I particularly enjoy. Let me, therefore, welcome all of you this morning to the 1973 Matriculation ceremony, a ceremony which marks your formal 'induction' into membership of this University when you take the Matriculation Oath and, subsequently, have your names inscribed in the University's Matricular or Register. It is an age-old ceremony, dating back to the distant past and shared by universities all the world over. But this ceremony today has a special significance of its own. It is the Silver Jubilee Matriculation Ceremony, and you are the 25th in the generations of freshmen and women who have entered the gates of our university community.

I have already had the opportunity to meet a number of you Freshmen, both collectively and individually, briefly on a less formal occasion when we had tea together in the Cafeteria during the Orientation Week. As in the past, I was plied with many questions some of which, I hope, I was able to answer successfully. I asked a few questions of my own, and I believe that, as a result of that brief encounter, we began to 'get acquainted', as the saying goes. But 'getting acquainted' does take time, and I hope to be able to meet many more of you individually during the course of your stay here.

Operative Minimum Grades

I know, for instance, that, as in previous years, we have admitted a fine crop of very intelligent and eager young men and women, lively and keen to do the best for themselves and for their society and the world. The name 'freshman' does not only mean a 'new' person: it also implies a person who brings with him a young, 'fresh' view of the world into the University.

Today's ceremony is in marked contrast with the ceremony of 1948, twenty-five years ago, when some 90 students were admitted into the then University College of the Gold Coast to pursue Intermediate B.A. and B.Sc. degree courses at Achimota in temporary premises. This year, we have admitted altogether, 1,434, and our total enrolment has reached some 3,100. Those of you enrolled in the humanities within the Faculties of Arts, Social Studies and Law, number some 400 and were picked from seven hundred candidates who satisfied the minimum entry requirements and took Legon as their first choice. The operative minimum grades applied in your selection came as high as two C's and a D, and we had to turn down over 200 who also possessed the minimum entry qualifications. I congratulate you all on surviving this very stiff competition. In all the other Faculties, the pressures were equally severe, except for the Sciences where the situation was not as encouraging as we would have liked, but we shall return to that later.

There are a number of important points that emerge from the situation regarding admissions this year. One of them is the obvious fact that the competition to enter this University has become much fiercer than ever before and is bound to become even more so in the immediate years ahead. We therefore need to rise above mediocrity if we are to survive in future as individuals in this country. Some ten years ago one could enter the University with any two 'A' Levels of whatever quality. The majority of students who came to the University then had only two 'A' Levels. The University was much exercised by this state of affairs, for we believed that the Ghanaian student was not the intellectual inferior of his counterpart elsewhere. The Academic Board of the University eventually decided to offer the students of this country a challenge: the number of 'A' Levels required was raised to three; these had to include a grade 'D'; and a pass in the General Paper was made obligatory. These requirements did not escape public comment at the time, some of it critical and even severe. It was said, among other things, that we were asking for the impossible and that the University would be left empty. Today, the situation, as we see, is vastly different: far from it being empty, we now have more qualified students applying to enter the University than our present teaching and residential facilities can cope with. The students of Ghana have indeed responded magnificently to the challenge.

Looking Into It

Living accommodation on the campus for students is grossly inadequate. For this reason, we have had to offer nearly a hundred students admission as non-resident students; and they have to find their own accommodation in Accra and to make their own way to and from Legon. We are, of course, well aware that, in the present circumstances of Accra with its acute shortages of housing and public transport, most of these students —and they are the majority—will face very great hardships in the matter of accommodation and transport. This explosion in student numbers and pressures for admission were not unforseen a while ago, and we urgently made many efforts to increase our student residential capacity, but unfortunately without much appreciable success. It was only towards the end of the last term that we were able to obtain some resources from Government to embark upon our scheme for the conversion of the various Hall Annexes into Halls of Residence, a scheme which is designed to raise our capacity by another 700 places. But it is evident that unless we find massive resources to undertake an urgent and accelerated building programme for student residences and other types of accommodation, this matter will soon reach really crisis proportions. In the meantime, the University is doing the best it can by helping to arrange, as far as its present straitened resources can permit, special transport to and from Accra for these non-resident students and to provide them with appropriate feeding and other recreational facilities in the Halls of Residence. "We are looking into it", but not in the Osofo Dadzie sense! These measures can only provide a temporary relief and palliative; we need to go to the roots of the matter and only a substantial and major programme of building can provide a radical solution to these problems.

Living accommodation apart, an even greater but less evident constraint upon our ability to admit more students into the University is our lack of sufficient

academic facilities. Legon, with its well-planned grounds, beautiful landscaping and attractively-organised buildings is one of the most beautiful campuses anywhere that I know and gives an impression of abundance, even opulence. I am afraid this impression is paradoxical and deceptive, especially regarding our academic facilities. You may be surprised to learn that the facilities we now have, namely, lecture rooms, laboratories, libraries, etc., were designed for a first phase of no more than 1,000 students. Today, we have a student population of 3,100. Consequently, many of our teaching facilities, especially within the Faculties of Arts and Social Studies, are hopelessly overcrowded.

As you know, we have three Universities in Ghana and this year's admission problems, which are not peculiar to Legon although they are most acute here, highlight the urgent need for a nationally agreed policy of planned expansion for the tertiary sector of the educational system. There is the need to co-ordinate the expansion of our various universities to their optimum sizes within an agreed plan that is both consonant with national needs and priorities and the legitimate aspirations of our Ghanaian youth for higher education and advancement. This task is the joint responsibility of the National Council for Higher Education and the various University Councils; and until a comprehensive look is taken at the overall question of university expansion and development and its relationship to other post-secondary institutions of advanced training, the pressure will continue to build up relentlessly and the universities by themselves can only tinker with the problems.

This year's admission difficulties have also emphasised another matter which urgently requires attention, and that is the question of the appropriate combinations of subjects taken by our students before they arrive at the University. It is evident that far too many schools still are not as familiar with our faculty entry requirements as they should be. The problem starts very low down within the Secondary Schools. Last year, the Deans of our various faculties visited various schools in the regions to explain these academic requirements, and it is proposed to repeat these visits to the schools this year. I hope that a better understanding of our admission requirements will improve the chances of many more candidates in the schools who wish to enter our University.

I have purposely dwelt at some length upon these problems of access to the University which are the results of the phenomenal expansion of our educational system as a whole and the inadequacy of our residential and academic facilities because I wish to stress the need for urgent remedial action by Government and all concerned to prevent what could well be a catastrophe in the near future. I hope no one will consider my warning alarmist because the facts speak for themselves.

If the expansion of our schools has been phenomenal, however, it has also been lopsided. I did mention earlier on that our intake into the Sciences is not as encouraging as we would have liked. According to my records, some 220 students who satisfied the Science entry requirements were offered admission. Of this number, about a hundred have already enrolled in Medicine (the number one science-based course) and Agriculture. But only 49 out of the remaining 120 eventually accepted the offer of admission into the Faculty of Science. To supplement this number, the 'A' Level requirement had to be reduced from three to two for the Sciences. We had to make the same concession for Science entrants last year but in spite of the compromise with our standards, not more than thirty did register last year with the Faculty of Science.

The Case of the Sciences

There are a number of reasons for this state of affairs. Firstly and most obvious, the total number of qualified science students produced by the secondary schools in the country is not large enough, compared with the tremendous expansion in the numbers of the Arts and Social Studies students. Secondly, and most important, a science-based career, with the exception of the professions of Medicine and Engineering, especially the career of science-teaching in the schools, is decidedly not the most popular with our students. It is unfortunately true that, in terms of remuneration, it is not worth any bright boy's or girl's while to teach Science in a Secondary School or even in the University when he could opt for Medicine, Engineering or the other science-based 'professions'. I dwelt at length on this subject in my Congregation Address last March but further elaboration will not do any harm. A young man who graduates with a good degree in Biology or Chemistry is paid ¢1,600.00 on entering the teaching service. In seven years he could become an Assistant Headmaster if he is very lucky; normally, he can expect to become only a senior teacher. As an Assistant Headmaster, he would be earning twice as much as when he first started teaching. During those seven years, a younger boy he taught in the Sixth Form could qualify as a Medical Officer earning an Assistant Headmaster's pay as a basic salary and some ¢1,500.00 as professional allowance. If we take into account the social prestige and expectations of even higher earnings in the medical and other professions, it is not surprising that our young science graduate teacher, if he is forward looking, decides to opt out of the teaching profession and to apply for foreign and other awards to convert to one of the professions or to seek a much more lucrative living in our public corporations or the private sector. Consequently, there is a constant drain of science teachers from the schools and science teaching consequently suffers. Poor laboratories and lack of equipment do not help matters either, and it is not surprising that not many science students are able to pass the science examinations or to pass them well, as a glance at this year's 'A' Level examination results will confirm. Of the many reasons why the science output from the schools and consequently our

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science intake into the University is poor, much the most crucial is undoubtedly the unattractiveness of science-teaching and the instability in the staffing in the schools. It is indeed unfortunate that after twenty to thirty years of teaching, such a graduate teacher cannot hope to receive much more than ¢5,000.00 per annum which comes so easily to even minor functionaries of our Corporations and other Government Agencies. The point of all this is not that doctors and engineers should not be paid well or even better than they are now: the point I wish to underline is that science teachers should be upgraded and levelled up, since it must at least be logically obvious that the science teachers who help to produce the very engineers and doctors are as important for national development as these professionals whom they help to produce.

But enough of this: this imbalance to which I have addressed my last remarks cannot be blamed on our freshmen. The main purpose of the Matriculation ceremony is to welcome you to the University. As freshmen, you are more interested in what to expect in the University. You have been told a lot already by the various Deans, Professors and Lecturers about the particular specifications of your academic courses and the main objectives and purpose which these courses are designed to serve. I do not propose to tread the same ground again, nor could I hope to do so with equal eloquence or detailed competence.

Silver Jubilee Year

On this occasion, I would like to add one or two further dimensions to what you have already heard or are finding out for yourselves during these early weeks of your life here in the University. You could not have come here at a more auspicious time than in our Silver Jubilee Year. The institution you have just entered has twenty-five years of practical experience, of trial and error, of educational experimentation and maturation behind it. In terms of life-span, as universities go, Legon is still very young; **but in Africa,** we are among the oldest and our experience is derived uniquely from our own national and African environment and heritage. No university today, however, is an island unto itself; and, like all other modern universities the world over, our own university, too, derives its roots ultimately from a common ancestry of academic traditions and intellectual values. There are many advantages on the side of our relative youth compared to the older institutions in other parts of the world: receptivity to change, adaptability and responsiveness to our environment; our academic arteries have not yet hardened and these advantages you young men and women should be the first to appreciate. We have just reviewed and modified the degree programmes upon which you have just embarked to make them more meaningful and satisfying. This curriculum in the Sciences and the Humanities provides a gradual build-up of the individual's potential on a broad basis from the first year to a climax in the third and final year. In the first year, in both Science and Arts and Social Studies, three subjects are to be offered, in the second year two and in the final year only one or the same two subjects. The new degree programme thus provides for a greater variety of combinations than before and students are free to choose, in consultation with their Heads of Departments, which combinations are best suited to their background and intended careers. Our graduate programmes have had to be restructured, too, to fit them on to the first degree course and our Faculty Boards are now examining how to restructure our sub-degree Certificate and Diploma course in the same way. These are all exciting developments to which you students can contribute by effective participation in the Departmental Consultative Committees which were set up two years ago to provide for consultation between senior and junior members where, in my view, it matters most.

You would by now have discovered that there is a world of difference—or there should be—between the school and the university. You may have noticed that I referred to junior and senior members; that signifies an important difference: here you are no longer treated as pupils to be taught and spoonfed. Here, in your academic and social life, you are treated, until you prove the contrary, as a young adult who is able to apply himself by well-regulated and diligent effort to the process of his own learning and self-education. Individual application and assiduous effort, hard thought and analysis, judgment and intellectual self-reliance are the ideals we aim at in university education. Your professors and lecturers are senior members who have travelled farther on the road of higher education than yourself; they are a little older but in other respects they are no different from you. They can only provide guidance and help and, hopefully, intellectual stimulation and excitement in their particular disciplines. It must be emphasised that the effort and application, the independent and critical thought and the judgement based upon verifiable **facts** as far as one can ascertain these facts and not upon opinion—these are goals for which the student himself will have to strive. No one else can provide a substitute for this individual effort and application and when you have completed your various degree courses and have left the University, your success or failure will be judged by how much you have approximated to these ideals; these are the hallmark of genuine university education and of a well-trained university mind.

Extra-Curricular Life

It follows from this that one's university training cannot be confined to only the books and journals to be found in the libraries or to the lectures in the lecture rooms and the scientific experiments in the laboratories. There is more to it than that, and this more is to be found in the extra-curricular life of the university community. I hope you will take a full and active interest in the life of your Halls of Residence and your Junior Common Rooms and the work of the Students' Representative Council, and in the deliberations and activities of such bodies as the Residence Board and the various other Boards and Committees on which some of you may be later elected to serve; the part that you play in sports, debating society and other discussion groups and societies—all this will play a very important role in your self-development and your capacity for self-government and success in later life.

You must take advantage of the several other avenues which are provided in this University for your general intellectual and social development. I would like, in this respect, to emphasise what I have often stressed to other freshmen before you, that you must take a specially keen interest in the Inter-faculty, Open and Inaugural Lectures which are delivered in this University both by members of the University and by several distin-

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guished visitors and scholars on subjects which may not be directly related to your own degree specialisation but which do provide an essential ingredient to your general intellectual and social development, the benefits of which will become fully apparent to you long after you have left the University. This becomes particularly relevant and important in view of the increasing competition for employment openings to university graduates. High academic qualifications by themselves will continue to be valuable, but I can assure you that the enrichment you derive from these extra-curricular advantages will matter more and more as you go out into the world.

Universities in the developing world, and with them their students, are often—and in my opinion unjustly-criticised for elitism and a lack of a sufficient social conscience. If we understand by the word 'elite' special merit, expertise and high standards, then of course every university worthy of the name is certainly elite and should strive for elitism, whether in the so-called western, the socialist or the developing countries of the world. But the critics, of course, mean something else, something pejorative; they mean irresponsibility and undeserved privilege at the expense of one's fellow man. Elitism of this kind is of course reprehensible and should find no place anywhere in the modern world, and surely not in self-reliant Ghana and 'Operation Food Yourself'. I believe the youth of this country have given and are giving ample proof of their dedication to the total good and the total welfare of their fellow men. You of all people here in Legon should need no reminder of how privileged you are to be admitted into this University, compared with your many other brothers, sisters and friends in the towns and villages of Ghana who have not had the good fortune and opportunities for the education that have ultimately brought you here. I believe, therefore, that it will be otiose for me to urge you to make the best possible use of your many opportunities here for study and for social and cultural development. The spirit of service and dedication to the community in return for the very great sacrifices which this country has made and is making to ensure that you receive here a university education that is second to none—this spirit should be evident not only in your words but also in your deeds. And whenever you are inclined to grumble over some material or other inconvenience here, and whenever you are tempted to resort to an act of discourtesy or worse, do pause to reflect on what it costs to make Legon and the other Universities in Ghana possible, and what it takes to maintain you here. I believe that viewed from this perspective and not from the perspective of, say, Berkeley or the London School of Economics, to take these two examples from the rich countries, you will be able to adjust yourselves well to the life here and use your 'student power' and 'student participation' constructively and positively to make Legon a better place than you found it.

Progress and Integrity

The challenge before you is, indeed, great; how can you equal the record of those pioneering 90 students who gathered together in temporary premises at Achimota in 1948 to lay the first foundations of the past twenty-five years of this University? And how will the men and women of Ghana of the next twenty-five years which will bring Legon to the threshold of the Twenty-first Century look back upon this Silver Jubilee Year when **you** were enrolled here? I have every confidence that your contribution to the history of the University of Ghana will in no way be inferior. And it will surely be as equally good, if not better, than the record of the pioneers, if you help to sustain the motto of the University: **Integri Procedamus** — Progress and Integrity. For it will continue to be true within the next twenty-five years as it has been in the past, that the quality of a nation and its society depends to an important extent upon the quality of its university institutions and upon what they stand for. The cultivation of academic excellence together with moral integrity is what this University, in the last analysis, stands for. I hope you will play your due role to keep this vision alive and bright for the sake of our country and, indeed, the world of the coming generations.

I wish you all the best of luck in your life here in this University.

Thank you.

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INTERNATIONAL (Contd. from page 546).

are controlled by **Banco Nacional Ultramarino,** the only commercial bank and bank of issue in the Portuguese colonies. On the islands of Sao Tome and Principe, **Sociedade de agriculture colonial, Companhia da Ilha do Principe** and **Companhia agricola das Neves** are the principal business firms. **Companhia do fomento de Cabo Verde** and the French **Societe de Saline du Cap Vert** are responsible for the production and export of salt. Colonial firms also control the supply of coal, oil and fresh water to visiting ships. The **Companhia de Sao Vicente de Cabo Verd** is the biggest among them.

Other Exploiters

Non-Portuguese capital has also played a key role in eroding the resources of Guinea. Most predominant of all has been British capital. Represented by the **United Africa Company,** British capital has participated jointly with French capital in the **Nouvelle Societe Commerciale Africaine,** which buys farm products at prices decided by them. The **French Societe Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain** trades in agricultural products. The processing of timber and the production of wood pulp in Guinea is carried on by the **Sociedade commercial para a fomento agricola e industrial** with Japanese capital. Dutch **Billiton Maats Hapei** has a bauxite concession in Guinea-Bissau. In various fields, the interests of Portuguese and non-Portuguese capital are closely intertwined. For example, Portugal leans for support on the financial, economic and military might and political influence of the NATO bloc of countires. These countries, in turn, use the Portuguese colonial administration, army and police to enable their monopolies to obtain high profits in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

By virtue of their geographical position, the Cape Verde Islands have considerable strategic importance. The archipelago lies less than 500 kilometres off the African coast, at the crossing of the principal Atlantic routes. It has special importance as a refuelling station on the way to tropical Africa and South America. The islands have several convenient ports, the largest of which is Porto Grande on the Sao Vicente Island. An international airport capable of handling heavy planes has been built on the Sal Island. Eleven British and Italian submarine cables pass through these islands.

In no way did Portuguese colonialism help to solve the chaotic problems of disease, ignorance, poverty and illiteracy which afflict the indigenous people of Guinea. For example it is known that prior to 1969, between 180 and 200 children in every thousand died before reaching the age of ll. Before the guerrillas took firm control of Guinean matters a few years ago, there was one doctor per 28,000 people. The Cape Verde Islands had seven times fewer doctors per 10,000 of the population than Portugal. After 500 years of Portuguese rule, 99 per cent of the population remain illiterate. In five centuries, only 14 Guineans were able to receive university education.

The resistance of the people of Guinea against Portuguese rule dates back to the year 1908 when a fierce uprising broke out on the island of Bolama. This uprising spread to the mainland and lasted until 1916. In 1917, 1925 and 1936, Guinea-Bissau was the scene of other major uprisings. The Portuguese on each occasion suppressed the uprising. However, the post-war period provided a conducive atmosphere for revolutionary struggle. This culminated in the Guinean national liberation movement. In 1956, Amilcar Cabral, along with other comrades, formed the PAIGC which was initially an independence movement attempting to obtain independence through constitutional methods. By 1959 the PAIGC had launched a mass political campaign throughout the country, particularly in the urban areas.

Mass Mobilisation

Among the most important political events of this period was the mass strike in 1959 of the Bissau dockers. The significance of the strike was that it amply demonstrated to the Guinean people the limitless nature of Portuguese brutality. The Portuguese colonialists' answer to the strike was the shooting to death of fifty Africans and the wounding of many others. The repressive activities of the PIDE (the infamous Portuguese political police) was intensified in Guinea-Bissau with a view to liquidating the PAIGC. The immediate target was the leadership of the PAIGC, among whom were such people as Amilcar Cabral, Aristides Pereira, Luiz Cabral and Fernado Fortes.

It was at this stage that the PAIGC resolved to organize a guerrilla infrastructure. In this strategic shift, the country-side, where the majority of the people live, became the focus of revolutionary activity. In line with the new strategic considerations, the PAIGC adopted, by 1961, a plan of action emphasizing some of the following: mobilizing and organizing both the masses of peasants and workers, developing and reinforcing unity around a party that included all ethnic groups and social strata, and the training of cadres for leadership.

It was also during this period that the PAIGC began to develop into a truly revolutionary movement based upon a Marxist analysis of social realities. The movement was fortunate to have among its leadership, the Marxist-Leninist Amilcar Cabral, who clearly discerned that it is only the productive forces of the Guinean society which are capable of bringing about total liberation and social revolution in Guinea-Bissau, and that the interest of the Guinean peasants and workers are in an antagonistic contradiction with those of the Portuguese imperialists. This awareness of Amilcar Cabral enabled him to effectively develop the PAIGC into a mass-based movement ready to embark on a thorough on-going revolutionary war, which began in 1963.

Cabral's Contribution

At every stage of the PAIGC development, Cabral's personal contribution has been identifiable. For example, back in 1960 he established, in the Republic of Guinea (Conakry), a school for guerrilla politics where the initial cadre of 1,000 guerrillas was trained. It was this cadre which went about laying a solid guerrilla infrastructure throughout the country. With that infrastructure laid, the movement was able to move its headquarters inside Guinea by the mid-sixties. Apart from being Secretary-General of the PAIGC, Cabral was also Commander of the People's Revolutionary Armed Forces (FARP), the military wing of the PAIGC. And although he spent most of his time co-ordinating the military and political operations of the movement inside Guinea-Bissau, Cabral on occasions appeared at international forums to state the aims of the liberation struggle in his country. In this respect, he proved himself an effective proponent of the cause of the Guinean people and cultivated an internationalist spirit. With regard to Western countries he always made a clear distinction between the peoples of these countries and their imperialist governments. On the one hand, he distinguished between the almost unlimited military, financial, and political support given to Portugal by the governments of the NATO countries (e.g. the $436.5 million plus which was given to Portugal by the U.S., supposedly in return for the use by the latter of the Azores as a military base) and, on the other hand, the moral and material support given by the peoples of those countries to the people of Guinea-Bissau in their struggle for freedom. Under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral, the PAIGC has knitted very close ties with FRELIMO of Mozambique and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Together, these three movements form an association called the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies (CONCP), which facilitates the sharing of information and co-ordinates joint representation abroad, both at international gatherings and through permanent missions. Similar operational co-operation takes place between the CONCP movements and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia, and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU).

The achievements of the PAIGC in the area of social mobilization are remarkable. In addition to liberating more than two-thirds of the country, the PAIGC has brought thousands of peasants into the political life of the Guinean society. Out of twenty ethnic groups, the PAIGC has been able to inculcate an impressive measure of national consciousness among the people. Through the daily hardship of the struggle, the people of Guinea-Bissau were brought together into a common revolutionary structure, and began to develop a sense of common destiny. It has been through the process of armed struggle and political mobilization that the peasantry has been enabled to transform its social attitude and concepts. In confronting new problems and attempting to resolve them, the peasantry has been enabled, in dialectical terms, to discard those beliefs of the past wherein metaphysical ideas explained the workings of the world. In this way, thousands of peasants were freed from economic, social and psychic immobility. They have thus been engaged in a social and cultural transformation unique in its character vis a vis other parts of Africa.

On the economic front, the PAIGC has attempted with success to transform not only the mode but also the quality of production. Collective modes of production and diversification of agricultural products have been introduced and have been expanded in the liberated areas. Groundnut production, once imposed upon the peasantry by the Portuguese colonialists, is no longer the sole cash crop. There is now an extensive production of rice and a variety of vegetables.

This socio-economic, cultural and political transformation is unique and unprecendented in Africa. Yet at the time of completing this article, no Western country had seen the political wisdom in according the PAIGC formal recognition. This is most unfortunate for, in the last analysis, the Guinea-Bissau revolutionary example seems to be Africa's best hope for self-determination and genuine independence.

Observer Notebook

THE EXCHANGE CONTROL DECREE

We are all aware of the existence of active and vigorous black marketing in foreign currency in this country and it is this which has made it necessary for the government to amend the Exchange Control Act of 1961 in a new decree (N.R.C.D. 220) which provides for heavier penalties for illicit trafficking in foreign currency. The point is, it has always been an offence to deal in foreign currency without the authorisation of the Bank of Ghana, and yet in the past the practice has been rampant. If the new decree is meant to deter people from black market transactions then merely increasing the penalty will not do.

The **Observer** would like to offer an alternative approach, one that will probably not eliminate completely this illegal trade but will at least assure for the government sizeable earnings in foreign exchange from tourists. This approach is used in practically all East European countries and in at least one African country. Most foreigners entering the country have to obtain visas from Ghana's missions abroad; and the number of days the foreigner wishes to stay is usually stamped in the visa. When the foreigner arrives at the airport he should be made to exchange his money for cedis at the foreign exchange control office (and this exchange should be based on the length of his stay) before he is allowed to leave the port of entry. For instance, if a person is given a visa which allows him three days' stay, estimates could be made of his hotel bills, plus a reasonable amount for food and other expenses; the visitor is then made to exchange at least this amount of foreign currency into cedis as part of the immigration formalities. Over and above this sum, of course, the visitor may indulge in black marketing but there is no way of restraining him here. It is clear that this proposal will tend to cut down the flow of foreign currency into private hands. What is required is administrative efficiency at the ports to minimize unpleasantness and delays to visitors.

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Letters

Self-Reliance and Expatriate Missionaries— Further Rejoinders (3)

SIR—Replying to my article entitled 'Self-Reliance and Expatriate Missionaries' (**Legon Observer,** VIII-20), Reverend Father Senoo writes (**L.O.** VIII/22) "the principle of Self-Reliance adopted by the N.R.C. is not opposed to help from outside when for some reason **such help cannot be obtained from within".** This, in my view, is a valid re-statement of the principle and, indeed, the last seven words of that statement lie at the root of the problem I pointed out in my article.

To begin with, I should like to point out to the Reverend Father that the only reason why I "chose to dwell on the girls' institutions" was that the offensive advertisements put out by the Public Services Commission all referred to girls' schools.

As Education Secretary of Catholic Schools, Father Senoo should be in a good position to know that most Ghanaian women graduates do not reply to the advertisements for Head or Assistant Heads because of the way the expatriate nuns run the schools. Has it ever occurred to Father Senoo to investigate why it is only in these Mission schools that Ghanaian women do not remain more permanently on the staff? If Father Senoo cares to find out, he will easily discover that the attitude of the expatriate nuns in the schools suggests that they do not intend to relinquish their positions to anybody outside their calling. So if the principle of self-reliance is being frustrated in the girls' schools, we know whom to blame.

Father Senoo seems to think that marriage somehow automatically tends to exclude a woman from holding a top position in the schools. It is unconvincing to state, as he did, that before the young Ghanaian woman graduate teacher "is able to satisfy the number of years required by the Ministry of Education for the Headship or Assistant Headship, you invariably find that she has to leave the school because she is married or is about to get married to someone who is not working in the same place, and therefore has to go away to live with her husband".

Would Father Senoo be quite happy to accept the corollary of his statement, i.e. that after the young Ghanaian woman has been appointed Head or Assistant Head, you invariably find that she has to leave to get married to someone? Perhaps the Reverend Father would like to explain why it is that the married Head at Aburi continues to remain at her post. The obvious truth is that marriage **is not** the reason why the Ghanaian woman fares so badly in a Missionary school. The whole issue of marriage is a clever red-herring which Father Senoo introduced into the issue to distract attention.

It is noteworthy that Father Senoo concludes his letter with a prayer for the expatriate missionaries. One can only hope that the next time he prays he will spare a thought for the hard working Ghanaian women teachers also.

Finally, it would not be entirely out of place here to say something about Daphne Hereward's rejoinder, which I thoroughly enjoyed as a piece of comic relief. Does that expatriate woman really think that Ghanaian

teachers are nothing but half-educated embezzlers of fees and seducers of girls? Surely, one can only laugh at that.

Dept. of Mathematics **R. A. Ampomah**
University of Cape Coast

SIR—I should like to comment on the rejoinders written by Rev. Father Senoo and Miss Hereward to Dr. Ampomah's piece on the above subject. To take Father Senoo's rejoinder first: it looks as if the Education Secretary of Catholic Schools missed the kernel of Dr. Ampomah's complaint. What he was saying, I think, is that in the particular matter of the headship of girls schools, there is no reason why we should not be self-sufficient "at this historic point in time". He was not confusing self-reliance and self-sufficiency.

Father Senoo deplores the fact that Dr. Ampomah did not take the trouble "to find out what efforts the **missionaries** and the **Church leaders** have been making to find Ghanaian replacements in those institutions before writing his article" (Emphasis mine). Now my question is: What business has any missionary or church leader to be going round looking for prospective heads of public institutions? Has anybody forgotten that these institutions are being financed from public funds and that the expatriate missionaries are paid from the same source as indigenous non-missionary teachers? It seems that since the churches let go their grip of mission schools, somebody has forgotten to strip the churches of that residual power which enables its authorities, both local clergymen and expatriate missionaries, to manipulate the distribution of power in some of our schools formerly controlled by the churches. The necessary correction is called for to remove that type of anomaly which, according to Father Senoo, sends missionaries rushing round for heads of "church" schools.

Father Senoo asserts that the invitation was extended to expatriate missionaries when some difficulties were experienced in recruiting suitably qualified Ghanaian women. I find this hard to believe. When was the original advertisement (excluding any mention of expatriate missionaries) published? I don't remember having seen this anywhere, and I think Father Senoo is exaggerating the situation with an argument which sounds plausible but which may not be a faithful reflection of the true position.

Let me illustrate with just one example. The headship of St. John's School in Sekondi is vacant, and it was known for some time that the expatriate missionary head was going to leave. What efforts have "the missionaries and Church leaders" made to get a Ghanaian man (who does not presumably suffer from the disabilities of women who have to relinquish their posts either to obtain husbands or to retain them if they have already got them) to fill the post? None so far, and one suspects that either another expatriate is being thought of or a specific local son who is sufficiently malleable to be manipulated at will by those who still cling to the antiquated notion of "church-controlled" schools.

Being myself a product of two "church schools", I am not unmindful of what contributions the churches and missionaries have made towards education in this country, but this is no reason for tolerating and encouraging the paternalistic and patronising attitude of the church's servants in this field at this point in time in the country's history. There is a lot wrong with the administrative arrangements in some of these mission or church schools, with particular respect to the Catholic ones, and people like Father Senoo should use their office to correct the anomalies instead of indulging in sophistry like the Jesuits of old!

Now I come to Daphne Hereward whom I propose to take up on just two points. How many of the Dutch, Irish and Canadian expatriate missionary teachers around here speak that particular brand of idiomatic English that should invest them with the natural right of teaching in this country in perpetuity? And how many of them have been sufficiently near a University where "every undergraduate has an hour with his tutor every week being taught"? As to Miss Hereward's catalogue of faults of Ghanaian teachers I agree that it is bad that some male Ghanaian teachers should annoy some of the girls at night, but just to keep the records straight, some male expatriates, both missionaries and laymen, have been known to do worse—harass the young **boys** by night, and by day!

Dept. of Modern Languages **P. A. V. Ansah**
Legon

SIR—I agree entirely with Miss Daphne Hereward—(see **L.O.** VIII/22). I also consider that Rev. Father H. Senoo was absolutely right in all he stated in the same issue. I am completely sure that Mr. R. A. Ampomah erred in virtually every major view he expressed in **L.O.** VIII/20 under Viewpoint. The Public Services Commission's advertisement only wanted to make it clear that whatever views happen to be popular now expatriate missionaries may apply for those particular posts. And it did just that.

Anyway, Mr. Editor, why do we always want to take over what others have started and then prove that we can do or run **that** better? Is it not time for us to rely on our own initiative and start what we consider necessary and demonstrate therein that we can do well? That is far more exciting!

Please allow me to congratulate the few Ghanaian women who are working well as Headmistresses and Principals (or Assistants) and let me pray, like Father Senoo, that God may continue to bless their efforts and those of the dear expatriate missionaries.

We shall always be grateful to them.

P.O. Box 6319 **E. S. Aidoo**
Accra-North

Intellectual M* * * and All That—A Subsequent Rejoinder

SIR—I was amused to find that you allowed yourself to be bullied by a housewife, who presumably has children, into representing (in your Vol. VIII/21) with the capital letter "M" an English word which is fully spelt out in almost all "decent" English dictionaries. May I say that there are some of us decent Ghanaians who think that a word like masturbation should be heard and read in full when necessary so that we blush at an earlier age and time than did the housewife.

In a world which is fast civilising itself (or is civilisation bad after all?) sexual hypocrisy should be made a crime punishable by divorce.

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"Ten Seconds of English, Please"—Another Rejoinder

SIR—In the 19th October issue of your journal (**L.O.** VIII/21) a writer asked Dr. Boadi who hosts "Ten Minutes of English" on television to tell announcers of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation that the expression "Here are the rest of our programmes" is bad English and a terrible solecism. By the emphasis the writer put on the word "are" he or she indicated perhaps that the sentence should be "Here is the rest of our programmes".

I was much confused about this so-called solecism because I did not like it when I tried to say "Here **is** the rest of our programmes". I therefore sought aid from the standard dictionaries. Webster's International and Chambers Twentieth Century did not help because they do not have the relevant sentences I was looking for. The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English however gives as one of the meanings of "rest", (with a plural verb) "the others", and forms the following sentence: "John and I are going to play tennis; what **are** the rest of you going to do", (emphasis mine).

The point of the writer's criticism therefore seems doubtful. As human beings, and since English is a second language to Ghanaians, G.B.C. announcers are bound occasionally to make genuine mistakes which can be courteously pointed out. But criticisms whose validity appears questionable are embarrassing and demoralising to our energetic G.B.C. staff.

Akuafo Hall **J. C. Tarchie**
Legon

Keep Right in 1794?

SIR—An advertisement in The **Legon Observer** (Vol. VIII/22) page 524 informs me to 'be abreast with the world and keep right on August 4, 1794'. But isn't it you and your proofreaders who should rather be abreast with the times by publishing the right dates, thus helping to prepare motorists to keep right on August 4, 1974? By getting your dates right you will be doing a lot of good to your readers, the motorists of Ghana, grammar, and history. You have not done too badly so far.

c/o Box 760 **Maxwell Adjei-Fah**
Accra

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Adjei-Fah's correction is well taken. We hope he will agree that the fact that our advertisement said 1794 and not "1984" indicates that the error was accidental and innocent, not calculated and mischievous. We apologise to all readers, motorists, grammarians, historians and the Chairman of the Right Hand Drive Committee. Incidentally, see below for confirmation of our good faith.

BE ABREAST WITH
THE WORLD
KEEP RIGHT ON
AUGUST 4, 1974.

Matters Arising

BIG DADA'S HISTRIONICS—A COMMENT

By
Kwesi Jonah

I SHOULD like to begin my comment on the article 'Big Dada's Histrionics' which appeared in **L.O.** Vol. VIII/22 by pointing out that there are more things in the world than two eyes can see. Therefore if in the eyes of the author of the article in question, Big Dada appears as a political jester, paid by the taxpayers of Uganda to bring occasional comic relief into the polymorphous and tension-packed arena of world politics let no one be surprised or shocked. That is only a consequence of that writer's own limited vision.

Since the article dealt with General Amin's method of executing, rather than the content of, his policies I wish to start by looking at the extent of the callousness and eccentricity of some of his methods, especially in the expulsion of non-Ugandan Asians.

It is common knowledge that the expulsion of aliens from any African country is doomed to fail unless it is accompanied invariably by the application of high-handed methods. This is especially true, if the aliens being expelled have for a long time managed to place themselves in a privileged position which enabled them to indulge in brutal economic exploitation of their host country. To such aliens generally the prospect of leaving an old consolidated life of prosperity to start again from the scratch elsewhere is not a comfortable one. They therefore devise many subtle ways of beating the law. These may include bribing high officials for hasty naturalisation or resident permits, adoption of local names and clothes, migrating to remote parts of the country in search of hide-outs and, in the last resort. the illegal transfer of assets and the smuggling of minerals. In almost every situation of this nature, the circumspection of the government giving the expulsion orders, however mature the politicians in power may be, has taken the form of applying methods not altogether humane. The anger of the Nigerian press at the harsh expulsion of aliens from Ghana under the deceitful label of 'Aliens Compliance Order' was basically directed at the manner of executing the order and not the order itself. Yet at that time in Ghana, government was in the hands of a group of mature politicians initiated into the intellectual refinements of western civilisation and boasting to be among the best brains in the country. I wish I could know how many gallons of ink the writer of 'Big Dada's Histrionics' spilt on that gross display of lack of sensitivity on the part of intellectual politicians. The not-so-well-educated soldier-politician of Uganda then is not the only expert in political harshness in Africa. When I think of how the Uganda General could share a reputation for callousness with "cultured" civilian politicians who possess the highest degrees of the academic world, I cannot help shouting "Saint Amin!"

'Certainly one does not expect a serious leader to base his acts on the recommendation of soothsayers or on visionary promptings!' This is quoted from 'Big Dada's Histrionics' and it is actually news to me. If there are politicians in Africa today who can hones claim that they do not consult spiritualists, soothsaye

fetish priests and others of that sort then they are in an exceptional minority and the writer of the words quoted here cannot pretend to be ignorant of this fact. When Big Dada attributed his action to divine counsel, he most likely told the world the truth. It would have been too bad of him to lie to the peoples of Africa and the world under the guise of finding rational basis for political action. General Amin is more honest than that.

One point that the article I am commenting on did not take into account is that General Amin is the one political leader in Africa today about whom anything is difficult to predict. This perhaps is due to the fact that most observers of his actions have failed to get themselves accustomed to his frank and outspoken nature. He did indeed raise hell over Richard Nixon's possible involvement in the cover-up of the Watergate scandal. But who thought that after watching events carefully the same Bid Dada would commend Tricky Dick's 'courageous stand' on the grounds that 'any other weak leader would have resigned or even committed suicide?' May be when he is denied an invitation to Princess Anne's wedding he will **not** entertain the world to "another verbal free show'. Who knows?

Finally I wish to appeal to all who happened to read 'Big Dada's Histrionics' that they should not allow that literary invective to erode their admiration for General Amin. Granted a few lapses, which have sometimes caused him to make such utterances as the one made to the effect that Hitler could not have done a better thing that inflict genocide on the Jews, he has many things to his credit. He has positively changed the image of Africa in the world, proved himself to be in touch with the thinking of the masses of Africa and most important of all "shattered the myth that African leaders only bark but never bite"—apology to Sam Uba, **Africa** No. 27.

For The Record

Sunday, November 4

Ghana Ready to Send Troops

BRIGADIER E. A. Erskine, Commander of the Ghana Army indicated today that Ghana was prepared to send a battalion of her army to the Middle East as part of the United Nations' peace keeping operations and that this would be in no way prejudicial to internal security.

He was commenting on a despatch from New York that the Security Council had approved, without a formal vote, plans for the sending of contingents from seven nations including Ghana to join the U.N. Emergency Force in the Middle East.

Monday, November 5

Ghana Receives Grant

THE International Developmpent Association (IDA), an affiliate of the World Bank, has approved a credit of $13 million to Ghana to help finance the rehabilitation and improvement of trunk roads. The roads are located along four major routes in the densely populated southern regions with high agricultural activity including the transport of cocoa, fish, maize and timber. The road rehabilitation is part of a project which includes consultants' services in supervising such works, pre-investment studies as a basis for further road improvement projects, provision of equipment for traffic control.

Thursday, November 8

Tamale Hospital Ready in January

THE new Tamale Hospital is expected to be opened by January, according to a statement made today by Dr. A. A. Darkwa, the regional medical officer. He told Col. P. K. Agyekum, the Northern Regional Commissioner who was on an inspection visit to the hospital that installation of equipmpent including 300 beds had been completed, and the nurses and para-medical staff of the ¢4.5 million hospital were being taught how to use the equipment.

Saturday, November 10

¢16.8 Million for Projects in Volta Region

THE Head of State, Col. I. K. Acheampong, said in Anloga in the Volta Region that the government is currently spending ¢16.8 million on various projects to develop the Volta Region, and that the government was also undertaking various economic ventures to help solve some of the problems of the region.

The Head of State was addressing a durbar of chiefs and people of the Anlo Traditional Area to mark this year's "Hogbetsotso" festival. "What is necessary", Col. Acheampong continued, "is that the people from the region should reciprocate the efforts of the government and individually invest in the region to supplement the efforts of the government".

Monday, November 12

Tema Sardines Out Next Week

MR. B. L. LARTEY, General Manager of the Fish Products Department of the Tema Food Complex, said today at Tema that locally produced sardines and eight other varieties of canned fish would be put on the market by next week. He said that the price of a tin of sardine with a net weight of 200 grams would not exceed 30p on the market, adding that the factory price was 25p.

At the Military Tribunal

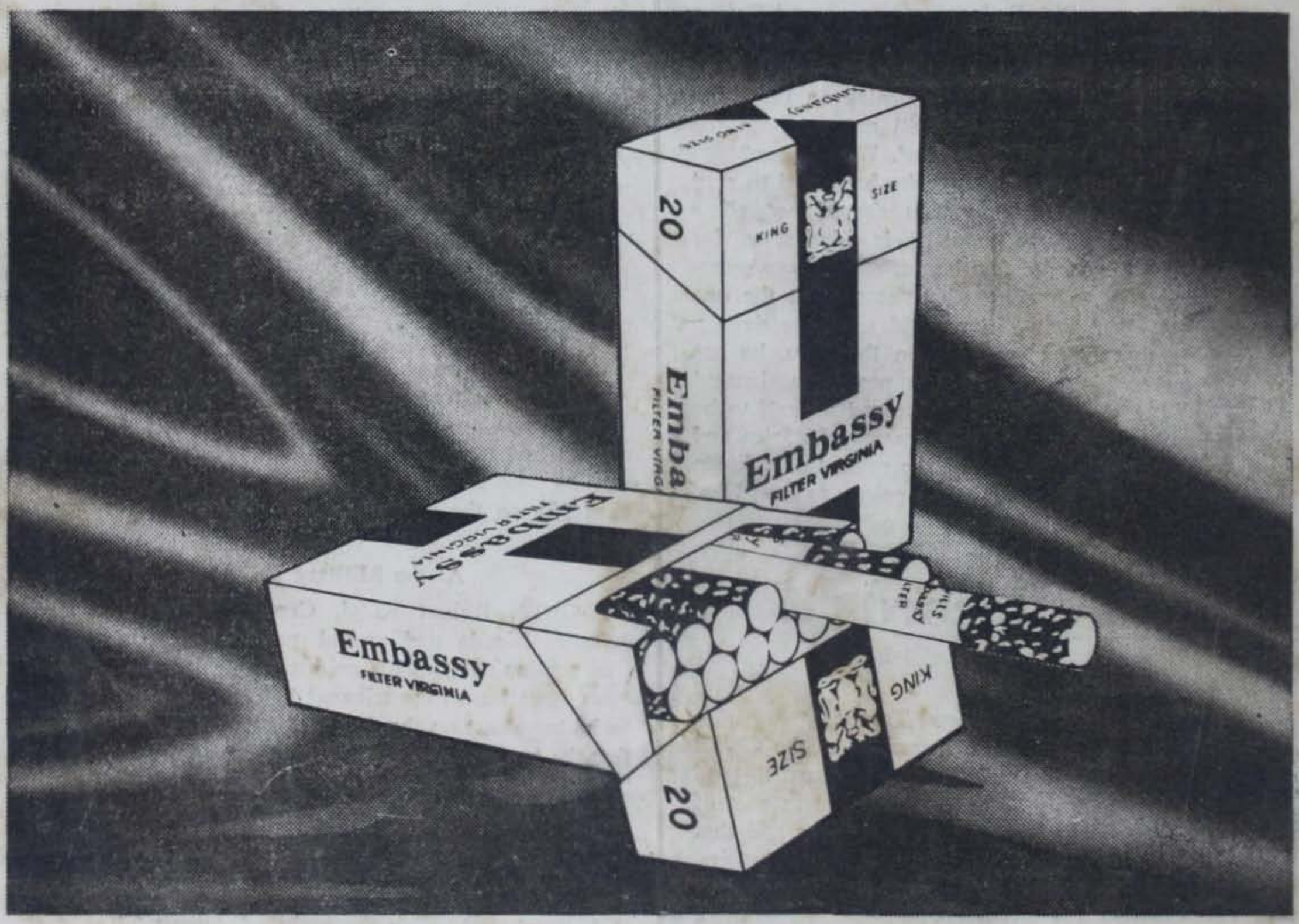
COLONEL Robert Kotei, Commander of the First Infantry Bigade and second prosecuting witness who was continuing with his evidence in chief read out, on November 1st, to the tribunal two speeches which were to be broadcast on the day of the alleged coup. He said that the two speeches were given to him by Ayarna when he and Lt.-Col. Nyame called on Ayarna at the former politician's house in the Achimota Forest on August 26, 1973.

Colonel Kotei also identified before the tribunal a bag containing ¢11,025 which the first accused is said to have given him on the night of August 27 as part of the money promised him if he would overthrow the N.R.C. He added that although Ayarna had said that the bag contained ¢13,000, the Military Intelligence on counting it had found that it contained ¢11,025.

Ayarna, Colonel Kotei, added assured him that the spirit of the Head of State, Col. Acheampong, had been killed by Malam Sidi and that this would facilitate the overthrow of the N.R.C.

On Tuesday November 6, the President of the Tribunal, Col. K. B. Osei-Boateng warned Mr. T. N. Ward-Brew, president of the National Union of Ghana Students for contempt of the tribunal. The N.U.G.S. had called a press conference on Friday 2nd November at which Mr. Ward-Brew had dissociated himself and the NUGS from a statement made before the tribunal about his alleged support for a change of government.

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Editorial

THE PRICE OF SOLIDARITY

SOLIDARITY is a word which is gaining great currency in African and Arab circles these days. The recent Ministerial Council session of the OAU judged itself as likely to go down in history as one of the most serious attempts to redefine African solidarity and unity; and the more recent meeting of Arab Foreign Ministers has concerned itself seriously with Arab-African solidarity. Nor have we been content with the mere word: practically all African states, in pursuance of solidarity with the Arabs, have broken off diplomatic relations with Israel.

It seems paradoxical then that as a result of the cut-back in Arab oil production, African countries, who profess solidarity with the major producers, should be threatened with an agonising oil crisis. Yet there is no denying the fact that Ghana, at the moment, faces an oil shortage. Supplies to filling stations have been reduced, queues of petrol-thirsty vehicles are growing daily, and the quantity sold to the motorist who is lucky enough to get any is severely limited. The possible harmful effect of this to the economy is obvious, and it would be needless and perhaps rather alarmist to dwell on it. Briefly, efficiency will drop, the price of transportation will rise and the price of foodstuffs, particularly, will also go up—and all this at Christmas.

Neither the Arabs nor the Africans seem to have adequately safeguarded against the likely danger to Africa of reducing the amount of petroleum available to the world—especially in a situation where many African countries do not get their supply of oil direct from the Arabs. Obviously, if solidarity is to mean anything, the time has come for the Arab countries to enter negotiations with sub-Saharan African countries for direct supply of oil. Admittedly, the recent session of Arab Foreign Ministers in Algiers has demonstrated a new Arab commitment to African problems. The establishment of a new Arab bank to help finance development projects in Africa is most welcome and so too is the new strong line adopted on the intractable enemies of black Africa, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia; but it was noticeable that the meeting did not announce any clear plans for the protection of African countries against the current oil crisis.

However, African countries must also face their responsibility in the matter and take the initiative in acquiring oil direct from the Arabs. It is curious that Ghana which boasts of a refinery whose capacity exceeds the needs of the country should depend on the Soviet Union for crude oil

while not too distant Algeria and Libya are producers of the commodity. Clearly our present difficulties as well as the present cordiality between the Arab world and Africa would urge that we seek our crude oil directly from these sources and that the difficulties which have in the past hindered our direct oil trade with the Arabs should be overcome now.

In this connetion, the announcement that a government delegation is leaving to negotiate for the supply of crude oil from Libya is timely, but equally urgent is the need to expand our storage capacity for crude oil at Tema since our present plight demonstrates clearly how extremely vulnerable we are as a result of our limited storage facility. And while we talk with the Arabs we should not forget that neighbouring Nigeria is also a producer of crude oil. The possibility of constructing a direct pipeline to Port Harcourt should therefore be investigated. Indeed it is one of the paradoxes of the African political situation that we should be compelled to buy Nigerian oil from the Russians.

Meanwhile, it would not be accurate to assume that the recent Middle-East War is in any way responsible for Ghana's fuel shortage. There had been a mounting scarcity, and the price of crude oil had been rising steadily in a trend that was largely independent of the Middle-East Crisis, and it seems as if we have not shown adequate foresight in view of the situation. Our protocol agreement with the Soviet Union was in need of review and our storage capacity has long been in need of expansion. The assurance has been given that by January the oil situation should be back to normal as a result of negotiations already concluded with the Soviet Union. What is uncertain is whether we can reasonably manage in the next few weeks. We believe it would help if the government came out with a more up-to-date statement on the oil situation explaining the apparent shortage, making it clear if rationing is necessary, and, if so, setting out a fair and efficient system of rationing. Such a statement will help in keeping any alarm in check.

BE ABREAST WITH
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AUGUST 4, 1974.

Africa

POLITICS OF CONFRONTATION: BACKGROUND TO AFRICA'S BREAK WITH ISRAEL

By

S.K.B. Asante

WITHIN a period of less than one year almost all members of the Organisation of African Unity have dramatically broken off diplomatic relations with the twenty-five year-old Jewish state of Israel. This is perhaps one of the epoch-making events in the diplomatic activity of the O.A.U. It marks a clear departure from the organisation's practice of not becoming involved in distinctly non-African affairs. It is also a departure from the O.A.U.'s previous role of an impartial mediator in the Middle East conflict to that of confrontation with one of the disputants in that conflict. This confrontation is significant in another respect. For unlike the usual encounters which Africa has had with such of her inveterate **number one** enemies as racist Rhodesia, arch colonialist Portugal or apartheid South Africa, the O.A.U. has severed ties with a country which through various means has since the mid-1950s built up an enormous fund of goodwill among many African states. It seems quite evident now that Africa's romance with Israel is over. This brief review will attempt a discussion of the background of O.A.U.'s **volte-face** in the Middle East conflict. It will also show that Africa's decision to break off diplomatic relations with Israel must rank as one of the most painful challenges which have ever confronted the O.A.U.

The Arab-Israeli conflict has intruded into the African political arena since 1955, when at the Afro-Asian conference at Bandung, Israel was criticised in a resolution adopted by twenty-eight nations who supported the rights of the Arab people of Palestine. This issue was raised again at the very first conference of Independent African States held in Accra in April, 1958. However, in spite of the pressure on the part of the African Arab countries to gain the support of the sub-Saharan states, the trend, by and large, was to exclude the Middle East from the deliberations of African councils. Consequently, the Middle East question was not discussed at the inaugural conference of the O.A.U. at Addis Ababa in May 1963. Again, from 1963, to June 1967, the Israeli-Arab conflict was not directly included on any O.A.U. agenda, despite the increasing Arab pressure for a discussion of this subject. The issue was ignored on the grounds that it was not a strictly African problem.

Meanwhile Israeli's diplomatic offensive in Africa had been swift and spectacular. Up to 1956, Israel had practically no presence in Africa — only an embassy in South Africa and a consulate general in Kenya. This situation changed radically and dramatically in the next few years. By 1961, Tel Aviv was represented in 16 independent African countries By 1970, more than one-half of the member-states of the O.A.U., 21 in all, had co-operation treaties with Israel. Israeli experts and personnel of various sorts in Africa numbered 21,483 in 1971, as opposed to only 530 in Latin America. Five years ago, there were 754 African trainees of various professions in Israel. Thus, Israel's isolation in the Middle East has led her to be an important practitioner of Realpolitik. But what have been the objectives of Israel's African policy?

Israel's African policy is based on three fundamental principles: first, containment of Arab influence, through military assistance, if necessary; secondly, extension of economic relations with the non-Arab African states since Israel's economic partners, the Middle Eastern Arab states, are unwilling to engage in any transactions with her; and thirdly, gaining diplomatic support among non-Arab African states for use against the Arabs within the O.A.U. and the United Nations. Trade ties as well as strategic political considerations are also important as long as the Arab-Israeli conflict continues.

The Six-Day War in June 1967 marked the first turning-point in Israeli-African relations. It was the beginning of the O.A.U.'s confrontation with Israel. The war showed the Israeli leaders that seven years of effort in Africa was proving largely fruitless. For the years following the June war saw an intensification of Arab states' diplomatic counter-offensive in Africa. Libya's oil royalties and Saudi Arabia's, Kuwait's and Bahrein's gold reserves gave the Arabs a financial footing in some African countries. Not only did the Arab states multiply their diplomatic missions south of the Sahara between 1967 and 1973, but also many African capitals began to open their doors to the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (P.L.O.).

New Dimension

As a result of these activities, Israeli-African relations, which were euphoric until the six-day war, began steadily to be marked since then by progressive mutual disenchantment. Between March and December 1972, five African states —Uganda (March), Chad (November) and Niger, Mali and Congo (December)—followed Guinea's 1967 example by breaking diplomatic ties with Israel. African political leaders no longer hesitated to make violent attacks on their former allies, the Israelis. For example, President Ngouabi of Congo turned his back on the Israelis, whom he called "the spearhead of imperialism in central Africa".

More significantly, the defeat of the Arabs in the June war of 1967 added a new dimension to the situation. Whereas in the period preceding the war the conflict had been presented to sub-Saharan Africa in terms of the plight of the Palestinians, after it the issue at stake became that of the territories which Israel had occupied, particularly those which formed part of Egypt, afoundation member of the O.A.U. However, in spite of what appear to be a clear case of aggression on an African teritory, O.A.U. condemnation was not immediately forthcoming. At the Kinshasa meeting of the O.A.U. Ministerial Council held in September 1967, for example, many member-states indicated that they would not support a resolution strongly condemning Israel. The Arab-Israeli question thus threatened to split the entire O.A.U. front. The organisation on the whole was prevented by some of the moderate states in the continent from taking sides.

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Arab pressure and counter-diplomatic offensive. however, finally began to pay off. At the Seventh O.A.U. Summit meeting of September, 1970, at Addis Ababa a specific item was included on the agenda for the first time under the title, 'The Continuing Occupation of Part of the Territories of the U.A.R. by Foreign Forces'. Although this was a breakthrough, the resolution did maintain a certain impartiality. Concern was expressed over the occupation of a sister-state, yet at the same time the resolution stipulated that the U.N. Security Council's Resolution 242 of 22 November 1967 should be applied in its totality —without however making withdrawal an essential precondition to settlement.

The O.A.U. actually began to take a more active role, however, in the June 1971 Summit meeting at Addis Ababa. It was at this meeting that the organisation somehow abandoned its objectivity. The agenda title was this time quite explicit, 'The Continued Aggression against the U.A.R.' The meeting passed a resolution indicating its approval of Cairo's positive attitude as shown by its February 15 acceptance of the Jarring proposals. At the same time, it deplored Israeli's defiance to that initiative and called upon it to make a similar positive reply. But it was not without some elements of serious disagreement and protest among some member-states of the O.A.U. that this obviously mild and non-commital resolution was adopted.

"Four Wise Men"

The situation was, however, saved by the Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda's subsequent suggestion that the O.A.U. should form a Committee of Ten "Wise Men" to help implement Security Council Resolution 242 and to facilitate the resumption of the Jarring mission. Out of this a sub-committee of four headed by President Leopold Senghor of Senegal was set up to represent the O.A.U. on a fact-finding mission to Cairo and Jerusalem respectively. The conclusions of the four heads of state, as indicated by reports of their deliberations, showed somewhat more sympathy to the Israeli position and greater objectivity than was contained in the O.A.U. resolution of June 1971. The mission was unable to find a compromise between the Egyptian demand for immediate withdrawal and the Israeli insistence upon negotiating first. What is more disturbing, there was a clear lack of agreement among the Committee of Ten about the report of the "Four Wise Men".

It is not unexpected, then, that the Middle East debate at the Twenty-Sixth U.N. General Assembly, which began its proceedings in early December 1971, witnessed a display of disunity by the O.A.U. states over their own committee's memorandum. When members held meetings in the corridors of the U.N. before the Assembly debate they failed to reach a consensus. Against the 15 African states which insisted that the recommendations of the "Four Wise Men" form the basis of the U.N. resolution there was a majority of 18 states which wished to pledge their support for Egypt's position. Thus the bulk of African votes went to the 21-power Afro-Asian resolution which called for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territorries 'occupied in the recent conflict' and condemned her for the stalemate which had overtaken the Jarring Mission.

O.A.U. — Israeli Relations

The real decisive turning -point in the O.A.U.—Israeli relations came at the Rabat O.A.U. Summit meeting in June 1972. Here, the O.A.U. for the first time took an emphatically non-conciliatory stand on the Middle East issue. A pro-Egyptian resolution was adopted. This was facilitated by the site of the gathering in an Arab country, Morocco, and by an Arab chairman, King Hassan. The pro-Egyptian resolution was re-affirmed at the tenth anniversary of the O.A.U. Summit meeting at Addis Ababa in May this year. In very strong terms the resolution on the Middle East called on Israel to withdraw from all occupied territories and warned, for the first time ever, that the Israelis' negative attitude might lead O.A.U. member-states to take, at the African level, individually or collectively, political and economic measures against it. When Israel blatantly refused to show any consideration for what seems to be the 'legitimate concerns' of Africa, African states felt compelled to squarely meet the Israeli challenge by breaking diplomatic ties with Tel Aviv. The confrontation is complete. The long period of romance with Israel has come to a dramatic end. Willy nilly, Africa has inescapably been drawn into the protracted Middle East dispute.

It is not our intention to evaluate this act of brinkmanship on the part of O.A.U. It is probably too early to have a complete perspective on such a recent event. Perhaps enough time should elapse to enable us submit it to a serious and critical analysis. But considering the diversity of opinion among O.A.U. members over the whole Middle East question, as well as the massive assistance and co-operation which Israel has over the years offered to African states, the decision to break with Tel Aviv is probably the highest premium that sub-Saharan Africa has so far paid

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for opting for the Arab cause. It may, however, be argued that to maintain diplomatic relations with a country that refuses to renounce the occupation of a foreign country is in a way to encourage that country. On the other hand, it is tempting to ask whether partisanship is the only alternative open to African states in their effort to exert more influence on Israel. But the question which may always be speculated upon at this stage, as the **Observer** rightly referred to recently, is this: What would be 'adequate recompense' for African states' painful and possibly expensive gesture of solidarity?

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International

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PRESIDENT LOSONCZI'S VISIT

By
G. Adali-Mortty

A GOVERNMENT has the prerogative to extend hands of friendship to whomsoever takes its fancy. If the friendship happens to carry benefits, or enjoys the acceptance and approval of large segments of the citizenry, so much the better. Since the effects of governmental diplomacy and acts of friendship commit all the people of the country concerned even though they do not have a hand in fashioning the bonds, and even though they may not have approved of these acts, the citizens are at liberty to discuss the probable side-effects of each diplomatic move which their goverment makes on their behalf.

The hubbub over the state visit of the Hungarian Head of State having subsided with his departure the other day, it is understandable that both within diplomatic circles and beyond these there should be a reckoning of what benefits the tax-payer is likely to derive from the event. Especially is this the case, when one considers the broad terrain over which the visiting Head of State and that of Ghana exchanged views. We learn from the ensuing communique that the two Heads of State "have agreed to promote political, economic and cultural relations" between Hungary and Ghana. We do not yet know the full contents of the agreement that was signed, but we hope it will not be long before the people of Ghana, on whose behalf the agreement was signed, have the privilege of knowing the content of the agreement. It is in the interest of the government itself no less than in the interest of the country that international agreements entered into on behalf of our country should be published and thus made common knowledge for discussion and public review. The fact is, diplomatic moves are not made without political implications. Even if the talks between the two Heads of State were limited to economic, financial or commercial matters, the fact that Mr. Losonczi is from the Eastern bloc would give a controversial twist to the whole affair. Since the talks included political and cultural subjects they do raise the issue to a level at which no citizen who has a head to think with can possibly be indifferent. The thinking citizen must try to see beyond the wining and dining and add up what the visit really amounts to.

It may well be that the kind of welcome and publicity given to President Losonczi is the style

of the NRC for receiving Heads of State. It may well be that, if this be the case, other visiting Heads of State on state visits will be accorded similar receptions. We just have to wait and see. If however the government considered this particular visit as being of special importance, then it can be argued that this is indication of our present political drift and it can be argued further that this trend is bound to affect relations with our more important trading partners.

Limited as Ghana's trading relations necessarily have been with Hungary, and limited, in any case, as Hungary's freedom of external relations is by virtue of its membership in the Warsaw Pact, any moves which the Ghana government may make which are likely to cause a recoil of more valuable or more sizeable external sources of support can only endanger our economy further. What is Hungary's potential for trade and other exchange? Let us first of all, consider the commonsense layman's view of Mr. Losonczi's visit. After all, says the simple mind, the decision to invite the Hungarian President was made by other than crafty and scheming politicians with subtle calculations of gain. A military regime may be presumed to be without guile! Besides, Ghana and Hungary are "developing" countries, with common growing pains. Neither can rank among sophisticated and highly technological nations of the world. With modest populations around ten million people either way, and in point of geography so tiny—Hungary is one-third the size of Ghana—the two countries do not matter a mighty lot on the world's map. Their mutual embrace is just fun, and it means no harm.

There is also the traumatic experience of foreign aggression and occupation, which both nations have suffered. For instance, in the matter of foreign domination, compare Hungary's plight with the vicissitudes through which Gold Coast "Colony," Ashanti and the "Northern Territories", now one Ghana, went through. From the 9th century A.D., when the Magyars swooped from the Urals to seize the land now known as Hungary, successive conquerors and aggressors marched over the unlucky land, burning, killing, looting and taking occupation. Austrian, Russian, Rumanian, Czechoslovakian and German troops in turn had their field day. As late as 1944 and 1956, Soviet troops made short work of Hungarian revolt and self-assertion by crushing the uprisings and imposing a Soviet-approved hegemony.

Also, Hungary has a slight edge over Ghana in growth indices, measured in terms of Gross National Product and per capita income, but not substantially. Even though 12% is the desirable ratio of a country's population which should ideally be on the farms and which should feed the rest of the population, Hungary can only manage with as high a figure as 26% of its people in agriculture. Technologically, too, Hungary's proximity and exposure to Western technology gives her a marginal advantage over Ghana. It exported transport equipment, medicine and other machinery and shoes to the tune of two billion dollars in 1970. Thus, Hungry has an industrial lead over Ghana. And Ghana can thus learn from her, especially since the lead is not so wide as to make it impossible for Ghana to emulate Hungary. This then is the commonsense view of the state visit.

Soviet Presnce

But the fact is that Hungary's lead over Ghana is so limited that she can only make the most modest of promises to us. It is hoped, therefore, that the expectations which implicity or explicity might have been expressed by us during the state visit did not embarrass the President and his entourage too much. How much can Hungary provide us? How much has it to spare of consumer goods?

Let us grant that one country has the resources of finance, military gear and disposable or surplus commodities of any sort to offer as aid to the other in case of dire need. In any event, Hungary has the protective shield, against all comers, of Russian military might and physical presence. Indeed, such is the omnipresence of Soviet power in Hungary that the country could not afford the luxury of messing around with social experiments repugnant to the Soviet Union. Safely distant as we in Ghana are from either of the world super powers, we could indulge ourselves in political experiments without bringing down on our heads

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the immediate fury of Russian or American arms, but the same is simply not true of Hungary.

We hope therefore that our government has this point firmly in mind. It is also our hope that this and succeeding governments of Ghana will, in the handling of foreign affairs and diplomacy, remember that the growing diversity of outlook and of cultural and philosophical preferences on the part of Ghanaian citizens today are such that policy makers need to guard scrupulously against over-simplifying our likes and dislikes in the matter. Rising levels of enlightenment complicate political and philosophical choices. Since in this context of complex preferences, the imposition of somebody's own choices or preferences is likely to be intensely and fiercely resented and resisted, the handling of foreign affairs by national rulers is likely to be (and has been before now) the undoing of governments.

Observer Notebook

Another Round of Debt Negotiations?

ONE of the most intractable problems that faced the Busia government was that of our external debt. Despite the threats that Busia issued from time to time, he never came round to solving the problem in the radical spirit suggested by his "Kafodidi" ("even debtors must eat") philosophy. If any single issue frustrated the survival ability of the last civilian government and nullified its intentions and ability to grapple with the economic problems of the country it was that of our external debt. It became increasingly evident that as long as Busia remained obsessed with the debts, his government could not get any leeway to raise the standard of living in the country.

It was therefore with considerable relief that less than one month after the change of government last year, the National Redemption Council took the long-awaited courageous step of repudiating some of the debts outright and announcing conditions under which the remainder would be paid, subject of course to their being established as free from "corruption and other forms of illegality". Colonel Acheampong's statement of 5th February 1972 was categorical and unambiguous. It traced the numerous efforts that previous governments had made, and cast doubts as to the wisdom in resuming negotiations, given the persistent insensitivity of the creditor-countries. The government emphatically rejected any "sterile multilateral negotiations".

When the announcement was made, the government was acclaimed for its courage and realism in taking that radical step. It is clear that if our economic situation has not got much worse than it is now, it is mainly because of the unilateral ten year moratorium that the government placed on the repayment of those external debts "unvitiated by corruption and other forms of illegality".

Now, information we have obtained from our usually reliable sources indicates that the government seems to have gone back on its statement of 5th February 1972 and that preliminary negotiations on our external debt have progressed so far that a full-scale multilateral meeting between Ghana and her creditor countries belonging to the I.M.F. is scheduled to take place in Accra early next month, and this raises a number of issues. We know that after repudiating some debts outright, the government set up a committee to examine the legality or soundness of all the remaining debts. Are we to assume that that committee has completed its work and that the exercise of renegotiating the debts is a recommendation from that committee? In Colonel Acheampong's statement of 5th February 1972 he declared that even in the case of those debts which will be found to have been genuine, Ghana would require a moratorium of ten years before starting repayment. When this moratorium was declared the fundamental assumption was that a realistic appraisal of our economic situation left us in doubt that with the best will in the world we would need some breathing-space of about a decade to honour our genuine obligations. Is it being seriously suggested now that the situation has so materially improved after two years that we can spare even a modest sum in meeting our external debt obligations? Is there any evidence now to show that the government can undertake any repayments without "drastically limiting its ability to provide the basic necessities of life for the people or to carry out any modest programme of economic development and growth"? Can we say our "well-documented case" is any less convincing now than it was nearly a couple of years ago? Or, on the other hand, are there any reliable indications that our creditors will prove any less insensitive or unsympathetic than they have been to previous governments by offering us repayment terms that will not put severe constraints on our economic growth?

The February 5th 1972 government statement was so carefully presented that it found sympathetic echoes both within this country and beyond. Even the bitterest opponents of the government were prepared to concede that the N.R.C. had done the most obviously sensible thing in


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the circumstances. Whence then this **volte-face** which is tantamount to a sell-out? It is known that our creditor countries did not take kindly to our action and tried to apply some squeeze as a reprisal. But this must have been anticipated, and from all indications it was. It will be interesting to know what pressures have been exerted on the government, and from which quarters. It is, of course, well known that I.M.F. officials have been in and out of this country within the last six months, and certainly they have not been coming here for nothing.

The government is well advised to give this matter deeper reflection, for after all if the screws are further tightened we are not likely to get any worse than we are at the moment with all the shortages and privations. The government also needs to be reminded that a considerable portion of its popularity was generated by the courageous stand it took on our debts and that political booster must be too precious to fritter away wantonly and unadvisedly, even if, as we are constantly reminded, a military government does not need popular support and goodwill to maintain itself in power.

Even though it would appear that the government has already compromised itself on this issue, we think there is still time to salvage the situation. And the only way to do this is to stick steadfastly to the original position taken in February last year, since our economic position has not so radically improved as to enable us to shoulder the additional burden without prejudice to our economic viability. Any such ill-considered capitulation will tempt friends and foes alike to ask: Where are the good sense, the courage and the realism of yesteryear?

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Social Problems

Medical Laboratory Technologists —A Case For Recognition*

By
W. N. Laing.

THE occasion of the inauguration of the Association of Ghana Medical Laboratory Technologists, which fell on October 13, is an appropriate opportunity for thinking aloud about the whole subject of the medical laboratory and its staff.

To begin with, what sort of institution is a medical otherwise called a clinical laboratory and secondly, what sort of biological and economic animal is a medical laboratory technologist? A medical or clinical laboratory is a laboratory where microbiological, serological, chemical, haematological, bio-physical, cytological, immunohaematological, or pathological examinations are performed on materials (such as blood, urine etc.) derived from the human body, to provide information for the diagnosis, prevention or treatment of disease or a medical condition, or where any examination, determination or test is made on any sample used as a basis for health advice. For readers who have nothing to do with medicine, this means the place where you go to have your blood test, urine test, etc.

In such a place there are various levels of workers: under the general direction of a pathologist who may be specialised in one of the many branches included in the definition, you have, in order of decreasing seniority, scientists and laboratory technologists, laboratory technicians, and laboratory assistants. Do not forget of course the trainee who is being trained to become an assistant, a technician or a technologist. In local parlance we use the term technical officer interchangeably with technician, but I prefer "technician".

Qualifications

Leaving aside the pathologist and scientists who are university graduates with qualifications in their specialties, we may say that a technologist is a person who performs tests which require the exercise of independent judgement and responsibility, with minimal supervision by the pathologist, or scientist, in those specialties or subspecialties in which he is qualified by education, training, and experience. I will amplify this later.

A laboratory technician is any person other than the pathologist, scientist, technologist, laboratory assistant or trainee, who functions under the supervision of a pathologist, scientist or technologist and performs only those clinical laboratory procedures, which require limited skill, responsibility and a minimal exercise of independent judgement. A laboratory assistant has lower education and requires the direct and responsible supervision of a higher grade worker. The name trainee is, of course, self-explanatory. Put another way, then, the laboratory technologist is the right hand man of the pathologist. He, like other laboratory workers in the lower grades, is hardly ever seen; when he is, it is but for a fleeting moment; for instance, when he visits you in the ward to take a specimen of your blood. Sometimes he cannot even be seen; for your specimen is taken by a nurse and sent to him, or you produce your specimen at a reception desk and it is sent off somewhere else in the building to him. By what magic the result on the printed form eventually reaches the ward or is handed to you, you never cease to wonder.

From now on, we will concentrate for the most part on this mysterious biological and economic animal, the medical laboratory technologist, now that we know what a laboratory is and the various grades of workers in it.

History

Taking Britain, from whom we have borrowed so many fine institutions, as an example, it may be said that before 1912, medical laboratory staff were called laboratory assistants, and they were trained on the job by the pathologists for whom they worked. They had no organisation, there was no standard system of training or of pay and service conditions.

In 1912, a small number of men with vision and enthusiasm, inspired by Albert Norman and John McLean, laid the foundations of a movement which has as its aim the improvement of the position of the then laboratory assistant. From their efforts, the "Pathological and Bacteriological Laboratory Assistants Association" was born.

Progress was at first slow, but laboratory workers gradually realised the potential value of the organisation. From these beginnings and with the continued support and friendship of the Pathological Society of Great Britain and Ireland—a parallel society composed of pathologists and bacteriologists and itself at the time a very young organisation, there was evolved an examination system, a clear definition of educational standards, publications, liaison with education authorities and the health services, and the knitting together into a profession of a widely-scattered and diverse body of laboratory workers, culminating in the foundation of the present Institute of Medical Laboratory Technology, the examining body whose dipploma the majority of the members of the Association we are about to launch here have.

Better conditions and an enhanced status resulted from all these efforts, and in 1960 a Professions Supplementary to Medicine Act was pased. The preamble reads: "An Act to provide for the establishment of a Council, boards and disciplinary committees for certain professions supplementary to medicine; to provide for the registration of members of those professions, for regulating their professional education and professional conduct and for cancelling registration in cases of misconduct; and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid". This is parallel to similar legislation for the professions of Medicine, Pharmacy, and Nursing.

In other countries similar progress was made. For instance in the U.S.A., the American Society of Clinical Pathologists was instrumental in evolving the certification, after examination, of what they call in America, Medical Technologists.

What was happening in Ghana?

In 1916 Mr. Carliss Paittoo, a distinguished Ghanaian, started working as a laboratory assistant at the old Government Chemical Laboratory, situated near the Ambassador Hotel. By 1923 there were three laboratory assistants at the Medical Research Institute (M.R.I.) at Korle Bu, now called the Health Laboratory Services Headquarters. These laboratory assistants worked with the famous pioneer pathologists Drs. Young and Noguchi, both of whom, it is sad to relate, succumed to yellow fever, a disease they were investigating. Dr.

* This is a slightly edited version of the address delivered by Professor Laing at the inauguration of the Association of Ghana Medical Laboratory Technologists.

Noguchi died first and his postmortem examination was performed by Dr. Young. Some days later, he himself was dead from the same disease; it was thought that he had infected himself while doing the postmortem on his colleague, Dr. Noguchi.

By 1942 the numbers had increased to 17, by 1950, to 50. By this time, also, activities had spread out from Accra to other regional and district hospitals, and, what is very important, a batch of secondary school leavers had joined the ranks and a Laboratory School had been established at the M.R.I. This School, much improved, but in a still unsatisfactory state, still exists at the Health Laboratory Services Headquarters, the successor of the M.R.I.

By 1956, there were over 100 laboratory workers. Also, some deserving laboratory Assistants had been sent to U.K. on attachment to various laboratories for practical experience.

By 1960, there were 200. By this time too, four enterprising and adventurous Ghanaian secondary school leavers had gone on their own to U.K. and returned home with A.I.M.L.T. — The Associateship of the Institute of Medical Laboratory Technology.

A move was made by the Ministry in the early 1960s as a logical sequence to the establishment of a Laboratory School, to send successful and deserving graduates of the School to the U.K. to study medical laboratory technology. Previous to this, those secondary school leavers who had completed three years training at the School had been awarded a local Competency Certificate.

With full backing of the Ministry, we were able to arrange for the Institute in U.K. to hold its Intermediate examination right here in Accra. Nine passed the first time, due in large measure to the unstinting efforts of one of our first A.I.M.L.Ts Mr. Isaac Sackey. Then there was the coup of 1966. It was suggested that due to the economic difficulties prevailing at the time, we should divide the nine candidates into three groups of three, to be awarded scholarships spread over three successive years, so that they could go and do their Finals in the U.K. It required some negotiation with the N.L.C. before they all got the scholarships and went to U.K. and got the A.I.M.L.T. Of these, three are now with the Medical School.

Today there are about 50 medical laboratory technologists, trained in U.K., U.S.A. and elsewhere, and no fewer than 270 more junior laboratory technical staff, working in 50 laboratories throughout the country.

Training

A would-be technologist requires again using the A.I.M.L.T. as an example the W.A.S.C. with four credits in English, Maths, General Science and another science subject, or an equivalent qualification. For the Intermediate Examination the candidate must have "a basic knowledge of routine laboratory duties and methods common to the five subjects of bacteriology, blood transfusion, chemical pathology, haematology and histopathology". For the final the candidate takes an examination in one of the main branches.

The total training covers three years to the Intermediate stage plus two more to the Final, a total of five years from the School Certificate, an important point to bear in mind. A higher qualification, the Fellowship, is also obtainable, either by examination or by thesis. There are of course, other schemes in various countries for becoming a technologist. It is clear then that Medical Laboratory Technologists are highly-skilled professionals, absolutely indispensable to the practice of modern scientific medicine.

They are, to repeat what I said earlier, persons who perform tests which require the exercise of independent judgement and responsibility, with minimal supervision "from above", in only those specialties or sub-specialties in which they are qualified by education, training and experience.

Yet what has been their lot up till now in Ghana? There has been a most regrettable tendency to equate technologists with inferior workers in other ministries and to regard them as some strange perverted breed of artisans furtively working behind closed doors and only occasionally emerging into the light of day wearing a white coat just to show that they also exist. Till now, technologists have never been recognized for what they are, as belonging to a profession. They have been poorly paid, poorly housed or not at all, have taken all the risks attendant to the practice of their profession without much of a **quid pro quo** from their employers. For example, the risk of tuberculosis among laboratory workers in general (including pathologists) is eight times that of other workers in the medical field, yet they are not specially insured against such risks.

One result is that technologists have been leaving the public sector to go to much better-paid employment in

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the private sector, and this after the majority have been trained, to use, the familiar expression, at public expense.

There is a great difficulty on the part of the main employer i.e. Government in recruiting qualified technologists from abroad, and at home. There is the even greater difficulty in attracting secondary school leavers to choose medical laboratory technology as a career, since there are much more attractive alternatives available. In contrast, in other countries medical laboratory technology is a highly respected profession. There is the requisite legislative backing. Technologists are well paid, often better than science graduates. Last, and very important, there is legislation to regulate the work not only of State-owned laboratories such as those operated by the National Health Service of the U.K. but also that of independent privately-run laboratories.

We need hardly elaborate on the fact that, with the line pegged so low for the top of the technical personnel in the laboratory i.e. the technologist, it is not at all surprising that there is a corresponding bemeaning of the status of the laboratoy technician and the laboratory assistant in pay and service conditions. In view of their importance in the medical services, we need to take positive steps to rectify the position.

The Association of Ghana Medical Laboratory Technologists

This Association was recently formed and has been registered in accordance with the Professional Bodies Registration Decree, 1973. It is the first time in Ghana that medical laboratory technology has been officially recognised for what it is, a profession, by the Government of the day.

The Association has, very properly, among its aims:

"2. To promote the science and to develop the practice of Medical Laboratory Technology for the benefit of mankind.

3. To cater for the social, economic and professional needs of members.

4. For the purpose of carrying out the objects, the Association shall seek to have influence and secure for members such definite status and recognition as may assist members in the discharge of their duties.

5. To exercise professional supervision over the members with a view to maintaining a high standard of professional competence and conduct."

It has already over 50 members trained in various countries and I do hope they will be able to form a suitable amalgam from their differing backgrounds to put medical laboratory technology in Ghana on the firmest footing.

The Future

Now that the Government recognises medical laboratory technology as a profession, the first and most logical step is to see to it that medical laboratory technologists are upgraded to the main professional grade. Other laboratory workers would be correspondingly and automatically upgraded. Fringe benefits like accommodation and a hazard allowance require no elaboration.

Next, there is urgently required a Decree similar in spirit to the Professions Supplementary to Medicine Act 1960 (U.K.) "to establish a Council, boards, and disciplinary committees for certain professions supplementary to medicine (including medical laboratory technology) to provide for the registration of members of those professions; for regulating their professional education and professional conduct and for cancelling registration in cases of misconduct". Privileges always are accompanied by responsibilities and experience shows that the legislation in U.K. for example has worked very well.

In Ghana, such legislation already exists for doctors and dentists, pharmacists, nurses and midwives. Why not medical laboratory technologists, radiographers, physiotherapists etc.? We can never have progress without a little law and order.

Training Technologists Locally

In addition we do need in Ghana a School training our own secondary school leavers to A.I.M.L.T. standard and beyond. We ourselves can set up such a school. Ghanaian technologists as well as pathologists and scientists can teach in it using a little assistance from well-wishers abroad and co-operation in the field of providing external examiners to achieve the requisite high standards. Initially, it may well be , we would have to retain two levels of certification, at the technician level and at the technologists level, but our aim should be to train all laboratory workers to full technologist level.

Finally, it should be possible to have legislation to regulate the operation of medical laboratories in both the public and the private sectors. There is no reason, with the exception of certain extra safeguards relating to fees and other matters in the case of laboratories set up for gain, why the legislation should be fundamentally different.

In this connection, it is hoped that the following considerations or principles which have worked well elsewhere will be borne in mind by those who draw up the necessary legislations:

1. The laboratory is in conformity with all applicable Acts, and municipal and other local legislation.

Thus it will be licensed; the director (pathologist) and staff will be registered and the laboratory will meet adequately any laws relating to fire, safety and other relevant matters.

2. It has an overall director who is qualified e.g. a physician who is specialised in some branch of pathology or a Ph.D in microbiology, for example.

This director administers the technical and scientific operation of the laboratory. He serves full-time or on a part-time basis, and every day he spends an adequate amount of time in the laboratory to direct and supervise the technical performance of the staff. (An exception may be made only in a rural area).

The director is responsible (legally) for the proper performance of the tests. When he is to be continuously absent e.g. on leave, arrangements are made for a qualified substitute.

3. The laboratory has one or more supervisors (pathologists, scientists, or technologists) who, under the general direction of the director, supervise technical personnel and reporting of findings, perform tests requiring special scientific skills, and in the absence of the director are held responsible (legally) for the proper performance of all procedures. (Of course, by defini-

tion, the director is also qualified as a supervisor and may also serve, where appropriate, as the laboratory supervisor).

4. The laboratory performs only those tests and procedures that are within the specialties in which the laboratory director, supervisor, or persons engaged to perform the tests are qualified.

5. As an adjunct to this, regarding technical personnel, the laboratory has a sufficient number of properly qualified technical personnel for the volume and diversity of tests performed.

This is to say that (a) there are actually on the job a sufficient number of technologists to proficiently perform under the general supervision the tests which require the exercise of independent judgement, and (b) that technicians are employed in sufficient number to meet the work load demands and that they work only under direct supervision of a technologist and (c) that no person other than a physician or one otherwise authorised by law manipulate a patient for the collection of specimens; except that qualified personnel of the laboratory may collect blood or remove stomach contents and collect material for smears and culture under the direction or upon written request of a physician.

6. Management:— Space, facilities and equipment are adequate to perform the services offered by the laboratory.

Thus there should be adequate quality control including the use, where applicable, of reference or control sera, control charts etc.

Equipment should be in good working order, routinely checked and precisely calibrated; considerations like bench space, ventilation, fire precautions are seen to; and, very important, there is freedom from unnecessary physical, chemical and biological hazards.

7. The laboratory examines specimens only at the signed request of a licensed physician, dentist or other person authorised by law to receive such results. Thus requests signed by nursing staff will not be countenanced, the requests from a member of the public for a "blood check-up" will simply not be tolerated (with the possible exception of pregnancy tests).

8. The laboratory maintains a record showing the daily accession of specimens each of which is numbered or otherwise appropriately indentified.

9. The report is sent promptly to the person authorised to receive it and a suitable record is preserved by the laboratory (in accordance with the local statute of limitations).

10. Finally, personnel policies are written policies, practices and procedures that adequately support sound laboratory practice: E.g. (a) employee records include a record of each employee's training and experience.

(b) files contain evidence of adequate health supervision of employees e.g. results of pre-employment as well as periodic and regular medical examinations, including chest Xrays, and records of all illnesses and accidents occurring on duty.

(c) work distribution is consistent with qualifications

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Letters

Our Stand in the Arab-Israeli Conflict—A Rejoinder

SIR—G. Adali-Mortty's piece entitled "Our Stand in the Arab-Israeli Conflict" (**Legon Observer** Vol. VIII/22) calls for comment. As usual the author writes as if to suggest that for us in the Third World to espouse such themes as imperialism, Zionism, and socialism is to be irrational and oblivious of "good counsel and wise deliberations". One is reminded of a similar attitude he expressed in an earlier article on socialism published in your paper.

The involvement of most black African states in the Middle East crisis has nothing to do with a bid for international importance, as the author suggests. Such a suggestion can only flow from a mind that equates political sovereignty and non-alignment with isolationism in international politics, and this is why it was so easy for the author to state rather brazenly that the role of Ghana and other small nations in the Middle East affairs was to keep their peace, i.e. to refrain from taking sides.

The author urges us not to be so excited about an issue that only marginally touches the national interests of black Africa. But in matters affecting this continent it would be wrong for us to limit our vision to black Africa, not only because the Organisation of African Unity embraces both North and Sub-Saharan African states, but also because the terms "Africa" and "African"

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represent more a geographical than a racial description. A more disturbing ramification of the wedge thus drawn between "Arab" and Africa and "black" Africa is the political opportunism that it connotes. Black African states expect Egypt and Libya to take a more active part in the struggle to liberate the indigenous people of Southern Africa who have no ethnic affinities whatsoever with the Arabs; and yet black African states are urged to "drop out" of a confrontation between Israelis and Egyptians because the latter are not ethnically related to them.

I dare say that the author does not even believe in any notion of the interest of black Africa as an entity. I sense in his language the presence of a political perspective that does not reach beyond the confines of the modern nation state. That perspective I characterise as miero-nationalism, which can lead to very distressing postures in inter-African relations. If confrontation of another sort ever developed between, say, Uganda, a black African state, and Israel, or between Zambia and white South Africa, advocates of micro-nationalism would have no difficulty in counselling Ghana, another black African state, to remain neutral in the matter if "the supreme interests" of the nation state so demanded. In the case of African states, of course, the supreme national interest in such cases generally revolves around the enjoyment or promise of cheap technical assistance and trade concessions. I suggest that if we have to practise any form of nationalism in the international sphere, it must not be micro-nationalism or black African nationalism, but **African** nationalism.

Mr. Adali-Mortty asks who is to judge which of the parties to the Middle East conflict is more entitled to the land **now** held by Israel. The questioner must be one of the very few people who have problems answering that question, and even the United States, a sworn supporter of Israel, concedes that all the territories seized by Israel since the war in 1967 are Arab lands.

Let us not allow our sympathy for the historical misfortunes of the Jews to cover up the basic unfairness of the Israeli position. A Judaic state for Jews is carved out of a land mass which had previously been numerically dominated by an Islamic Arab population, leading to the creation of an enormous Palestinian Arab refugee problem. Naturally, this is viewed as an affront by the Palestinian and other Arabs, and they attempt, rather ill-advisedly, to wipe out Israel. In the third round of wars between the adversaries, the Zionist state emerges victorious and says, in effect: "In addition to the land already taken from you to create me, I need to hold on to more of your remaining land so that I can use it as a buffer for my own security".

Surely, only a bully would speak this kind of language, and the black African states, including Ghana, are right in rallying to the side of the underdog.

No. 12 North Street **Tawia Ocran**
Tesano, Accra

The Middle East Crisis — A Comment

SIR — In your editorial comment in L.O. VIII/22, you stated among other things, that the breaking of diplomatic relations with Israel by our government "was the only logical course of action to be taken in the circumstances". I think the severing of diplomatic relations with Israel by a number of African Countries is very unfortunate indeed, and certainly not "the only lo course of action" open to them.

It is my opinion, that if these countries had not t sides, they would have been in a better position to in Peace negotiations. For, I wonder how Israel w accept a U.N. Peace force that includes a battalion Ghana or Nigeria, since they have already forf their neutrality in the conflict by siding with the A

It appears most of these African nations have ref to take note of the fact that the main issue in Middle East, is the determination of the Arab strangle Israel, "drive her to the sea", and exterm the Jews in Israel, (and all the world over if poss The late President Nasser, encouraged by the S Union, openly boasted of this. But sadly enough, of these States reminded the Arabs, that the threa genocide is immoral and unethical.

But as fate would have it, the outnumbered Isr have consistently given the Arabs a merciless thras Then the strangest innovation in the annals of war Biblical and Koran times happens: Egypt, Syria Jordan (the Vanquished), immediately begin to di the terms of peace to Israel (the Victor). Are no Jews too entitled to some fairplay? Which nation sides possibly the U.S. would have called for a drawal if the Arabs had won and exterminated al Israelis?

Peace can only be brought to the Mid-East if belligerents will allow sanity to prevail. We here be frank and tell our Arab brothers that it is unrea to refuse to recognise Israel's existence. That wicked and immoral to seek to destroy the stat Israel that had been established by a U.N. resolu

We must point out to the Soviet Union that unscrupulous to vote for the establishment of the of Israel (in 1947), supply her with arms to defend self and perpetuate her existence (in 1948), merel turn round and supply the Arabs with weapons (in and 1973) to destroy this same State that had been blished with the help of Russian arms and diplor The Russians must be discouraged from making Middle East the practical testing ground for their weapons and missiles.

The Israelis must be assured some measure of sec — including the right to navigate the Suez Canal the Straits of Tiran; freedom from hijacking and b assassinations such as at Munich; and perhaps eve right for Israel's Airlines to land at Cairo and E airport, and to purchase oil from Kuwait. As lo the Arabs still maintain their avowed threat to de Israel, Israel will be entitled to the natural right of defence. Commonsense will dictate to them that should not withdraw without guarantees. Should for instance, hand over the Golan Heights to the Sy only for the Syrian troops to start firing rockets there at the Israeli Settlement downhill the follo week? This will be mere stupidity!

Finally, the Arabs must also remember that millions of pounds, dollars and francs that they been spending on the wars — all of which they ha far lost — could easily transform a portion of the desert into a paradise for the Palestinian refuge indeed they are fighting for the interests of these pe Some of that money too could be used in suppo Liberation Movements in Africa, if they are to con

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us here, that they think in terms of Africa (South of the Sahara), and that their main aim in the O.A.U. is not merely to solicit moral support for the vain struggle in the desert.

P.O. Box 39 **E. Obeng-Mensah**
Dormaa-Ahenkro

Self-Reliance and Expatriate Missionaries—The Last Word

SIR—I should like to come back briefly on the above subject in view of the further rejoinders written by Drs. Ampomah and Ansah in the last issue of the **Legon Observer** (VIII/23).

We are all aware, sir, of the problem of getting suitably qualified Ghanaian women graduates into some of our girls' institutions, but what I wanted to point out to Dr. Ampomah in my previous letter (**L.O.** VIII/22) was simply that one could not in fairness, considering our actual situation, put the entire blame for the absence of our women graduates in the top posts of some of our female institutions on the expatriate missionaries. These missionaries are here to help and I can assure Dr. Ampomah that it is their fervent wish that our Ghanaian women get to every position that the men are also occupying. They have the interest of our Ghanaian women at heart and that is precisely why they are still holding on until such time that they can be privileged to see the good work begun by them taken over by the very women they have been working for.

I would therefore like to appeal to people like Dr. Ampomah to urge our Ghanaian women graduates to come forward and apply for vacant posts in our girls' institutions, bearing in mind that it is the Public Services Commission that in the final analysis arranges for the interview to select the best candidate. Needless to say, it is my sincere prayer that our hard-working women teachers come forward and help in our female institutions in every position (including of course the top ones also).

Now my answer to Dr. Ansah's question (**L.O.** VIII/23), "what business has any missionary or church leader to be going round looking for prospective heads of public institutions?" I am sure by public institutions Dr. Ansah is referring to those Catholic Schools or church schools which are within the public system. It is worthwhile pointing out here that no matter from what source these catholic schools are now being financed, they still remain Catholic Schools because they have never been nationalized by any government. They have only been brought into the public system to make it easy for the Ministry of Education to control them. I am sure Dr. Ansah realizes fully well that no Catholic or Christian for that matter, is exempted from contributing to the public funds from which all schools within the public system are being financed.

Now if those schools in question are still Catholic or church schools, I don't see anything wrong in the Church's effort in looking for suitable heads to be presented or recommended to the proper authority for appointment to those schools. What the Church does in this regard is only seeing to it that the purpose for which the institutions have been established is preserved. It may not be out of place, sir, to point out that these church institutions have been established to enable those who want a Christian education for their children to have the opportunity to choose the type of education they desire for their children. (See United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights—Article 26, Par. 3). Is it not therefore proper that the heads of church institutions be carefully selected so as to maintain the confidence of parents who would still like to educate their children in these institutions?

Sir, on the question of the headship of St. John's School, may I inform Dr. Ansah that the Church has already recommended some three names (all Ghanaian) to the management committee of the school.

Dr. Ansah writes "there is a lot wrong with the administrative arrangements in some of these mission or church schools . . ." and I admit that the administrative arrangements are not perfect, but the faults should not be exaggerated. We should remember that these schools are run by human beings who are sincerely trying to do their best.

P.O. Box 54 **Rev. Father H. Senoo**
Accra

Expatriate Civil Servants

SIR—At a time when about 4,000 Ghanaian civil servants have retired from the Civil Service with effect from November, 1973, it is not only proper but also imperative for the Ghana Government to turn its attention to the position of expatriate civil servants who have long retired but who are still on the payroll of the government.

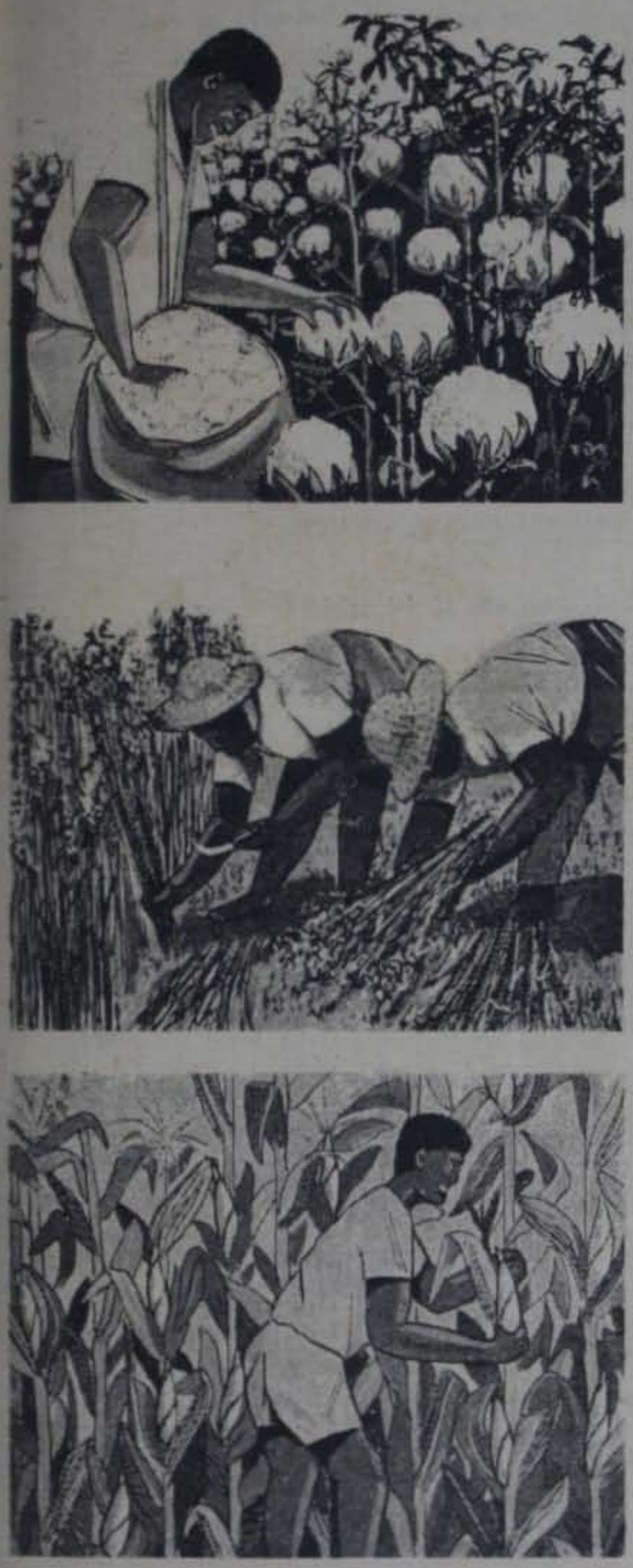
It is an open secret that one of the main conditions for the granting of independence to Ghana and other British colonial territories was the payment of compensation and pensions to expatriate civil servants who had to leave in the face of African nationalism. In some cases where a colony was not able to pay these benefits to the departing expatriate civil servants, Britain granted loans to her African colonies to pay such benefits. It is indisputable that part of the financial commitments of former dependencies to Britain today is the result of this arrangement.

Sixteen years after independence, Ghana should examine herself whether or not she must continue to pay the pensions of retired expatriates who may even now be in gainful employment in Britain. Should Ghana not cease to pay the pensions for her former expatriate civil servants? Surely she should stop because it is in her own interest to do so, and the savings made here could be used to foot part of the pensions bill for the civil servants who have retired this November.

Times change and we should change with them. It will be out of place for Ghana today to continue to pay the people who have had enough of the wealth of this country. We are not morally bound nor legally obliged to stick to a condition which the times have rendered meaningless. Tanzania has brought pressure to bear on the British Government to take over the payment of pensions to the former expatriate civil servants who served in Tanzania before independence. The earlier Ghana followed the example set by Tanzania in ridding herself of conditions which are obsolete the better it will be for this country.

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The Purpose of University Education

SIR—I wish to disagree with you on the views expressed under the heading "The Purpose of University Education in Ghana Today" in **L.O.** Vol. VIII/22. You appear disturbed about the growing notion among students entering universities that universities are places where skills are acquired and you suggest that this attitude be discouraged.

Personally, I would consider this departure from the traditional view a blessing to the Ghanaian tax-payer who has had to finance education in subjects from which he has drawn no tangible benefit. There should be no argument whatever that for a developing country like ours, trained specialists are of far more value than dabblers in "beautiful nothings". One is yet to be convinced that liberal Arts graduates are better adapted to face the hardships of life. It is still yet to be proved that their courses of study dispose them to any special advantages not enjoyed by specialists and professionals.

There is no denying the fact that universities (especially in countries barely able to afford them) must be utilitarian. Our universities must cease playing the role of Grammar Academies where the ability to produce well documented essays is the accepted index of success in a life that demands much more than Latin and Philosophy can give.

General education must end at the secondary school level; universities must go a step further.

Akuafo Hall **V. Amponsah**
Legon

University Entrance And Guidance In Schools — A Comment

SIR — Ayikwei Bulley's article on the above-mentioned subject was both interesting and useful. Many indeed are the students who have passed well in, say, Economics at the sixth form and would have done it at University had somebody told them way back in form four that they would need O-level Mathematics for University Economics. Mr. Bulley's suggestion is that pupils should be guided as early as the first year in secondary school towards the discovery of their potential.

One is not here questioning the wisdom of those who make O-level Mathematics a requirement for Economics at the University when students can perform brilliantly in the latter subject at A-levels without any Mathematics. However, I feel uneasy about a possible implication of Mr. Bulley's suggestion. Most of us know a well-known scientist who is also a well-known painter. Suppose someone had discovered this person's artistic potential when he was in form one of secondary school and had "guided" him away from the sciences, or vice versa. It does seem to me that an injudicious or premature introduction of a system of guidance could prevent some people from developing their full pontential. There seems to be a tacit assumption in Mr. Bulley's article that one can't find engineers who are also writers or indeed psychologists who are musicians. But in fact many individuals have the potential to pursue more than one career, and we should guard against imposing something on the young person before he himself is ready to make a choice.

Let me just add that if you tell a form four girl who hates Mathematics that she will need it in future for Economics at Legon, she will probably tell you at that age that to hell with Economics. If in addition to telling her that she cannot do Economics at Legon some expert proceeded to guide her away from subjects allied to Mathematics that guide would be doing the girl possible harm, because we know from experience that she can in fact do well in Economics at A-level.

I accept the need for a system in our schools to advise students on university prospects and subsequent career opportunities, but I would wish such a system to take most scrupulous account of the complexity of what any individual is potentially capable of.

Dept. of English **A. N. Mensah**
Legon

Viewpoint

A CAUTION ON THE CREATION OF A NATIONAL YOUTH ORGANISATION

By
Agyare Koi-Larbi

ACCORDING to a recent announcement by the government, a national youth movement is to be formed. For some, this announcement suddenly brought vivid memories of the activities of the defunct Young Pioneer Movement, and it is my belief that certain cautions must be sounded at this juncture. The formation of a Youth Organisation in Ghana is certainly necessary. if properly organised, for various reasons. First and foremost is the need to make our youth culturally aware of themselves. Without such awareness young men and women in Ghana will continue to look elsewhere for cultural direction. In fact a fundamental change can be brought about in a colonial-minded country like ours only when the youth on whose shoulder lies the burden of building a civilised and prosperous society have been baptised with the fire of patriotism. And this can effectively be done through a carefully organised youth movement.

Patriotism however is not all that the youth must possess; they must also be adventurous. Through a national organisation, camping and other physical activities which tend to help instil this courageous and enterprising spirit in the youth could be arranged, as it is done at the moment in the Boys Scout movement.

But the advantages apart, we must be careful not to allow this youth organisation repeat the mistakes of the past and become another Young Pioneer Movement. And we can only do this when we are able to decide on what principles must govern the operations of such a youth movement. First and foremost the building of a personality cult must be avoided. Members of such a movement should not be taught a particular leader is the God-ordained, permanent, indispensable or infallible ruler of Ghana to whom all allegiance and loyalty is owed. The kind of youth movement in which children are indoctrinated to worship a particular leader like the Hitler Youth were doing in Germany during the Second World War and the Young Pioneers in the First Republic, is characteristic of all totalitarian states. In a totalitarian state, either one man or a small clique of people control at will the entire society and even determine what the society should think publicly, and quite naturally the idea of an independent youth movement

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is hardly tolerated. In contrast to this situation is the concept of a youth movement in a pluralistic society where nobody is considered to be indispensable. The result is that the youth movements in such societies are hardly encouraged to glorify any particular individual as opposed to the state. It is also necessary for us to note that in totalitarian states such youth movements are always sponsored by the state and are very often considered an organ of the all powerful ruling party whose ideology the youth imbibe and propagate.

In Ghana we have had the experience during the first Republic of the typically totalitarian method of organising a youth movement. It was a distasteful experience and not unnaturally it passed away with the collapse of the Nkrumah regime. The brief duration of the Second Republic saw no governmentally directed youth body. It seems as if we are soon to have a youth movement, and the problem that we have to resolve is how do we have a youth movement initiated by a government and yet free from the evils of a personality cult and political control?

To avoid any political control of the intended youth movement it should first and foremost be under the direction of a Special Committee for Youth Affairs, the membership of which shall be limited to men of proven integrity but, much more important, men generally known for possessing a non-partisan approach to political issues. Active ideologists should definitely be excluded! Members of this special committee should be free to reject any directive from the government if they feel that it might endanger the political impartiality of the movement. But even the effective use of such a provision depends on getting politically non-affiliated people to direct the affairs of the youth organisation. The fate of the disbanded Centre for Civic Education is a case in point which proves that once politically affiliated people are appointed to head organisations whose functions are supposed to be non-political then the performance and overall acceptability of such organisations become seriously jeopardised.

To maintain the independence and continuity of the intended youth corps it will be necessary to give them a diversified programme of study making sure that such a programme is written by an independent body of youth experts. Take for instance, a manifesto of youth organisation written exclusively by Busia or Nkrumah for the instruction of the youth. No matter the virtue which such a manifesto may contain, it is likely to prejudice the minds of parents, depending of course on their political thinking and thus generate undue suspicion. The result of this will be that any youth corps sponsored by the state which uses such a manifesto is not likely to last beyond the reign of any particular government whose interests may coincide with the content of such a manifesto. It is for this reason that I would advise that the Charter of Redemption issued by the N.R.C. should not be made a central subject of study in the youth movement. Instead, the Charter could be placed under the broad topic of, say, "Government Objectives in Ghana" where it could be studied comparatively with other government manifestos. It is indeed a fact that the Charter talks of so many ideals which ought to be pursued for the purposes of achieving a humane technological civilisation in Ghana, but it happens nevertheless to be the manifesto of the ruling group in Ghana today and ruling groups are to be differentiated from the more permanent entity, namely, the nation. Therefore those who want to establish certain institutions which will last beyond the reign of a particular government's life span should as much as possible

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release such institutions from direct political control. If an organisation is to last beyond the life of a particular government then it must avoid overt identification with those who exercise political power. Making school children study the Charter of Redemption as if it were the only such document which has ever been available in Ghana would be the same as a political party compelling school children to study its manifesto. Does it mean that in future any political party in Ghana will have the right to make school children study its manifesto?

In the circumstances, the best thing would be for the Commissioner for Education to commission either a particular person or a group of people to produce a manual, to be used for the instruction of members of the Youth Corps. The emphasis of such a manual should be to educate the youth to respect their culture and to identify with the State of Ghana and Africa, instead of with a tribe, or political group. Though this document may proclaim ideals which may be already enshrined in the Charter of Redemption the mere fact that its authorship is non-political will go a long way in removing suspicion and doubts which are inevitable if a pamphlet written by a ruling political group is used as a medium of instruction.

Since independence we have hardly had any viable social or political institution because whenever we have a new government nearly everything begins anew. Institutions such as youth movements will vanish with governments so far as such institutions and organisations are tarnished by partisan politics.

For The Record

Sunday, November, 18

Ghana Signs Pacts with Hungary

TWO agreements for technical and scientific co-operation were signed today on behalf of the two governments by Major Kwame Baah, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs (Ghana) and Dr. Bela Szalai, Hungarian Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade (Hungary). The first agreement (renewable every year), the Working Programme Agreement for 1974-75, is to allow Ghana to send 20 students to Hungary to study courses in science and technology. The second pact is to set up a machinery for implementing an agreement signed in 1961. The agreements come in the wake of the state visit to Ghana of Mr. Pal Losonczi, President of the Presidential Council of Hungary who arrived in Ghana on Thursday 15th January.

Monday, November, 26

Statement on Used Cars

THE prohibition of the importation of used cars into the country should not apply to students, foreign service officers and Ghanaians in a similar group returning home. For this group the ban is on cars which are over five years old. This is contained in a statement issued today by the Government. The statement reviews the previous decision on the importation of used cars which was contained in the Economic Measures for 1973/74.

The ban, the present statement said, should not apply to vehicles which were shipped or were firmly committed to be shipped on or before August 30 this year.

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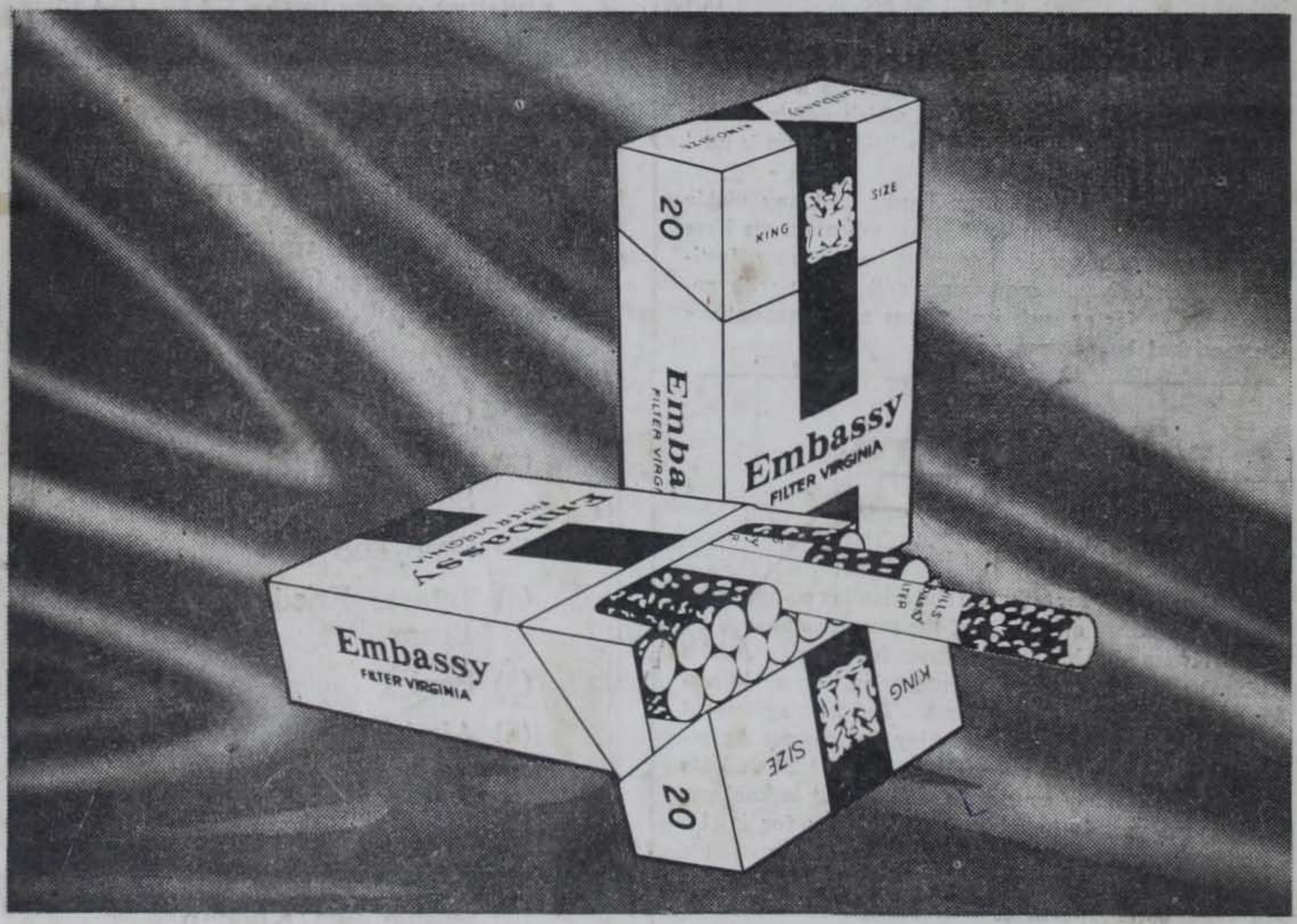
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Editorial

THE PROBLEM OF SHORTAGES

AMONG the more distressing features of life in Ghana during the year which is now ending — and indeed some of the years preceding it—has been the inconvenience caused by the periodic but continual shortages of certain consumer items. Leaving aside the current colossal business about petrol, Ghanaians have in the last twelve months experienced difficulty in obtaining in sufficient quantity, if at all, such diverse items as sugar, sardines, corned beef, rice, meat, cooking oil, vehicle tyres, motor spare parts, cement, cutlasses, electric bulbs, toilet soap, detergents and toilet rolls — the last mentioned item being by no means the least important.

Admittedly, our precarious foreign exchange situation is a cause of these shortages. Indeed it was hoped that if the label 'essential' which had been tagged on some of them was removed Ghanaians would come to love these things less and adjust to their limited availability — the whole being an exercise aimed at conserving foreign exchange. Thrifty house-keeping has been necessary, but it is true too that it was never the government's intention to inflict all of these acute shortages on Ghanaians as a deliberate measure. There can be no point in 'starving' the people just to save foreign money; and the government itself seems to be aware of this. Hence the constant assurances to the nat on that sufficient supplies of whatever item happened to be urgently in short supply would be arriving soon. Recently, we have been told that 72,000 cutlasses are on the way. Some weeks back we were told that more tyres would soon arrive to alleviate the desperate situation, and the arrival of "more" cement and "more" meat is periodically being announced. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that the government seems willing enough sooner or later to spend the money on these items; and if that is the case then the problem seems to be largely due to ineffective planning.

In a situation like our present one where there are strict controls on foreign trade and payments, the responsibility for ensuring the availability of goods rests solidly on the shoulders of government. Whereas, under the open system, trading firms would make their own estimates of such of the country's needs as they wished to supply, now it is the government which practically dictates quantities to be imported. And the question is, does the Planning Division take sufficient cognisance of the needs of the country? Take the case of tyres for instance. Is the total yearly tyre requirement of the country known, and therefore the extent to which we need to supplement by import the local production of Firestone? If it is, then why the painful position in which we find ourselves

now — where Firestone may not be under-producing yet we face a shortage? If it is true that tyres have been ordered and will arrive soon, then we cannot blame the Ghanaian shortage on "a world shortage", the usual scapegoat. It seems as if there is a general failure here: namely, that we are not aware of the extent to which local production needs to be supplemented by import. Would this not explain to some extent the shortages in cooking oil, cement, and cutlasses in addition to tyres?

Needless to say, there are other factors — some of them administrative. For instance, there is the whole question of the timing of orders to ensure even and balanced delivery. Perhaps on these and other matters the new Logistics Committee needs to go to school. We would suggest therefore that as a possible way of easing these shortages the government should draw more directly on the experience of those Ghanaians who by virtue of long association with established trading firms have gained expertise in the business of meeting the imported consumer needs of the country. We suggest that these people be brought together with the members of the Logistics Committee so the latter can learn from their experience. At any rate, the present situation, in which we have periodic shortages which are then met by unplanned, panic orders, cannot be of much good to the economy.

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SANTROFI is the pen name of our new columnist.

Africa

FRANCE AND HER AFRICAN ALLIES 1972—73: TOWARDS DISENCHANTMENT?

By

Opia-Mensah Kumah

THE years 1972 and 1973 have been crucial ones for relations between France and her former African colonies. The hope of many Frenchmen and francophone Africans to see the French community grow into a "commonwealth a la francaise" has been very badly shaken. The main highlights of the difficulties being experienced by France and her African allies in their relations are the revision of the 1960 co-operation agreements between France and certain of her African friends; the restiveness of youth in many African countries; the deteriorating relations between France and Chad and the troubles within the OCAMM, the Afro-Malagasy and Mauritian Common Organisation. The present difficulties between France and her former African territories take their immediate roots in 1972. In that year, a number of political events and decisions in francophone Africa set in motion the current that was to jeopardise seriously the dominant position of France in Africa.

Madagascar

First of these political incidents was the change of government in Madagascar in May, 1972. As a result of two months of violent student demonstration (during which eighteen students lost their lives in clashes with peace officers), the government of President Tsiranana finally capitulated, vesting all executive power in Lt.-General Gabriel Ramanantsoa. It is significant to note that the theme running throughout the social unrest which led to the fall from power of President Tsiranana was the need for a review of the relations between Madagascar and France. The demonstrators called for the withdrawal of French military bases in Madagascar, the withdrawal of Madagascar from the Franc zone and the "malagasisation" of education. It, therefore, came as no surprise to observers when the new Malagasy government announced its intention to enter into full cale negotiations with France with a view to reviewing the 1960 accords. As a first step, the Ramanantsoa regime took steps to "malagasise" education: French educational assistants and headmasters of secondary schools were to be replaced by Malagasy nationals before the opening of the 1972-73 academic year and



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a Malagasy national, M. Thomas Rahandraha, was appointed rector of Madagascar University.

On the 25th of January, 1973, talks opened in Tananarive between officials of the French and Malagasy governments with a view to revising the standing agreements between their two countries. The talks dragged on for five long months, passing through several sessions of tough negotiations and two long adjournments. Finally, in May, the talks were concluded and on June 4, a new co-operation agreement was signed in Paris. Madagascar left the French monetary zone and the French were called upon to withdraw their military base at Diego-Saurez.

Far back in 1972, concerned Frenchmen and Africans had seen the writing on the wall. On June 27, 1972, M. Yvon Bourges, French Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had hinted that some African countries had expressed the desire to have their co-operation agreements with France reviewed whilst President Senghor of Senegal disclosed in an interview that certain African countries had in fact actually proceeded unilaterally to adapt the said agreements. At that time it was widely believed that Madagascar and Cameroun, which was on the threshold of final unification, were among the countries purported to be seeking new relations. The Malagasy moves, therefore, came as no surprise to insiders and observers.

On the very day that M. Bourges was dropping his hint in Paris, the Political Bureau of the Mauritania People's Party made a call in Nouakchott for a revision of the co-operation agreements between France and Mauritania. This, said the statement of the political bureau, was to enable Mauritania to pursue her "constant search for independence in all fields".

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This call opened the way for negotiations, which, though not as dramatic as the Franco-Malagasy talks were to be, were pursued with no less determination and toughness. On February 15, 1973 a new co-operation agreement was signed by France and Mauritania (superseding and nullifying the 1960 accord). Conspicuously missing from the new agreement was any form of military or monetary co-operation. And, perhaps even more significantly, from the day of coming into force of the new accord, the French ambassador in Nouakchott ceased to be the automatic doyen of the diplomatic corps there.

Pompidou's Warning

But this was not the last of France's setbacks in Africa in 1972. On October 26, Major Mathieu Kerekou overthrew the Maga-Ahomadegbe-Apithy triumvirate in the Republic of Dahomey. The new Dahomean regime made it quite clear from the start that it intended to orient its country more toward Africa and away from France. The new regime began an unpalatable (to France) flirtation with English-speaking states like Ghana and Nigeria and even such dangerous "communist" elements as Ahmed Sekou Toure's Guinea. The new regime even talked of a West African economic union cutting across linguistic barriers! All of which led President Pompidou, on a West African tour, to warn rather strongly his West African friends against any flirtation with anglophone West Africa. Of course, only the week before, France had generously given its fourteen former territories £85 million to share amongst themselves: a colonial debt owed to France which the patron state was magnanimously writing off. This, of course, did not prevent Major Kerekou and Presidents Ahidjo (of Cameroun) and Ngouabi (of the Congo) from indicating that they wanted to see a new basis for co-operation between their countries and France.

We may also mention the growing restlessness of youth, especially students in some countries which have very close ties with France. It is no secret that the underlying cause of the frequent student demonstrations in Senegal (the latest being the February 1973 riots) is students' discontent with the established socio-political order, especially what they see as undue French influence in the political and economic life of their country. Since 1972, and even before, President Diori of Niger has had to grapple with a similar problem in his country. And the rebellion of Chadian students at home and in France is partly responsible for the strain in Franco-Chadian relations, to which we now turn our attention.

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Chad have been rather precarious. In that month, the official Chad News Agency accused M. Jacques Foccart, Secretary-General to the French Presidency with responsibility for African Affairs, of plotting to overthrow the regime of President Francois Tombalbaye. M. Foccart was alleged to have said in company that M. Tombalbaye would not survive beyond Christmas this year and that there were plans to "save" Chad. Chad also accused France of conniving with Chadian student insurgents in France who were calling for political reforms in their country. This turn of affairs can only be termed unfortunate because before last year Chad and France were very good friends, and French military assistance was a major contributory factor in the success of government troops fighting hard to suppress FROLINAT rebels.

We may also mention in connection with the apparent dwindling of French influence in Africa the general trend by Francophone Africa towards solidarity with non-French-speaking Africa. Deserving particular mention is the mysterious, still unexplained, appearance of President Houphouet-Boigny at the tenth O.A.U. summit meeting held in Addis Ababa last May.

The Ocamm in Crisis

Another development which must be bothering protagonists of Franco-African co-operation is the series of events which, in the last year or so, has shaken the OCAMM to its very roots.

The first open sign of trouble emerged in February 1972 when President Francois Tombalbaye of Chad resigned his post as OCAMM Chairman in protest over the (mis)management of Air Afrique, the international airline operated by OCAMM.

Before the dust arising from the chairman's resignation could fully settle, the club was shaken by another shock announcement. On April 7, just a week before the OCAMM summit was to open in Lome, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire announced his country's withdrawal from OCAMM "because of certain foreign interference which is tolerated on African soil". This time interested circles both inside and outside were really worried. At the end of the two-day summit, the new chairman, President Senghor of Senegal, spoke of "the real but not insurmountable problems of OCAMM" which, he said, were but "childhood illnesses of independence". And the summit signed a resolution asking all members to stand fast and avoid divisive tendencies.

Five months after Zaire's withdrawal, on September, 22 the People's Republic of the Congo pulled out of the club too. The Congo objected to OCAMM'S political role. "OCAMM," claimed the Congolese statement, "has become the centre for alienating political predilections"; consequently the presence of the Congo within such an organisation is a contradiction which must unquestionably be put to an end.

Spate of Withdrawals

The withdrawal of Zaire and the Congo further pointed to what appeared to be a drifting apart of French West Africa and French Equatorial Africa. Zaire appeared to be wishing to play a greater role in African affairs and did not want its hands to be tied by narrow club alignments; the Congo, with her experiment in scientific socialism, was moving more and more towards the extreme left — and self-isolation; Cameroun, eager to see a total reunification of East and West, was trying to erase any impression that it was still unduly francophile; and Chad, in spite of France's military assistance, was heading perceptibly towards a clash with her former mentor. Only Gabon of all the Equatorial African States moved steadily with its West African sisters.

It came as little surprise therefore, when less than a year after the Congo's withdrawal, on July 1, 1973, Cameroun announced she was opting out of the club. Less than 48 hours later, on the 3rd of July, Chad followed suit, charging that OCAMM had become "an instrument of the colonialists for the enslavement of Africans". Just a month later, on August 4, Madagascar announced her withdrawal too.

This spate of withdrawal and the fear of further withdrawals (it was being wildly rumoured that Dahomey might withdraw too) led to near-panic inside the OCAMM. OCAMM chairman, President Senghor, called an emergency OCAMM Ministerial conference in Dakar on the 9th and 10th August to discuss the recent events and the future of the organization. President Senghor called on members not to desert OCAMM because it still held promise for co-operation and economic development. The Organisation, he said, was

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only going through "a crisis of growth" and was not on the brink of disintegration as its detractors claimed.

The "crisis of growth" through which the OCAMM (now OCAM after the withdrawal of Madagascar) has been passing is another major difficulty facing Franco-African relations. The OCAMM, as a body, has in the past co-operated very closely with France and has been a check on rebellion-inclined allies. Its disintegration would be a major blow to Franco-African co-operation in the future.

The above-mentioned difficulties raise the question as to what the future holds for relations between France and her African allies. There is the need now not for mere disparate review agreements but for a severe look at the basis of the French-African embrace and for a re-orientation in the light of present-day realities, political and social.

The fortunately perceptible trend towards solidarity among African states is likely to catch on more and more in Francophone Africa. And when this happens France can no longer hope to occupy the position of patron of a club she has fostered probably with her own interests in view. The current difficulty is a test of the adjustability and resilience of France and her African friends in the face of changing realities.

There is enough evidence to show that there are several well-meaning Frenchmen and Africans who would like to see the continuation of co-operation between France and Africa. President Senghor of Senegal is the one African leader who appears most concerned about the recent turn of events. He has viewed with grave concern the gradual freezing of the hitherto warm relations between France and some former close friends, and has made relentless efforts, drawing upon his extraordinary capacity for compromise and conciliation, to heal the wounds that have been opened in French-African relations.

At the beginning of last November, he made his latest attempt to try and bring Francophone Africa together again. Mainly under his impulse, a summit conference of ten francophone African countries was held in Paris. The purpose of the meeting was to try and shape a new future and find new perspectives for the French community. We wish President Senghor and his friends all the best. But experience should inform them that periodic meetings and fluid rhetoric alone cannot save the French community. What is needed now is a harsh new look at the very basis of the community, at its functions and relevance in a changing world, especially a changing Africa, and the role of each member within and without the community.

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International

TWENTY FIVE YEARS OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS: AN AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

By

S. K. B. Asante

SINCE Monday, 10th of December, 1973, member-states of the United Nations have been celebrating with pomp and pageantry the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. At the headquarters in New York itself, the General Assembly held a special commemorative meeting on that day to award prizes for the second time for outstanding achievements in human rights. More significantly, it launched a Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. The goals of the "Decade", as set out in the recently published United Nations pamphlets on human rights, are, briefly, to promote human rights especially by eliminating racism and racial discrimination, to arrest any expansion of racist policies, to end racist regimes, and to isolate and dispel the fallacious beliefs contributing to racism and racial discrimination.

The Charter of the United Nations itself reflects the indissoluble link between respect for human rights and human survival. It was in recognition of this interdependence of human rights and world peace that the Human Rights Commission which was set up under the chairmanship of Mrs. Eleanor

Roosevelt prepared the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and for all nations, large and small. On 10th December, 1948, this Declaration was unanimously approved by the General Assembly. This was followed by additional draft conventions on human rights which gave the Declaration a more precise legal form. Undoubtedly, then, the universal recognition of the dignity inherent in all members of the human family and their equal and inalienable rights is among the important goals of the Charter of the United Nations. No continent would, however, appear to be much more especially concerned with the achievement of this goal than the continent of Africa. For as we have had occasion to emphasize before, our continent is the only one in the world where racial minority regimes exist. It is also the only continent where the phenomenon of international colonisation has survived into the "civilised" world. If therefore Africa has any special problem today, it is that of racial minority governments and foreign domination. To us in Africa the only really important function of the United Nations is to end colonialism and racism, so that the "African Personality", which we have been proclaiming all these years can "compel a lot of respect" in the councils of the world. In this brief sketch we shall attempt a review of the twenty-five years of the United Nations and Human Rights from the African viewpoint.

African Attitudes

Human rights would occupy a significant chapter in any story of the United Nations. They have figured prominently in the activities of the organisation since its creation. In every session they have preoccupied one of the major committees of the General Assembly, and every year the Economic and Social Council has struggled with the subject. The annual report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations is replete with detailed references to the activities of the organisation in the realm of human rights. No wonder, then, that the Commission of Human Rights has had a singular history among United Nations bodies of continuous, difficult, but creditable activity. Human rights have also been of special concern to non-governmental organisations accredited to the United Nations and numerous works have been written on the international protection of human rights.

But what has been the attitude of African States to the United Nations human rights activities? It is not surprising that African States have held different views about the traditional concern of the United Nations with human rights. Being new states and only recently the colonial possessions of Western powers, African States have brought into the organisation strong views regarding the evils of colonialism. Furthermore, being of different racial stock than their former colonial masters and conscious of having suffered from racial discrimination, they have insisted upon recognition of their equality and the elimination of racial discrimination wherever it exists. With these special interests African States have successfully redefined the traditionally held view of the United Nations about human rights.

Traditionally, the promotion of human rights has been viewed from the perspective of protecting the citizen in the fullest possible exercise, compatible with organised society, of those rights that flow from the dignity and worth of the individual. For this perspective, centred as it is on the individual, African States have substituted a perspective centred on the evils of Western colonialism with the domination of black by white. For them self-determination and national independence, head the list of human rights that the United Nations should promote. African States have thus interpreted the United Nations concern with human rights as another vehicle for advancing their attack on colonialism and associated forms of racial discrimination.

Apartheid

The major thrust of the political interest of African States in human rights has been directed against **apartheid** South Africa, racist Rhodesia, and the anachronistic pockets of the so-called Portuguese colonies in Africa. Indeed it is in southern Africa in particular that we in Africa would tend to evaluate United Nations activities with regard to human rights. For it is here that fundamental human rights — the right to be free from the yoke of colonialism, the right to be free from the wickedness of racial discrimination, and the right to be protected from starvation — have been persistently and grossly violated.

The **apartheid** system in South Africa is universally recognised as constituting the most brutal and violent form of human exploitation and suffering, unsurpassed by any other type of tyranny in the contemporary world. This policy, involving as it does the perpetuation and consolidation of racial discrimination, the dispossession of the great majority of the people of the country and a flagrant violation of the commitment, under the United Nations Charter, to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms, has inevitably required resorting to repressive measures against the black people who are striving for freedom and human

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It is common knowledge that maltreatment and torture of opponents of **apartheid**, in prison and police cells, has become an essential feature in the implementation of the policy of **apartheid** in South Africa in the past decade. Thousands of opponents of **apartheid** — the leaders and participants in the struggle of the oppressed people for freedom and human dignity — have been detained and imprisoned for no offence but their participation in the legitimate struggle. They have been subjected to prolonged solitary confinement, threats, abuse and ill-treatment. The Special Branch of the Police has subjected many of them to special cruelty — assaults, electric shocks, "statue torture", deprivation of sleep and sophisticated psychological torture — in order to extract confession or information on the struggle against **apartheid**. More than a score of the detainees have died in prison.

The political prisoners and detainees in South Africa are the participants in a long and arduous struggle for the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Leaders like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Abram Fischer have won the respect and admiration of Governments and peoples all over the world for their heroism and humanism.

The picture is no less grim in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola. The sordid story of a whole series of massacres in Mozambican villages by the Portuguese forces, as recently told by Father Adrian Hastings, needs no repetition. It is quite evident that in these territories the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion have no meaning. And so, today, twenty-five years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, it remains a fact that millions of human beings are subject to colonial oppression and exploitation, and human lives are sacrificed in the struggle for legitimate rights.

It is indeed disheartening to note that twenty-eight years after World War II one cannot say that in certain areas in Africa the rights of individuals are duly respected or even that they stand measurably higher than in 1945.

The Arms Embargo

Many nations have adhered to some human rights conventions, but it might be suggested that they have agreed to outlaw only what no longer exists for them — for example, slavery. Human rights have proved not a common interest but a political football. Hence little progress has so far been made towards a solution of the situation in Southern Africa. It has not yet been possible to secure the full co-operation of all Member-States of the United Nations in the implementation of the stronger measures that have been called for. The concerted international action necessary to secure the achievement of the objectives of the Human Rights Charter to which almost the entire membership of the United Nations has subscribed is not yet forthcoming. Even the arms embargo against South Africa, a measure designed to lessen the danger of violent conflict in the area and to demonstrate universal abhorrence of the ruthless repressive policies of the South African Government, has not been fully implemented.

These are indeed disturbing facts which seriously and increasingly agitate the minds of articulate Africans especially during the celebration of Human Rights anniversaries. For, although the twentieth century has given the world many splendid achievements in the struggle for the realisation of human rights, and although the spirit of progress has gone from strength to strength, too many of our African brothers and

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sisters still continue to live their lives in the belief that their rights are trampled on by those more powerful than themselves, that their rights are illusory or unattainable.

Thus for us, in Africa, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights would appear to be a jubilee without jubilation. But perhaps at this stage, it is almost imperative that we urge that the UN concepts and principles and the existing national and international methods for protecting and promoting human rights be made widely known in the task of eradicating prejudice from the minds of men. The teaching and dissemination of information on human rights is therefore essential. United Nations information facilities must be supplemented in this task by the efforts of Governments, private educational and other institutions, as well as national and international information media. Only concerted endeavours, commensurate with the importance of the question, can succeed in establishing respect for the dignity of man as the basis of human society.

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Social Problems

FINANCING HEALTH SERVICES

By
R.G. Brooks

THIS article discusses some of the issues involved in health services financing. There are of course as many ways of financing health services as there are countries in the world. We can, however, classify three forms of financing:

(1) Central government funds,
(2) Health insurance and
(3) User payments.

This classification is a broad one and it is clear that the methods need not be mutually exclusive.

One point should be noted at the outset: a distinction can be drawn between the **financing** of services and the **provision** of services. Thus whilst the government under method (1) would be the dispenser of funds there is no necessary reason why the government should be actually providing the health services. Similarly, whilst the finance may come by charging patients directly (method 3) the provision of health services could be by the government.

(1) **Central Government Funds:**

These need little explanation. The government taxes the populace in a variety of ways and then uses some of the revenue to finance health services. In Ghana the government provides something like 80% of overall current (as opposed to capital) expenditure on health services. (The other 20% comprises payments by persons, companies and voluntary organizations for **private** health (e.g. on private hospitals, clinics), and payments for public services (e.g. hospital fees).

Arguments that are now raised in Ghana concern such issues as the inadequacy of provision of health services and the geographical mal-distribution of these services. Most of the arguments would, at least in part, be settled if more money and resources were to be devoted for the health sector. Hence the search for alternative methods of health financing. Suppose we accept, however, that the government should provide more finance, then one possibility might be **to shift** government resources towards the health sector. In a static economy, as economists are fond of pointing out, spending money in one area prevents the cash going somewhere else. The Ministry of Health has to compete with all the other Ministries for its share of funds and thus it is very much a governmental decision whether to shift funds from one sector to another or not. In a growing economy

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there is more flexibility, but then competition takes place for the share of the **extra** funds that may be available. A health service so heavily dependent on government finance must therefore hope that the government's overall economic strategy can provide a growing economy. Otherwise, as noted above, the search for alternative forms of financing becomes urgent. One broad set of alternatives lies in the notion of health insurance.

(2) **Health Insurance:**

The object of insurance is to cover future risks, in this discussion the risks of ill-health. By regularly laying aside sums of money either to private insurance companies or to some government-run scheme, the contributor who becomes ill is then guaranteed treatment of his illness by an appropriate health facility. By taking the money from large numbers of people the private companies or the government are able to "spread risks" over these large numbers and hence should be able to afford, at any one time, to cover the health service fees for that proportion of people currently ill.

A large variety of insurance schemes is possible. As suggested, the schemes could be privately-run or government-run. In the former case they can be profit-making or non-profit-making. In the government case the sums collected may be sufficient to cover the running of all government health services (National Health Insurance) or only part of the services (the difference being made up primarily by other forms of taxation revenue). The benefits provided for individual patients can also vary. Thus health institutions may distinguish between treatment fees and "hotel" fees (food costs e.g.). Insurance companies may then provide cover for the treatment fees but not the hotel fees. This is one example, clearly many different fees schedules and corresponding payments schedules can be devised.

As regards some form of National Health Insurance Scheme it should be made clear that contributions solicited from individuals, usually as deductions direct from wages and salaries, are simply one form of taxation. In Britain, with one of the most highly developed of these schemes, national insurance contributions varied between 9.1% and 11.6% of total financing provided for the National Health Service (N.H.S.) during the period 1949-69. Clearly the term "insurance" is a misnomer here, but to be fair, it was recognized from the day of implementation of the N.H.S. in 1948 that the government would provide the bulk of the financing for the service.

Use of Social Security Fund

The parallel in Ghana is to consider the use of ear-marked funds collected under the aegis of the Social Security Fund (S.S.F.). In the recent debate over hospital fees a number of people have suggested the use or partial use of the S.S.F. for health finance. (For example, Commander J. A. Kyeremeh, **Daily Graphic,** 14-11-73; Dr. W. N. Laing, **Daily Graphic,** 2-11-73, 3-11-73). In the previous article by this writer (L.O. VIII/23) it was suggested that an additional 2½% contribution on behalf of each worker (i.e. by employer, employee or both in total) might raise ₵4½ million. Any higher additional contribution would raise a correspondingly higher sum. The major objection here is basically an income distribution one, and has of course already been made by Trades Union officials. This additional contribution is another form of tax, as pointed out, and hence those paying into the S.S.F. would be expected to pay this tax in addition to any other tax (e.g. income tax) they may be paying. These o her taxes also help to finance government health services. Hence the contributors are paying twice for their health services — there is a redistribution of income from those in the S.S.F. to those not contributing but using government services. It may be argued that some sort of redistribution is inevitable with any form of new taxation. This is true, but it should also be pointed out that a considerable number of S.S.F. contributors are unlikely ever to use government health services,

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namely those whose employers provide medical services outside the government system. (In 1971 there were 12 mines hospitals, for example, and a large number of other firms and institutions provide clinic or hospital facilities).

Nevertheless the use of the S.S.F. to provide some additional health finance is an attractive idea, particularly as it can **potentially** cover a large number of workers. (The actual number at the moment is 813,175; **Daily Graphic,** 22-11-73). For a "fairer" distribution of the tax burden, however, it is clear that the scheme should be extended to that part of the working population that is not currently covered by the S.S.F. What needs to be done in this area is an assessment of the number of potential contributors to the scheme and of how the scheme might be administered (a monthly stamp or certificate to be paid by the self-employed person, e.g.?). The potential tax (contribution) revenue should then be matched against the additional administrative costs required for strengthening the S.S.F.

The S.S.F. has been dwelt on at some length as the administrative machinery has been in existence for some years and thus there are very real possibilities for its use in health financing. Another set of insurance schemes has been suggested in a long series of articles in the **Daily Graphic** by F.K. Asante. That of November 6, gives a good explanation of his plan, which envisages an insurance payment scale varying from "Private Insurance" of ₵120-240 per year down to "Pauper Insurance" of ₵1.00 per year. The effort in administering such a scheme would be considerable, as would the sheer practicability of covering the whole country in the manner suggested in the proposals. Nevertheless an open mind can be retained on this by simply suggesting that (1) the costs of implementing the type of scheme proposed by F. K. Asante be carefully assessed along with the expected revenue (Asante calculates this as ranging between ₵8,680,000 and ₵29,200,000 per year), and that (2) the practical difficulties be extensively scrutinized and debated.

There is one aspect of such schemes that worries the present author and was mentioned more than once in the previous article (L.O. VIII/23). The Asante-type scheme emphasizes that those who pay for services rendered should get the best services. Now this may seem unexceptionable, but it brings us back to the question of the distribution of health facilities and the distribution of income. Other things equal, those who pay the higher insurance fees will get better treatment and more health resources will be attracted into these higher fee sectors to the probable detriment of the other sectors. This implication is clearly accepted by F. K. Asante. Discussing "3rd Class Insurance" (₵6.00 per year) he says "This group should accept any form of inconveniences at the hospital, like sleeping on the floor and so on."

Also of importance is that the insurance principle should aim to guarantee that those who pay for cover should be properly "covered" in the sense that the medical facilities are available when necessary. This is not the case in Ghana, with the great geographical imbalances in both the quantity and standard of health facilities between different parts of the country. Thus once again, if some form of insurance scheme (including a government-run one, if the government cannot correct the imbalances referred to) is implemented the mal-distribution of health services may remain and perhaps even worsen in a relative. if not absolute, sense.

(3) User Payments:

It is not proposed to dwell for long on the matter of user payments. Examples of these payments are to be found in the Hospital Fees Report reviewed by the present writer in the previous article. Most of the issues involved in user payments are treated there. Although the writer is basically against these payments for reasons suggested in the article, this of course only reflects his own value judgements.

Clearly there **are** large numbers of people willing to pay directly for treatment, as witnessed by the number of thriving private clinics and doctors in the Accra area. An interesting exercise would be to quantify the "large numbers" and estimate the finance already provided in the private sector. (For those interested an attempt on the finance side was made for the years 1965-68 in Reference 1, Tables 12.1 — 12.4)

If some methods) of payment and provision of services could be devised which strengthened

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and improved the government health sector at the same time as (presumably) benefitting the private sector, then the case for user payments would in itself be strengthened.

Conclusion:

The discussion above of the alternative methods of health financing is far from comprehensive. The major problem facing any writer in this area is the lack of statistics and data available to make suitable quantitative assessments of alternative proposals. It will have been observed that much of the material above has been qualitative in nature.

A number of possibly important issues have not been mentioned. For example; (1) The question of the role of traditional medicine vis-a-vis "scientific" (or "modern") medicine has not been assessed. Clearly, alternative methods of financing may or may not re-allocate the numbers of patients using the traditional sector as against the scientific sector. Whether the fact that more or less people use either sector is beneficial to society as a whole is an open question.

(2) Taxation at the local government level and the generation of funds locally have not been analysed.

(3) Another source of finance not investigated is the notion of a "Hospital Lotto." (If Housing Lotto, why not Hospital Lotto?)

Readers will, no doubt, be able to point to other matters omitted. For the moment, however, the writer would suggest that further investigation be undertaken of the alternative schemes and in particular that a careful look be taken at the possible adaptation and use of the S.S.F. as a source of health service financing.

Reference 1: M. S. Singal and J. D. N. Nartey: Sources and Methods of Estimation of National Income at Current Prices in Ghana. Central Bureau of Statistics, Accra, 1971.

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Observer Notebook

The Petrol Crisis in Ghana

WITHIN the last three weeks there has been a very acute shortage of petrol in the country. Happily the situation seems to be easing: the queues at petrol filling stations are generally shorter, petrol sellers are less stingy about the quantity they give to individual motorists and there are more filling stations operating at any one time than was the case a couple of weeks ago. An additional factor which has contributed to make the situation more trying for the motorist, more irritating for the oil companies and more embarrassing for the government is that because of uncertainties, motorists are buying and storing more petrol than they would normally need within a given period, so that even the little quantities available reach fewer consumers. This is only a measure of prudence, and no motorist who scurries from station to station can be blamed for taking steps to reduce the incidence of his having to go through that irritating exercise once he comes upon a petrol oasis in this petrol desert. And this situation is likely to persist until such time as petrol distribution is clearly seen to have returned to previous pre-shortage levels.

It has not been very easy to find the truth about the cause of this acute shortage. Such information as we have been able to glean from various sources is either incomplete or even tends to be contradictory. The evidence that we have obtained so far in itself, does not provide an explanation, but careful cross-checking of one piece with another should bring us somewhere near the confines of the truth. The impression that has been created in the local press that the crisis is due **entirely** to the consequences of the recent events in the Middle East is certainly not correct. The Middle East affair may have contributed to aggravate a situation which would have faced the country at the the time it did anyway.

About nine months ago it was felt that if drastic action was not taken, this country would face a shortage of petroleum products. The price of crude oil was going up constantly and the oil business was gradually being transformed from a buyer's to a seller's market. The demand for oil was growing daily and supplies could not keep pace with consumption. The oil producers realised the power they had and started demanding more and more for a barrel of crude oil. This was the time when most oil-producing countries started acquiring shares or increasing their shares in the oil business. The oil market had become so complicated that it should have been obvious to the authorities that our traditional suppliers could not continue to supply us at the fixed price at which we had been buying oil.

What could have been done at that time was to place firm orders with suppliers other than our traditional ones. Some efforts were made, but these did not bear much fruit. It was during this period of uncertainty that the war erupted in the Middle East. The Arabs by that time knew the great demand for oil and that is why they decided to use this weapon which is proving effective, even if the repercussions are being felt in non-target areas. There was no problem about our supplies from the Soviet Union which provides us with half of our annual requirements in crude oil, namely 600,000 metric tons. Demand on our other suppliers from other sources increased with the cut in Arab oil and, in the general uncertainty, it was difficult for them to make deliveries on schedule. This partially explains our recent difficulties, but it will take some time before the whole truth becomes known. The situation was not unforeseen, and somebody will have to be blamed for lack of foresight.

Even if any foresight had been shown, it is doubtful whether the government could have done much about the shortage for one simple reason. The plain fact is that we do not have much storage facilities for creating buffer stocks. The individual petroleum companies have some facilities for storing the refined product, but we lack "tank farms" in which to store the crude oil. The recent crisis should be enough warning about the dangers of living from hand to mouth as we do in the matter of petrol, and should emphasise the need for constructing "tank farms". At the moment the difficulty is in obtaining the necessary raw materials for such a project. The Americans seem to be buying up all available steel and other materials to construct pipelines for tapping all their oil resources in Alaska and distributing them: and it will be some time before pressure on the demand for steel is sufficiently relaxed to enable the poorer countries to obtain any.

The creation of buffer stocks will necessitate considerable financial outlays in terms of foreign exchange allocation. Considering that oil is the main source of energy in our industries, the government should be prepared to release the necessary foreign exchange for such a project as a matter of priority. Any stinginess about this will affect the industrial sector of our economy in a most devastating manner.

Then we have to face the problem of tankers. At the moment our ports have facilities for tankers with a capacity of 20,000 tons, with the result that



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the modern tankers with much larger capacities cannot come into our ports. One solution will be to construct a floating jetty which will enable large tankers to unload their cargo while staying far out in the sea and avoiding the risk of running aground. These and other measures will have to be taken if a long-term solution is to be found to the type of crisis which we faced recently and which seems to be gradually receding. Furthermore, greater efforts need now be made to further explore our own oil-producing potential.

In any case, it can be argued that if the government had shown enough candour and admitted the fact of petrol shortage and made a statement on the issue, it could have allayed the fears of petrol consumers and considerably reduced the chaos that existed at filling stations. From the way the government reacted through silence, one got the impression that everybody had been taken by surprise and nobody knew when the situation was going to return to normal. It is to be hoped that despite the Middle East alibi, the officials of the Supply Commission will be more forward-looking in future. Meanwhile, we have been assured that enough crude oil has arrived to ensure adequate supplies for the foreseeable future, but should it be necessary to restrict consumption as a short-term measure, then a rational procedure for rationing should be worked out so that the man-hours lost through queueing for petrol can be put into productive use.

It should be recognised that Ghana cannot remain insulated from the forces governing the marketing of petrol. It will no longer be possible to obtain crude oil at fixed prices as has been our luck in the past. It is known, for instance that one of our suppliers who has agreed to make advance deliveries from our next year's quota is going to charge us at the rates that will be prevailing at the time the deliveries would normally have been made. This means that we have to be prepared to face an increase in the price of petrol in the near future.

The government does not appear to have much of an alternative, but in such an event, extreme care should be taken to soften the impact of any increase since it will affect the transportation of people, goods and foodstuffs and send prices spiralling further. One way open to the government is to do some self-denying and reduce its taxes on petrol so that only the actual cost in the increased price will be passed on to the consumer. This will of course mean a reduction of government revenue in this particular area, but given the already high cost of goods and services in the country this will seem an equitable and sensible price to pay for political stability and general welfare in the country.

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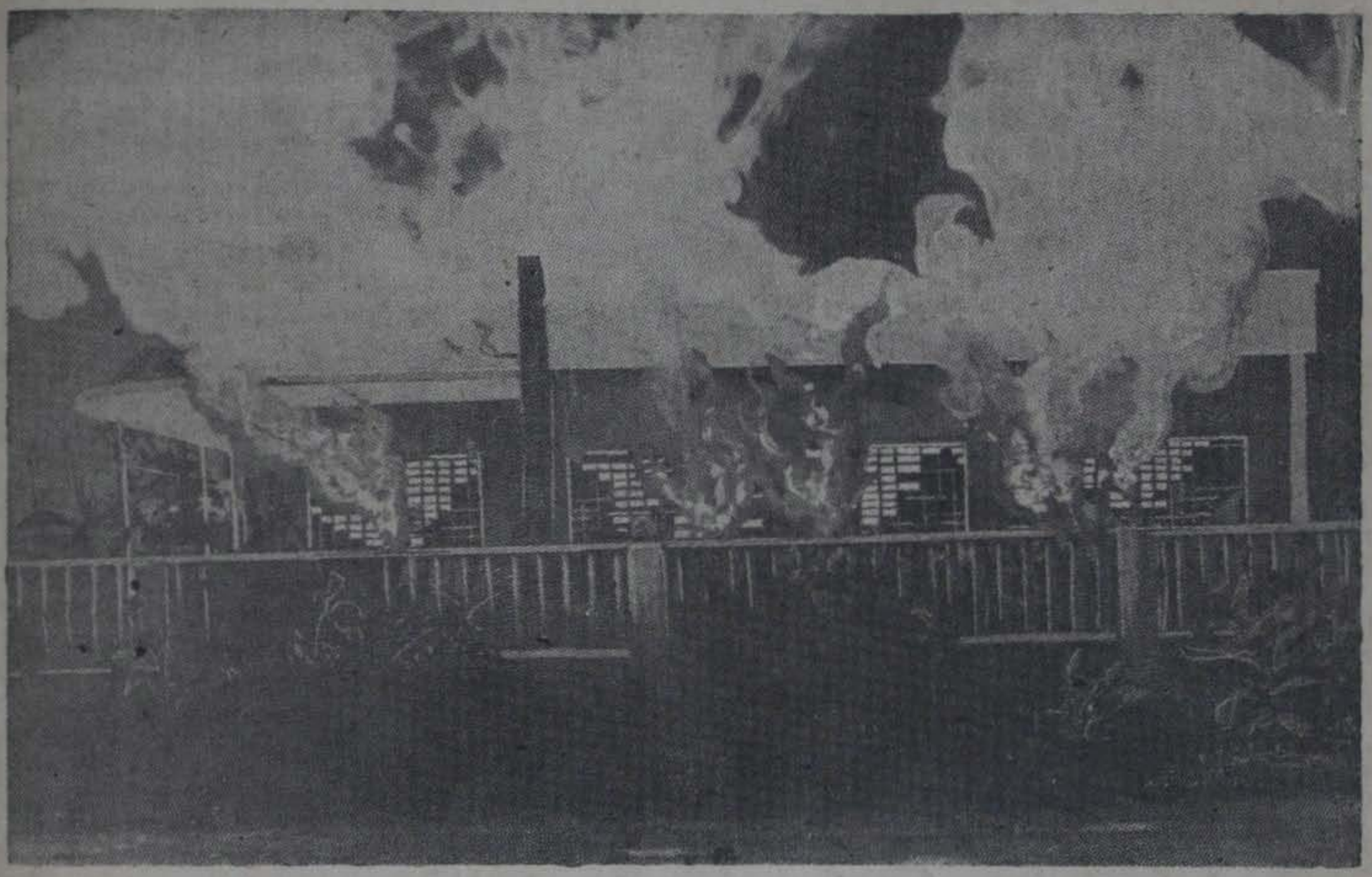
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Letters

National Service and the State Transport

SIR — Many laudable Government policies lose appeal when it comes to their implementation; one of these is the concession about transportation supposed to be enjoyed by those working under the National Service Scheme.

Identity cards issued to Servicemen are supposed to enable them "travel at half rate fare by Rail or State Transport"; but whether this policy, if it is still in force, has been effectively passed on to the Railway and State Transport authorities is another question. For all I know, either the State Transport authorities in Takoradi do not know of any such decision, which of course would be unfortunate, or they do but only intend to sabotage the scheme.

I showed my National Service Identity Card last week-end to the ticket seller at the Takoradi Transport yard, and asked for the concession, which I expected her to know of, and I appeared ridiculous in her eyes for she was aware of "no concessions whatsoever".

Will the National Service Secretariat please make it clear for the benefit of the servicemen whether or not the foregoing privilege has been withdrawn, and if so when; if it is still in force whether the failure to effect its immediate implementation is an oversight on the part of the Secretariat or inefficiency (or sabotage) on the part of the State Transport authorities.

Linguistics Department **Kwesi Yankah**
Legon

The U.A.C. and Guinea-Bissau

SIR — Your issue L.O. VIII/23 of 16th November contained an article headed "A Background to the Revolution in Guinea-Bissau". Reference is made on page 553 to non-Portuguese capital investment in Guinea, and it is stated that The United Africa Company has participated in this investment. I would like to make it clear that The United Africa Company has no investment in the country referred to.

Information Officer **J. A. Eghan**
The U.A.C. of Ghana Limited
Accra

Big Dada's Histrionics — A Rejoinder

SIR — I should like to associate myself with the comment by Mr. Kwesi Jonah on the above subject (L.O. VIII/23). I should also like to refer the writer of the original article to another article by Sam Uba in **Africa** No. 27 November, 1973, which I consider to be a worthwhile opinion of those of us who understand President Amin.

To end it all, I would like to add this personnal view: I would prefer a "half-educated" national leader who, while jesting around, could take decisive actions to an Oxford-trained leader who spends two and half years travelling round the world just to decide whether or not to repudiate some "bad and doubtful" debts.

In Shakespearean plays the witty characters are normally jesters. Hamlet died; but the jester lived on.

M.D.P.I./G.B.B. **W. Nelson**
P.O. Box 28
Kumasi

Editor's Note:

If Mr. Nelson prefers a clown to a Hamlet, so m for his good taste. However, I should like to rem him that Yorick, the only real jester mentioned Shakespeare's Hamlet, died long before the hero.

Miscellaneous

AND IT CAME TO PASS

Epistle No. 1
By
Santrofi

AND IT came to pass in those days that they lived a wonderful empire where there was plenty, or so it w made to appear. They lived in a world of giants whe things were done on a gargantuan scale. Mediocrity w so frowned upon that negligence in small things w censured more severely than major lapses, frauds a inefficiencies whose repercussions rippled through t empire. And so it was that the smaller men (a women) who indulged in trade or what was pompous called business and who had the temerity to add a fe drachmas to the price of their wares were punish more mercilessly than their bigger counterparts wh doubled or even tripled the prices of wares such coaches and cars and batteries and other parts relat thereto. These were congratulated for being smart a given the accolade for showing big profits.

Thus did it come to pass that in this empire whe people tended to live more by their wits than by the skills, a sharp businessman who succeeded by wil to appropriate unto himself a large quantity of the goo earmarked for the provinces and other remote outpos of the empire got away with it all. There is no evi ence that he was publicly decorated, but neither is the any evidence to even remotely suggest that he was r proved in any manner to which the citizenry could be witness. The citizens were given to believe at on point that the whole matter was being looked int but nothing was heard of the scrutiny. Informatio did filter out that the official in charge of the Centr Supply Depot who was responsible for the unmathem tically disproportionate distribution, which was not i advertent, had refused to explain his conduct in camer arguing that being a democrat of sorts he would rath give an account of his stewardship in public to th citizens to whom he was a conscientious and, until th contrary was proven, a faithful servant. This is whe the matter had got to when we left that happy lan where smaller offences are punished more severely tha large ones, and where small things have no place.

It was therefore only logical that in such a place a the empire I am talking about, low-priced objects shoul be low only in relation to the general prevailing ga gantuan standards. And so it was that seeing the sufferin of the subjects in terms of accommodation, the emperc decreed that low-priced habitation should be provide for the really poor and needy workers. "Low-priced" that, of course, was a way of speaking, because by othe standards the cost was such that even if they chose no to feed and clothe themselves, those for whom the hab taions were presumably intended could only posse them through the fertility of their imagination. But, c course, in that happy land of giants it was to be ex pected that "low-cost" realistically meant "high-cost"

But, verily, these contradictions were not new in the land for it had been said to them of old that because of uncontrollable world market forces which the then reigning chieftains did not understand, the subjects had to pay more for certain commodities. As could be expected the subjects were not amused and they started to murmur. Then salvation arrived: a group of special citizens took it upon themselves to redeem the populace from the shackles of diminishing purchasing power in the face of rising prices. They strode up and down the land and proclaimed Father Christmas the most astute politician the world had seen: they displayed largesse and restored to the populace what the displaced chieftains had wrenched from them, and everybody was happy. Two summers did not run their course before the new masters, the proconsuls, came to the painful conclusion that Father Christmas was after all not the best politician, or even an average one. The bonuses that had been handed out in the right hand were gradually but studiedly and consistently withdrawn with the left to such a point that it became an interesting national debate to find out whether the citizens were regressing or at best stagnating.

But whatever conclusion the debate came to could not be announced too publicly because certain proprieties had to be respected. To be sure, the subjects had the right to express their opinions freely both orally and in writing on the simple condition that what they said was neither destructive nor subversice. For it was guaranteed in the basic unwritten law that provided that one did not speak disparagingly of those in authority, or of shortages, or of queues, or of drilling or lockouts or summary dismissals, or of politics or other forms of sectarian activities, or of anything that could be construed as being counter-revolutionary or reactionary or just political, one had every right to publish or say everything else.

Buoyant Economy

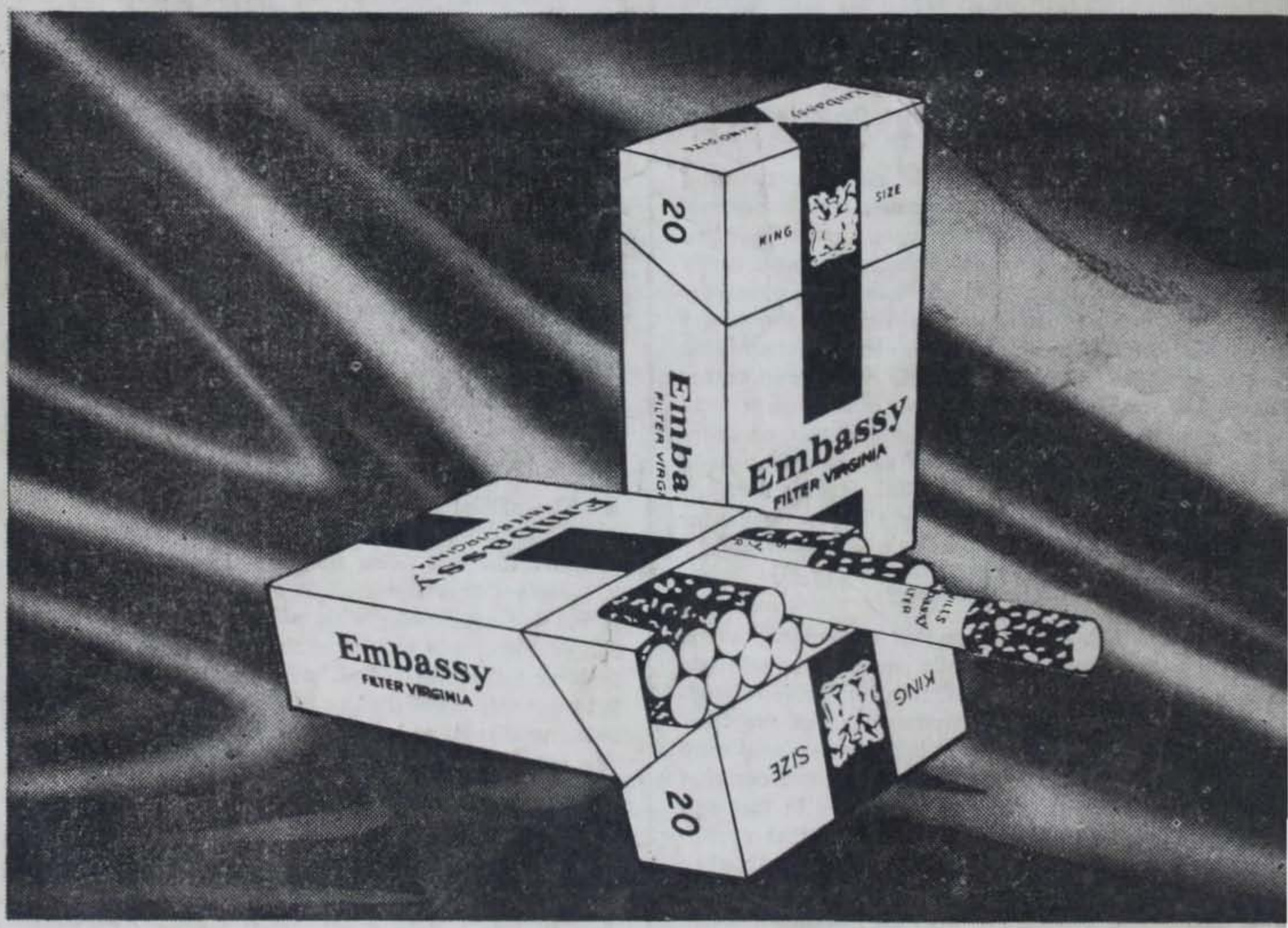
And so did it come to pass that the subjects ceded their right of discussion of public issues to the officially appointed chroniclers who reimbursed the subjects handsomely by feeding them on generous doses of promises. Periodic announcements of what had been ordered were liberally sprayed in the local gazettes. On one occasion it was tyres, on another it was cutlasses. In fact this last item hit the headlines so persistently that an abstract minded mathematician (new version, Entebbe type) living in the land who happened to be something of a sceptic calculated (it is now not certain on which base, as they now say) that if all the cutlasses promised within the last dozen lunar cycles had actually arrived, there was no reason why every citizen in the empire should not have had at least one cutlass, with even a few to spare for those yet unborn even making the necessary allowance for the activities of those despicable nation-wreckers known as hoarders and smugglers.

And that the economy was buoyant was not a matter of controversy, at least for those who listened to the news-mongers and propagandists who published the **Daily Gazette** and the **Empire Chronicle.** The ordinary mortals in the empire had the erroneous opinion that the cost of living was soaring daily. But the **Empire Chronicle** was quick to disabuse their minds. It tabulated the prices of commodities in the neighbouring colonies, republics and territories to prove to the compatriots that they had never had it so good. The price of honey and tinned herrings were higher in the adjoining territories than in the empire. Conclusion: the citizens should be grateful for the benevolence with which the emperor was directing the economy. But, verily, what the leader writer of the **Empire Chronicle** forgot to add was any information as to the prices of local foodstuffs and the salary ranges in the adjoining territories. But after all, why should he have given this supplementary information if that was going to weaken his case and make him appear as an inefficient servant of the empire. Some of the citizens, however, were not amused.

And while these things were going on, it came to pass that there appeared on the scene a colossal personage with a vast international reputation. He was called Mr. Inflation. He had wrought havoc all over the world and his misdeeds were a constant headache to the financial wizards of yonder lands. His assistance was constantly sought to unravel the mysteries surrounding the diminution of the purchasing power of the drachma. Does the price of cocoyam go up? And that of palm oil? Or of plantain, or fish or meat or vegetables? Mr. Inflation was called upon to explain that it was all part of his universal mischief. However, some citizens who had all the good faith in the world could not understand how the price of cocoyam should be related to an increase in the price of motor-cars, for example. For to be sure, the new proconsuls had been forward-looking enough to take an interest in an agrarian revolution. Seeing that famine might threaten, they had launched the "Auto-Nourishment Campaign". The provincial governors had sent despatches indicating that the response to the campaign was massive and that subjects, citizens, vassals and traditional suzerains had embraced it. The official newsmongers and chronicles had furnished graphic details of how efforts had been rewarded and how the once ailing empire had been rescued from collapse and transformed into a land of plenty even if it was not yet flowing with milk and honey. In short, people were made to believe that the word had become flesh, or rather that it had become fruits and vegetables. Statistics were published to prove that more was in fact being produced, and everybody wanted to believe this. The only obstacle to any good faith on this matter was that despite all the assertions of the town-criers and gazetters, the ordinary town-dwellers—well--to-do, otherwise known as the bourgeoisie as well as the non-well-to-do, otherwise known as the proletariat — saw very little of this abundance in the market places. What were they to believe then? What they saw with their own eyes and felt in their pockets or what others told them in the discharge of their duties? Here again, as I have already said, Mr. Inflation was invoked for an explanation, but not even he has been able to explain the paradox of how more food presumably on the expanded farms came to mean less food in the markets, or the higher prices. He may yet come out with an answer, but it is another matter if he can compel the belief of the citizens on the matter.

All these and other things on which I shall dilate on another occasion did transpire and are still transpiring in this empire, and I have set them down to the best of my recollection. The citizens looked on a little sceptic and bemused in this empire of paradoxes. The emperor, for his part, did look upon his work and saw that it was good.

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Editorial

ANNUAL STOCKTAKING

THE YEAR, 1973, has been a very eventful one for Ghana, but what has not been absolutely clear from the events is whether the country is moving on the path of revolution or of reaction. Among the more significant events of the year have been the following: Government participation in the timber industry, the O.A.U. Liberation Committee meeting in Accra, the removal of the subsidies on certain foreign goods, the launching of the 2nd phase of Operation Feed Yourself, the Rent Control legislation, the dismantling of the old Logistics Committee, the 7½% salary raise for certain categories of workers, the increases in the producer prices of some agricultural commodities, the publication of N.R.C. decree 191 which excluded superior courts from supervising the proceedings of military tribunals, the decision to break-off diplomatic relations with Israel, and finally our short-lived but very painful oil crisis.

A number of these events indicate the government's desire to improve the living standards of the ordinary Ghanaian. The raising of the producer price of cocoa particularly, but also of cotton, rice, sugar is meant to make the farmer better-off than he has been in the last few years. Even though in the case of cocoa the measure is also aimed at checking smuggling, it is first and foremost an act of social justice aimed at putting more money in the pockets of the men who generate most of the nation's wealth in the hope that they will thus be able to expand their farms and provide more wealth for the country. Again, the Rent (Amendment) Decree, 1973, which stipulated a fixed rent for a specified size of room was intended to deliver the poorer worker earning less than ₵1,000 per annum from being overcharged by his landlord. The decree had its shortcomings, failing as it did, to take account of what amenities had been provided by the landlord and thus removing any desire in the owner to extend the facilities available on his premises since only the size of room is taken into account in the fixing of rents. However, the decree was motivated by a concern for the exploited urban worker of Ghana, who, once again, was the beneficiary of the 7½% raise in salary announced by government. Also worth mention is the great fillip given to housing with a view to providing better housing for workers.

As against these progressive measures there have been some not so progressive events and non-events. The Prices and Incomes Board has been unable to check the rising of

A HAPPY NEW YEAR TO ALL OUR READERS

prices especially of local foods and this has made nonsense of the government's acts of charity to the poorer sections of the community. But what was alarming in this respect was the announcement last August that government was going to grant loans ranging from about ₵15,000 to ₵40,000 to civil servants to build their own houses. The fact that only a handful of very privileged people were likely to benefit from the scheme made it totally unacceptable from a government which was trying to seek the interests of the less privileged sections of the community; and further doubts as to the government's commitment to the ideal of social justice were raised when it announced an intention to sell 200 bungalows to the civil servants who were occupying them. Equally disturbing is the removal of the subsidy for middle school leaving examinations.

The removal of the subsidy on certain imported goods and the events leading to the suspension of the old Logistics Committee perhaps constitute the two most embarrassing situations with which the government has had to live this year. In the case of the first of these two events, there is no need for further comment at this late stage: the government realised that it had made a mistake and accordingly reversed a decision; it was a difficult thing to do, but it was the proper thing too. A word, however, needs to be said about the government's inability to bring to open justice the person responsible for the criminal misallocation of foreign foods which led to the suspension of Major Weir's Logistics Committee. This event in particular has served to create the impression that the government regards soldiers as a special breed of Ghanaians who are above the law, and this is an unfortunate impression. It would certainly have been embarrassing for the government to to put on open trial some of their own trusted colleagues, but the government should have been bold and faced that embarrassment rather than to have allowed itself to go down in history as having condoned corruption.

As was the case last year, agricultural activity has been intense this year even if the popular euphoria over backyard gardening seems to have subsided. There was a larger allocation made to agriculture in this year's budget than was the case last year and rice production in particular has received a good deal of attention. Nevertheless, Ghanaians have this year had to cope with the highest food stuff prices within many people's memory; and it does seem that in spite of Operation Feed Yourself less plantain, for instance, was cultivated in 1972/73 than in 1971/72. This does not only call for intensified production in the years ahead, it also calls for more honesty on the part of the news media. It does no one — not even the government — any good for the newspapers to publish fantastic claims of agricutural success when people are having to pay more for foodstuffs than they have ever done. This only leads to the kind of cynicism in which the people do not take their government seriously.

Meat too has been one of the government's albatrosses this year. There have been so many inconsistencies in the statements made by government agencies responsible for supplying the country with meat that one could only ignore them. The point remains that since we are not likely to be self-sufficient in meat for the next few years there ought to be more liberalisation and more efficient planning of our meat imports: there has been too much "ad hocry" in our meat importation this year, and butchers have been made to suffer too much for a situation that is fundamentally none of their making.

It is in foreign affairs that the government's conduct has been marked by the greatest consistency and courage. At a meeting of the O.A.U. Liberation Committee held in Accra in January our Foreign Affairs Commissioner was voted Chairman of the Committee for the year, and with this background and in view of the many noises we had made about having regained a vanguard position in the African revolution it was inevitable that we should sever diplomatic relations with Israel following the outbreak of hostilities between Israel and the Arabs, some of whom are African states. All in all, government policy has been in favour of co-operation with other African countries in furtherance of the ideal of total African Unity. This goal is laudable but, needless to say, all agreements need to be signed after the most scrupulous study of what we are letting ourselves in for. We are all for African unity and we support the government's stand in the Middle East crisis, but Ghana needs to guard against being over-enthusiastic in the cause of African Unity or even regional co-operation, especially when other African countries are jealously safeguarding their individual economies.

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Politics

STUDENT CONTRIBUTION TO NATIONAL AFFAIRS IN 1973

By

Agyare Koillarbi

STUDENT, specifically university student, participation in national affairs has been so extensive and so widely publicised that sometimes one gets the impression that in the absence of politicians students rank next in importance after the military. It is thus fitting that as the year nears its end we should objectively assess how much of this publicity has been the result of any meaningful contribution to public life in Ghana.

Collectively, students exercise their influence through the various student unions and organizations the membership of which is very flu'd because of the transient nature of studentship. Every year, new students come and old ones go and that is why the attitude of students in, say, 1972 may be dramatically different from that in 1973. In their thinking, they are characterised by an idealism which makes them extremely intolerant of mediocrity and conservative ideas and very susceptible to embracing radical ideas often expressed in Marxist terminology. To some, they are a dissatisfied and boastful lot who think they have got answers to all the world's problems. They are often led by flamboyant leaders who maintain an image of radicalism among their colleagues by seeking confrontation with authority. As part of their duties as student leaders, they regularly perform the ritual of calling press conferences and issuing press releases, either to criticise their country's leaders or to condemn 'imperialism and neo-colonialism'.

1973 will perhaps go down in the history of Ghana as the year in which positive attempts have been made by students to translate some of their ideals into reality. Prior to this year, specifically in 1972, they merely played the role of revolutionary theoreticians who occasionally clashed with the 'initiators of the revolution' as to how the 'revolution' was to be pursued to its logical end. Though it must be admitted in fairness to them that sometimes they went beyond theoretical exposition to supposed revolutionary practice, such as the cutting of sugar cane at Asutuare and Komenda. By the beginning of 1973 the students had thoroughly learnt two basic lessons. The first was that their revolutionary theories would be useless if they did not put them into practice; and secondly that revolutionary practice would be futile if it was not properly guided by the correct revolutionary theories. As a result of this they have acted more in 1973 and are becoming more critical of the government in order to correct what they deem to be 'revolutionary' deviations and contradictions. Through these twin processes they have been able to make a certain amount of impact on the social, economic and political life of Ghana.

Socially, the students have by their activities been trying to give a new kind of image to themselves and the University which nurtures them. Hitherto the vast majority of people had considered them snobbish and aloof individuals who only cared about the maintenance of the privileged community in which they were bred. But people have now seen them sweeping some of the streets of Accra and the Makola market as part of their activities marking the celebration of the National Unions of Ghana Students (NUGS) week. Quite apart from this, the year has been marked by a number of voluntary activities carried out by the students in the villages adjoining the University campuses.

Intellectuals and Masses

The importance of these activities lies in the impression they make on the less fortunate folks outside the Universities who are awed to see undergraduates doing certain kinds of work which they are accustomed to thinking are exclusively for only those whom Ghanaian society has designated as "labourers". Secondly by voluntarily working in villages and cleaning public streets, to cite just these two examples, students are establishing a kind of bridge between the intellectual community of the Universities to which they belong and the mass of the people outside it. Since Ghana became self-governing the intellectuals in successive regimes have been estranged from the masses. The constant complaint against the intellectuals is their isolation and lack of participation in activities of the community. This suspicious relationship was most acute during the Nkrumah regime when the intellectuals were accused of having failed to take the intiative to lead Ghana to independence. A new and more trusting relationship began to emerge, when following the final collapse of the first Republic, the masses began to wonder if the national calamity could not have been averted if they had listened to the intellectuals and had electorally done away with the 'verandah boys' right from 1951. Thus quite naturally they swung behind the Progress Party which was reported to be loaded with intellectuals in the 1969

elections. But since the overthrow of that Party by the 13th January 1972 coup and all the accusations against the party there has been a resurfacing of the old anti-intellectual feeling. The masses are accusing the intellectuals of having failed them again. The students by identifying themselves with the masses are making an effort at convincing the people about the usefulness of "intellectuals" in the process of nation building; and they for their part are gaining better understanding of the problems of the people. And with the emergence of this dialogue suspicion and tension will give way to co-operation and understanding.

In the economic sphere, it is generally believed that the students have made an immeasurable contribution to the development of the country because of the publicity which has been given to their voluntary work at the Dawhenya canal irrigation project. According to a Government statement issued before the canal project started, the country would pay less for the cost of building the canal if the citizens of the land would offer free labour voluntarily. The simple economic analysis being that since voluntary labour would be unpaid for, the state would save some money. The students, filled with enthusiasm and patriotic sentiments, quickly accepted the challenge and, immediately the Universities closed for the long vacation, began assembling at the canal site.

Frontier Spirit

It certainly does appear as if there were economic gains as a result of the free labour, but a detailed analysis shows that the state saved less money than was expected. A person employed to work on the canal would have been paid a daily wage of one cedi and that is all that the government would be obliged legally to do. The voluntary workers, on the other hand, were not paid but the government provided them with accommodation, fed them, provided them with expensive entertainment, so that eventually what was intended to be a cost saving exercise seems to have proved to be rather expensive. If there was any good in the students' presence at the canal site, it was the sense of patriotism which they aroused in a large number of people. They expressed a 'frontier like' spirit which since their departure from Dawhenya is being emulated by many non-student volunteers who regularly frequent the canal site to work.

Perhaps the most conspicuous and really useful help which any group of students have rendered to the nation is the adoption of some villages by the students of the University of Science and Technology since the beginning of this year. The students have been going to the villages regularly to do voluntary work. Student engineers help plan a better sewage system for the adopted village. Apart from providing labour and expertise which the University possesses in abundance, they regularly make modest financial contributions wherever they are needed by the villagers for development programmes.

Despite this there are still more substantial sacrifices which students are yet to make. It will be recalled that after the abolition of the Students Loan Scheme, one of the promises which they made to the country was that they would help reduce the cost of running the Universities. When a committee was finally set up to make a detailed study of how expenditure on the Universities could be reduced, the student representatives in their proposals to the committee suggested that, as part of the answer to the problem, they should be made to sweep and clean their own rooms in addition to washing their own plates in the dining hall. There was the more startling promise that students of each of the halls in Universities would undertake to develop their own farms as a way of making the Universities more self-sufficient in food. But since the promises were made not much has been done, and the failure to materialise of such high sounding rhetoric may be explained by the fact hat no group of people, no matter how revolutionary they appear, easily give away their privileges. Ghanaian students dangerously steeped in the love for "good-living" are no exception as far as this basic human trait goes. It is hoped that these promises will be realised in the coming year.

Students and Politics

The political role of students in the year 1973 has been to exercise more pressure both on the domestic and foreign policies of the government. On the domestic front some of the policies they have pressurised the government to undertake or reconsider are: nationalisation of foreign owned concerns and the abrogation of the contract for the importation of Leyland buses into Ghana. Students see state control of the economy as one of the roads to economic freedom for Ghana and it is not surprising that they never saw eye to eye with the government of Dr. Busia which believed in an economy propelled to great heights and efficiency through private initiative and enterprise — a basically capitalist concept of development. It is the influence of socialist ideology on students which may account for their desire to see a state dominated economy in Ghana. Some atribute this ideological inclination to the growing presence of foreign

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students in our Universities most of whom bring with them radical ideas and terminology which have become cliches among college students in the Western world. But it may also be that this socialist orientation is the result of the activities of the erstwhile Young Pioneer Movement. Many of the present day University students were one way or the other involved in the activities of the Young Pioneers while at primary schools or in the early years of secondary schools. Despite the fact that the 1966 coup dismantled the socialist machine of the C.P.P., it could not completely erase socialist rhetoric from the minds of many young men who had been fanatically taught to espouse socialism as the only way of life. Thus now the cumulative effect of this kind of influence on our students is that most of the pressure they exert on the government is for the building of a state controlled economy. On the Leyland bus issue, the government has not come out with any definite statement since the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) issued a statement criticising the agreement under which Ghana was to import Leyland buses.

Asantehene's Palace

However, it is not every attempt to influence government policy which has been a success. The first example of this is the refusal of the government to give in to student request that the Asanteman Council should be prevented from building a three million cedi palace for the Asantehene. The NUGS issued a statement calling it an unnecessary, grandiose project which Ghana could not afford, let alone tolerate in a period of 'revolution'. Indeed students have sometimes been led to doubt the revolutionary nature of the government because of what they see as the growing and curious alliance between traditional elite on the one hand and the supposed revolutionary government on the other hand. Idealists like students always forget that revolutionary programmes can only be carried out only when the revolutionaries have a strong political base thus making it unnecessary for them to compromise with some of their opponents. Other areas of government policy which the students have unsuccessfully tried to change are: the sale of of government bungalows to civil servants and the question of the probing of the financial conduct of the members of the National Liberation Council. Probing the N.L.C. has been urged since the 13th January coup and the necessity for doing so succintly stated in the communique issued at the end of the 10th Annual Congress of the NUGS in Kumasi this year; "To probe the Nkrumah and Busia administrations while tactfully and deliberately overlooking the need for a probe into the affairs of the N.L.C. is to give the fallacious impression that it is only civilians who are and could be corrupt and incompetent. This false impression we reject in toto".

It is in the arena of politics that some feel that students have not effectively performed the function of being the only counterweight to the military. Throughout the year they have hardly been heard to condemn the improper actions of members of the armed forces. Politically, apart from issuing communiques they are often dormant except when their own interests are threatened. For instance a nation-wide demonstration was threatened when the student leader, Mr. Ward-Brew, was interned for a short period in September, but Mr. Ward-Brew's was not the only case of improper internment. In the coming year it is the hope of many that student agitation will not be limited to the preservation of their own interests alone but fight for the interests of the whole country.

Students' Mouthpiece

It is in the realm of foreign policy that students' views have mostly coincided with those of the ruling government throughout the year. They reject the idea of dialogue with the white minority regimes in South Africa and have emphatically given their support to any policy which encourages co-operation and unity in Africa. What is still not clear is whether they are prepared to volunteer and go to some of the unliberated areas in southern Africa as fighters or in other capacities. Students however face certain handicaps which need to be pointed out. They cannot influence the social life and ideas of the country if they do not have the means to propagate what they do and say. Thus if the government–owned papers refuse to publish their views on national affairs they cannot get their ideas across to the public. For instance take the refusal of the two national papers to report the 17th April press conference in Kumasi which stated student attitude to the Leyland bus affair. The NUGS communique noted with regret the behaviour of the Ghanaian press and went on to accuse the government of "maintaining the press to suit its whims" adding, "this has been made possible by the existence of the decree on press immunity". The answer to this problem may be for the students to set up their own weekly paper. Such a move, it is understood has already been initiated. I hope a powerful and influential student press will be a reality in the coming year.

Ghana to some, is gradually becoming a nation of shrinking opportunities. Jobs are becoming scarce, the cost of living is soaring and these conditions have generated a deep sense of frustration among the youth and in particular among the University students. As educated young men they have been exposed to the beauty of knowledge and their dormant ambitions have been aroused by exposure to ideals of all kinds. It is tragic that Ghana seems to be unable to satisfy their growing ambitions.

Education

MATHEMATICS—ANCIENT AND MODERN

By

S. I. K. Odoom

For the past ten years or so experiments have been going on, in this country, with the object of "modernising" the teaching of Mathematics in our schools. These projects were no doubt inspired by similar exercises in other countries, notably in Europe and America, but teachers of Mathematics in this country have had sufficient reason for wanting to start such projects. They have been worried about two things in particular. First, very few students could proceed beyond the remembering of theorems, rules and formulae and the mechanical use of such formulae. Secondly, most students did not seem to feel that the problems which they were asked to solve in their mathematics classes could have anything to do with real life. The Modern mathematics projects set out to make mathematical ideas easier to understand, to stimulate interest in the subject and to make more evident the numerous applications of mathematics to many diverse areas of modern human activity. To this end a series of books were planned, for various levels of pre-university mathematics education, with roughly three specific objectives in mind:

(*a*) to represent Mathematics within the setting of the practical problems that it helps to solve and thereby give meaning to the study of a subject which many people regard as abstruse and unreal;

b) to introduce new ideas and techniques which, though basically simple, are nevertheless powerful and elegant and help to give a better insight into the basic mathematical structure of the problem on hand;

(*c*) to try and lay a proper foundation on which those people whose interest will be aroused can successfully build in future.

It is perhaps too early to say whether the experiments have been successful or not, but they do not seem to have attracted many more people to the study of Mathematics. The books that have been written are excellent as far as they go but they have not given sufficient attention to the first, and I think most important, objective stated above. The programmes now presented tend to concentrate on the introduction of new ideas and techniques which previously one met only on the higher rungs of the mathematical ladder. They seem concerned mostly to demonstrate that a sizeable portion of traditional elementary mathematics can, and therefore ought to be, formulated in terms of the new concepts. This does not make the subject easier to understand or more interesting for the pupil even though the teacher might derive satisfaction from he more sophisticated approach.

Traditional Mathematics

Mathematical laymen who have come into contact with Modern Mathematics, largely through work which their children bring home, appear to be more confused than enlightened by it. Their children are learning strange things, new concepts whose ussefulness is as yet obscure; at the same time the children, even in secondary school, do not seem to be able to do the down to earth practical computations, like adding up fractions, which their parents could do, with some ease, in the lower levels of middle school.

One of the criticisms made against what has now been labelled "traditional mathematics" was that the text books, and the teaching of it, did no more than provide a catalogue of special techniques followed by stereotyped exercises which were designed to illustrate the methods taught and which usually bore little relation to any non-trivial real life situations. It has been said that the endless repetitive stereotyped examples, involving no more than the use of formulae and mechanical procedures, tended to drive away a class of intelligent people who were bored by the meaningless tedium of the whol exercise. Most teachers of mathematics and many students will probably support this view. Certainly this criticism has led to the modern exponents leaning rather heavily to the other extreme. The modern presentation of the subject has tended towards greater generalisation and abstraction, the idea being that such a treatment will be good foundation for later work. Certainly, this tendency towards

the abstract serves no immediate purpose at the lower levels and, as many teachers of first year University classes have found to their chagrin, the new mathematics does not appear to be any better, as preparation for higher work, than the old. Mathematical skills which one used to take for granted in students who have done their A-levels are now often lacking in the products of the modern experiments. The new mathematics which has replaced the traditional curriculum has been studied but not well understood and ha to be done all over again.

What is needed is a presentation of Mathematics which maintains contact with the real life problems and applications that have stimulated its growth. Such presentation must avoid an excessively abstract and axiomatic approach. This is especially necessary if a course in Mathematics is to contribute meaningfully to the general education of the many people who will not go beyond the General Certificate level.

Realistic Examples

There are comparatively fewer problems at at Primary school level. The mathematics at this level is mostly centred on counting and splitting up of collections of objects. Children are quick to appreciate the usefulness of these processes and their obvious application to the counting (and hoarding) of possessions and the sharing of gifts. They need little encouragement at the initial stages.

At the secondary level, and perhaps a bit earlier these days, the processes of algebra are introduced usually as the replacement of numbers with letters, the purpose of which is seldom very clear beyond the fact that this is merely a different kind of exercise in addition, multiplication etc. Abstract equations are introduced and, after the methods of solution have been dealt with, some applications are mentioned. Mathematicians, unfortunately, have not been very resourceful in formulating realistic examples and most of the applications given seem trivial and pointless. Euclidean Geometry, in the days before it fell into disrepute, did provide some glimpses of applicable mathematics, but Euclid's treatment (which remained essentially unaltered for centuries) was never easy and the subject was seldom popular with students.

The task of mathematicians in this country is to demonstrate, now to an unsophisticated developing society, precisely in what ways their particular discipline can help us find answers to the many problems of modern life at both national and personal levels.

Other scientific disciplines like Biology Geology, Physics do not have much trouble demonstrating their value to society. Mathematicians too have no trouble at all demonstrating their usefulness to these other disciplines. Their biggest fault is in assuming that because a Physicist, say, appreciates their work it is sufficient simply to tell others that such and such portion of mathematics finds application in Physics and therefore it will help your general education to learn this bit of mathematics.

What is needed at each level of teaching is an approach that devotes adequate time to the formulation, in ordinary non-mathematical, non-abstract terms, of a real practical problem or class of problems which the mathematics to be taught at that level is going to help to solve. Subsequent discussion will then be directed towards a statement of the problem in mathematical terms intelligible at the particular level of instruction. Then and only then may one proceed in any meaningful manner to introduce and develop the mathematical tools that may possibly help in the solution of the problem. When the tools have been fashioned in this functional manner it should be easy then to give further examples of what else these tools can be used for.

Such an approach is necessary, indeed vital, in this and other developing countries if the great potential of the mathematical disciplines is to be fully exploited.

Job Openings

Unlike the developed countries of Europe and the Americas we have no heritage of great mathematicians, like Newton, Gauss, Cantor, Poincare Hilbert, and the problems which started them on the development of what are now commonplace mathematical tools. If we had, that tradition alone may inspire others to study mathematics for its own sake and the country may benefit from this process much the same as other countries have benefited. In the absence of such heritage, such inspiration, it is crucial that mathematicians in the developing countries find an effective way to create interest in this great subject and an awareness of its potential.

The level of technological sophistication in the advanced countries is also such that even students who do not yet know what mathematics is all about are driven to pay attention to the subject by the numerous announcements of job openings for mathematicians. At least they know where

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to go for a job even if they do not know what they will have to do there. No one, as yet, is clamouring for mathematicians in this country.

What work is there for students who have studied mathematics in school and perhaps even gone on to study the subject in University? This is a question which students very quickly begin to ask themselves and their teachers. Or, take the student who goes out to work after his Ordinary Levels. If he has been good at mathematics, what kind of work can he do better than his colleague who also has O-levels but did not do so well in Mathematics? This is a question which mathematicians and teachers of Mathematics must answer not only for the benefit of students but also for the enlightenment of employers. The most satisfactory way is to do this through the teaching and presentation of the subject. Contact must be maintained, at all times, with the real problems from those various areas of activity within which the special disciplines of Mathematics may find useful application.

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Observer Notebook

OUR CHRISTMAS WISHES

THE Christmas season is traditionally a period for exchanging peace and goodwill messages and the **Legon Observer** would like to take advantage of the occasion and do its own well-wishing. We should like to assure our leaders that if we have often been critical of them, this has not been out of mischief or malice, but because we see it as our business to point it out when the best interest of this country is likely to be threatened.

In this regard, our job as newspapermen is a necessary complement to theirs as administrators: we are the ones who stand behind to tell the busy roadmaker where his road is going crooked. In any case, we too are Ghanaians whose personal fortunes are directly affected by the state of affairs in this country; and it is in a spirit of togetherness that we wish a very successful New Year to all members of government, hoping that in 1974 they will welcome more heartily our criticisms and suggestions.

Social Problems

SOME MISGIVINGS ABOUT THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ACCOUNTANCY PROFESSION IN GHANA

By

Ato Ghartey

THE problem of providing qualified professional accountants to cater for the current socio-economic needs of the country has received great attention from almost all the regimes the country has had during the last decade.

The most recent development in this direction are the recommendations of the Committee on the Establishment of a School for Training Accountants and other related Professionals. The Committee was appointed by the Commissioner for Education and Culture on 24th May, 1973 to examine and report on measures necessary for the establishment of a school for training accountants and other professionals. The Committee's recommendations were discussed by the present writer in L.O. VIII/20.

An Act of Parliament was enacted in 1963 (Act 170) to establish a new autonomous institution to train to make provision for the conduct of examinations and other matters connected with the accountancy profession in Ghana.

The Institute of Chartered Accountants executed the duties entrusted to it as best as it could. However, the fact that the NRC thought it necessary to establish a special Committee to report on measures necessary

to establish a new autonomous institution to train accountants and other professionals would suggest that the present training facilities and the rate at which accountants are being produced in the country are inadequate.

The NRC's concern over the current problem appears to be a legacy bequeathed from previous Governments. When the Institute was established in 1963 it was thought that the problem of acute shortage of accountants could be alleviated within a reasonable period of time. However, by 1970 only 5 people had qualified and been accepted after the requisite period of practical training as members of the Institute. Alarmed by the rather slow rate at which accountants were being trained and produced, the Government called upon the National Council for Higher Education, Institute of Chartered Accountants, and the School of Administration of the University of Ghana, to examine and report on measures that could accelerate the production rate of qualified professional accountants in the country.

Discussions between the National Council for Higher Education, the Institute of Chartered Accountants and the School of Administration culminated in appointing a Joint Committee from the latter two institutions to examine the problem and suggest solutions.

Four-Year Course

Upon recommendations of the Joint Committee, an agreement was reached between the Institute of Chartered Accountants and the School of Administration to extend the latter's three year course in accountancy by an additional fourth year course to provide students with further courses and training which would enable them to reach the level of proficiency required for qualification as Licentiates of the Institute of Chartered Accountants. In pursuance of the agreement, the School of Administration reorganised its B.Sc. Administration degree course in 1970-71 in collaboration with the Institute to meet the academic requirements of the Institute.

The primary purpose of the Fourth Year Course at the School of Administration is to facilitate the completion of all examinations of the Institute while such candidates are still in full residence at the University.

The examination will be administered jointly by the University of Ghana and the Institute of Chartered Accountants. A candidate who passes the examination is granted a "Licentiate in Accounting" and may after two years working experience under the supervision of a qualified member of the Institute under conditions approved by the Institute, be considered for full membership of the Institute on application and the recommendation of his principal. The course is expected to extend over not less than one academic year.

Unresolved Issues

1. Why can't the Institute and the School of Administration be exact on the duration of the Licentiate course? A period of not less than one academic year leaves the students in suspense. He could be in School for one academic year or such longer period as may be determined by the School or the Institute.

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2. Does everybody with a B.Sc. Administration degree with a specialisation in Accounting — 1st Class, Upper 2nd, 2nd Lower, or 3rd Class Honours Division — qualify to be admitted to the Licentiate Course?
3. It is apparent that the programme was designed for those who will be graduating in 1974 and thereafter. What interim or transitional arrangements have been made for the 229 accounting majors who graduated between 1965 and 1973 some of whom may be at the various stages of preparation for the Final Examinations?
4. What is the status of those who have currently been admitted to the fourth year course? All the students in this group completed their degree programmes before 1974.
5. What screening criteria are used to select candidates to the fourth year course?
6. .Who takes the final decision on the students who should be selected for the fourth year course — the School of Administration, the Institute of Chartered Accountants, both organisations, or an independent body?
7. If a student with a qualification from a "recognised University" equivalent to the School of Administration B.Sc. could be admitted to the Licentiate course, on what basis would such student's qualification be evaluated and equated to the B.Sc. Administration degree?
8. If the Institute could find some means of evaluating and equating foreign first degrees to the local B.Sc. Administration courses why can't it find similar means of evaluating transcripts of foreign post graduate courses in accounting and granting holders of such qualifications appropriate exemptions?

Post-Graduates and Public Practice

9. At the recent Tenth International Congress of Accountants in Australia, representations were made by the Ghanaian Institute to certain Universities in Australia, United Kingdom, and the United States of America to provide bursaries and placement for qualified members of the Institute to pursue Master's Degree courses, with a view to taking on full time or part time teaching assignments in accounting for the School of Administration and the Institute.

   If the Institute has been modest enough to make such a request at an International Congress, why can't it appreciate and concede to the fact that an average Master's programme in accountancy in a reputable institution is a much broader based and of a much higher quality than the course content of the local Chartered Accountancy programme?
10. How does the Institute expect candidates currently possessing Master's and Doctorate degrees in accounting, interested in public practice to obtain a practising license? If the Institute has explicitly suggested that it is desirable for its qualified members to pursue further studies in accountancy to obtain Master's degrees, why can't it devise means of drawing on the knowledge and experience of those who already possess such qualifications?
11. Would it, for example, be reasonable to expect someone with a doctorate degree or a master's degree in accountancy already teaching fourth year students at the School of Administration to take the same examinations with his students before the Institute considers him as qualified for admission to membership?
12. When the Institute was established in 1963 membership was drawn from three broad groups of people:
    1. Those who were already members of certain overseas bodies recognised by the first Council of the Institute, i.e. members of the erstwhile Association of Accountants;
    2. Those who might have had some practical knowledge and/or experience but who did not qualify for membership to the Association of Accountants, i.e. members of the erstwhile Society of Practising Accountants and Auditors: and
    3. Any other persons practising as accountant and whose applications for membership, submitted within three months of the coming into operation of the Act, were approved by the first Council of the Institute.

The Institute of Chartered Accountants is still in its rudimentary stages or at best in a transitional period. If the Institute has just in the last ten years admitted people with foreign qualifications and people without any formal education or training in accountancy, why can't it seriously consider attracting most of the highly qualified, and energetic young men in the country into the profession to help improve and raise the current status of the profession in the country?

Fallacy of Misplaced Concreteness

There have been assertions that:

1. Reciprocal arrangements exist between the local Institute and the Institute of Chartered Accountants of England and Wales, that of Scotland, Ireland and the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants.
2. People with doctorate and master's degree in accountancy in the United States of America are not exempted from the CPA examinations and therefore Ghanaians with Ph.D.'s in accountancy even though they may be academically better qualified than all the members of the Institute should not be granted any exemptions from the Institute's final examination.
3. There are Ph.D.s in law who are not allowed to practise and therefore Ph.D.'s in accountancy too should not be allowed to practise.
4. The most effective way of training accountants is the apprenticeship type training and therefore the fourth year programme will produce low calibre accountants.

The validity of all four assertions is doubtful.

Funk and Wagnalls desk dictionary defines reciprocals as "mutually interchangeable". The Institute of Chartered Accountants of England and Wales, that of Scotland, Ireland, and the Association of Certified and Corporate Accountants do not grant automatic

membership to members of the Ghanaian Institute. Thus, unless a difierent meaning is assigned to reciprocity it would be difficult to establish that a reciprocal membership agreement exists between these Institutes, then why would the Ghanaian Institute not accept Ghanaians with other professional qualifications, e.g. CPA from the United States, CA from Canada, Australia, and for that matter any recognised professional accountancy qualification from any internationally recognised and reputable professional accountancy organisation?

It may be true that people with master's and doctorate degrees in accountancy in the United States are not exempted from the CPA examinations. However, it may be appropriate to note that not all accountants are interested in public accounting. If one is not interested in public accounting it may not be necessary for him to take the CPA examinations or apply for exemptions from the examination. In such cases the person may decide to join a number of several other professional accountancy organisations. Among the most popular of such organisations are the National Association of Accountants (mainly for Management Accountants), and the American Accounting Association (mainly for accounting educators). Those who are interested in public accounting will generally have adequate education and training facilities available to enable them to pass the CPA examinations before they complete their Master's or Ph.D. programmes. If the person were unable to pass the CPA examination before completing the Ph.D. programme, he would be confident that very qualified, experienced, and internationally recognised professors, all of whom would be better qualified than himself would be examining him at the CPA examination.

The Legal Profession

It is doubtful if such conditions do exist in Ghana now. If such conditions do not currently exist in Ghana then the writer would wish to submit with respect that some foreign practices are being imported indiscriminately by the local Institute and being applied without appropriate adjustments to suit our local environment.

The example from the legal profession seems highly inappropriate or far fetched. Most of the students who have had the chance from the Law Faculty to pursue post graduate studies overseas had the option to do the practical course before leaving the country. Thus, the question of having to come back with a Ph.D. in Law and taking the professional course with one's students at Legon before being allowed to practise would not normally arise.

However, if it ever arose there could be a very rational means of solving the problem. The practical course treats certain subjects that are considered to be very important to all Legal practitioners in Ghana. These subjects are either not treated at all or inadequately covered in the undergraduate programme at Legon. Among them are Civil Procedure, Criminal Procedure, Evidence, Interpretation of Statutes, Legal Ethics, and Conveyancing and Drafting. If a student could prove beyond reasonable doubt through production of his transcripts or otherwise that all or some of these required subjects have been adequately covered

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in his post graduate programme there appears to be no reason why he should not be granted appropriate exemptions from the practical law course.

With regard to the question of how effectively accountants could be trained, it might be appropriate to note that the existence of practice merely means that something could be done. It does not necessarily mean that that particular objective is being accomplished in the most efficient manner. The apprenticeship type of training accountants was started in a decree by Napolean of France in 1805 that an accountant would not be allowed to practice until he had passed a required examination and had served three years with an approved accountant. Such practice restrictions still prevail. However, it might be necessary to discuss whether such practice and training restrictions that are about 170 years old should still prevail. It was clearly established by this writer in Vol. VIII No. 20 of the **Legon Observer** that most of the countries that adopted the apprenticeship type systems of training accountants have found these systems inadequate or obsolete. Most of these countries have either changed or are now changing from appreanticeship towards a liberal based university education for accountants.

Different Types of Accountants

An erroneous impression seems to have been created by employers and others through advertisements in the daily papers and other news media that Chartered Accountants or other groups of accountants currently recognised by the Institute as acceptable for membership to the local Institute are the only group of professionals qualified to undertake all accounting work in Ghana. The writer would wish to correct this impression. At least four different areas could be identified in accounting — public accounting, private accounting, governmental accounting, and teaching accounting.

Public accountants (or chartered accountants as they are called in Ghana) are independent professional persons comparable to attorneys or physicians, who offer accounting services to clients for a fee. The CA certificate is a license to practise granted by the Institute on behalf of the state. The main areas of accounting covered by public accountants include auditing, tax services, and management advisory services.

In contrast to the public accountant who serves many clients, an accountant in private industry is employed on the basis of evidence of rigorous formal training and education in accountancy. However, he does not necessarily have to possess a practicing license, possess a chartered accountancy certificate or be a member of the Institute of Chartered Accountants. Thus, someone with an MBA degree in accountancy from a recognised University with the requisite practical experience, could execute the duties of a Chief Accountant of any reputable organisation as efficiently as any average person with a Chartered Accountancy Certificate. Indeed, such is the case in several North American firms and there are at least two very reputable chain organisations in this country whose Chief Accountants are not Chartered Accountants but have MBA degrees in accounting. The work of private accountants includes design of accounting systems, cost accounting, budgeting, tax accounting, internal auditing and management accounting.

Governmental agencies such as the Auditor General's Department, Accountant General's Department, Internal Revenue Department, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, and the Banks rely on Financial information to help them direct the affairs of their agencies just as do executives of private corporations. Accountants are employed by the Government to keep records, prepare budgets, audit the accounting records of various government departments, and to examine the millions of income tax returns filed by individuals and corporations. Every agency of the government at every level must have accountants to carry out its responsibilities. Again, all these accountants need not necessarily possess CA certificates. However, they should have undergone rigorous process of formal training and education in accountancy.

Research to develop accounting principles and practices which keep pace with changes in the economic and political environment should be a major activity of professional accountants and accounting educators. Accounting is not a closed system or a fixed set of rules, but a constantly evolving body of knowledge. A critical examination and review of accounting principles and practices clearly reveal that there are several problems and conflicts in accounting for which fully satisfactory answers are yet to be developed. The Act that established the Institute specifically entrusted the Institute with the responsibility of encouraging research in accountancy and generally to secure the well being and advancement of the accountancy profession. If the present members of the Institute for some reason have not been able to execute such an important duty, why can't they be modest enough to encourage and invite qualified candidates who have been specially trained and equipped with the research tools in accountancy to perform this task?

Conclusion

It is about time the School of Administration came out with a clear statement as to whether it is only providing students with a liberal based education and leaving them completely to themselves to develop later to the status of "accountants" or whether it can provide students with the necessary training and education to enable them to come out as fully fledged accountants.

Most of School of Administration alumni have suffered a lot of frustration, humiliation, and condescension mainly because the Institute of Chartered Accountants and the School of Administration have been very indifferent about their professional development.

If students can stay at University of Science and Technology for four years and call themselves and be recognised as pharmacists, engineers, architects, and artists, or stay at the Law Faculty at Legon for five years and be recognised as professional lawyers, or the Ghana Medical School for six years and be recognised as physicians, there is no reason why with the appropriate co-operation, support, and encouragement from the only professional accountancy organisation in the country, the School of Administration has not been able in ten years to hold itself out and really train and educate fully fledged accountants.

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If the School of Administration has given the impression that it is not training professionals but only providing students with liberal education, how could it:

1. Expect employers to treat its graduates differently from graduates from other departments following non professional degree programmes?
2. Be upset when the Government decides to set up a new autonomous institution specially designed to train and educate fully fledged accountants and other professionals?

The fourth year programme as now designed is too narrowly based. It attempts to emphasise production of public accountants (Chartered Accountant) to the neglect of all other types of professional accountants. Management accountants, governmental accountants, and accounting educators are all professional accountants in their own right. In most of those countries where the accountancy profession has reached a high level of sophistication and advancement, each of these groups of accountants has its independent professional association.

The accountancy profession in Ghana is in its very rudimentary stage now. The country does not need only public accountants. All the four types of accountants discussed in this paper are urgently needed.

Ghanaians have a choice either to maintain only one professional accountancy organisation or establish an independent professional organisation for each special group of professional accountants. Considerations such as strength in unity and the need for a dynamic leadership as well as the basic fact that an accountant is an accountant no matter his specialisation would dictate that Ghana should maintain only one professional organisation.

If Ghana decides to maintain only one professional accountancy organisation then the name of the Institute might have to be changed or the public made aware of the fact that the word "chartered" has been broadened to include all other types of professional accountants.

It is about time all qualified accountants in the country woke up from the lethargy, got organised, made the public aware of their existence and usefulness to the society, and gave young and promising individuals interested in the profession the appropriate encouragement and support. The General Legal Council has set a beautiful example in the legal field for their students. Accountants can learn from them.

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS

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ATO GHARTEY: Lecturer, School of Administration, Legon.

SANTROFI is the pen name of our Columnist.

Letters

An African Viewpoint on Human Rights

SIR — I write to take issue with your regular correspondent, Dr. S. K. B. Asante, on his last piece purporting to give an African viewpoint on the United Nations and Human Rights (L.O. VIII/25). My quarrel is not with what he said — I do agree with what he said — but with what he left unsaid. He rightly pointed out that at least in theory, one of the aims of the U.N.O. as seen through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is to promote "the universal recognition of the dignity inherent in all members of the human family and their equal and inalienable rights". In his sketch, Dr. Asante creates the impression that it is only in the minority regimes in Southern Africa that vast numbers of people are denied their human dignity, and therefore his review concentrates only on the undeniable evils of the oppressive Apartheid system.

Even granting that Dr. Asante was looking at human rights from the U.N. perspective, I think he should have spared some thought for those black people too whose dignity and rights are being constantly flouted by other black potentates. It is not only racial discrimination or colonialism that constitutes a negation of human rights, nor is it just "the domination of black by white". Domination of black by black is equally repugnant, and unless we are also bold enough to point out such aberrations in black ruled countries on this continent, we shall either forfeit or at best whittle away our moral right to stoutly defend, on behalf of our less fortunate brothers elsewhere on this continent, those rights which we deny to others nearer home.

Does the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights not cover those tribal minorities who are being persecuted, discriminated against and decimated in black African countries? What about the hundreds of black people incarcerated and humiliated by black rulers in independent African states? And the scores of people who have been "implicated" in plots or framed up and

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executed in black Africa? And those who have been disappearing at regular intervals in at least one black African country? Among the champions of African freedom who have been fighting for the release of the Sobukwes and Sitholes and Mandelas, how many haven't got their own Mandelas on local Robben Islands? Why, for example is it that we appear more interested in the fate of those black South Africans who are paid wages below the poverty like than in the fate of our own local exploited workers who are much more below the poverty line?

I concede that apartheid is a special problem which must be relentlessly fought to the bitterest end, but I submit that we can undertake the struggle with a better conscience and greater moral strength only if we accord to our own people those rights which we seek for those of our brothers who live under obnoxious para-colonial systems. Personally if I should fall victim to arbitary detention, it will be no consolation to me that I suffer at the hands of my black brothers rather than at the hands of some callous white oppressor. From the victim's point of view, the details concerning the pigmentation of the executioner are of no great consequence.

Dr. Asante would have done a more useful piece of work if somewhere in the course of his sketch he had pointed out the need for African leaders to show greater respect for human dignity and rights towards their own people, since in this particular matter we do not appear to have made any progress since our various independence dates. Dr. Asante's attitude seems to be unfortunately typical of most of our political scientists who seem to be less concerned with local and contemporary issues of immediate relevance to us than with matters of more or less remote interest to our immediate concerns.

By all means let us be international in our outlook and concerns, but a little parochialism will do us no great harm, for after all does charity have a better starting point than home?

Dept. of Modern Languages **P. A. V. Ansah**
Legon

What Boring Stuff

SIR — After reading that piece of squeamish self-abnegation over the Middle-East Crisis in L.O. VIII/22 in the best colonialist tradition, I notice that my friend Mr. Adali-Mortty is raising in your latest issue (L.O. VIII/24) some red herrings to confuse your readers.

Not having been present during the visit of the Hungarian President, I cannot tell if the reception accorded him exceeded reasonable bounds or not. But since we are supposed to be non-aligned, I cannot see the reason for Mr. Adali-Mortty's alarm.

Where was he when the Foreign Minister of a certain Western power was dined and wined **on television** by the government of the Second Republic? Secondly, did he raise a finger when the same regime accorded to **the wife** of the Head of State of that same country treatment worthy of a Head of State?

If we turn our backs on the rich experiences of countries of the Eastern bloc, we will be the ultimate losers.

Alabama **Jawa Apronti**

The Hospital Fees Report

SIR — Mr. R. G. Brooks must be congratulated for the careful analysis he has made of the Hospital Fees Report (L.O. VIII/23). It shows he has read the Report right through, which is more than many who are currently commenting on it have done.

Korle Bu Hospital **F. I.D. Konotey-Ahulu**
Accra

"The Purpose of University Education"

A Rejoinder

SIR — In a rejoinder to the above topic which appeared in L.O. VIII/24, Mr. V. Amponsah made some points which need to be refuted, and in this regard, I shall concern myself with the part of his letter which deals with students studying Latin and allied subjects. In his enthusiasm to stress the need for trained specialists, he regarded the study of Latin and Philosophy as indeed falling short of equipping a student with the necessary tools of life. This opinion finds no support whatever in anything worthy of the name of fact. While he gave no single instance to prove his case, I think that our Vice-Chancellor's capable management of the University of Ghana proves that a classicist is equipped to "face hardships of life".

Mr. Amponsah also made the following statement which needs logical analysis: "General education must end at the secondary school level: universities must go a step further". I find a serious 'non sequitur' in this statement of his. Mr. Amponsah seems not to oppose the teaching of say Latin at the Sixth Form level. Can he then call on any such Latin student to abruptly end this course of discipline and radically take up the study of say medicine or accounts (presumably areas of

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"trained specialists") when he knows the impossibility of such an adventure? Surely, Mr. Amponsah should not be forgiven in his disregard for natural endowment!

Finally, this general point should be made as regards the empty bias against the study of classics namely that in terms of financial dissipation, the comparatively low number of classics graduates does not adversely affect the national economy. It needs only a little objectivity to realise this. I grant the necessity for meeting the man-power requirements of the nation, but I protest at the compromising of the broad level of education in Ghana by utilitarian intentions. By the skilful use of emphasis, Mr. Amponsah spoke persuasively but yet he hardly spoke the truth. He needs to be reminded that "Suppresio veri suggestio falsi".

Mensah Sarbah Hall **Kodwo Bonnah-Koomson**
Legon

The Middle-East Crisis

SIR — I agree with E. Obeng Mensah's letter which appeared in L.O. VIII/24, and wish to reiterate the question he asked. How can Ghana (and other African countries) which has declared her support for the Arab cause be seen to be fair in her role of peace-keeper who sends a contingent of troops to the Middle-East?

It would have been better if Ghana had persuaded such of her sister African countries as are engaged in the conflict to come to the negotiation table rather than declare her support for their cause and yet send soldiers to keep peace, a situation which the Israelis (or any other country in similar circumstances) will not take kindly to.

P.O. Box 202 **A. Ackah-Mensah**
Kumasi

Good Quality Products Are Needed

SIR — I bought some "Monarch" vests from a Departmental Store (about three months ago), but could not inspect them in the store since I had confidence in both the manufacturer and the retailer. Unfortunately, when I decided to wear these vests at last, I was disappointed to find one loosely knitted in the back, thus creating unwanted holes. This clearly shows that there are no rigid and quality oriented cum consumer satisfaction regulations set up by the manufacturers to protect their interest and to keep their customers.

I want to take this opportunity to advise the manufacturers of "Monarch" vests and all manufacturers alike through this medium to institute rigid rules for finishing and inspection before they release their products onto the market. This is necessary in order to ensure good market and enjoy the confidence of consumers.

P.O. Box 0265 **Saka Adotey**
Osu-Accra

Christianity and Maternal Inheritance

SIR — In the December 16, issue of the **Standard** the Catholic Bishop of Sunyani, the Rt. Rev. James Kwadwo Owusu is reported to have called on Ghanaian Christians "to play their part as responsible, honest christians and help abolish maternal inheritance, which is number one danger to christianity as well as the country's economy". According to the report, His Lordship said "all christians in the country should have one line of inheritance — the parternal one and abolish the maternal one so that the husband's property should be given to the wife and children and not to the husband's matrilineal family, who have established practices of maltreating the wife and children because of the property left behind".

If what the report carried is correct then I wish in all humility (as a Catholic) to make a few observations on the matter. It is quite clear that the issue of maternal inheritance is a crucial, emotional and indeed a political issue. On that score, if the church (in this case, the Catholic Church) wants to offer leadership in its re-appraisal, it is perfectly in order and indeed desirable. However I find it extremely difficult to accept the premises and conclusions contained in His Lordship's address on the issue of maternal inheritance.

To begin with, His Lordship is reported to have said christians must "lament the weak customs which do not agree with christianity" and maternal inheritance was cited and castigated as one such custom. My initial observation is this: Whatever meaning one attaches to maternal inheritance, it is clear it is **not** just a custom. In my opinion it is a system: it is a **cardinal aspect of a whole cultural system** of the people who practise it. It is patently wrong to think of it as merely a custom. Much more importantly the maternal inheritance system is simply an aspect of the whole concept of the family of (generally) the Akan people of Ghana. So when you come down to it, His Lordship was saying that inheritance in the traditional structure should be divorced from the concept of the family. In my humble opinion, unless the most weird propositions and the most bizarre rationalisations are put forward, the inheritance system is and will always remain an inseperable part of the total family structure. It is an unprofitable exercise to attack the inheritance system with the view to reforming it while its basic root-system — the family remains untouched. It is, in my view, regrettable that His Lordship did not advert his mind to this rather central issue.

Secondly, the contention that the maternal inheritance system is "number one danger to christianity as well as the economy" needs elaboration, but short of that I do not think that statement should be allowed to go unchallenged. In my opinion christianity is about the CHRIST-IDEAL. Any addition to or substraction from this is either not christianity at all or at best a 'polluted' christianity. And in my opinion. THE CHRIST IDEAL does NOT advocate for the destruction of the family nor does it in any way indicate that the maternal concept of family is contrary to any known christian ideal. So it is really hard to find the basis of his Lordship's assertions. To my mind, the claim of good intentions on his Lordship's part is no defence for great wrongs have been perpetrated with

the greatest of zeal under the canopy of good intentions. Saul was zealously good-intentioned until he saw the light...

Thirdly there is a certain legal notion which rings although faintly, in His Lordship's address. This is that no legal avenue exists for a man who wants to dispose of his property even in the traditional system. If this is a wrong interpretation that I put on His Lordship's address then I am genuinely sorry but it seems it is not an incorrect inference from the address that this is what His Lordship wanted to say or said. In fact, the laws of Ghana provide every available means for any body to dispose of his property in any way he likes. Quite clearly everybody knows about the will, the written and the oral (i.e. samansiw) and of course there is the outright gift while the husband/man is alive. So in fact to talk about "practices of maltreating the wife and children because of property left behind" is not quite all there is to it.

It is highly recommendable if the church intends to lead a revolution for social reforms. If the Catholic Church, which for hundreds of years established herself as the bastion of high-water conservatism and enemy of scientific progress is now happily championing the cause of scientific and revolutionary progress I am all for it. But in my opinion, this leadership will bear proper fruits if we clearly understand the goals we wish to pursue with our revolutionary zeal.

Mensah Sarbah Hall **Dennis Adjei-Brenyah**
Univ. of Ghana
Legon

The Forgotten Axim-Half Assini Road

SIR—The 60-mile laterite road from Axim (Ankobra) to Half Assini was completed in 1948 under the governorship for Sir Alan Burns during the last stages of our colonial status. Since then successive governments have fought shy of tarring it. At various periods of government, it has been a political problem.

Under the C.P.P. any time the people of Western and Eastern Nzima Constituencies threatened to select a representative other than the C.P.P-nominated candidate, they were promised a tarring of the road and they acquiesced. This went on until the 1966 coup ended the drama. Under the NLC, it was a crime to talk about the road because Nkrumah's "invading" army from Guinea would roll their tanks and other machines of war on the tarred road to wage war on Ghana. To justify this sad and unpardonable neglect, work on the road was classified as a prestige project and this received the fiat of the powers that were.

Then came the PP government. Both Eastern and Western Nzima offended the good Professor and his government by voting solidly for the PAP, and it would seem that the neglect of the Axim-Half Assini road was prescribed and administered as a fitting punishment.

Now we are in the era of the NRC and two budgets have already been presented without a word about the Axim-Half Assini road. It is not yet clear to those of us who study the reasons of successive governments for neglecting the tarring of the road, what wrong the people of Eastern and Western Nzima have done to continue to be denied this share of our national development. Already Commander Kyeremeh, the Western Regional Commissioner and Major-General Amenu have travelled on this 60-mile hell-run and have also experienced, however briefly, the ordeal of the people in the area. For some time, we have been waiting and watching to see or hear any concrete proposal from either of the two Commissioners for the tarring of the road. So far nothing has come from them.

Instead, the government has earmarked ¢56,800 for completion of three bungalows at Axim, three at Tarkwa and three at Sekondi-Takoradi; and ¢40,000 has been provided for the first phase of the construction of a Brick and Tile Factory at Nkroful! At least, could not work on the road be completed before turning to these projects? Which is more important to the farmers, fishermen, labourers, travellers and public servants in the area—the tarring of the road or these aforementioned projects? We must re-examine our priorities and it is not too late!

Without exaggerating, the roads leading to Ghana's border with our neighbours are tarred—Aflao, Paga, Dormaa-Ahenkro, to mention just a few, so why is the Axim-Half Assini road singled out for neglect? Is it a result of the relative insignificance of that part of Ghana or are the officials in the Western Regional Administration fighting some silent battle with the people of Western and Eastern Nzima? Do we have to procrastinate until the people in the area turn this into an unpaplatable political issue? Political blackmail is deplorable but it looks as if it may have to be the vogue now for any area that wants to be heard. I am appealing to the government of the N.R.C. to look seriously into the question of the Axim-Half Assini road. Too much money is wasted every year patching up pot-holes one to two months before the rains only to be washed away soon thereafter. If the PWD officials will not present the true picture of affairs, at least the representative of the Special Action Unit in the area can be relied upon to provide a situation report. We are still waiting and watching.

Osu **A. J. Kwofie**
Accra

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The Problem of Shortages — A Personal Note

SIR — Your editorial on the shortage of goods in Ghana has reminded me of two incidents, one funny and the other sad, which I wish to recount to you and your readers.

It is said that during the worst period in our recent petrol crisis, an elderly woman, who was walking past a long queue of cars, cast a nonchalant glance at the array of fuel-starved vehicles and said in very contemptuous Fanti, "How can people line up for petrol, of all things, as if the damned thing was sugar." It does seem, Mr. Editor, that Ghanaians do not mind the queue — provided it is for something essential — well, like sugar.

The other incident was one which I witnessed personally. A butcher refused to sell twenty pesewas worth of beef to a housewife who could only afford that much: the man would sell no less than forty pesewas and the woman could not possibly find that amount. I myself happened to be buying a comfortable three-cedi worth and could easily give a twenty-pesewa subsidy to the unhappy housewife. "Do I dare make the gesture?" I wondered. I looked at her face: there was misery there, certainly, but there was also an undefeated and defiant look which made it difficult for me to make my offer. "Maybe, she'll feel insulted," I thought. "After all, she's somebody's wife." I left the scene feeling most uncomfortable. Perhaps I should have made that offer after all: perhaps her defiance was only on the surface. I really don't know.

P.O. Box 0118
Takoradi.

Kofi Kuttin

Miscellaneous

AND IT CAME TO PASS...

Epistle No. 2.

By

Santrofi

AND it came to pass in those days that things were not easy at all in the empire. Even though it was recognised by all that given the precarious economic situation in the empire, no doctrinaire liberal policies could be accommodated, the praetors of the day decided to pursue what they called liberal economic policies. They allowed everybody who commanded any funds to order from beyond the seas such commodities as took his fancy. Thus it was that the shops were full of items that were undoubtedly contingent to human survival. Even though they had forests from which wood was easily obtained, they ordered walking sticks; they had good and juicy onions but these had not been so treated as to suit the delicate palates of the very well-to-do, otherwise known as the bourgeois. so pickled onions were imported. Not everybody in the land had good water to drink, and it is even reported that the First Consul of the empire bemoaned the fact that the water he used to dispose mechanically of human residual waste was much cleaner than what some citizens drank. This state of affairs notwithstanding, special water was imported precisely to cater for the delicate palates of such of the citizens as dwelt in the urban areas. These and other redundant commodities were imported in such quantities, especially that special water, that more than two dozen lunar cycles after yesterday's men had been forcibly retired from office, quantities of that water could still be bought in the shops.

It was therefore little wonder that the economy could not bear the strain. Disaster was in the air, but a certain obstinate faith in the so-called liberalization policy convinced them that they should not do the most obvious thing: impose some restrictions. This obvious step was not taken because any such ill-considered move would make it impossible for the citizens to clearly distinguish between the then present (now past) chieftains and their predecessors at one remove. Things became so hard that salvation was felt to be necessary by a section of the citizenry. And salvation did come. Before the First Consul and his cohorts could collapse the economy any further, they were saved the embarrassment of presiding over the economic disintegration of the empire. Those praetorians on peregrinations abroad remained where they were, some took refuge in flight and those who were not smart enough to get away were accorded unsolicited hospitality at public expense and in their own interest.

"Auto-dependence"

The new proconsuls reversed the previous trend: severe limitations were imposed on what could enter the empire from outside countries, which was not only wise but the only realistic thing to do. The citizens did not murmur because they agreed that some discipline had to be imposed on their tastes. A lot of psychology went into the exercise and was reinforced by semantic transformation; the purpose of the whole exercise was to instil in the populace the spirit of independence or what others preferred to call "auto-dependence". As far as possible local resources were going to be relied upon for feeding and other purposes.

The wisdom underlying this "auto-dependence" philosophy was argued among the citizens and the consensus was that it was a very sound idea. The proconsuls were given full credit for this realistic approach to the problems of the empire, though some citizens warned that a certain flexibility would be occasionally needed. The new rulers were particularly saddened by the fact that their predecessors had spent the best part of their time either borrowing money from more prosperous empires or thinking of either how to pay the existing debts or finding other means of borrowing from others to repay some outstanding debts. This was one of the reasons why those earlier chieftains had come to grief. The new rulers had read an ancient bard who had given this piece of advice:

Neither a borrower, nor a lender be
For loan both oft loses itself and friend
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry.

Indeed borrowing had removed all sense of husbandry from the land, and those creditor empires which had appeared friendly wasted no time in reminding the debtor rulers that considerations of friendship were not germane to discussions on money matters. Since some men at least learn from history, the new rulers

resolved that they would refrain from contracting any debts and furthermore, that they would not repay some of the debts incurred by their predecessors, except under certain well defined conditions. Just before I left the capital rumours were circulating that the position had been modified, though for certain reasons the citizens had not been apprised of developments in the same way as the previous position had been announced. Any information which comes through will no doubt be served in subsequent epistles.

And so it came to pass that exports were stepped up and imports drastically reduced, so that a clean balance sheet was available for all to see. The proconsuls took legitimate pride in their achievement and the majority of the citizenry agreed that they had done much better than any of their predecessors. But a few sceptics thought that the achievement was not as spectacular as it appeared at first glance. For, if directing an empire simply consisted in savagely cutting down essential imports which were necessary to ensure economic progress, governing would be an easy task. If preceding consuls, it was argued, had also had the cleverness to arrest development by sitting tight on funds and denying industry the necessary raw materials, they might have done equally well.

Unnecessary Austerity

These sceptics were a little unfair, but it could on the other hand not be said that they had no point. There was evidence of stagnancy, and the stinginess had boomeranged. Even the food produced under the "Auto-Nourishment Campaign" (ANC) could not reach the bourgeoisie because there were no spare parts or tyres to enable the trucks to transport the food. Eggs and fowls could not be produced in sufficient quantities because the necessary feed was not being obtained. The scholars (those reactionaries) in the land were denied the necessary funds to obtain the tools for the prosecution of their unproductive vocations. Roads had fallen into a sorry state and were growing worse daily because the necessary equipment would not be ordered. The citizens in the empire were so sophisticated that they had telephones, but these broke down ever so often that those who were not lucky enough to have any in their houses or offices had no special reason to be envious of the apparently lucky ones who had access to telephones. It was explained that most of the equipment needed replacement but those who held the strings to the purse refused to release the necessary funds.

The peculiar wisdom in accumulating funds both within and without the empire while money was needed for repairs and other essential services was lost on the ordinary citizens, but it was agreed that the ways of emperors being inscrutable and their thinking unfathomable, the rationale behind that peculiar economic approach would become evident only in due course. Those obstreperous citizens who questioned the wisdom in the whole process too vociferously were accused of suffering from one or another form of intellectual perversion or aberration or deviation, and there was in the land a renowned guru who was an expert in these matters and he was occasionally called upon to define the particular variety of intellectual perversion or aberration or deviation any citizen might be suffering from, and he always had an answer both on this and on other matters.

And while all these things were going on, it came to pass that a very fundamental debate was started in the empire, without anybody remembering exactly how it was initiated. The debate centred around sovereignty, and private citizens, public officials, establishment personnel and individual gazetters launched themselves into the fray. It was felt that the acquisition of imperial powers, their location, exercise, and devolution should be regulated by well defined procedures, and that even in cases of emergency, no one should lose sight of the ultimate repository of sovereign imperial powers. The argument had been necessitated by the fact that things appeared to have gone out of joint and that there was something basically rotten in the empire of God-knows-where. While the debate on the changing views on sovereignty was going on, a privileged citizen let it be known that since all the citizens in the empire had equal rights, no section should be denied the right to direct the empire's business. This seemed to have gone down well with some of the citizens, but the ubiquitous sceptics in the empire were not amused or impressed. They retorted that the argument could be deemed acceptable only on one condition, to wit, tha all the citizenry should be in the same position to be able to use the same equipment and methods to acquire and exercise imperial power. No section of the community was to be handicapped or favoured in any particular manner. This retort, of course, was not made too vociferously for fear that the authors of this near subversive idea might receive the same treatment as was meted out to one "foul-mouthed" abstract-minded, ivory-towerist professional intellectual following his rather unorthodox contribution at a seminar on the subject at one of the empire's provincial academies.

Participation in Ruling

But it needs to be pointed out that the mere fact of being a citizen was not the only reason which the emperor invoked for holding on to power with his legionaries. A second reason was that by his own reading of the situation, no other group of citizens could do any better. This was perhaps true, but it was difficult to persuade the emperor that if other people had been prepared to take some of his short-cuts and by-passes they would probably not have done any worse. But of course no one dared voice this sentiment too stridently for reasons which should appear obvious to anyone conversant with the methods and practices prevailing in the empire. Yet another reason why the emperor was not prepared to encourage participation in the dispensation of imperial authority was his concern for the economic sanity of the empire. He had come to the conclusion that the economy was in such a parlous state that he had to put things straight before he either shared imperial power with any group or relinquished it altogether. The sages in the realm were quick to put their own perverse interpretation on it. They said that by making the return to economic equilibrium a precondition to any participation in the governance of the realm, the emperor was subtly signifying his intention of remaining in power for as long as it pleased him — or circumstances permitted. For if the emperor could solve all the empire's economic problems — which, reduced to the least common denominator, meant "one man, one bread" (never mind the size), there would be nothing left for anybody else to do who came after him. And since the empire could not afford the luxury of sinecure senators and consuls, it meant naturally that no such body of creatures would be tolerated.

And incidentally too, it came to pass in those days that a campaign was launched, as many others had been launched before, to encourage the local consumption of some luxury beans produced in the empire. They were classified as luxury beans neither wantonly nor unadvisedly, but for good reason: those delicious beans were not essential to existence, to wit, they could not be relied upon for corporal sustenance. And so was it that the normal purchasers of the crop were the more affluent empires on the other side of the world. Even though there was no evidence that all the quantity produced in the empire could not be purchased by the traditional buyers, it was decided that the citizens in the empire themselves should partake thereof, in order to encourage still higher production. This was all well and good and the citizens embraced the campaign with **some** enthusiasm; only **some** enthusiasm because whoever started the campaign had forgotten that sugar was needed in the final preparation of the beans for consumption. For this commodity, sugar,was considered something of a luxury item in another context and it was difficult to come by any openly in the regular shops. As a result of his handicap or oversight, the campaign lost its momentum more quickly than others, but efforts were being made to rectify the situation according to the latest despatches from the information agencies of the empire.

And thus it was that the empire grew from contradiction to contradiction some of which I have set down to the best of my recollection As usual, the citizens looked on a little sceptic and bemused but the emperor remained convinced that his work was good.

For The Record

Monday, December 16

VOLTA LAKE RESEARCH

THE Government has voted ₵2.8 million for the second phase of the Volta Lake Research and Development Project. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) will also provide over ₵930,000 for the project. This is contained in an agreement signed between the Volta River Authority (VRA) and the U.N.D.P. in Accra. The project is aimed at developing the agricultural and fishing potentials of the areas around the Volta Lake.

Tuesday, December 18

BANK FOR HOUSING AND CONSTRUCTION

COL. I. K. Acheampong, Head of State and Chairman of the N.R.C., today formally commissioned the Bank for Housing and Construction in Accra. In a speech, Col. Acheampong called on the Bank to work out a scheme under which most Ghanaian workers can own houses as a reward for their toil. To do this efficiently, the Bank will have to co-ordinate its activities with research organizations, both local and foreign, to identify and develop local substitute for imported building materials. Col. Acheampong hoped that the Bank would provide a lasting solution to the country's acute housing problem.

EVASION OF TAX ON CARS

292 persons, who abused the duty-free concession granted to Ghanaians returning home from abroad, to enable them to bring in their cars, have been given a seven-day ultimatum to pay full import duty and purchase tax on the cars. In an official statement released in Accra today, the Government said the purpose of the concession was to encourage persons trained overseas to return home to serve the country. But, the statement continued, it has been found out that vehicles are often brought in for resale by persons who do not intend to remain in Ghana and who, after a short stay, return overseas. The statement noted that other persons returning to Ghana illegally sold or otherwise disposed of their cars within two years, contrary to the regulations.

To check these acts which have resulted in a great loss of revenue to the Government, the statement said, the Government has amended Section 4 of the Removal Articles (Exemptions) (Amendment) Decree of 1973.

Wednesday, December 19

THREE PERSONS TO DIE

THREE of the five persons accused of plotting to overthrow the National Redemption Council were today sentenced by the Military Tribunal to death by firing squad. They are Alhaji Imoru Ayarna, Kojo Botsio and John Tettegah. Ayarna and Botsio were found guilty on all three charges: conspiracy to commit subversion, subversion and concealment of subversion. Tettegah was found guilty on two counts: subversion and concealment of subversion. The fourth accused person, Albert Owusu Boateng was found guilty on the charge of concealment of subversion and sentenced to 30 years imprisonment with hard labour. The Tribunal, however, acquitted and discharged the fifth accused person, Major Alexander Awuviri, after finding him not guilty on the only charge of concealment of subversion.

After the President of the Tribunal, Col. Osei-Boateng, had pronounced the verdict, counsel for Ayarna, Botsio, Tettegah and Owusu-Boateng appealed to the Tribunal to recommend a plea of clemency for their clients to the high authorities.

A.D.B. LOAN FOR INVESTMENT BANK

THE African Development Bank (A.D.B.) has granted the Ghana National Investment Bank a loan of £900,000 sterling for rice growing projects in Northern Ghana.

The loan, guaranteed by the Ghana Government, is repayable after 15 years with a four-year amortization period.

Thursday, December 20

NEW SUBVERSION TRIAL OPENS

ALEX Hamah, one-time trade unionist, accused of plotting to overthrow the National Redemption Council, appeared before a Military Tribunal at the Burma Hall in Accra this morning. Alex Hamah faces a charge of subversion under the Subversion Decree 1972 (N.R.C.D. 90). Hamah, who has pleaded not guilty to the charge is being defended by two lawyers, Dr. Isaac Ephson and Mr. Willie Ockiya.

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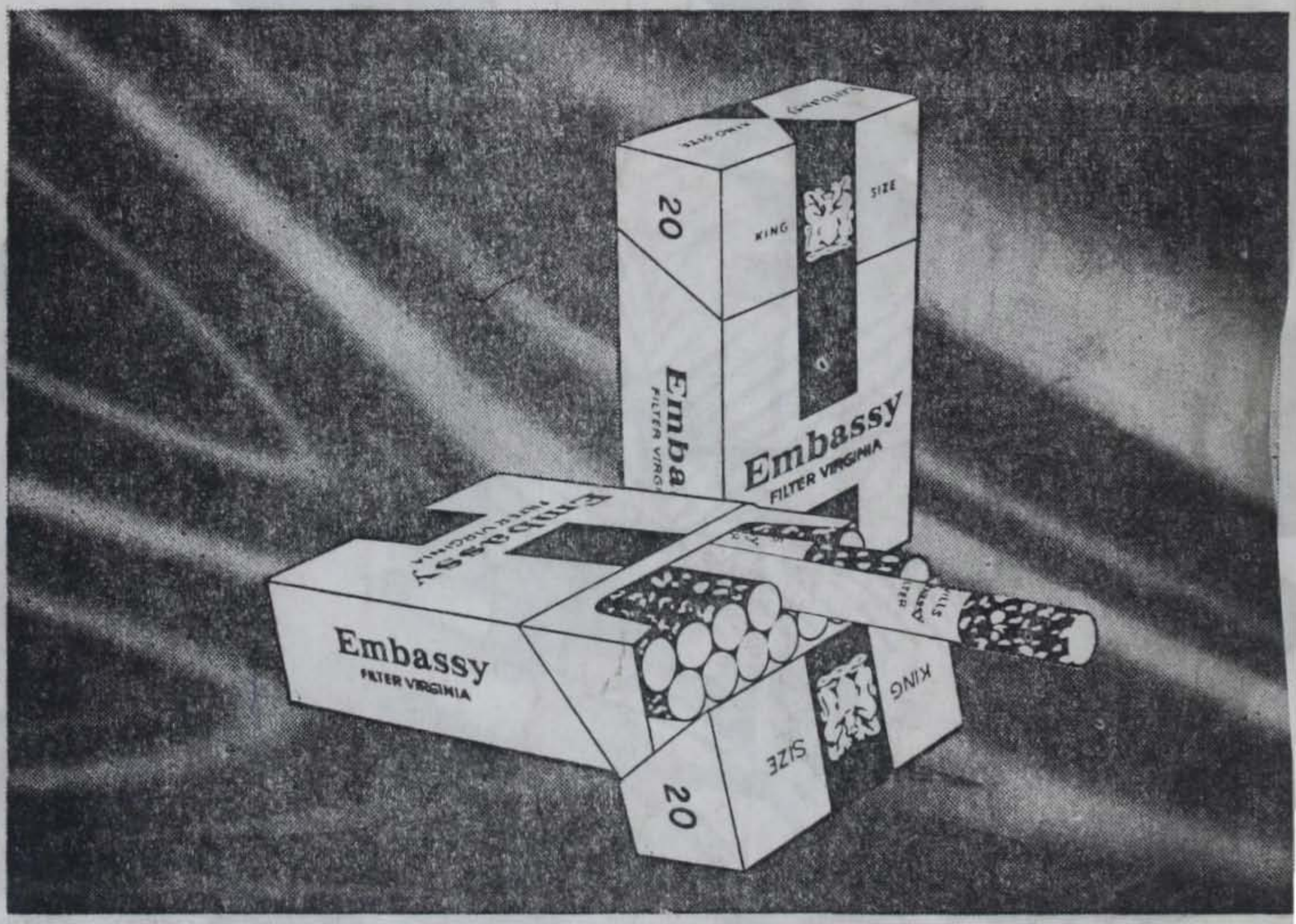
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