

# The Legon Observer

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

Vol. XII

No. 4

29 February — 13 March, 1980

Price C2.00

## IN THIS ISSUE

### ■ NUGS AND STUDENTS

### ■ BRAIN DESTRUCTION

EDITORIAL ... .. 73

ECONOMY ... .. 75

*The Cedi and the Overseas*  
Ghanaian

Kwasi Kwarteng

*Some Anomalies in the Income*  
*Tax (Amendment) No. 2 Decree*  
1978 (SMCD 217)

F. K. Aliefeh

POLITICS ... .. 78

*Is NUGS Preparing A Hangman's*  
*Noose for Students?*

Yaw Kwarteng

SOCIAL ... .. 81

*"Health For All By 2000"*  
*Reality or Rhetoric?*

NOTEBOOK ... .. 84

*Rotten Tomatoes*  
*Brain Destruction*

LETTERS ... .. 85

*An Eclipse of The Sun*  
*'Vigilance' Over What?*  
*The Retired Young Officer (2)*  
*The Mechanisation System*  
*We Want Peace*  
*Students In Nation-Building*

OPINION ... .. 89

*The Role of The Third Republican*  
*Parliament*

S. O. Gyandoh, Jr.

FOR THE RECORD ... .. 94

## Editorial

### ZIMBABWE: MAJORITY RULE AT LAST

The unexpected landslide victory of Robert Mugabe and his Zimbabwe African Union (ZANU-PF) over the eight rival parties in the Rhodesian elections, has upset the plans of Britain to avert the coming into power of an avowed Marxist who, after all, is the real representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

Mugabe's victory is a convincing demonstration that a people oppressed for a long period by a tiny minority will unceasingly fight, by whatever means, for freedom and independence. This victory has exploded many myths, the most important of which is that in a free and fair election in Rhodesia, the majority of decent men and women would vote for 'moderate' leaders like Abel Muzorewa. In April, Zimbabwe will be independent. British colonialism has almost come to an end in Africa. Western domination in Southern African has been shaken, white Rhodesians are aghast at the news, and believers in apartheid tremble with fear.

Mugabe's victory has been won despite conscious efforts made by British authorities in Rhodesia to benignly condone the attempts made to frustrate the electoral campaign of ZANU-PF leaders and candidates. ZANU-PF's victory and the humiliating defeat of Bishop Muzorewa have shown clearly that Muzorewa's victory in the white-sponsored and apparently rigged elections of April last year was - as the guerrilla fighters then claimed - unrepresentative of the will of the majority of the people of Zimbabwe.

What is interesting and politically instructive is the second place earned by Mr. Joshua Nkomo who, by common consent, is regarded as the father of present-day Zimbabwean nationalism. Nkomo was the first to put the case of Zimbabwe on the international scene, and was the founder of the political organization that later split into the groups which competed to wrest power from the white minority settlers. But politicians inhabit an unkind and harsh world. The eclipse of Nkomo by his own lieutenants - all of whom have suffered in racist prisons and detention camps - was due not so much to Nkomo's age or to a Muzorewa-type insincerity as to his misreading for far too long of the intensity with which Zimbabweans resented white minority dictatorship. To his eternal credit, however, Nkomo fought white minority rule to the end and is now part of a government that has pledged to bring democracy and economic prosperity - for generations the exclusive privilege of white settlers - to all Zimbabweans.

The irony of Zimbabwe's guerrilla struggle for independence is that its original advocate has ended up as an unpopular and an obscure politician. Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole who led a factional split from Nkomo's African National Congress (A.N.C.) to form the ZANU was the first to advocate guerrilla warfare as a means for achieving independence. He was later ousted from his party, and dreamed up a dubious and rather desperate alliance with Ian Smith's ruling party. Till the recent elections he claimed leadership of a rump of ZANU renegades, and insisted on calling his group ZANU. He was routed in the elections.

There were minor leaders whose political careers are likely to end with the elections. But thousands of ordinary Africans have lost their lives in the war of independence. Like elsewhere in Africa, opportunist intellectuals who fled the country into comfortable exile are now going to rush back to take up positions of authority. Whatever opportunities appear to have opened up now for such people the chance for them to serve their country must be seen as the consequence of the heroic struggle by a largely illiterate population of patriots who simply demanded the overthrow of a stifling racist authoritarian regime.

Africans outside Zimbabwe have also made enormous sacrifices. If Botswana was not as bloodily bombed for harbouring Zimbabwean refugees as neighbouring Mozambique and Zambia, the mere presence of the refugees put a terrible strain on its South-African dominated economy. Mozambique, whose independence accelerated the Zimbabwe struggle, has suffered for its open support of the nationalists. Whole villages have been wiped out; racist mercenaries have burnt and butchered African populations; whole economic installations, plantations, bridges and industrial projects, started by the fledgling Marxist regime, have been blown up by white Rhodesian Air Force men with the active support of South Africa and the connivance of certain Western powers, notably Britain, U.S. and their NATO allies. There has been much destruction in Zambia, too, where rural regions suspected of harbouring Zambawbeans have not been spared the wrath of racist fury.

The blind fury of racism has not been aimed only at black people. Liberal advocates of majority rule, such as former Prime Minister Garfield Todd, have also suffered incarceration and torture. Humane Catholic and Protestant priests and nuns who were actually or allegedly sympathetic to the cause of majority rule have either been murdered or deported by the intolerant white minority regime. In all these ways, the Smith regime has

left scars of suffering and oppression in Zimbabwe and in the neighbouring countries.

What of the future? But whose future? Mugabe has won a resounding electoral victory and has had a partial military success. In reality, there are two armies in Zimbabwe - one still sustains white minority influence, and the other is committed to defending African majority rule - the various guerrilla armies. There is talk of integrating the two opposed forces. It is very likely that both sides will settle for a compromise in an attempt to build a national army.

Mugabe's original election manifesto reflected a pure Marxist philosophy with heavy emphasis on nationalization of land. This was withdrawn at the last minute and replaced with a much more pragmatic campaign, full of overtures to white farmers and businessmen. Mugabe's recent views on South Africa and economic problems do not give any indications that, for as long as it is profitable to contemplate, he will pursue the radical socialist programmes he and his party have come to be associated with in the past five years or so. Is ZANU-PF, then, reneging on its long standing promises? Or could the present stance be just a tactic - the need to find a room within which to manoeuvre and recoup lost ground in the midst of compromises that were not thought of at all?

If Mugabe pursues a socialist policy, there is bound to be a conflict with well-established economic interests, for the wealthy landlords, businessmen and industrialists will not acquiesce in their expropriation. If he does not, it is not clear how he will deal with the most contentious issue: land. Mugabe is expected to take over and redistribute tracts of land owned by absentee white landlords, though he has said that the Rhodesian economy has been built on capitalism and that his government will build on that foundation. He has also called for 'coexistence' with the reality of South Africa's existence in the region - a call which Maputo might have found disappointing given its consistent and open defiance of South Africa in her support for the Zimbabwean guerrilla war. But right now, Mugabe is not the hardline Marxist of days during which he did not exercise power. The pragmatic and conciliatory leader is finding his feet. Only history will tell as to what kind of leader he is likely to evolve into - a Kenyatta, an Nyerere or a Machel?

Many whites are likely to flee the country as they cannot live with majority rule. If they leave suddenly and in thousands, then, there are likely to be serious but temporary economic dislocations. Mugabe, fortunately, has inherited a basically buoyant economy, and, given good leadership,

the future looks bright under majority rule. But how will Nkomo and Mugabe cooperate in the new nation? Will the Sitholes and Muzorewas take their defeat gracefully? Will the West and Russia help a man they slandered and conspired against? Can Namibia follow Zimbabwe's road to freedom? Difficult questions to answer. What is clear, however, is that in the Byzantine politics of Southern Africa, apartheid South Africa is likely to battle against anything that challenges white supremacy in the region.

To Mugabe, to all the living and dead heroes of Zimbabwe, a salute; to the new Zimbabwe government every good wish for success in the task of national reconstruction and the establishment of a truly democratic state. These have eluded many independent African States, and, it is hoped that Zimbabwe will serve as the beacon that shows the way out of the difficulties that most African States face.

## Economy

### THE CEDI AND THE "OVERSEAS" GHANAIAN

by

Kwasi Kwarteng

It is common knowledge that there is a thriving "black market" for foreign exchange in Ghana and the rates are sometimes as astronomical as the rate of the currently raging inflation in the economy. Black market rates of 25 cedis to one pound sterling and sometimes 30 to 1 have been heard of - the official rate is C6.2 to £1.00; though hardly an exaggeration this sounds fantastic. These high rates have turned the search for and the worship of "foreign exchange" almost into a cult, and arrivals into Ghana are courted and wooed by the market's operators - usually a labyrinthine network - as if they were fair maiden to play court to. Indeed much of the smuggling of goods across the eastern and western borders into Togo and the Ivory Coast respectively have been carried out not so much by "wicked nation wreckers" as the official campaigns in the past would have us believe, but by rational economic agents trying to maximise their profits and what the economists call their satisfaction from goods and services through currency speculation; they are the local analogue of the gnomes of Zurich and they indulge in these practices not because they want to weaken the economy but because the economy is already weak.

#### Why A Black Market?

There are considerable incentives in Ghana for

anyone to indulge in black market practices: first, the official policy (or non-policy) of having an artificially over-valued cedi; second, the officially sponsored duty-free shops in Accra open to people with foreign exchange to spend in Ghana (don't worry how they come by this scarce commodity); third the parlous state of the economy which leaves the country chronically short of foreign exchange and finally, of course, the rate of inflation. In situations like these anybody with any amount of foreign exchange would take advantage and get as many cedis for it as possible if he has to acquire cedis for use in Ghana. This means a number of people would be unwillingly drawn into the "black market" because even if it is some little amount of money that they have to exchange for cedis they will find an easy way and opportunity to maximise it in terms of cedis, this easy way lies in the black market rather than in the banks. People would rather consort with Zongo Lane than be seen in more respectable company in Accra's High Street.

#### Overseas Ghanaian and Remittances

This is where the overseas Ghanaian comes in. There are thousands of Ghanaians living and working abroad who do send remittances home. These remittances are monies earned in sterling or dollars, or in whatever convertible currencies of the countries in which they reside. If they use the official exchange rate by sending their money through the banks it would be throwing good money after bad, and would require one with no knowledge of the possibility of getting something more than is on offer officially to do that. Unfortunately almost everybody with foreign money would know of the black market in Ghana and would turn to it for cedis rather than to the banks.

There may be a few people who abhor such practices and are outraged by the lack of patriotism on the part of those indulging in exchanging monies on the black market; such people go through the correct channels to exchange their monies whatever the differences between the black market rates and the official rates. Their sense of outrage and the love for the country will persuade them under all circumstances to play fair with the state. They do not want to exacerbate the already very bad economic situation. These will not indulge in the black market. But, alas, these are very few and some real incentives are needed to wean away like-minded people who have an equal love for the country and would like to help, but find the present official exchange rate rather too punitive and therefore turn to the black market to get what they think their sterling, dollars, nairas etc., are worth.

### Dual or Multiple Exchange Rate System

In these days of national bankruptcy and with the country almost thrown on the unwilling and niggardly charity of its friends and neighbours, an appeal to Ghanaians to help in every modest way possible may not fall on deaf ears. To show that those making the appeal are in earnest, a dual or multiple exchange rate system could be introduced by which Ghanaians holding foreign currency and wanting to exchange it would be urged to do so through the banks at rates higher than the present official rate; say with the official rate at C6 to £1, the banks buying rate might be C12 for this sort of transaction, sometimes keeping an eye on the prevailing rate in Zongo Lane; if the black market rate is C20 to £1, a rate of C12 to £1, would be fair and might be able to touch the patriotic nerves of Ghanaians. This policy of granting a premium to private foreign exchange holders will not wipe out the black market, to be sure; but, at least, it will make available to the Bank of Ghana and therefore to the country some proportion, even if very minimal, of the foreign exchange that comes into the country by the back door and which benefits only the individuals who indulge in black market practices, but which is detrimental to the economy in ultimately fanning the inflationary situation. If it is recognized that this amount is sizeable - and a private survey undertaken on a sample of 150 Ghanaians in the U.K. alone indicates that the sums involved might be quite substantial it will surely be useful to get part of this to the government.

### A Comparative Perspective

There is nothing novel about this policy of multiple exchange rates to benefit individual foreign exchange holders bringing their money into the country. We have used it in our export promotion policies when we have granted subsidies to exporters of non-traditional exports, and several countries with high "overseas" populations have used some variation of it to attract foreign exchange from their nationals abroad. Greece, and, perhaps more relevant to the Ghanaian situation, India have attracted funds from their nationals abroad by this method. In fact, the lift that has been given to the Indian balance of payments in spite of the oil crisis and the subsequent surge in imbalances of the less developed countries' payments, has been attributed largely to remittances from overseas and to the ending of smuggling of currencies in and out of the country at black market rates. These countries have not necessarily used a multiple exchange rate system, alone, they have also made it

possible for nationals outside to hold foreign exchange accounts in their respective countries. Greece, for example allows its citizens who are employed abroad to establish with funds originating abroad, convertible foreign currency accounts. Such accounts earn interest rates, the rates depending on what type of account they are, whether current, savings or time deposits. Balances on these accounts, including accrued interest, are freely convertible into foreign exchange as long as the holder continues to work abroad or to serve at sea for five years thereafter. The benefit from such accounts is derived from the simple banking principle that depositors will not demand all their balances at one and the same time and these deposits will thus afford the central bank some accommodation in meeting its foreign exchange obligations.

### Cost-Benefit Aspects

Following the fashion of applying the cost-benefit calculus to economic measures, one has to weigh the administrative cost against the benefits that may accrue. The administrative cost of instituting such a measure may outweigh the benefit expected from it, especially since we do not know the exact amounts involved and what proportions of it would accrue to the government. The administrative cost would include advertising costs, among others like the cost of staff and administrative expertise to implement the measure. There will be a great need to publicise the measure not only in Ghana, but even more in the various countries of the world where it is known that there are substantial numbers of Ghanaians. Even so, it is most probable that in the long run the benefits will more than handsomely compensate for the cost, especially after the scheme becomes well known and its results are published from time to time. Besides, even if the amount that comes in were to be very insignificant, as long as the cost of implementing the measures is not greater than this amount, the effort will be worth making if only for the vicarious pleasure that some individuals will derive from the thought that others were contributing to the national kitty even in their absence from the country. The principle that people can contribute to the national effort outside the normal network of direct taxation and physical presence in the country would have been established.

### Loss of Confidence in Administrators

The foregoing is, of course, premised on the collateral assumption that there will be honesty in the administration of these measures. Quite a

number of respondents to the private enquiry referred to above did indicate that they would make use of any official facility to exchange money at a premium as long as the monies so exchanged for cedis were not diverted into the black market by the officials! The implication being that there is a general loss of confidence in the ability of officialdom to execute such measures because it is believed, perhaps wrongly, that the officials are themselves corrupt. Recent events in Ghana do not help to eradicate this general impression, even though the overwhelming majority of officials are honest and dedicated to their work. What this impressionistic view of officials may do to the scheme would be to make it difficult to persuade the would-be depositors and changers of foreign monies into cedis to use the banks, but a task is not the less necessary because it is difficult, and the onus will rest on officials to disabuse the public's mind of such unfavourable impression by the way they conduct themselves in the execution of these measures.

#### SOME ANOMALIES IN THE INCOME TAX (AMENDMENT)

##### NO. 2. DECREE, 1978 (SMCD 217)

By

F. K. Aliefeh

I commented on certain aspects of the Income Tax (Amendment) No. 2 Decree, 1978 (SMCD 217) in the L.O. Volume XI. No 4, 16 February - 1 March 1979.

In the Budget Proposals of 1979/80 paragraph 66, the Government attempts to examine the rent problem. Unfortunately the proposed remedial legislation, does not deal fairly with the burden of income tax in respect of rent paid by an employer for accommodation provided for his employee.

##### Rent Payable By Employer

In the Budget Proposals of 1979/80, the Government is shifting the onus of income tax liability on such rent from the employee to the employer. This proposal is acceptable in that employers should be discouraged from contracting to pay fantastic rents to landlords, if they are aware of the fact that such expense may not be wholly allowable for tax purposes.

Nevertheless, before the employer pays tax on such rent, a reasonable tax-free allowance should be granted. The tax-free portion of rent paid which is based on 20 per cent of the employee's basic annual salary is grossly inadequate. To justify the additional tax liability on employers regarding

rent paid for staff accommodation, it is suggested that the tax-free rent allowance be increased to 40 per cent of basic salary or a ceiling of ₵1,000 per month; that is 40 per cent of basic salary or ₵12,000 per annum, whichever is the lower should be the maximum deductible tax-free rent allowance before any excess is charged to tax.

It is a principle of taxation that the tax should be fair so that it would be unfair to the employer should present proposals become law. The table which follows shows graphically the inadequacy of the 20 per cent rent allowance (Column 3) relative to rent paid and excess rent chargeable to tax. The Bill proposes that unless tax on the excess rent is paid "Forthwith" to the Commissioner of Income Tax as and when the rent for such accommodation is paid or payable, the rent payable should not be an allowable deduction in ascertaining the income of the employer. By "Forthwith" is meant, say within an hour or same day? If, on the other hand, the said tax at the rate of 50 per cent is to be paid within a reasonable time, then this reasonableness should be determined.

Provided a reasonable basic tax-free rent allowance is granted (say 40 per cent of basic salary), there is really no reason why the disallowed portion of the rent should not be treated in the same manner as any other item which is disallowed for tax purposes. The 50 per cent special rate of tax for the disallowable portion of rent paid is, therefore, unnecessary. The tax system should be simplified and not complicated unnecessarily.

##### Severance Pay

Like SMCD 217, the Bill gives no definition of "Severance Pay". A clear-cut definition of "Severance Pay" should be given in order to avoid misunderstanding and confusion in the operation of this Provision. SMCD 217, its notoriety apart, had a provision that redundancy pay was not taxable in the hands of the recipient. This item has been omitted from the types of income exempted from tax, under paragraph 66 of the 1979/80 Budget Proposals. This anomaly should be remedied by giving legal backing to the non-taxability of redundancy pay.

##### Conclusion

Our Parliamentarians should, irrespective of whichever side of the House they may be sitting, put pressure to bear on the Government to make the necessary changes to make the law work fairly and equitably. Most employers ignored the provisions of Section 4 SMCD 217 which provisions, had they implemented, would have created a situation whereby an employee would have had, at the

end of every month, as from November 1978, to go home without any take-home pay. If SMCD 217 is as cruel as that it should be completely repealed and re-enacted with more reasonable care and consideration. Whether the remedy is in the form

of repeal or amendment it should be effective as from 1st November, 1978 in order to avoid possible embarrassment to both the employer and the employed.

TABLE OF RENT PAID BY EMPLOYER SHOWING  
TAX-FREE RENT

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Rent Paid by Employer per Month	Monthly Salary of Individual Staff	Tax-Free Rent Allowance per Month	Excess Rent Paid Assessable to tax (1)-(3)	Proposed 1. Tax per Month
500	700	140	360	180
600	800	160	440	220
600	900	180	420	210
800	1,000	200	600	300
1,000	1,500	300	700	350
1,200	2,000	400	800	400

## Politics

### IS NUGS PREPARING A HANGMAN'S NOOSE FOR STUDENTS?

By

Yaw Kwarteng

In his campaign in the recent National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) elections at Legon, one of the candidates appropriately chose 'Operation New Image for NUGS' as his campaign slogan. Even though the candidate lost, his campaign and themes raised the consciousness of students about the need to take a very critical look at the activities of NUGS. The preamble to the candidate's handout reads: "A close examination of the national student question reveals that there is mixture of favourable and harmful impressions with emphasis on the latter, held by Ghanaians on students."

#### Some Themes

Some of the themes of the candidate were the following:

1. Student power has overreached its limit and has become a nuisance to the peace of the general public and university authorities;
2. Students have unjustifiably set themselves up as judges of the highest rank;
3. Student extremists have, by the nature of their demands and, more significantly, by the tactics they have employed to further them, isolated themselves from not only the mass of the population but also from a majority of their colleagues.

Without wishing to enter the debate on the pros and cons of these issues, it is true that the candidate has raised very pertinent questions for debate about the causes of conflict in the student movement. During the brief period of its existence, the NUGS has been strongly praised and condemned by various governments. It was even censured and later banned by the NRC/SMC regime. From a modest start at the time of the 1966 Coup, by 1977 the NUGS had grown into a powerful and an articulate pressure group. The fortunes of this student movement are, however, now declining.

### Causes of Decline

What are the causes of this decline? Two broad groups of factors explain the decline: popular mistrust and ideology. Two aspects of the mistrust may be distinguished. One source of the mistrust lies in the corruption of student leaders, and, the other, in the irresponsible and unauthorised utterances of student leaders. Many students are justifiably and deeply disturbed by the way corruption has permeated the ranks of student leadership at all levels of the student movement.

### Examples of Corrupt Practices

A few examples will make my point clear. In 1974/75, when the annual accounts of the Legon Students Representative Council (S.R.C.) were presented, it became known that C8,000 was supposed to have been expended on stationery alone. When students demanded a breakdown of this amount, the leaders failed shamefully to explain satisfactorily the nature of this expenditure. The leaders of the S.R.C. in 1976/77 found it extremely difficult, when challenged to do so, to explain how C14,000 realised from the sale of essential commodities was used. The Legon Hall Junior Common Room (J.C.R.) failed to account for about C3,000 being profit realized during the 1977/78 annual dance. And quite recently, there have been accusations by very senior members of the erstwhile Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) that the NUGS Secretariat has misused four cars seized from persons convicted by the AFRC People's Court.

It is clear that student leaders have abused the trust reposed in them. They have come to be seen by most students as people who exploit any opportunity to make money. They regard the student movement as a gold mine, and this makes the future really bleak, for we are talking about the future leaders of this country.

### Frustration Among Students

Despite the clear evidence of corruption among the leadership ranks of the student movement, it is almost impossible to insist on financial accountability. In spite of the provision on the need for auditing, Article 18 of the 'new' NUGS Constitution indemnifies the leaders "out of the assets and funds of the NUGS against any legal and other liabilities as may be incurred in a legitimate and legal execution of their duties." The phrase 'legitimate and legal execution' is interpreted to suit the whims and caprices of leaders suspected of misusing student funds.

Owing to this, most students are deeply disillusioned and frustrated. Consequently, most students

are indifferent in their attitudes to NUGS, SRCs and JCRs. They do not wish to be exposed to the harangues and messages of self-styled redeemers who promise, year after year, to correct past misdemeanours. Students, on the whole, have thus very little trust in these student organizations.

### Irresponsible Statements

The little confidence students have is being eroded by the irresponsible and unauthorised statements which are supposedly issued by self-righteous leaders. One such statement which has attracted wide attention, and which needs to be deplored, appeared in the *Daily Graphic* of February 26. This statement rejected the call for a probe into the rule of the AFRC on the grounds that it was "the latest and most vicious intrigue in the mounting campaign by reactionary forces to reverse the gains of the June 4 Revolution" and that, not unexpectedly, it is "part of a general campaign by imperialism and its local agents to deprive the working people of the country of their democratic gains."

### Curious Ideas and Socialist Illusions

This is a very strange statement emanating from narrow principles, short views and random use of words. We have heard of all these stock phrases before, and they are certainly meaningless. We hope that for once an attempt will be made to separate reality from theoretical socialism (or is it socialist theoreticians?). It is easily forgotten that any leaders, especially socialist ones, require disciplined and ascetic habits. Listen to Fidel Castro writing from his prison on June 15, 1954:

Don't forget that our chances of victory rest on the belief that the nation will give support to the efforts of HONEST PEOPLE (caps mine) who right from the start had advanced revolutionary ideas..."

It is important to stress that leaders need to win public support at every stage in their career, and the willingness to subject oneself to scrutiny is an important part in the process of winning popular support. Leadership rests on accountability - political, moral and financial. If student leaders fail to submit themselves to scrutiny by their colleagues, then, they must know that they will forfeit their trust and confidence.

### Question of Ideology

The mention of socialist clichés leads me to the question of ideology, the single most important thing that is tearing the student movement apart.

Since 1974, a group of students, the so-called "progressives," have attempted unsuccessfully to ram down the throats of students the 'sour pill' of scientific socialism. The resistance of students to these attempts is based not so much on the failure of the ranks and file of the movement to appreciate the merits of socialism. Their objection rests rather on what students perceive as the objectionable post-graduation behaviour of these so-called socialists.

### Behaviour of Socialists

As soon as these socialists leave the four walls of the universities they quickly become outright capitalists, imperialists and 'nation-wreckers.' They also turn quickly into hard-headed materialists who use every opportunity they get to enrich themselves; their commitment to socialism is skin-deep, and their insincerity is a subject of comment in student circles.

On university campuses, a socialist is portrayed as a saint by the leaders. It is not surprising that abortive attempts were made at this year's NUGS congress at Kumasi to insert an article on 'progressivism' in the constitution. This article would have altered the political character of NUGS for it called for a leadership that is "progressive, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-racist." Even worse, Article 17 of the new constitution states that a NUGS congress may remove from office by a two-third majority of those present any officer "acting contrary to the spirit and letter of the constitution"

### The Way Out

It is quite clear that the constitution was to be socialist in spirit. If so, then, all the leaders must be socialists in outlook. It is unreasonable and unrealistic of the leaders to seek to put all of us in a socialist straight-jacket. While most of us would like to be nationalist in orientation, we will resist any attempt to turn the student movement into a pro-East or a pro-West organization. The students are pro-student and pro-Ghanaian. It is mainly because of these reasons that the NUGS is facing difficulties now; though lack of communication between leaders and rank and file, infiltration of student ranks by outsiders, party affiliations and ethnicity are also factors which are weakening student solidarity.

Is there a way out of the present difficulties? In the short-run, the NUGS should be reformed along these lines. First, the leadership must stop the attempts to impose an ideological rigmarole on the student movement. Secondly, the movement must be democratized by making it possible for

individual leaders to hold opposing political views and opinions. Any collective views expressed must be the result of decisions democratically arrived at.

Thirdly, all infiltrators who use the NUGS secretariat as a platform for issuing statements in the name of students must be thrown out of the organization. Also, matters affecting students must be debated at JCR and SRC levels before they come before NUGS. Furthermore, channels of communication between the NUGS and all its members must be established, if suspicion and mistrust are to be avoided. Finally, corruption within student ranks must be effectively combated. As a beginning the clause on indemnity must be repealed immediately, so that it becomes possible to try students suspected of corruption.

There should be one law for all Ghanaians - students and non-students. It is not fair for a labourer to be sentenced and convicted for stealing a fowl, while a student leader who recklessly dissipates public funds struts around calling for the blood of civilian and military leaders, (labelled corrupt) to flow. While these changes are being debated, the NUGS should concentrate on the numerous student problems: chronic water shortages, bad food, stealing in kitchens, student corruption, red-tape in university administration and moral depravity on student campuses. Let it not be said by our compatriots that it was students and not soldiers who destroyed this nation. We will all be hanged by the noose prepared by NUGS, if this comes to be widely believed.

### NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

**F. K. ALIEFEH:** *Lives at Osu, Accra.*

**JOSEPH AYANLOLA:** *Graduate Student, School of Journalism and Communication, Legon.*

**S. O. GYANDOH Jnr.:** *Associate Professor and Dean, Law Faculty, Legon.*

**KWASI KWARTENG:** *Currently on study leave is a Lecturer, Economics Department, Legon.*

**YAW KWARTENG:** *M.A. Student, School of Journalism and Communication, Legon; was President of S.R.C. Legon, for a short period.*

## Social

### "HEALTH FOR ALL BY 2000": REALITY OR RHETORIC ?

By

Joseph Ayanola

In the *Daily Graphic* of January 10, the Minister of Health, Mr. M.P. Ansah, predicted that by 1990 Ghana would have achieved basic and primary health care for 80% of her population. The Minister's statement urges a critical examination of the country's health programme. Fortunately, the Ministry of Health itself has realised this need and is taking steps to reconsider its approach to the solution of the country's health problems.

#### World Bodies and Health Care

✓ Primary Health Care System is within the framework of the World Health Organisation's world-wide strategy of "Health for all by the year 2000." In 1977 the World Health Assembly resolved that the main social target of government and WHO in the coming decades should be "the attainment by all citizens of the world by the year 2000 of a level of health that will permit them to lead a socially and economically productive life."

✓ The Declaration of Alma-Atta, adopted in September, 1978, by the International Conference of Primary Health Care, jointly sponsored and organised by WHO and UNICEF, called on all governments "to formulate national policies, strategies and plans of action to launch and sustain primary health care as part of a comprehensive national health system and in coordination with other sectors."

✓ According to the declaration, primary health care should essentially aim at "Education concerning prevailing health problems and the methods of preventing and controlling them, promotion of food supply and proper nutrition, an adequate supply of safe water and basic sanitation; maternal and child health care, including family planning; immunization against the major infectious diseases, prevention and control of locally endemic diseases; appropriate treatment of common diseases and injuries and provision of essential drugs." It was also envisaged that countries will develop their health policies as part of overall socio-economic development policies in the light of their respective problems and possibilities.

#### The Sai Proposals

It is significant to note that though Ghana's proposals fall within the framework of the WHO programme, primary health care strategy for Ghana had been formulated before the 30th World Health Assembly resolution of 1977. The original proposal entitled "A Primary Health Care Concept for Ghana" was formulated by a team headed by Professor. F. T. Sai in 1977, and revised in August 1978.

The proposal was designed to extend health services to 80% of all Ghanaians and to prevent and treat the diseases that contribute to 80% of what has been termed "unnecessary sickness, disability and death affecting Ghanaians by 1990." The strategy is aimed specifically at bringing health services to rural dwellers and urban shanty residents who constitute about 70% of the country's population.

The proposal is based on the assumption that "healthy living is an integral part of the total social community development and that this requires the complete involvement of the people at the community level." The reorientation is therefore expressed in terms of life. This is a departure from the present system which places emphasis on means of achieving life expressed in terms of the number of health workers and facilities available.

#### Health Resources and Diseases

✓ One obvious fact is that our present health system is inadequate. Statistics indicate that since 1960 there have been remarkable increases in the resources infused into the health services of Ghana. The number of doctors increased from 385 in 1960 to 1,031 in 1975. The number of nurses also rose to over 6,000 as compared with just about 1,500 in 1960. The number of hospital beds and cots also increased from about 6,000 to nearly 13,000 within the same period.

✓ The ratio of health personnel to population has also tremendously improved during the same period. The ratio of doctors to population rose from one for 17,500 to one for 9,600. The ratio of nurses from one for 4,300 to one for 1,600. At the moment it is believed that the ratio of nurses to the population is about 1:400. The ratio of hospital beds/cots also improved from 1: 1600 to 1:760.

There is every belief that the situation has even improved since 1975. In spite of this huge infusion of facilities and highly trained health professionals there has been little improvement in the health status of Ghanaians generally and the impact on the 70% rural people is quite negligible.

According to Ministry of Health statistics communicable diseases have increased over the past ten years. In 1971, for instance, about 9,500 cases of measles, 15,000 cases of whooping cough, and 7,500 cases of malaria were reported. The situation has grown worse. By 1976 the figures had risen to 132,000, 22,000 and 443,000 respectively. Granted that the increase may be due to improved patient reporting and an increase in the population, one may still conveniently say that with improved facilities virtually no impact has been made on communicable diseases.

The infant mortality rate for Ghana is 131 per thousand live births. In Britain and the United States of America it is 17 to 1000; an indication that seven times more children die at birth in Ghana than in Britain and U.S. In most parts of this country about 40% of the children are said to die before they reach school age. The Ministry of Health statistics further show that about 130,000 Ghanaians, mostly children and women, die every year from malnutrition, diarrhoea, whooping cough, malaria, measles and pneumonia. Most of these deaths could have been prevented through adequate primary care.

### Health Care Dilemma Explained

How, then, does one explain what has rightly been referred to as "Ghana's health care dilemma"? The answer is simply and obviously, misplaced priorities. These may be explained in four ways:

1. There has been too much emphasis on the provision of facilities rather than services.
2. There is also over-elaborate training aimed at serving the specialised hospitals for the few "rather than preventive and promotive services for every one."
3. Health staff are also unevenly deployed.
4. Lack of coordination with other agencies, like the Social Welfare, Community Development and Water and Sewerage Corporation.

The danger inherent in the present system is that it tends to create false 'needs' among the people for more facilities. Every town and village believes that what it needs is a health clinic, with a doctor and a team of health workers. This has also resulted in the hospitals being provided with expensive and sophisticated equipment. Large sums of money allocated for health services have thus been spent on areas where only a small number of people

require and receive the services provided. Very little sum is thus left to be spent on primary health care from which the majority of the people are likely to benefit.

The health dilemma is compounded by the fact that even doctors who are supposed to know better do not perceive the issues at stake. This is seemingly so because of the nature of their training. They are trained to diagnose and treat individuals who are sick. They therefore pay attention only to the sick who need their help. "But the need is to maintain the health of those who are not yet ill." In other words, the sickness must be prevented.

The high rate of population growth has also increased the health problem. At the present rate of 3% annual growth the population of Ghana will be over 20 million by 2000. This means that more people must share the health facilities which are presently shrinking. It is not possible to run and maintain the present system so as to provide everyone with adequate health service.

Since the present system has not been responsive enough to the health needs of the nation, it has been proposed that priority for health improvement must be based on a procedure which can drastically reduce the unnecessary burden of sickness, disability and death at the least cost.

### Primary Health Care System (PHCS)

This is exactly what the Primary Health Care System (PHCS) is geared towards. A technical analysis of the benefits to be derived from the system indicate that the healthy days of life lost at present as a result of some diseases will be drastically reduced. In the case of malaria, it is estimated that this would have been reduced by 21,000 in 1990 as compared with the present reduction of only 8,000. Measles would be reduced by 17,500 as against 4,000 achieved by the present system, and malnutrition by 13,000 instead of 2,600 as at the moment.

Apart from its effectiveness the basic advantage of PHCS is that it is less expensive, for primary care procedures are simple. They can be performed by people without sophisticated training using basic equipment, and under proper supervision.

### Strategy of Health Care

The strategy of the primary health care is directed at three levels:

1. To improve the accessibility of health services by setting up a village-based system of health care. At level A, there will be family and community

health workers selected and compensated by the community itself possibly with the help of the District Council. The training of these Community Level Workers will be sponsored by the Ministry of Health. The Ministry will also provide drugs, supplies and health services. The major functional responsibility will lie in the areas of pregnancy management, birth spacing, growth and development of infants and children with emphasis on nutrition, personal health procedures and environmental protection, social development projects and community mobilisation.

It is very clear from this list of functions that the PHCS seeks to translate into practical terms the view that the fundamental resource for all health work is the community itself. In fact the community will be the basis for expansion of health services over the next decade under the programme.

2. To coordinate activities at the community level, it is proposed that within eight kilometres (5 miles) of every community with level A workers, a health station (Level B) will be established. The personnel at this level will support and supervise the technical aspects of work of the community level workers. They will also be expected to give immunizations to infants and children at the community level, as well as help to identify communicable diseases. They will also advise on waste and faeces disposal, and food and water protection. Finally, they will serve as liaison between the community leaders and the district (Level C). Health station officials will be expected to visit the community workers at least once in a fortnight.

The present health posts and centres can serve as health stations for the surrounding areas. In areas where these are non-existent, it has been proposed that simple, inexpensive three or four-room structures may be erected or rented for that purpose. The number of health workers will depend upon the population density. There will be redeployment of the under-utilized personnel of the present health station, clinics to where new stations will be built. But there will have to be considerable re-training in order to fully equip them for their new multipurpose role. The training of enrolled nurses can be reoriented in the direction.

3. The districts will serve as the base for planning, management, supervision, health data collection and budgeting as well as financial control. There will therefore be a District Health Medical Team (DHMT) charged with responsibility for all health activities in the district. The DHMT will consist of District Medical Officer, District Public Health Nurse, District Health Inspector and Medical Officer of the District Hospital. The team would

work directly with the District Chief Executive. It will therefore be very convenient to coordinate the activities of the DHMT with those of other governmental agencies in the district to ensure the general development of the district.

This is very vital. For any health policy to be effective there has to be coordination between health and some or all of such other sectors as education, agriculture, nutrition, water resources, housing and environmental protection. It is clear then that the PHCS must be part of the total socio-economic development at the community level. It is believed that the District, Local and Area Councils and the Town/Village Development Committees are the major institutions that can help make the PHCS a success. Once these institutions accept the concept of PHCS it will be easier to convince the people of the locality to accept the idea.

#### Just a Theoretical Concept ?

It should be pointed out that the PHCS is not only a theoretical concept. The proposals are based on the results of experimental rural health care services presently provided by the Ministry of Health in the Birim and Jasikan districts. The PHCS has also learnt a number of lessons from the Danfa and Kintampo Projects. Further this writer is also aware of the invaluable services which some mission hospitals are rendering in the rural areas. For instance, the Mobile Child Welfare Clinic of the Agogo (Presbyterian) Hospital on Tuesdays and Thursdays goes to some of the nearby villages like Juansa, Nyabo and Odumase to immunize and treat children who are sick. Mothers are also advised on nutrition. In addition basic health education lessons on how to care for children are also taught. In essence, health services are brought to the door steps of the people. One can only say then that the PHCS must be endorsed by all and given every assistance to work.

Presently, the system is operating in the districts of Bole, Lawra, Atebubu, Anlo, Asante-Akyem, Tarkwa, Winneba, Atibie and Dangbe. Since most of the communities of over 5000 population in Ghana have some kind of health facility or another, the priority of the PHCS will be on those areas with a population of between 200-5000. This of course does not preclude the semi-urban areas, and it is envisaged that all communities will eventually be covered by the system.

#### Some Constraints

Training and logistical support are two areas that in broad terms will require extensive inputs. Perhaps a measure of foreign aid will be required here (may be in the form of vehicles) but only for a

short while. For once installed it will be within the budgetary constraints of the government. It has been stressed earlier that the system calls for redeployment of personnel and resources than for a major increase. The logistical support is vital because it is the only way of ensuring the success of the programme. Of course, rural health workers must have sufficient supplies and supervision.

Transportation is the major constraint. It is estimated that at least each district requires six vehicles (a total of 390 vehicles for the 65 districts) for the system to operate effectively. It should be clear that without adequate transportation for supervision, support and supplies there can be no health services for the rural area. According to Dr. Moses Adibo, Director, Health Planning Unit, Ministry of Health, the PHCS can presently boast of only 20 Renault cars donated by UNICEF, and only 14 of these have so far arrived in the country.

If the programme is to make any impact on the health needs of the people, then, the problem of transportation will have to receive a more serious attention. We would also like to think that something concrete is being done to provide the health station workers with bicycles or motor bikes as it is envisaged under the plan.

Since it is proposed that only nine new district programmes will be started annually, due to financial constraints, it should be possible to solve the transportation problems for all the 390 vehicles will not be needed at the same time.

In the area of communication for health education, radio communication linking the district health offices with the regions and Accra, currently under study with the participation of UNICEF and USAID, has to be expedited without much delay to support the programme. Apart from these communication needs, there is also the question of drugs, vaccines and other materials. There is the problem of shortage as well as the possibility of pilfering. The health authorities have to be able to devise effective means of checking these.

#### Social Injustice

Even at the risk of repetition it should be emphasised that the activities of PHCS are quite within the means of the governments budgetary allocation to the Ministry of Health. All that has to be done is to re-allocate the Ministry's resources and personnel. According to the 1975-76 Annual Estimates, an amount of C45 Million, constituting 40% of the total funds allocated for health care, went into the provision of specialised services whilst primary health care received only C17 Million, or 15% of the allocation.

It is important to note, however, that the basic need of 90% of Ghana's population is for promotive, preventive and basic curative services at health posts, centres and so on. Surprisingly, only 15% of the health care allocation is made available for this. Thus, the distribution of funds and personnel for primary health care required by 90% of Ghanaians, compared to the costly hospital-based services required by 10% of the population, is in inverse proportion to the numbers of people that need to be reached. Obviously the health care pyramid for Ghana is upside down.

It is this kind of injustice in allocation of resources and personnel that PHCS seeks to rectify. If we would allocate more health resources and personnel to the PHCS then certainly most Ghanaians will benefit from health services. What the PHCS seeks, and we believe this is right, is that since very few people, at best 30% of the population, are benefiting from the present health programme there is a need for reorganization of our health services.

The remaining 70% of the population must also share in the "national health cake." To a large extent they are the bulwark of the nation's economy, and they therefore have as much right to health services as the 30% who are currently enjoying them.

## Notebook

### ROTTEN TOMATOES

It has often been said that the problem of this country is not a problem of poverty, but a problem of mismanagement. At a time when tomatoes were selling at 3 for C20.00, news came that 11,000 tonnes of tomatoes would be harvested from Tono and Vea between January and May, and that Government had made elaborate plans for evacuation. We took the trouble to examine the Government's plan, and on paper, it was faultless. Details had been drawn up even up to costing the tomatoes for the consumer. The exercise started on schedule. Then came the problems. No crates. No transport. No spare parts. The tomatoes started getting rotten. Farmers became worried about serious losses. Attempts by Government initially to make use of military planes and vehicles met what we may describe as "unnecessary difficulties." We contend that if military vehicles cannot be made available for such a national exercise just for the asking then one ought to question the use to a nation of an elaborate military establishment in peace time.

One may also ask why it is that in spite of all the elaborate planning from the very top, the whole programme began to flounder at the field implementation stage. Was it lack of foresight or sheer disinterestedness on the part of field officials in the success of the operation?

Tono and Vea are fine examples of what Agriculture can do for this country. Let us not allow officialdom to destroy it by frustrating the hard-working farmers. It is heartening to learn that the Minister of Agriculture has taken immediate steps to remedy the situation.

### BRAIN DESTRUCTION

Much has been said about the brain drain and the departure of young university dons for other countries for better conditions of service. But no one has as yet paused to ponder on what happens to a University Professor or a Research Officer, when he goes on retirement after 30 years or more of devoted services to his country. Few people in this country are probably aware of the fact that University workers have no pensions Scheme. They only retire on their retirement benefits. The havoc that inflation and devaluation have caused to the value of these benefits have made many to pause to ask whether it is worth their while working in any higher institution in this country till retiring age. There was recently the pathetic case of a highly respected professor who retired after having given over 30 years of his whole life to the academic, political and social development of this country, only to realize that his retiring benefits came to not more than C20,000. The story of the rapid physical and mental deterioration of this great patriot, which sent him into an early grave, is now part of history. At another farewell party for a retiring Senior Lecturer who had helped to train many of this country's top administrators, he told the audience the pathetic story of the daunting spectre of retiring on only C15,000, with no pension. He is still working elsewhere to try and live, when he should have been resting. A world-renowned scientist and researcher, who is due to retire in June, finds himself in a similar soup; with only C20,000 to his credit.

It appears as if we in this country only make use of our top brains, and destroy them when they are old. A proposal for a pensions Scheme for our Universities and research organizations has been under consideration by Government for the past three and a half years. The Universities have only recently been asked to resubmit the proposals after being shelved during the AFRC period. But was

there any need to ask for a resubmission? One would have thought that the Council for Higher Education would have all the data to enable Government to take a final decision. No wonder the slogan going round the Universities now is: "QUIT BEFORE YOU ARE FORTY".

## Letters

### An Eclipse of The Sun

SIR - During the week beginning 10th February there were newspaper reports that there would be an eclipse of the sun on Saturday 16th February according to the Meteorological Services Department of Ghana.

The eclipses of the sun that we have observed in the past have depicted invisibility of the sun, dull weather, drizzling or slight rainfall, giving way to dusk or twilight. This atmospheric dullness consistent with an eclipse was what was precisely seen in Accra on Friday 15th February, a day prior to the reported date on which the eclipse was to take place. On 16th February itself, contrary to expectation, there was no visible sign of the reported eclipse as the sun was seen from the morning to the evening without the atmospheric signs mentioned above.

It is well known that scientific analyses, conclusions and predictions are, in the main, precise, exact, accurate, infallible, incontestable and unclouded with fantastic doubtful and mysterious reflections. It is expected, therefore, that any scientific prediction should be clear, unambiguous and indisputable. It is from this standpoint that I would want the Meteorological Services Department to explain why the signs of an eclipse so observed in Accra on 15th February were not seen on the reported date, 16th February, on which the eclipse was to occur.

In order to maintain a high degree of credibility, all agencies, both private and public, that are engaged in giving data as authoritative information for the conduct of some human affairs should endeavour to be precise and reliable.

If the eclipse were a deadly event or phenomenon, it would have claimed many lives on 15th February before people could get prepared to face it on 16th February.

P. O. Box 8814  
Accra, North.

P. B. Arthiabah

## UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

## DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

Applications are invited for

## 4 LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and experience in Philosophy.

## LANGUAGE CENTRE

Applications are invited for

## 4 RESEARCH FELLOWSHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications in English Language, Linguistics, a Ghanaian Language or a Modern Language, or a Science Subject with specialisation or interest in the teaching of English as a Second Language.

## DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMICS

Applications are invited for

## SENIOR LECTURESHIP/LECTURESHIPS

Candidates should have graduate qualifications and considerable teaching and research experience in any of the following fields.

Economics	Agricultural Economics
Statistics (Methods & Theory)	Economic History
Operations Research	Economic Theory
Public Finance	

## Salary Scales:-

Senior Lecturer - C9540.00 x C240.00 - C10,980.00 per annum.

Lecturer/Research Fellow - C6400.00 x C240.00 - C9,780.00 per annum (under review)

Appointments normally up to six years in the first instance.

Further particulars and forms of application should be obtained either from the Senior Assistant Registrar, Universities of Ghana Office, 15 Gordon Square, London WC1H 0AG or the Registrar, University of Ghana, P. O. Box 25, Legon with whom applications (EIGHT COPIES) should be lodged not later than 15th April 1980.

3rd March, 1980.

### 'Vigilance' Over What?

SIR - Ever since the President launched his 'vigilante' idea Ghanaians have had the opportunity to be exposed, in diverse ways, to the merits and demerits of the system. As a responsible citizen I should be grateful if you could oblige me a space to air my views on it. Coming face to face with stark realities of Ghana's present economy, I hasten to ask: Over what items are the 'Vigilantes' expected to watch? Empty shelves and stalls? Isn't it exasperating and frustrating for our aged mother-farmers to fall prey to the mighty hands of these strong and exuberant 'vigilantes' who dictate 'fair' prices of food crops in the markets amid all sorts of humiliation and intimidation?

But as at now in my village, Boaman-Afigya, Ashanti, a day's farm labourer popularly called 'by-day', charges anything around ₵12.00, that is, if the farmer is lucky to come by one at all. I believe this is the case all over, or even more expensive in some places. To make vigilante system more productive and useful to meet the demands of the circumstances, why can't the vigilante be made a paid and permanent job, as a reservoir of farm labourers, like the former Workers' Brigade, under the umbrella of the Ministry of Agriculture?

In this way, farm labour will be available not only to boost food production but also help to resuscitate the dying cocoa industry. Moreover, job avenues would be created to minimize the unpleasant unemployment situation thereby reducing the tendency of people to hide under the cloak of vigilante to perpetrate all sorts of fraud. As things stand now, in the absence of any incentives, ensuring efficiency in the system will only be a dream, however patriotic the 'vigilantes' may be.

Ideally, it is only after the men have been fully involved in the production of food crops and cocoa that they will find themselves morally justified to 'watch' over prices of food crops and smuggling of cocoa across our borders. Otherwise, the whole idea had better be shelved until such time that the President fulfils his historic promise to 'flood the market with goods'!

J22 Commonwealth Hall

Legon.

Kwabena Adutwum-Mmrosa

### The Retired Young Officer - A Comment

SIR - I wish Pobee had answered the question he posed at the end of his letter (L.O. Vol. XII.) Not having done so, I would like to attempt an answer.

Just as the words on the plaque in the city of Hiroshima mean nothing to the people who run the war-machines in Moscow and Washington - for believe me despite the words quoted the bomb will be dropped somewhere someday unless there is total nuclear disarmament - so will there be the same actions Pobee condemned unless our leaders get it into their heads that Ghana is not their personal property which they can rule as they think fit. I hope people like Pobee will be writing more of such letters now that the leaders are alive and in power, and more importantly in our own small way contribute something to the running of our country instead of only pontificating from an ivory tower. For unless we all help now, maybe Pobee and I, will not live through the next one to debate whether somebody should have been provided with a lawyer in a trial before a "People's Revolutionary Court".

In the meantime Pobee can pray every morning for the peaceful repose of the souls of the departed leaders, whilst the millions of Ghanaians reduced to poverty by their misuse pray every morning to God for their daily bread.

University of Amsterdam,  
Herenchraht 508  
Amsterdam Holland.

Seshie Tse gah

### The Retired Young Officer

SIR - The letter of my learned friend, Mr. F. S. Tsikata, makes me wonder if he did actually read my original letter. My letter was concerned with justice and equity as our society knows it, and said nothing about nor even hinted at the issue of involvement in "fashioning history". So I have no case to answer. It might, however, be of interest to know that for many years, and that, long before my learned friend appeared on the scene, I have been urging the importance of every man of conscience involving himself in national life etc. It will be easy to recount my public statements on this. And my students also can testify. But the more important issue is the quality of one's contribution.

Again, I am amazed at his rantings on "some passionless animal called intellectual?" I do not see how it comes in. Where have I suggested that an intellectual is and should be passionless etc.? That was the confused thinking of Dr. Agovi, not mine.

I wish to suggest two issues are at stake. First, I still raise the issue of justice and equity and fair play, which was the point of my original letter. I would like my learned friend to tell me now and, in the presence of the whole world, that the trials

measured up to the standards of his own learned profession and our society. By the Armed Forces Code there should be an Judge Advocate - incidentally Mr. Rawlings also enjoyed that facility when he was put on trial. Was this done? If not, how does my learned friend justify it? Where are the court proceedings which our society, which has been told the version of the so-called revolutionaries, demands to know so as to know the truth and learn from it? If making history is to do some people in without proper trial, then I do not want to make history of that sort.

Second is the unsaid issue of what constitutes a revolution. I believe the word is being misused, overused etc. I think there are two things my learned friend and myself (and others) can do to help our society get clear ideas: 1. to engage in public debate on the meaning of revolution. 2. to apply ourselves assiduously to the work for which we are paid. It will be a real revolution if an academic in religions or law would not leave his primary job to run after some soldiers. How about that, Mr. Tsikata, my learned friend?

Finally, let me reiterate that it is important for academics not to confuse fiction with fact. Let them tackle people on what they say. A genuine revolution does not go on fabrications; it enters into dialogue with people.

Thank you.

Dept. for the Study of Religions,  
P. O. Box 66,  
Legon.

John S. Pobee

---

### The Mechanisation System

SIR - I would like to know why the Electricity Corporation chose to mechanise the Light Bills to its customers; and also why the Accountant General chose to mechanise the vouchers of employees within the various Ministries.

In the case of the Electricity Corporation it could be seen that since the introduction of its mechanisation system in the preparation of its bills, bills to its customers are always in arrears. For example up to the time of writing the light bills for November, December and January had not been received.

Because of these delays, two months' bills are sometimes added together which makes it difficult to pay. I think it would be convenient for bills to be prepared at the various regional headquarters as it was previously done.

To the Accountant General, I would like to ask how long it takes to effect changes in the mechanised vouchers after the necessary in-puts have

been prepared?

It has been noticed that sometimes it takes a very long time for the names of new employees to appear in the vouchers after the necessary in-puts have been prepared. Again, deductions made on advances taken by officers start about three months or more after the actual month within which deductions should have started, even though the necessary in-puts have been prepared. Sometimes too wrong deductions are made (example, deducting an officer twice in a month), and even after the advance debt has been fully settled deductions are still made to the disadvantage of the officer who took it.

If those operating the machines or whoever are responsible for the changes are not all that competent they should be removed as we cannot work in this manner and at the same time cry for increment in salaries.

Ghana Education Service      Antwi-Boasiako  
Sekondi.

---

### We Want Peace

SIR - The Palaver did the nation a great service when it published the full press statement issued by Captain Boakye Djan and Major Mensah Poku.

It is clear from the press statement that the two military officers were not merely interested in a probe into possibilities of money changing hands during the AFRC period. They were interested as well in certain possible official acts by members of the AFRC and others connected with their role.

This deduction is made from the premise that Capt. Boakye Djan stated the areas of allegation to be investigated to include allegations that "We extorted monies while in office. We caused arrest and re-arrest of people. We set free our favourites ...etc."

The emphasised sentence raises an issue of legal procedure and not that of bribe-taking. It is regarded as unjust, against 'natural law,' that a person should be tried more than once in respect of the same charge. The AFRC Transitional Provisions, however, state at Section 15(4) that any such procedure that may have been adopted during the rule of the AFRC cannot be called into question. And this is what Boakye Djan is doing and is thinking is "not infringing on AFRC Transitional Provisions."

Away with tricksters. Forget them all! We want peace.

P. O. Box 1346  
Accra.

A. A. Pappoe

### Students In Nation-Building

SIR - Please permit me to comment on how students in this country have kept silent since the inauguration of the Third Republic. Do they want to tell us that they see nothing good or bad with this Government? I don't just understand why they are so silent. They must show that they are either for or against government policies as they did show in the past.

We all know that the role of students in nation building is a very controversial one in many African societies. Man is by nature a political animal, and as students, you must play a role in all aspects of development in your country. The point often made is that it is the tax payer's money which is used for educating students. If this is the case, then, students definitely have a role to play in the development of their country. They also have new ideas.

Frankly speaking, you are in a better position to act, or are you disturbed because more blood didn't flow? Be bold and speak freely for your voices need to be heard.

Ministry of Finance and  
Economic Planning  
P. O. Box 303  
Koforidua.

F. M. Ampomah

## Opinion

### A NOTE ON THE ROLE OF THE THIRD REPUBLICAN PARLIAMENT

By

S. O. Gyandoh, Jr.

The comments embodied in this Note have been provoked by a recent Editorial of the Legon Observer (Vol. XII No. 2), and especially by a Rejoinder to that Editorial appearing under the seemingly neutral title: "The plea for a new Parliamentary Tradition" (See L.O. Vol. XII, No. 3 p.53). Both the Editorial and the Rejoinder address themselves to the generic theme of the role of the Third Republican Parliament, which has been operating in this country for barely 6 months. The Rejoinder takes the matter further by questioning the wisdom and suitability for this country of the entire institutional framework of the Third Republican Constitution.

The Editorial in question presents an objective and careful study of the constitutional text relating to the role of Parliament, and correctly arrives at the conclusion that the "dream", or design, envisaged for Parliament by the framers of the 1979 constitution is that it should act as a countervailing power in the constitutional scheme of things. It then goes on to warn Members of Parliament (M.P.s) of the Third Republic against certain discernible trends which threaten to bring about the non-realisation of this dream. The trends against which the Editorial warns may briefly be summarised thus: (a) M.P.s wrongly perceiving their legislative role strictly in terms of mobilising support for their party; (b) M.P.s using Press Conferences and other platforms, instead of the chamber of Parliament, for the airing of popular discontents; and (c) creeping usurpation of legislative power by the Executive, e.g. by implementing some bills contained in the recent Budget proposals without prior passage of those bills by Parliament. The Editorial also bemoans the absence of certain "political giants" from Parliament.

### Political Giants Argument

I should state more clearly what I have already hinted: On the whole, I consider both the analysis and the strictures of the Editorial as revealing an extremely intelligent and objective reading of the constitutional text, so far as it relates to the structure of government presented therein, and the interrelations envisaged for the principal organs created by that Constitution. There is only one minor reservation which I feel bound to point out. The absence of "political giants" from the parliament of the Third Republic is by no means to be regretted, in my humble view. Paa Willie (Mr. William Ofori-Atta) as Chairman of the Council of State brings a refreshing sense of mature wisdom and a moderating influence to the Government as a whole and to the august power centre of which he is Chairman. And it is to be remembered that the Council of State is designed to aid and counsel not only the Presidency, but also (and more significantly) Parliament. Messrs Victor Owusu and Ibrahim Mahama and, one may add, Kwame Nyante (all unsuccessful Presidential candidates), have made their voices heard on crucial national and international matters, and are thus playing a significant role in the national arena of politics. All this is eminently conducive to the accumulation of national wisdom for the national good. As a final example, Col. Bernasko has clearly been neither silenced nor reduced to the limbo of political inaction by being absent from Parliament, as is evidenced by the campaign and results of the recent by-election in Cape Coast.

### Spirit of The Rejoinder

Having said all that, we must now turn attention to the Rejoinder to the Editorial. That rejoinder is clearly disappointing in its total effect, as well as in certain important details. The entire Rejoinder is a prophesy of doom, of the Cassandra type. Yet it is based on demonstrably false or faulty conceptions of theory and hasty findings of fact, some of which have already been debunked by happenings in this country since the Rejoinder appeared.

Perhaps we should begin with a comment from a notable political scientist who is not too far removed in point of time from modern governmental practice to be written off as largely irrelevant. Writing in 1867 about the English Constitution, Walter Bagehot said: "An ancient and ever-altering Constitution is like an old man who still wears with attached fondness clothes in the fashion of his youth; what you see of him is the same; what you do not see is wholly altered." That passage offers a particularly astute observation of the English Constitution, which has evolved over several hundreds of years, and is still evolving. More importantly, the passage points out the dangers and pitfalls which inevitably await those who choose to speak with pontifical dogmatism about the whole, or aspects, of the English Constitution, particularly when such commentators are adverting to the exportability of that model.

Let us take a look at examples of the pontifical dogmatism, of which I have just made mention. The author of the Rejoinder writes (p. 54, Col. 2 of L.O. XII No. 3): "Under the Cabinet system of government Parliament has never been a lawmaking body of any consequence. Laws have always been made by the executive, but with the approval of parliament. The preamble to Acts of the English parliament is dead accurate: the monarch executive enacts with the advice and consent of Parliament." (My emphasis). All this is presented in order to justify the proposition that in England Parliament is more of a deliberative body than a legislative body, and we should expect to see the same trend or "reality" here, in spite of the "constitutional legalism" ill-advisedly introduced into this country by the 1979 Constitution. The framers of the Constitution are also roundly chastised for following the precepts on the 18th century "Political Sociologist" Montesquieu, who "surprisingly saw government as but a mass of legal powers and functions."

There is a further charge that "the role prescribed by the 1979 Constitution for parliament is informed neither by political nor socio-economic considerations," and "misconveys the role of

Parliament under the cabinet system of government, as it does the sources of independence of the American Congress." The main and final thrust of the rejoinder is that the legislature under the executive presidency, as now, cannot operate as a countervailing power, as envisaged by the Constitution and urged by the Editorial. In short, that the dream of parliamentary independence is impossible to fulfil under the present Constitution.

### Grave Dangers

Now, these are extremely grave charges, and should not be allowed to pass merely as ex-cathedra gospel. They stand, in my respectful submission, as bare charges, wholly lacking in convincing substantiation. It amounts to a complete travesty of the nature and function of the English Parliament as it has evolved (especially since the glorious revolution of 1689) to state, in this day and age, that "parliament has never been a law-making body of any consequence." It is, of course, common knowledge that for centuries the Crown was the real Executive authority in England. It claimed, and effectively asserted, the right, sometimes the "divine right", to make laws. It is equally true, however, that the claim was fiercely resisted during a turbulent period of English political history - the 17th century. During the period, there was a bloody civil war, one King was beheaded, and another was exiled. Indeed, in 1701, Parliament administered a *coup de grace* to the monarch Executive by changing the line of succession to the throne, and establishing the independence from the Crown of the Judiciary, as part of the Revolution settlement. Thus, no one who has studied the substance, rather than the form, of English parliamentary government since the Act of Settlement of 1701 can say with any degree of accuracy that it is the monarch executive who in reality makes laws in England.

To say that the preamble to English Acts of Parliament is "dead accurate" is to do grievous violence to historical facts. The preamble is simply an empty relic of tradition, more like the old man who still wears with attached fondness clothes in the fashion of his youth. In England, the "monarch executive" is, in law and fact, a constitutional monarch with no executive powers. And, the fact that Ministers (honorifically referred to as Her Majesty's Ministers) still sit in Parliament makes no difference to the matter: they are elected by the people, and responsible to the people. Certainly, after the events of 1689, the Reform Bill of 1832 (which first extended the voting franchise beyond the landed or propertied gentry) and the Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949 (which consolidated all effective law-making powers in the House of Com-

mons), any denial of the essentially legislative character of the English Parliament should come as a stunning surprise, particularly to Englishmen.

### Responsible Government

This is not to deny the deliberative functions of the English Parliament, or any legislature anywhere, for that matter. But it is extremely misleading, and indeed it amounts to plain abuse of language, to dogmatise that because a legislature has to deliberate as part of the process of law making, its functions are deliberative and not legislative. And, it is somewhat mischievous to deduce from this semantic confusion the general conclusion that it is vain to hope that a constitutional arm of government which has been expressly created as a legislative organ will behave as such.

Since the average man anywhere sees the Executive as "the government," the central problem of politics with which constitution-making everywhere has had to grapple is how to establish a responsible executive. The English have grappled with this problem over centuries and have settled on Cabinet responsibility to Parliament. Perhaps the process is still continuing. But the English have had a special problem of making the transition from representative to responsible government. Hence, such relatively recent legislations as the Reform Act of 1832 and the Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949. The Americans, on the other hand, managed to sidestep this problem of transition by making the Executive President directly responsible to the people. This is what the 1979 Constitution has also done, largely because of the peculiar problems we have encountered since 1951 in making the transition from representative to responsible government. The solution is buttressed by giving fixed terms of office to both the Executive and Parliament.

It must be pointed out, at this stage, that the fundamental difference between the British and American Constitutions lies in their different approaches to the solution of this central political problem of how to establish a responsible executive. Both approaches have been largely successful, though both have had to weather tempestuous storms. In these circumstances, it is not particularly enlightening to claim the superiority, or the suitability for transplantation, of the one over the other.

### Crux of The Matter

The crux of the matter is that under every system of government, there should be clear rules, or established practices, by which an overbearing Executive can be effectively checked. The attempts by the

rejoinder to re-open the largely superstitious claim that the Chief Executive under a Presidential System of government is inherently more likely to degenerate into an uncontrollable centre of power than a Prime Minister under the Cabinet System cannot stand up to critical and objective examination. The rejoinder throws in such emotionally-loaded expressions like the "Imperial Presidency" and "Legislative Leader," used pejoratively in relation to the office of the U.S. President. It should simply be pointed out that when ex-President Nixon's "imperial presidency" became over-bearing and threatened to upset the constitutional balance of powers, he was forced to resign, on pain of being impeached.

More generally, the U.S. Constitution, like Ghana's 1979 Constitution, contains adequate legal and political safeguards against the Executive President's possible encroachments on the powers of the other co-ordinate branches of government, or other centres of power, existing under the respective constitutional systems. It is, of course, also true that at least for some time to come, we should expect to see an increasing role being played by any President of the Third Republic as "legislative leader." The practical limits of this role will be set not only by the prescribed constitutional parameters but by the seriousness with which Parliament conceives of its role as the sole authoritative law-making body in this country.

### Signs of Parliamentary Independence

Cynical observers may too easily succumb to the careless tendency, particularly noticeable during the Constituent Assembly's debate on the then proposed Executive Presidency, to group all types of executive Presidency under a single undifferentiated rubric. Such a tendency may be emotionally excusable, having regard to our bitter experiences during part of the period of the First Republic (1960-1966). But, it is intellectually unpardonable, for the Executive Presidency under the 1979 Constitution is clearly a very different thing in kind from that of the 1960 Constitution. No amount of crying "wolf!" can change the clearly divergent paths trodden by the two constitutional documents.

There are already clear signs that the constitutional checks and balances built into the 1979 Constitution are operating as envisaged in the Constitutional text, and by the framers, when one has allowed for the initial and naturally to-be-expected lapses in self-confidence by some M.Ps. against which the Editorial of L.O. XII (2) rightly warned. The argument by the Rejoinder referring to the existence of alternative sources of power in the

United States whose absence from the socio-economic matrix of Ghana allegedly makes it impossible for parliament to be in a position to resist executive encroachments on the powers of parliament is clearly belied by recent occurrences in this country.

Only the other day, the Finance Committee of Parliament which is headed by a P.N.P.—M.P. rejected a Government bill included in the Budget Proposals and intended to abolish the system of Export Bonus introduced by Law some years ago. The Bill has been killed, in spite of the fact that a P.N.P. President presented it through his Minister of Finance. Is this evidence of the impotence of Parliament to resist executive domination? Again, recently, Ministers have been summoned to Parliament to answer grilling questions relating to matters falling within their portfolios. Does this indicate that Parliament under the 1979 Constitution is incapable of becoming "the most important theatre of politics"? And, think of the screening exercise which has been continually going on with respect to Presidential nominees for various public offices, of which ministerial positions are only an example. Who really can say, in all candour, that if we did not have the present Constitutional system, the calibre of Ministers and appointees to other public offices that we have today would have been the same as under a Parliamentary Cabinet system of the type we have known in this country since 1951?

One should also take note of the significant fact that since the publication of the L.O. Editorial (Vol. XII. No. 2), there has been virtually no sign of M.Ps using Press Conferences and other platforms outside the chamber of Parliament. What the disinterested bystander who is also a keen observer of the present political scene can see clearly is a slow, but sure, grasping by the M.Ps. themselves of the central role cast for the Parliament of the Third Republic. Naturally, long-standing traditions die hard, as the L.O. Editorial correctly points out. But it should also be constantly borne in mind that the "tradition" of parliamentary cabinet government in this country was borrowed from our former colonial masters, who are themselves still evolving their home-grown system - to meet new conditions, such as British membership of the European community.

#### Source of Inspiration of 1979 Constitution

The 1979 Constitution does not simply borrow the American presidential system. In a more fundamental sense, it draws inspiration from our traditional constitutional systems. Under those systems, which threw up men like King Osei Tutu

of the Asantes and women like Yaa Asantewa, the famous war leader, such criteria as outstanding personal ability, accountability, probity and even good-mannerliness, were crucial for the selection of traditional rulers and leaders. And, the final sanction of destoolment was always available to control the excesses of even such traditional potentates as the Kings of the Asante nation. To a large extent, the 1979 Constitution seeks to revive these ancient and enduring values of accountability, probity and responsiveness to the wishes of the people by placing these values in their modern constitutional setting.

All this may be a "dream" on the part of the framers of the 1979 Constitution, but it is certainly not a fanciful dream. Except in the strictly Freudian psycho-analytic realms of the sub-conscious and unconscious mind, dreams do not follow reality, as casually claimed by the rejoinder. In the real world dominated by the workings of the conscious mind, men (like the late Martin Luther King Jr.) dream of a worthy objective before they pursue the "reality" of setting out to achieve those objectives. In any case, the framers seriously learnt, what others are yet to learn, that you cannot transplant the framework of a foreign system of government without the unwritten and deeply-ingrained customs (or conventions) which give substance to the form. In this respect, the framers have shown a far deeper concern for relating the institutional framework of the Constitution to the socio-economic and political context of the people than those who, in this day and age, retain a surprisingly unexamined enchantment with the cabinet system of government.

#### Montesquieu and Separation of Powers

This brings me to the almost casual dismissal by the rejoinder of Montesquieu's well-known, but oft-misunderstood principle of Separation of Powers. The rejoinder marvels at the complete victory of this "legalistic theory" over the earlier "mixed constitution" and "balanced constitution" offerings of the "ancients" and "medievalists." Most surprisingly, the rejoinder unabashedly advocates a return to the Politics of Aristotle, "if in a much more sophisticated manner." Frankly, I find all this part of the rejoinder most bizarre.

It should by now be trite learning that Montesquieu's writings on the cognate theme of political liberty under organised government were, in the words of one astute writer, "the first thorough-going attempt to derive a philosophy of history from the historical record." He did not propound a political dogma, let alone a "legalistic theory."

After all, he was writing mainly about the "spirit" of the laws which regulated the relations between government and the citizenry in a number of states at particular points of time in the history of those states. He had arrived at an earlier tentative conclusion that all the nation-states and national sovereignties of the world that he knew, or had studied, had shown a special genius for pursuing certain specific aims with dazzling success. For example, Rome's genius was for aggrandisement, or territorial expansionism; Sparta's was for war; the Jews' was for religion; and absolute monarchs of the type of Louis XIV of France under whose absolutist rule Montesquieu himself had lived, showed their special genius in maximising their own self-glory and that of their states. It will be recalled, in passing, that Louis XIV, known in history as the "Sun King", claimed to be the personification of the state.

As a final summation in this part (Book XI) of his monumental work (*L'Esprit des Lois* or the *Spirit of the Laws*, 1748) Montesquieu concluded that only England of his world of mid-18th century had struck the most judicious balance between the need for public order and for individual liberty in her constitutional system. He then deduced the following general, but flexible, principle from his studies, which stretched over a period of 20 years: the monopoly of power in any state, whatever its system of government, is the end of all political liberty. And, to prevent such monopoly, power must be widely diffused. There must also be a system of mutual restraints among the main centres of power such as he found in the interaction between the two Houses of the English Parliament of his time, and between both Houses and the Executive.

There is nothing of a sterile or rigid "legalistic theory" in all this. It is true that some of the State Constitutions established in America soon after the war of independence with Britain adopted exceptionally severe or dogmatic interpretations of Montesquieu's principle - perhaps out of excessive, but understandable, dread of a distant monarch executive who could, even through his representative governors, annual duly-passed laws of the State legislatures. This dread of irresponsible Executive hegemony had some influence, to be sure, on the State delegates who drew up the Federal Constitution. But, the common sense of the Americans prevailed over strict logic, and the Constitution that emerged has stood the test of time, as everyone knows.

#### Non-doctrinaire Approach

One final lesson from Montesquieu must be drawn, because of its peculiar relevance to our

present circumstances. After paying the glowing tribute to the English that we have noted, Montesquieu allowed himself an indulgence in speculation. He wrote: "As all things human come to an end, so the State of which I speak (England) will lose its liberty, and will perish. Rome, Sparta and Carthage, all perished. This State too will perish when the legislative power becomes more corrupt than the executive." Fortunately for England, both the legislature and the Parliamentary Executive have continually done their own house-cleaning, so to speak, and England has thus been saved from going the way of the ancient civilisations mentioned by Montesquieu. The ominous significance of this severe warning for all former colonies of Britain which have borrowed the British parliamentary system is too clear to require further elaboration. And, it is further to be remembered that at the time Montesquieu was writing, only the foundations of the system had been laid: the process of building and refining the superstructure is still going on, largely through timely and pragmatic adaptations to suit changing political, social and economic conditions. Suffice it to say that the warning bears a telling relevance to the dismal record of most of these borrowing countries' experimentation with the Westminster model of government.

The framers of the 1979 Constitution were, as evidenced by that part of the Memorandum of the Constitutional Commission quoted by the L.O. Editorial (Vol. XII No. 2), acutely aware of the essentially flexible and non-doctrinaire nature of Montesquieu's teachings. They were also aware that a responsible and responsive executive must first be enabled by the Constitution to govern effectively. This is not at all incompatible with the vigorous exercise of legislative power (which necessarily involves the exercise of deliberative functions) by Parliament. Madison showed a refreshing and fundamental understanding of the eternal problem of government at the time of the framing of the U.S. Constitution. He summarised the teachings of Montesquieu on this problem thus:

"You must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself." In my humble but firm submission, the framers of the 1979 Constitution have done just that, informed as they were by the previous experiences, by the level of political awareness, in this country. Finally, the framers have also taken a serious but silent account of the old global wisdom that, in the long run, the limits of tyrants are prescribed by those whom they oppress.

# For The Record

FEBRUARY 23, 1980

## Probe All A.F.R.C. Men and Aides

Two members of the erstwhile A.F.R.C. Captain Boakye Djan and Major Mensah-Poku have urged the government to appoint immediately a Commission to probe all AFRC members and those who had something to do with the Council's administration.

In addition, they said there should be a judicial fact-finding Commission to study the rule of the AFRC as to whether the Transitional Provisions should be reviewed.

The two AFRC men denied that they fled the country to enjoy any illgotten wealth.

"We are innocent. We have not ran away and we remain incorruptible," they declared.

FEBRUARY 25, 1980

## New Rules on Illegal Immigration

The Government has advised Ghanaians planning to visit Britain in the near future to take note of new regulations pertaining to illegal immigrants.

An official statement from the Castle said a report carried in *The Guardian* of February 8, this year spoke of a more vigorous action to stop immigrants illegally staying in Britain and the installation of a computer to speed up the process of identifying visitors who have overstayed to be arrested by the police.

FEBRUARY 26, 1980

## Vigilante Boss in Eastern Region Sacked

The Eastern Regional Minister, Mr. Felix Amoah, has ordered the immediate dismissal of the Acting Regional Coordinator of the Vigilante Groups, Mr. J. K. Boadi, for alleged malpractices.

Mr. Boadi was alleged to have diverted 20 bags of granulated sugar and 40 pieces of wax prints meant for sale to people in the rural areas in the region.

The Regional Minister said following a tip off that Boadi had diverted some bags of sugar, his room was searched by a security officer and 20 bags of sugar were discovered.

FEBRUARY 28, 1980

## More Drugs

The German Democratic Republic has granted Ghana a loan of £12.5 million for the importation of drugs.

The Minister of Health, Mr. M. P. Ansah, announced this when he visited the Central Medical Stores at Tema to inspect £25 million worth of drugs which had arrived in the country.

The drugs include antibiotics, anti-malaria, anti-diarrhoea and vitamin tablets. They are meant to offset the shortage of drugs in the country's hospitals.

FEBRUARY 28, 1980

## Matter Goes To Court

The Acting Editor of the *Daily Graphic*, Miss Elizabeth Ohene and five other employees of the Editorial department of the Graphic Corporation, have filed a writ at the Supreme Court asking the court for a declaration that the purported act of the President in appointing editors and deputy editors for the *Graphic*, the *Ghanaian Times* and the *Mirror*, was inconsistent and in complete contravention of the letter and spirit of the Constitution.

The plaintiffs are asking the court for an order that the purported appointments and promotions "are void and of no effect".

No date has been fixed for hearing.

MARCH 1, 1980

## House Approves Budget Statement

Parliament has approved the proposals outlined in the Budget Statement for the financial year ending June 30, 1980.

The approval came after a long debate which was sometimes characterised by withdrawal of statements by some members of the House.

MARCH 3, 1980

## 'I Prefer To Be Tried By The Fetish'

Flt. Lt. J. J. Rawlings, Chairman of the erstwhile AFRC, has declared his preparedness to go to any fetish shrine in the country with his accusers for the truth to be ascertained instead of a commission of inquiry to investigate him.

In an obvious reference to the call by two prominent members of the AFRC for a probe into their rule, he explained that there was not only too much deprivation in the social life of Ghanaians under what he described as a "legal canopy", but also "people swear on the Holy Bible and they lie with impunity."

He said if his request would not be granted he would invite all leaders in governments since 1966 and "those criminals to go along with him and we shall see who will die".

"To hell with this legal canopy" he said. Flt. Lt. Rawlings was speaking on the topic "The Legacy of the Military" at a special anniversary symposium organised by the Eastern Region branch of the University of Ghana Alumni Association at Koforidua at the weekend.

MARCH 4, 1980

#### Boys Break Into Girls' Dormitory

The Achimota School authorities are investigating a break into a girls' dormitory (Clark House) by some male students on the night of February, 29, this year, during which there was general misbehaviour.

Reports have it that on the eve of the Founders' Day celebrations on March 1 when there was general merry-making and relaxation of regulations on the compound, some male students caused a black out at the School which enabled them to invade the house and allegedly raped some of the girls.

MARCH 8, 1980

#### 6 Ghanaians Die In Lagos

At least six Ghanaians were among the 50 suspects who died while being conveyed from a Lagos Magistrate's Court in central Lagos to Ikoyi, South of the city.

President Shehu Shagari has ordered a judicial enquiry into the deaths which have caused public uproar over police methods.

---

**FOR AN OBJECTIVE  
AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF  
National,  
International,  
Economic, Social and  
Political AFFAIRS,  
READ THE  
Legon Observer**

---

#### "The Plea for a New Parliamentary Tradition"

##### - Corrigenda

1. P. 53, second column, l. 27: for "executive" substitute "(executive)".
2. P. 54, second column, l. 50: for "value" substitute "valve".
3. P. 55, first column, l. 28: for "to ensure" substitute "ensures"
4. P. 55, first column, l. 37: for "basis" substitute "bases".
5. P. 55, first column, l. 42: for "tasted" substitute "tested"
6. P. 56, first column, l.14: for "corwing" substitute "Corwin."
- 6a P. 56, first column, l. 18: for "aid" substitute "aides."
7. P. 56, second column, l. 16: delete "the" before "Opposition."
8. P. 56, second column, l. 28: delete "the" before "Opposition."
9. P. 57, first column, 11: delete "the" before "Parliament".
10. P. 57, first column, last line: substitute full stop for comma.

---

#### OFFICERS OF EDITORIAL COMMITTEE AND L.S.N.A.:

- CHAIRMAN — E. J. THOMPSON  
VICE-CHAIRMAN — I. TUFUOH  
SECRETARY — I. ADDAE-MENSAH  
TREASURER — S. A. NKRUMAH  
EDITOR — YAW TWUMASI

Mild international Embassy.  
The smooth way to go places.