

The Legon Observer



Fortnightly Organ of the Legon Committee on National Reconstruction

Vol. II No. 3

3—16 Feb. 1967

Price 15 Pesewas

IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL	1
Turning Point in Anglo-Ghana Relations	
L.C.N.R. COMMUNICATION	2
Political Parties and the Electoral System (II)	
Political Correspondent	
AFRICA	5
Sierra Leone: Tensions of a Constitutional Crisis	
K. A. B. Jones-Quartey	
THE ECONOMY	9
The Trade Fair and the Economy	
G. Kporufe-Agama	
Tourism and Ghana	
A. N. Hakam	
OBSERVER NOTEBOOK	12
British Probity, Corruption, and the Nkrumah Regime	
Kwesi Armah and Britain	
Crime	
LETTERS	15
Kwesi Armah's Extradition	
C.P.P. and Blows	
Economic Independence in the Congo	
The Constitutional Commission	
White Paper and Apaloo Commission	
RELIGION	16
Belief in God—Reply to my Critics	
James Thrower	
BOOK REVIEW	18
The Wretched of the Earth	
(by Frantz Fanon)	
Kwabena Archempong	
NEWS SUMMARY	22
OBITUARY	23
Tribute to Sir Arku Korsah	

EDITORIAL

TURNING POINT IN ANGLO-GHANA RELATIONS

IT WAS all too easily and unreflectingly assumed that there was a fund of goodwill in Britain for post-coup Ghana. But since the Home Secretary's incredible refusal to extradite Kwesi Armah to Ghana to face trial in Ghanaian courts, most Ghanaians have been rudely shocked out of this complacency.

The highest Appellate Court in Britain, in its rejection of Kwesi Armah's appeal, decided that Kwesi Armah had a *prima facie* case to answer in Ghana for embezzling £30,000 of Ghana Government's money. The Home Secretary refused to follow the 'House of Lords' decision to extradite Kwesi Armah on two grounds. *First*, the case was full of political overtones, thus implying that Kwesi Armah would not have a fair trial in Ghana. *Secondly*, because of an impending Bill to be passed in the British Parliament which will substantially modify the Fugitive Offenders Act (1881)—under which Kwesi Armah was tried—it might be impolitic to extradite Kwesi Armah before this Bill becomes an Act of Parliament. These arguments are spurious, to say the least, and have been rightly rebutted by the N.L.C. in their Protest Note to the British Government. The Home Secretary added the insulting rider that the Ghana Government, if it so wished, could prosecute Kwesi Armah in Britain. What really impelled the Home Secretary to advance such untenable reasons as the basis of a decision which clearly puts a strain on the good relations existing between apparently "friendly" Commonwealth countries?

It has been suggested that the Home Secretary was influenced by the fact that when Labour was in Opposition they were most vehement in their condemnation of the Conservative Government when it decided to extradite Chief Enahoro on charges of treason. To agree to extradite Kwesi Armah therefore would expose them to a charge of inconsistency. But this is a spurious argument, for the difference between Kwesi Armah and Chief Enahoro is the difference between a thief and a politician. *Secondly*, it is said that by refusing to extradite Kwesi Armah Britain is just being faithful to her liberal tradition of giving refuge to all exiles in Britain, a tradition which made it possible for Karl Marx, Freud and the Kabaka of Buganda to live in peace in Britain. But here no one is prosecuting Kwesi Armah for his political beliefs; he is being sought for stealing public funds, a fact amply proved in British courts.

It has also been suggested that Britain's current balance of payments difficulties may also have influenced the Home Secretary. Kwesi Armah made a lot of money when he was a High Commissioner in London. To allow him to be extradited to Ghana would mean the repatriation of all his wealth; this

THE LEGON OBSERVER

announces the appointment
of

TOMMARK ADVERTISING AGENCY

as Advertising Representatives

P. O. Box 992, Tel. 66209 Accra.

might not be in Britain's economic interest. To believe this is to go beyond the evidence; however, it has to be proved that this argument is false.

A more probable reason is that there is a powerful "socialist caucus"—including Mr. Roy Jenkins, the Home Secretary himself—in Britain who unsuspectingly believe that post-coup Ghana is a confirmation of the impossibility of "exporting" Marxist socialism to Africa. What is, however, forgotten is that Kwesi Armah and his colleagues were just fascist capitalists.

What then are the foreign policy implications of this British decision for post-coup Ghana? It is about time that in foreign policy, Ghanaians learnt to be self-reliant and became a bit sceptical of the good faith of some professedly friendly Western countries. This is a harsh world in which nations are now aggressively seeking their own survival guided by the sole principle of their own permanent interests. More specifically, we should now stop allowing Britain to loom so large in our foreign policy calculations. Britain seems, after the series of coups in Africa, to be writing off Africa as an unstable continent where fair trials are virtually impossible.

Moreover, she also seems, in her relations with African countries, to be guided not by any genuine feelings of friendship, but solely by the cardinal principle of "permanent British interests".



Ghana Glass

THE GLASS MANUFACTURING CORPORATION

ABOSO

PRESENTS:

— THE 12,000,000TH BOTTLE PRODUCED

SHEET GLASS AND LOUVRE BLADES

SELECTION OF BOTTLES DELIVERED TO BREWERIES, SOFT DRINK INDUSTRY ETC., PRINTED AND PLAIN

PRESS GLASS TUMBLERS, TANKARDS, ASHTRAYS, DISHES AND BOWLS DECORATED AND PLAIN

AT:

GHANA INTERNATIONAL TRADE FAIR

L.C.N.R. Communication

POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM (II)

by

Our Political Correspondent

IN THE first part of this article it was argued that one of the most important elements of democratic government—government based on the consent of the governed—is *free elections* and that a free election is "one in which there are real alternatives from which the electors can, without hindrance, choose".

There are two indispensable conditions which must exist if elections are to be free. *Firstly*, the electoral system, the arrangements in accordance with which elections are held, must be fair. The electoral system must not discriminate against any major opinions within the country; it must ensure a fair representation of all articulate opinions on major issues. *Secondly*, the administration of the electoral system must also be fair. Even the best electoral system can be so administered—given inefficient and corrupt electoral officers—as to favour one set of candidates at the expense of other sets of candidates. It follows that the greatest possible attention must be given to the administrative machinery that will conduct elections: it must be efficient, it must be absolutely impartial as between the various candidates and it must, consequently, be independent of the government of the day.

It is unfortunately not possible, nor is it even desirable, to decentralize the electoral machinery. It is highly probable that inefficiency, corruption and intimidation would be increased, rather than decreased, by decentralizing the electoral machinery.

One has, therefore, to accept, perhaps with regret, that elections must be conducted centrally. Two possibilities are here posed between which the new Constitution must choose: either the central government itself must conduct elections or a body independent of the central government must do it. In deciding which of the two alternatives to choose there can be no difficulty whatever. Students of the African political scene will no doubt agree that African governments must all be prevented from handling elections. It may confidently be asserted as universally imperative in Africa to-day that elections must be conducted by a central body which is independent of the government. This body may preferably be called the Electoral Commission.

not all for sea unworthiness. The Russians, who fled their vessels, are now negotiating a come-back. The only Japanese boat delivered by 1966—many more are to come—was also left idle. As a result the Norwegians, the most assiduous of foreign fishermen in Ghana, have been the backbone of fish production for the Corporation since February 1966.

It is tempting to conclude that the post-coup developments are temporary aberrations of the fishing industry. The fourth is that they are manifestations of an underlying wrong-headedness of the public sector of the industry. The Fishing Corporation, under the previous government, hardly sought the technical advice of the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Agriculture. It undertook no analysis of its fishing resources. It became the beneficiary of the successive Ministers' propensity to buy hardware abroad (the only aspect of the industry which really attracted Ministers and some of their supporting officials) without considering how best to utilize this hardware. The appointment of the Chief Fisheries Officer, after the Coup, to supervise the operations of the Corporation has so far proved a failure for he has little executive power over the senior officials of the Corporation who were largely appointed on patronage by the former government, and enjoy still their unbounded sinecure.

Meanwhile the Fisheries Division of the Ministry of Agriculture itself is starved of research. Last year after five years of bizarre changes of mind by the previous government, fostered partly by the Academy of Sciences, the United Nations Special Fund signed an agreement with the N.L.C. to establish a unit that will conduct research into fisheries and oceanography. But owing to the restrictions imposed by the N.L.C. budget, the beginning of operations had to be postponed to 1968.

Thus, looking back over the years, we cannot help concluding that with the departure of Mr. F. R. Johnson former Chief Fisheries Officer, who planned the Tema fishing harbour in the early fifties, there has developed no co-ordinated policy on, meaningful direction of, the fishing industry. In our next instalment we shall consider possible objectives and the economic implications of these objectives in an attempt to stimulate interest in fishing as a potentially great primary industry in this country.

IMPORT LICENSING IN GHANA

By

Kwaku Manu

THE IMPORT LICENCES for essential commodities were recently published in the *Commercial and*

Industrial Bulletin No. 60 of 16th December, 1966. The Bulletin makes very interesting reading for it is littered with many anomalies. It is the aim of this article to highlight the more glaring anomalies and to suggest some remedies.

For example, Avenida Hotel, a consumer, has these allocations:—Rice—¢6,000; Milk—¢6,000; Butter—¢1,000. One wonders why, of all the hotels in the country, Avenida is the only one to be given an allocation. Pioneer Meat Company is a distributor and its allocation of ¢300 to import butter as against the allocation of ¢1,000 to Avenida Hotel, a consumer, raises some questions to be answered. One of the criteria used in the allocation of the import licences is the ability of the importer to effectively distribute what could be imported. Now, taking the allocations for rice; while Apenten Mensah & Co. has ¢45,000, Youngsters Stores Ltd. has ¢30,000; Kingsway Stores has ¢3,000 and UTC Ltd. has ¢4,000. Again in the allocation of flour, Apenten Mensah & Co. has ¢60,000; Youngsters Stores Ltd. has ¢32,000 while UTC Ltd. has ¢5,000 and Kingsway Stores has ¢7,000. Which of these group of firms has the facilities to effectively distribute these essential commodities? One of the problems facing the country is the ineffective distribution of these essential commodities, and the type of allocation revealed by the list creates the situation.

Foreign Currency

Import licensing was introduced in a bid to control and conserve Ghana's foreign currency earnings. But the present method of allocating licences to a large number of small importers and in small amounts seems not to be closing the hard currency loopholes tight enough. To import goods into Ghana under the specific import licence, the importer should be able to obtain a 180-day credit with a supplier. It is highly improbable that a holder of an import licence of ¢200 can get a foreign supplier of say butter to forgo payment in a hard currency for six months. Also, at the pegged interest rate of 6 per cent per annum, one wonders whether a supplier in the Netherland, for example, would be willing to supply ¢200 worth of butter and wait six months for payment with an inducement of only ¢6. Because the amounts allocated to them are too small, some of these small importers sell their right to import goods to larger importers. This right would have to be sold in excess of the stated face value, to enable them recover their cost of acquiring the licence. Needless to say, this will be reflected in the price the Ghanaian consumer will be paying for the goods when they finally get into the country.

Foreign Agencies

Again, a number of these importers turn to foreign owned agencies in the country to arrange the 180-day credit for them at a cost of 25 per cent of the face value of the licence, over and above the six per cent official interest rate. The effect of this type of costly financing will also be reflected in the prices that the Ghanaian consumer will be paying for the goods. The unemployment situation in the country is much more serious than most of us seem to realize. One should, therefore, be concerned about the effect the allocation of licences will have on employment. We should consider what effects the total allocation of £390,000 of licences to Apenten Mensah & Co., Baah Ltd., and Roquah Stores, will have on steady employment, as against the total allocation of £98,000 to Kingsway Stores and UTC. Ltd. One may tend to brush aside this implication of the allocation with the argument for "Ghananization" of trade in the country. Admittedly, this could be a valid defence under normal circumstances; but the unemployment situation is getting out of hand and something must be done about it. Indeed, the unemployment problem needs to be accorded the top priority in almost every official action dealing with the economy, because of the political and social implications involved. The former regime became very unpopular with our workers by promising them an affluent society for too long. The NLC also cannot safely hold out for too long full employment and the welfare state as the future lot of workers, without some visible signs that the two goals are attainable.

The "Ghananization" argument loses its validity, when one realizes that the Ghanaian firms in question are financed by foreign owned financial agencies and at very high cost to them. One other question can be raised: Is it in the interest of the country's economic development, if the abler Ghanaian firms rely heavily on the importation of foodstuffs as the basis for their business? Vested interests quickly develop. Would these firms not form pockets of resistance to the development of local agriculture, particularly as the import trade in foreign agricultural products is rather lucrative?

Northern Rice

Already, there is economic friction. The author knows of the availability of about 30,000 bags of locally produced rice in the North going "mouldy" apparently for lack of potential buyers. Meanwhile, orders for rice are now being frantically placed with United States suppliers. To achieve a much more efficient procurement of foodstuffs from abroad, a central procurement agency is needed. This agency should undertake, with the

help of the Department of Agriculture, to ascertain available quantities of the staple foodstuffs in the various parts of the country and take these into account before placing orders abroad for the deficiency. Central procurement will achieve lower prices and lower cost in financing. The proposed agency is not intended to be a super government department, but merely an agent that will pick up all the licences allocated to importers and arrange for the financing and the procurement. When the goods come to port, the importers can then take their quota. The central procurement arrangement will also tend to minimize *transfer pricing*. The transfer pricing arises in this case when an importer asks the supplier to price his commodity higher than the normal price, so that the difference can be paid to an account of the importer abroad.

In these times of economic stringency, we need to save in every way possible, Ghana's scarce foreign earnings.

Education

AUTHORITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN GHANA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

by

L. H. Ofosu Appiah

SINCE the final solution of the Ghanaian question was effected on the 24th February 1966, there have been a number of riots, strikes and disturbances in schools, colleges and universities in Ghana. Most observers claim that the disturbances are a result of the lack of respect for authority instilled into children and students during the last regime. Others, who are more fair-minded, claim that since riots and strikes were not unknown in educational institutions under the old regime, there must be more deep-seated causes. I propose to examine in this article the question of authority and the individual in the educational system of this country in the hope that I can bring out some of the causes of the present discontent and suggest some remedies.

Educational Authorities

The highest authority in education in this country is the Government of Ghana. Next come the heads of schools, colleges and universities, followed by their staff. They have power to reward merit and goodness and to inflict punishment. At the receiving end are the pupils who have to obey orders, and often have to accept injustices without any hope of redress. The authorities of educational institutions are not all-powerful, as some people may think. They are answerable to the government and are subject to interference

from powerful men. So they combine in themselves the dual role of authority and the individual. But whereas they have some authority, the students, except in the self-governing system of halls, houses and dormitories, have no authority at all. Some students often wish they could have an effective voice in the running of their institutions, but the general view is that children are to be seen and not heard, so nobody is prepared to entertain such revolutionary ideas. Most people, however, recognise that the students do have some good ideas which should be taken into consideration when framing educational policies, but no effort is made to put this theory into practice. The result is that in our educational system we have a permanent confrontation between pupils and teachers, and the dialectical process which leads to a healthy relationship between teachers and their pupils is generally hard to cultivate. But since we want to practice democracy in this country, I think it is essential that the democratic spirit should be fostered in our schools, colleges and universities

Academic Freedom

Most men in power tend to wish to have their own way with educational institutions, so the concept of academic freedom has been developed over the years to check this tendency. Here I shall use the term academic freedom to cover the freedom which is essential to the free development of learning and education in civilised society. And in this sense academic freedom merely means that a government, when it endows institutions and pays for all the expenditure, has the right to criticise and inspect them but should not seek actively to run the show. In some countries it is felt that government interference can be lessened by giving schools and colleges and universities, councils and governing boards which are largely independent of government control. The governments may have some representatives on the councils, but they should be there to cater for the interest of the institution and the country and not to flog the ideology of the party in power. In certain countries education is centralised and syllabuses, appointments, discipline and promotions are determined by the central governments. Some countries allow religious organisations to run their educational affairs outside the state system where there is centralisation, but in countries where religion is officially not recognised only the state can educate its citizens. We in this country had for many years a mixture of state and private education, and the private schools run by the missions, though subject to the overall authority of the government, did enjoy a large measure of auto-

nomy. The situation changed when the dominant theme in our lives became governmental authority.

Educational Policy under the Old Regime

The aim of authority in Ghana 15 years ago was to increase educational opportunities in a country with a high percentage of illiteracy. The wisest thing to do was to have taken advice from those who have been engaged in teaching and educating the young. But this would, in the eyes of the new rulers, have meant a diminution of the authority of the government, and so the policies of the party in power had to be implemented in the face of opposition. So we came to have the Accelerated Education Plan. That was the first inroad into academic freedom in the country. Warnings were given but were brushed aside, and the results were not different from what was feared. We were soon faced with a growing population of semi-literates taught by pupil-teachers who had to go into teaching because they were not good enough to enter secondary schools and training colleges. They were the stuff of which a dictator makes use in his plans for enslaving the population. And their one redeeming feature, when some of them formed a part of the security system, was that they were too inefficient to do the maximum harm, and so some of us escaped the net.

Interference in Training Colleges

The secondary schools and training colleges were treated somewhat differently at first. Since a certain criterion for entering them had already been established and accepted by the majority of people in this country, more subtle methods of interference had to be adopted. Different types of training colleges were established, and the practice of giving young children at the start of their school careers poorly-equipped teachers began at the village level and grew to become a normal feature of the educational scene. The blow to democracy and efficiency was very great. For in Ghana we do not by custom encourage the young to be inquisitive at home. One would expect them to be encouraged to develop the habit at school. But where the teacher is very ignorant, and the society does not encourage the questioning of authority, the habit of criticism is not easily developed. So the majority of our children merely accept what they are told. What made interference with teacher training colleges easier was the absence of any external examination like the school certificate for the secondary schools, and a strong teachers' organisation.

"Mass" Influence in Education

The interference of authority in the secondary schools was more prolonged and had wider consequences, both national and international.

At first we had the best secondary school system in West Africa, and we were the first to start sixth forms. By the middle of the 1950s we had six schools with sixth forms as against none in Nigeria. The standard of attainment was very high because there was competition, and the staff had the required freedom to teach and educate. Then at independence authority decided to amend the constitutions of the schools, and gradually a system of Boards of Governors was established with party fanatics taking the place of educated citizens, and this made it possible for the government to dictate to the schools. This dictation was bound to be disastrous because there was no identity of outlook between the men who formed the government and the educators who trained the youth. The people who carried out these policies can be likened to the masses who took over Spain, Italy and Germany after the First World War. The Spanish philosopher Ortega Y Gasset has termed them the "mass-man". He says: "The mass-man regards himself as perfect. The select man, in order to regard himself so, needs to be specially vain, and the belief in perfection is not ingenious, but arises from his vanity, and even for himself has a fictitious, imaginary problematic character. Hence the vain man stands in need of others; he seeks in them support for the idea that he wishes to have of himself. So that not even in this diseased state, not even when blinded by vanity, does the 'noble' man succeed in feeling himself as in truth complete". This lack of identity of outlook led to a confrontation between the government and educators in the secondary schools. And those who suffered most were the pupils. The teachers, both native and foreign, resigned when they had had enough, and often the students were left with no teachers for certain subjects. Gradually most of the experienced teachers left, and there were very few schools with teachers who had taught continuously for ten years. But since the government wanted mass support, it opened more secondary schools and opportunities for headmasterships were opened up to vaulting ambition. The tacit assumption was that the new appointees would support the system of interference. And since opportunism had become a permanent feature of our lives, intrigues against efficient and principled headmasters became a commonplace. And so a younger generation of headmasters who had had a minimum of five years' teaching experience emerged, and the government found it easier to get most of its schemes implemented.

Strong-Willed Headmasters

It was not very easy for authority to interfere with syllabuses and examinations for two main

reasons. The Headmasters' Conference was dominated by an executive of dedicated strong-willed individuals with long experience in education. They were Charles Quaye, A. K. Konuah, T. Q. Armar and Irene Anderson. They could stand up to any Minister of Education, and would not permit the government to abolish sixth forms or reduce the number of years to one instead of two. The West African Examinations Council as an international body on which representatives of the Headmasters' Conference sat did its best to prevent the lowering of standards until the government used what amounted to blackmail to get the compulsory English and General Paper abolished. Individual heads often disobeyed government directives, and the Conference could not agree to the teaching of Nkrumaism in the schools when the C.P.P. decided to introduce it in 1963. The absence of loyalty telegrams to the dictator until 1965 is proof that experienced and principled heads were in control of the executive. But in 1965 authority won when the younger generation of headmasters captured the executive, and the era of progress was heralded by the despatch of a message of unflinching support to His High Dedication!

The Universities

In the universities the real confrontation began in 1961. The University College of Ghana was the real culprit as far as Nkrumah was concerned, since he and his party and certain civil servants felt that, unlike the College of Technology, the University College always found reasons for not complying with the directives of the government. This questioning attitude by the University College authorities was twisted to mean that the University was not aware of the needs of the country, but was a medieval monastery. But what those who knew Nkrumah well were doing was merely trying to prevent him from imposing his will on all educational institutions. The violent upheaval in 1961 was aimed at establishing a university whose council, principal officers and boards and students would take orders from Nkrumah. And only those who did not know how Nkrumah treated constitutions could claim that the University of Ghana Act 1961 was a guarantee of academic freedom in the Ghana of 1961-66. The first Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana struck the note of the new era when at the installation of Nkrumah as Chancellor in November 1961 he was inspired to swear to his liege lord, the Osagyefo, that so long as he remained his Okyeame—pipeline—there would be no quislings at Legon, and everyone would support his government! The mistake Nana Nketsia made was that he did not consult the students and some of the

lecturers before swearing that oath. So, even though he attended an Academic Board meeting only once—and that for five minutes—and ran the University with the aid of a white adviser and a Council packed with such men as Adamafio, Kofi Baako, Goka and Kofi Asante Ofori Atta, he could not fulfil his promise and had to give way later as chairman of the Council to be succeeded by the arch-Nkrumaist, Kwaku Boateng, who led the way to ruin.

Loyalty March to Flagstaff House

O'Brien, who brought the conflict into the open, was Nkrumah's own choice and came in as his admirer. He stated his conviction that the old University College suffered its fate because it did not recognise that Ghana was independent. In his first year he began with a "loyalty march" to Flagstaff House with a group of University officials in "Socialist" uniform, and presented gifts to the Chancellor for escaping from death at Kulungugu. (Incidentally, the Christian Council presented a donation for the relatives of the bereaved).

The prolonged good relationship between the Chancellor and his Vice-Chancellor was made possible partly by the state of emergency caused by the bombings in Accra. And it was during this calm before the storm that Nkrumah gave his final pronouncement on academic freedom at a graduation dinner in Flagstaff House on the 24th of February 1963. Conor Cruise O'Brien loved to quote from it. But by October 1963 the mask was off. Nkrumah ordered the Vice-Chancellor to start a party ideological training course at which party functionaries would lecture, and O'Brien firmly refused to entertain the idea. So a coolness developed, and the disenchantment which followed led to the arrest of students and the march of the C.P.P. Vandals which Nkrumah, the Chancellor, ordered. This was in February 1964, barely a year after the famous speech on academic freedom! From that time till O'Brien left Ghana the University of Ghana was the most hated institution as far as Nkrumah was concerned. But Nkrumah had made it clear by then that only those who would comply with his wishes to bend the University to his will could get the post of Vice-Chancellor. And all the aspirants quickly made it known that they were not lacking in patriotism. It is clear from the above account that the main aim of the C.P.P. regime was to have its own way with education. Freedom in education to them was nonsense, and they would have succeeded in setting up Universities of the Nazi type if the coup had not ended the rot.

Staff-Student Relationship

We must now turn to the other question of the

relationship between authority in educational institutions and the individual represented by the staff and the students. Even when there is academic freedom this relationship creates problems of its own for which solutions must be found. In general, educators need intellectual competence, integrity and social courage. They must also have a lot of imagination and sympathy. We have seen how incompetent teachers were foisted upon the primary and middle schools. The position with the secondary schools and training colleges was different. There were between 1952-66 more graduates teaching in schools and training colleges than at any period of our history. But we find that efficiency was at a low ebb by 1962. This was due partly to demoralisation caused by the government's shabby treatment of the teaching profession, and by the laziness of most of the teachers who did not feel the urge to study and teach with dedication. But they all expected to be promoted, and only strong-willed headmasters could deal firmly with such situations. This lack of interest in their work is one of the basic causes of discontent in the schools. And where the students are very much alive to these faults, they resort to acts of vandalism and have to be punished. Apart from incompetence, there is also a lack of integrity on the part of staff. The commonest cause of strikes in Ghana schools has been the quality and quantity of the food. Though one often feels too much fuss is made about food in our schools, it is a fact that Bursars and, sometimes headmasters, employ crooked means to rob their institutions. Somehow, such people never get severely punished as a good example for others to see, so the evil persists, and the only redress students sometimes see they can have is a resort to force. Perhaps if we in Ghana showed less sympathy for the wrongdoer, our standards of morality would rise. And firm action is impossible where the culprit has access to a powerful person. Until decisions on such matters can be firmly made by governing councils without political interference, the evil will persist.

Promotions in Secondary Schools

One of the greatest causes of discontent in educational institutions is promotion. Where there are fixed rules like bar examinations or competitive examinations, charges of favouritism are not easily made, especially as weak candidates often do their best to buy question papers! But where the criteria for promotion are not well-defined many problems arise. In secondary schools it seems that generally the number of years spent on teaching counts most. This system leads to expectation of automatic promotion and intrigues. A system of bar examinations and refresher

courses is needed in order to increase efficiency and to eliminate favouritism and intrigue. Perhaps a time will come when a Senior Master in a subject at a good secondary school will be good enough to teach it at a University. But this can only come about if the youth of Ghana become more dedicated to teaching and we do not leave it to foreigners to do all our dirty work for us.

Promotions at Legon

The university institutions in this country have an interesting history of appointments and promotions. The University College of the Gold Coast, because of the special relationship with London University, had to use the Inter-University Council in London for its appointments and promotions. This system made it possible to prevent Ghanaians from using the College as an avenue for promotion from secondary schools. The College of Technology did not have a similar advantage, so it began with a different type of staff, most of whom had, at the inauguration of University status, to go abroad for post-graduate courses. In the University College of Ghana almost all Ghanaians had to have post-graduate qualifications before becoming Assistant Lecturers. But the British lecturers were not expected to have that. There were therefore dual standards from the outset, and when some of us accepted Assistant Lecturerships we came to find our juniors as Lecturers. This conflict continued in appointments to professorships and senior lecturerships up till independence, but the other issue was forced early, and the post of Assistant Lecturer was suspended till 1959. In that year all the post-graduate students who were offered posts started as Assistant Lecturers. It was rather odd that one of them should turn up two and a half years later as an Associate Professor, and find defenders even now among those who used to attack such practices by the British. The main cause of friction is the absence of a clear criterion for promotion to senior lecturerships and professorships. Appointments Boards claim that good references and publications and experience must all be taken into account, and seven to ten years experience have often been set for Senior Lecturerships. But occasionally when a favourite slips through the net for some high reason of policy, explanations which insult the intelligence of any sane person are given. Here my advice is, if it was wrong for the British to apply dual standards, it should be wrong for Ghanaians to do the same.

Promotions at Kumasi University

In Kumasi, where the Vice-Chancellor could dispense with Appointments Boards, promotions were at his discretion. And the only principle one can see in promotions to professorial rank is a post-graduate degree. I must confess I would like this applied in Legon so that all lecturers could

be professors at once and then perhaps scholarship will be taken more seriously! It would have the merit of preventing people from equating promotion with scholarship and learning automatically. Cape Coast has been unfortunate in having to be an avenue for promotion from the secondary schools. But I hope a system of post-graduate scholarships will be worked out and the scholars will come back better qualified. Those with shaky backgrounds of first degrees should not be appointed just because they have post-graduate degrees, for not all degrees are worth the paper on which they are printed.

The Younger Generation

I have brought out some of the main problems of the pupils in our educational institutions. But the most important problem is how to devise a way of getting the students' views across to the authorities without friction. Students generally find that there is a barrier between them and their teachers. Even where there is the tutorial system, some tutors cannot treat their pupils with the respect and friendliness that the system should encourage. Besides, most educated Ghanaians are authoritarian by nature and resent arguments from juniors. (I imagine that is why graduate women in Ghana do not find it easy to get educated husbands.) One of the features of education in the United States which I admired most was the occasional invitation by the Faculty of Students' representatives to discuss changes in syllabuses and state their problems. I have sat through two hours of a discussion during which members of the faculty were told how bad most of them were as teachers. They did not all commit suicide, and the students went to lectures the following day feeling quite relieved.

What will save this country is an educational system in which there is room for argument, suggestions and criticism on both sides. The tendency to belittle the importance of the younger generation in our national life would perhaps cease if we remember that at the time when some of us were busy dancing to the tune of the party in power, secondary school boys and girls were defying Young Pioneer leaders and university students could pass a resolution against the dismissal of judges when their lecturers and professors kept their mouths shut. Since our students did not lack social courage but chose to demonstrate against the death in prison of J. B. Danquah when some University dons would not even attend his funeral, let us come nearer to them in the hope that by a meeting of minds we may learn something from them. For any casual observer will tell you that academic freedom would have been abolished completely in Ghana but for the students of our universities.

Religion

BELIEF IN GOD—REPLIES

By

(i) *Rev. Peter Barker*

THE *Legon Observer's* Christmas article on theism and morality tries to have it both ways: on the one hand Mr. Thrower argues that the moral behaviour of a theist or an atheist is not a consequence of his belief, and on the other hand he implies that theistic belief ought to result in improved moral behaviour, and that if it does not we should doubt whether it is worth believing in God at all. All the time he assumes that we believe in God purely as a means to an end, whereas genuine faith is the individual's verdict on the evidence of various kinds available to him.

No one will quarrel with the warning against false varieties of theistic religion, but we need not feel compelled to answer all Mr. Thrower's questions before deciding whether or not to believe in God. No doubt it would be interesting to hold a national census of religious belief and moral behaviour, in order to determine empirically the relationship between theism and morality, but if such a census is a prerequisite of faith we are all condemned to life-long agnosticism, for it will never be held!

Such a state of uncertainty, which Mr. Thrower seems to encourage, cannot be good for moral standards. He seems to forget that the issue is not merely between convinced theists and convinced atheists; there is a third philosophical position, less well defined but much more widely held than either of the first two and far more dangerous to morality. We may describe it as sit-on-the-fence-ism or do-what-you-like-ism, and this is the real point of view of many so-called atheists, and of many nominal Christians too. These people find that theological or philosophical uncertainty is a convenient excuse for behaving as if there were no objective moral standard at all. Mr. Thrower's comments on morality do nothing to help them.

He gives no definition of morality but declares that "the real basis of social and individual morality lies in a human nature which is *socially secure*"; he asks whether theistic belief necessarily carries with it "the moral consequences which the majority of us would like to see". He emphasizes the role of society and the views of the majority as the source of moral standards.

It is true that a healthy sense of security is given by membership of social groups (such as the family, the youth club, or church congregation). But a little experience of making moral decisions teaches us that the majority can be wrong. What

moral consequences, in fact, would "the majority like to see?" The majority of us have a double standard: we would like society to impose moral requirements on other people, but we would like for ourselves a moral situation in which we could do as we please without being called to account for it.

At times of real moral choice phrases like "what the majority would like to see" usually give way to the concepts of right and wrong, good and evil. We may start by asking, "What will be the social consequences if I do this?" but then we go on to ask, "Are those consequences good?" and finally "Is it right for me to do it?" At such times the individual becomes aware of an external standard; it is the experience of Christians and non-Christians alike. This factor—I would call it conscience—has led many undecided people to recognize that morality is inseparable from the way the universe and its human inhabitants are made; it opens the door to belief in a moral creator.

Thus an adequate view of morality leads straight to decision on the fundamental question of belief in God. Mr. Thrower turns the situation upside down by making society fundamental, morality secondary, and belief contingent upon morality.

Of course belief affects behaviour; the man who entrusts himself to Christ soon discovers that the Master revolutionizes his whole attitude to life. But theists do not claim to be perfect—or if some of them do claim to fulfil a divinely given standard of morality, Mr. Thrower may well suspect that the standard is not God's at all but a mere codification of socially acceptable behaviour! The fact that the best Christians are the most conscious of falling below God's standard tends to show that the standard is given from outside society, not from within it.

It is true that many atheists attain a high standard of moral behaviour, but Mr. Thrower's antithesis between the world-denying saint of theism and the practically-minded atheist who "eradicates disease, build roads and pipelines, schools and hospitals" has no relation to the position in Ghana today. The vast majority of the people who are engaged in medicine, civil engineering, and construction, are motivated neither by atheism nor by theism but by the desire for profit.

That is not to say that the altruistic minority is insignificant. There are many people giving sacrificial service to the community here in Ghana who are motivated by a concern for high professional standards, or by obedience to the call of Jesus Christ, or by simple human love; and Mr. Thrower must be well aware of the fact that theists—and specifically Christians, people for

whom the central reality of life is a friendship with the Lord Jesus—are right in the forefront of this sort of sacrificial service both here and in other parts of the world. We know that atheists are involved in it too, but we shall have to wait for that national survey of belief and morality in order to know just how large a volume of social service is directly inspired by atheism.

I do not claim that Christians are doing half as much as they should. So much Christianity is merely nominal, and as Mr. Thrower rightly points out so much religious activity is inward-looking; it fails to reflect the loving concern of Jesus for an unhappy society. But here again Mr. Thrower seems to want to have it both ways: in one paragraph he criticizes the “in-group nature” of so much religious activity, and in the very next he seeks to limit the extent to which the churches should look outward to their responsibilities in the world

We ought to give the churches all possible encouragement to work out the social implications of Christian faith. We ought to give the mass of the uncommitted all possible encouragement to come to a decision on whether or not the Christian faith is true. To do the contrary is no service either to morality or, if one believes in Him, to God.

By

(II) Dr. F. I. D. Konotey-Ahulu

IN HIS article entitled “Should we all believe in God?” (*Legon Observer* 23 December, 1966 p.8) James Thrower, writing obviously as an atheistic humanist, made some statements on religion in general which I as a believer in The Lord Jesus Christ in particular must comment upon. James Thrower seemed to take exception to a remark by Lt. General Ankrah, Chairman of the N.L.C., that in the New Ghana reconstruction “atheism is out.” In his attempt to slay religion (theism) and to whitewash irreligion (atheism) the writer oversteps himself a bit, lumps all beliefs into one huge heap of a caricature, and then proceeds to set fire to it. Speaking for Biblical Christianity I comment only on the statements that can be said to caricature Christianity.

First, James Thrower does not know that Christianity is not a philosophy. A Christian is not a person who embraces a certain philosophy that is loosely called Christianity. A Christian is a person who has come to believe certain *historical facts*—emphasis on ‘believe’ John 3 vs. 16, 17, 18, 36. It was in Antioch the disciples, *the believers*, were first called Christians—Acts 11 v. 26. We have no authoritative definition of the Christian apart from the definition given in the book called The

Bible. And I defy James Thrower to show me where in the pages of the Bible Christianity is referred to as a philosophy. Definitions, or opinions, or pronouncements of “experts” in “Comparative study of religions” don’t help us at this point. How did those who were eye-witnesses of Christ and who were themselves the first Christians define “the Christian”? The answer to that question is *not* found in the Theological Colleges or the Universities, or even on B.B.C. Television “BRAINS TRUST” but in the pages of those series of narratives we call The New Testament—Acts of the Apostles, The Gospels, The Epistles.

Secondly, James Thrower paints the saint (which really is the term applied to one and every believer—Romans 1 v. 7; I Cor. 1 v. 2; II Cor. 1 v. 1; Ephesians 1 v. 1, etc.) as one who refuses to be concerned with the world and he places the saint in opposition to the atheistic humanist “whose concern, perhaps, eradicates disease, builds roads and pipelines, schools and hospitals.” What a caricature of the true Christian! Who was more concerned about the individual than The Lord Jesus himself “who went about healing all manner of diseases” and feeding thousands?

The third caricature is to present the Christian message as saying that its sole or primary aim is to produce moral people. This dangerous caricature which is widely claimed to be true Christianity tends to make normal, decent people who are neither wife-beaters nor adulterers, murderers nor drunkards, thieves nor homosexuals, think that they have no need of Christ or His message. But this, according to the Christian Message, is not the case at all—moral, immoral and amoral people, intellectuals, non-intellectuals and fools, rich and poor, the healthy and informed, the decent man and the rogue, royalty and the commoner, arrogant and humble people, drunkards and teetotallers, all are called upon, says the Christian message, to believe certain *historical facts* whether they like it or not. Much of what they are called upon to believe, like the birth of a baby to a virgin, the raising of the dead, the physical resurrection a few days later of the murdered Christ, the removal of sins by the blood of Christ, and the ability of the Risen Christ to transform the life of anyone who believed in Him and God whom he claimed to be His Father, all these may be “repugnant to the majority of moral men” but that is not the point. The point, surely, is not whether or not what we are asked to believe is “repugnant to the majority of moral men” but whether what we are asked to believe is *true* or false, of eternal import or not of eternal import. And this brings me directly

to what I consider to be the most important statement in the whole of James Thrower's article: "To know simply that someone believes in God tells us very little about what it is he believes, and even less about how he will behave, unless we know more about the God in whom he believes." Quite right! Here then, James Thrower and I are in complete agreement, because this is exactly where the whole historicity of Christ Jesus comes in. Did Christ come or not? Is the date 1967 related to this Christ or is it not? Are the things written about this Christ in the New Testament true or concocted? Was he sent by GOD, as he said he was or was he not? Did he tell us about this God in whom he believes or not? Did he predict he would be killed and then rise again or not? And did he literally rise again from the dead or not? There are only two possible Scriptural positions men and women can maintain with respect to these questions: they either believe them, or they don't. And all other descriptions of men such as finding it "intellectually and emotionally impossible to assent to theistic belief" are just examples of plain unbelief.

The scientific humanist who, for example, does not believe that Jesus rose up from the dead says that it is mainly because of his brain, his intellect, his present state of knowledge that he finds it impossible to believe this. But there are at least three well known reasons, often conveniently forgotten by the atheists themselves, which make this scientific humanist position quite ludicrous:

1. In their rejection of theism in general and the Gospel in particular unlettered and untutored people, illiterates and others whom "scholars" may even regard as fools and sycophants, have been known to give exactly the same reason as the sophisticated, well tutored scientific humanist viz. that they "find it intellectually and emotionally impossible to assent to theistic belief."

2. Belief in theism in general, and of Christ's Gospel in particular, is not confined to idiots and dullards. Some of the greatest brains this world has ever known up to this day and generation have believed the Gospel, and they cannot be accused of obscurantism! True, "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called" I Cor. 1 v. 26, but *SOME* ARE INDEED, CALLED.

3. Several people who claimed that it was intellectually and emotionally impossible to accept the whole Gospel one day have found themselves believing it the next. The man with same intellect and same emotions who rejected the supernatural on Thursday now accepted it on Friday. What has happened? This is called Spiritual Conversion.

Finding themselves quite out of their depths to explain this phenomenon which The Bible calls "The New Birth" John 3 vs. 3-7 or "The New Creation" II Cor. 5 v. 17 the scientifically atheistic humanists may then invoke the help, alas in vain, of "the young but by no means irrelevant sciences of psychology and sociology." They may say psychologists have found that brainwashing can cause conversions. They may claim that acute physical or mental stress can and does cause conversions. They may quote Freud *ad lib* to explain people's "motivation of behaviour" and their religious proclivities, but they are quite incapable of telling psychological conversions apart from the phenomenon of the Spiritual Rebirth which also takes place today to men and women of all grades of intellect.

On Thursday 23rd October, 1952 while in University studying science I found myself arguing like James Thrower, waxing eloquent about the intellectual unacceptability of the existence of the being of God, and referring to God as the "UNCAUSED CAUSE" and all that impressive nonsense, but on Friday 24th October, 1952 I was spiritually born again with all its Scriptural connotations and implications. There was no acute stress to provoke this conversion; there were no brainwashing techniques. On Thursday I was an *unbeliever*; on Friday I became a *believer* of vast Supernatural Truth. Colleagues in the same university were eye witnesses of what happened to me. There are many of them about today here in this country, some abroad, who can testify that I was no psychological case, neither had my brain shrunk overnight.

There are true, genuine, intellectual obstacles to accepting theism in general and believing in the God of Jesus Christ in particular but we have to be careful not to press intellectual unacceptability too far lest we turn all believers into idiots or mad men. We are all in danger of making *reason* the final arbiter in situations where reason is quite incapable of arbitrating. It was Blaise Pascal, easily one of the greatest brains this world has ever known, who said "the supreme achievement of Reason is to recognise that there is a limit to reason." Failing to realise that spiritual things are quite another dimension those who have excelled in a different dimension capable of splitting the atom and soft-landing on the moon rush in with their scientific approach. Though they claim to be thinking through 20th Century brains they react exactly as Nicodemus did 2,000 years ago when confronted with the Spiritual Declaration "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God." Nicodemus' reply could have come from many

a modern atheistic humanist: "How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?" John 3 vs. 3 & 4. What a beautifully *scientific* retort to Christ's dogmatic declaration! But they forget that the supreme achievement of Science is to find that there is a limit to Science.

Now before answering the questions/ concluding James Thrower's article we must remind ourselves of the events which surrounded the making of the statement attributed to Lt. General Ankrah that in the new Ghana "atheism is out." The country had been ruled by a man who blasphemously twisted the words of The Historical Jesus Christ "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and its righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you" Matt. 6 v. 33, to his version of "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all these things shall be added unto you." Kwame Nkrumah built a statue of himself, stood it on a stone platform and wrote those words on it. He indoctrinated children to call

him *Messiah*. He was addressed by the National Press as "HIS HIGH DEDICATION." Radio and Television (and even many Clergy) called him OSAGYEFO—Redeemer. He discouraged them except when and where it related to himself. (His morals, prodigality and profligacy I sincerely cannot hold against him because but for the Grace of God there go I too!). So he relentlessly pursued seeking first his atheistic political kingdom. We all know how instead of all things being added unto us all things were denied us. We all know, too, how he ended up. Surely, Lt. General Ankrah must be pardoned for equating Nkrumaism with atheism! As the myth surrounding Kwame Nkrumah has been exploded—(allow me a bit of Kotokaism)—so the myth surrounding Universities and many so-called Theological Colleges that higher learning is incompatible with belief in the supernatural has been exploded forever, British Universities taking a notable lead in this myth demolition.

Finally, religion is a personal thing, and

ALLIED INDUSTRIES & ALLIED CONSTRUCTION AND CONSULTING BUREAU

- * Suppliers of Good Quality Cement Blocks of all sizes, Fencing Poles, etc.
- * General Building Contractors, including Demolition Works, Building of Bridges & Culverts.
- * Transportation & Removals
- * Plumbing & Sewerage
- * Sand, Stone, Gravel Contractors
- * Site Clearing, etc.
- * Hiring of Traxcavators and Tipppers
- * Suppliers of Sawn Timber

Direct all your Problems to us for Prompt, Reliable and Efficient Service

BRANCH OFFICES:

HEAD OFFICE:

Off Lake Road
P. O. Box 890,
KUMASI.
Office Tel. 2495
or 3453 Ext. 4
Workshop Tel. 4155

ACCRA OFFICE:

Lartebiokorshie
Off Link Road,
P. O. Box 1160,
Accra.

TAKORADI OFFICE:

Sekondi Road,
Shell Junction,
P. O. Box 183,
Takoradi.
Tel. 3450

I cannot answer for someone else, so I rephrase the last three questions of James Thrower, writing "I" where he put "we".

- 1 **Question:** What sort of religions do I want to see?

Answer: Religions based on supernatural, historical events and persons that are capable of changing the individual for the better and thereby changing society.

- 2 **Question:** Are there any forms of religion that I would wish to exclude?

Answer: With the dismissal of Nkrumah, who would describe any religious discussion other than Nkrumaism as "ideologically bankrupt", I would not like to exclude any form of religion. The method of The LORD JESUS CHRIST was, and still is, to throw out an open invitation for *whosoever* wisheth to come to come. Let people decide these things for themselves.

- 3 **Question:** Is, in fact, a revival of religion necessarily a good thing?

Answer: I think so. Red Guards don't think so. Everyone is entitled to his own opinion but it is a known fact that the George Whitefield-John Wesley Christian Revival saved Britain from a Revolution which almost all British people (the exceptions being mainly Communist) admit would have been catastrophic to their *national progress*. Personally, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth." Rom. 1 v. 16. As of old, *wise men* sought this Christ and found HIM, so today in the mid-twentieth Century *Anno Domini* wise men seek HIM and, *mirabile dictu*, find HIM.

Observer Notebook

Clash of Personalities in Africa

ALL OVER modern Africa, there are clashes of personalities in particular African states. The President of Uganda, Mr. Milton Obote, believes Uganda is too small for him and the Kabaka of Buganda. His answer is simple: the Kabaka must be liquidated; the Kabaka refuses to take this lying down, so he goes into exile and Obote has Uganda to himself. In Lesotho, Chief Jonathan, the Prime Minister, is unwilling to share power with King Moshoeshoe; King Moshoeshoe is reluctant to "kowtow" to Chief Jonathan, so King Moshoeshoe is now being silenced and eventually

might have to flee the country as the Kabaka of Buganda did. This is not to talk of the Nkrumaist method of either detaining, exiling or muzzling all potential political rivals. All these events seem to confirm a popular story—perhaps quite apocryphal—that if you train three African intellectuals in Europe, one would end up as a Head of State, one will end up in exile and the third would end up in detention.

Is there not a way of making it possible for all talented Africans to live together in one country in peace? Why all this intolerance in Africa, when clearly there is a need to make use of all available talent? Ordinary people must not sit unconcerned, for a lot of human resources are being sacrificed to the selfish interests of petty tyrants.

The Press and Our State Enterprises

IN NOVEMBER, 1966, the managing directors of all state enterprises were told not to "issue press releases without reference to the Ministry of Industries" and State Enterprises Secretariat. The effect of this order, as probably was intended, has been to dry up the already scant information to the public about these enterprises run with the taxpayers' money.

It is possible to argue a case for unrestricted press conferences and propaganda. But if managing directors are properly chosen, as they ought to be, they should be mature professionals before they are appointed to their post. They should therefore be given the necessary elbow-room for initiative and the exercise of their own judgment. Like the directors of private enterprise, they cannot issue irresponsible statements which will jeopardise the corporation of which they are in charge or which, in their case, will embarrass the Government. But it will do all of us a lot of good for state enterprises to be in tune with the public, and we see no better means than the press.

Radio Ghana

THERE IS nothing more harmful and irritating to the listening public and programme participants than the frequent repetition of the recorded discussion of a subject which has long ceased to be topical. When people are invited to join a panel to discuss current issues, they go into the discussion with views based on facts then known. Additional facts may later become available which may change the views people might have held about a particular issue previously. To repeat the programme months after it has been recorded, without consulting your panellists, is not only to be unfair and discourteous to your programme participants, but also, what is more

serious, to do a disservice to the listening public. This is precisely what our national Radio has been doing in the case of a series of discussions on the economy by a team under the Chairmanship of Dr. K. B. Dickson (Legon) recorded soon after the coup.

Facts, views and ideas about the economy have improved since these recordings were made, and if the Corporation wants to serve the public properly, it must broadcast new, up-to-date programmes. If the Corporation is limited by its budget, it could arrange free discussions by participants with very little trouble. But for goodness' sake, those programmes on the economy should not be repeated. "Announcers' Choice", musical interlude, poems—anything but those old, out-of-date discussion programmes.

The Anti-Mosquito Campaign

FOR MONTHS now the mosquito problem in Accra has been intolerable. City authorities, apparently unaware of the hazard to the health of the people in the area, have left it to the central government to do something about it. (The N.L.C. last week voted ₵100,000 to launch an anti-mosquito, anti-malaria campaign in Accra.)

A programme of this kind will be of benefit to the people only if it is properly planned and speedily executed. Since the programme is being controlled at Korle Bu, the planning is no doubt in competent hands; and if the military would lend a hand in the administration and implementation, the chances of success would be increased. We trust that the crowded areas, where the poor have little or no protection against mosquitoes, would be given urgent attention.

Naturally, this cannot be a once-and-for-all operation, and we hope the City Administration will take over after this first campaign.

Ambassador Hotel

THE MANAGEMENT of the Ambassador Hotel, an enterprise owned by the people of Ghana, decided, after the coup, to convert the popular Roof-Top (or "Starlite Terrace") into a casino for a wealthier class of people. The public was never told why they could no longer have the service and entertainment they had had there for years. No substitute whatsoever was provided. And now, in the city of Accra, there really isn't anything like what the Roof-Top used to provide—a first-class, inexpensive entertainment in a smoke-free, airy, rain-proof, and comfortable environment. Did the authorities decide that they were entertaining too many ordinary, "unimportant" Ghanaians? Or did they just decide that

gamblers' money was so much more certain and better for business than the public service they were rendering?

Reports of the Educational and Agricultural Committees

EDUCATIONAL REFORM in any country, at any time, is a revolution of far-reaching consequences, certainly no less, if not more, fundamental and profound than the constitution of that country. For this reason, it is necessary that the whole country be given an opportunity to discuss it thoroughly and adopt it as their own philosophy. In the present circumstances of Ghana, this is most imperative. We are struggling in the quagmire to which the Botsio Accelerated Educational Plan of the early fifties led us. To get out of it and make sure that the new educational system and philosophy we adopt will achieve for our new nation all that education must achieve for us, the report of the Educational Committee must be published, possibly with a "Government White Paper" outlining the N.L.C.'s views, for public discussion before the Government adopt any far-reaching perhaps irreversible programmes.

Another report which we believe ought to be published is that of the Agricultural Committee. Since the coup, no real agricultural policy has been announced. Understandably, the great mess in the agricultural sector of the economy left by the C.P.P. contributed to the great length of time taken by the Committee to do its work. But time is not on our side. The recovery and growth of the national economy will depend on the dynamism we can inject into the agricultural sector. Unless a realistic programme is adopted and implemented, we shall never be able to get agriculture moving. Any agricultural programme must be fully understood by the public. So let us please see the report.

The M.T.U. and the Annual (and Quarter) Motor Licence

ABOUT THIS time every year, the Motor Traffic Unit and other appropriate police posts are flocked with motorists rushing to buy a licence for their vehicle. There are certain aspects of this ritual which work against the interests of motorists, perhaps the police themselves, and therefore the nation, and which must be examined by the authorities.

By far the most important aspect of this licencing business is the tendency for the whole-year licences to run out within the first few days of the start of the new year. This tendency has certain frustrating disadvantages for motorists. First, if the whole-year licence is unavailable, a motorist is thus forced to buy his licence by the

quarter or by the half-year. This means that he has to pay up to 25 per cent more than he would have otherwise. For example, the whole-year licence for the Peugeot 403/8 is £20(!); the "quarter" licence is £6. Therefore if he buys his licence by the quarter, a motorist ends up paying a total of £24 (as against £20) for the year, in four separate time-wasting visits instead of one. This waste of man-hours is not only inconvenient for the motorist but also bad for the nation. We do not want to suggest that our authorities can be so mean as to want to squeeze, by such trickery, all the extra money they can out of the already impoverished motorist, and waste his time in the process. So perhaps we must identify the causes as lack of foresight, and inefficiency: lack of foresight because, clearly, it ought to be possible to forecast the demand for these licences from past records and current registrations. The police should be able to estimate approximately what percentage of motorists normally buy licences by the quarter, by the whole year, etc. Whole-year licences must be available for those who want to buy right through the first quarter. We shall for the moment not talk about the second cause—inefficiency.

The second aspect of licencing which can be improved is the paper work involved. There's too much waiting to do while the police scribble a whole lot of things. Then the motorist has to cut his licence to stick on the car. In the U.S. and Canada, for example, you go to the Licence Office and buy your car (number) plates for the year and mount them on the car where car numbers usually are. The colour is changed for each year. Keen observers will have noticed this on American and Liberian cars just arrived in this country. Some of the advantages are the following:

- (1) it is difficult for motorists to dodge the obligation of buying a motor licence for any part of the year;
- (2) traffic authorities do not have to stop cars in order to find out whether they have bought their licence—the bold plates are there for all to see;
- (3) collection of money (i.e. this form of tax) is more efficient; and
- (4) little time is wasted in this operation.

The Aluminium Products Factory could easily make these plates. But, finally, let us remind ourselves of the whole-year licence business: **PRINT MORE OF THEM IF NECESSARY; THEY SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR ALL WHO WANT TO BUY THEM!**

Ghana Sets Example in Economics ?

GHANA RECEIVED favourable mention in a section of the London press last month (17-12-66). *The Times* had an editorial comment on the reduction of the number of our diplomatic missions by twenty, and, holding this up to the world as an example worth emulating, asked everybody, "In how many world capitals do we really need more than a Commercial representative and a Public Relations Officer?" We who have been so highly commended may well try to answer this question.

What is the total number of embassies (etc.) we have retained? And what is the strength of staff in each mission? How many of our missions have staff qualified to act as commercial advisers? If, as we set out to do after the coup, we had been able to "zone" our foreign representation properly, should we be retaining more than an absolute maximum of 24 missions abroad? Have we succeeded in placing economy above prestige? Have we gone far enough in our economy drive?

Letters

The African Scene

SIR—Radio Liberia reported on December 7, 1966 an interview published in the Semi-Official Egyptian newspaper "Al Ahram" by Guinea's roving Ambassador, Mr. Abdou Diallo that Guinea was proposing a summit of all Free African States.

Mr. Abdou Diallo is reported to have said that "President Sekou Toure of Guinea has proposed the establishment of an Organisation of Free African States within the Organisation of African Unity".

Mr. Diallo is further quoted as saying that "the proposed summit would work out a common plan for action against imperialism in Africa, and that contacts have been established with several other African capitals to prepare for the summit."

If this report is true then the O.A.U. faces a serious danger of disintegration. For, this action will engender a new attitude which will tend to re-open the old wound—splitting the O.A.U., into a so-called militant line-up and a so-called moderate group.

In this regard one wonders whether Africa is moving forward or backward. In the first place everyone knows that the O.A.U. is made of African States that are free and independent. It will be presumptuous of me to say that because some leaders of one or other independent African States are copy cats of communist planners therefore these countries are not free and independent.

Use SANTEX Always

You can be sure
If it's

SANTEX

Equally, it will be very impertinent of the conveners of this so-called summit of all Free African States to make approaches to only a number of free and independent African countries and leave others out under the pretext that those others are not "free". Indeed such a move should meet with the greatest disapproval from the O.A.U. headquarters whose duty it is to call a halt to any divisive moves made by member countries to undermine the O.A.U. itself.

I think Ghana has a right to call the attention of the O.A.U. headquarters to this outrageous move to split the O.A.U. At least she will go on record as having warned against the future dangers of disunity if not dismemberment of the O.A.U. by a move such as the one being hinted by the ubiquitous anarchist from Guinea.

Weiija—Accra.

Jimmy Markham

"What Went Wrong . . ."

SIR—In a previous article, writing from personal knowledge, I asserted that certain serious malpractices connected with promotions, which Prof. Ofosu Appiah had imputed to Ghanaian universities generally, never happened at Legon at all since the formal institution of this University's Appointments Board in January 1962, when I became a member of it. In his rejoinder Prof. Ofosu Appiah cited instances from both this and the preceding period allegedly illustrating his charges. I have now seen the records for the pre-1962 period also.

In view of certain statements in your recent numbers showing that complete credence has been given to them, it becomes necessary to demonstrate that Professor Ofosu Appiah's allegations against the University should not be taken at face value. They contained several inaccuracies, slight twists and misrepresentations which result in a totally distorted and false view of the actual facts. However, they are not easy to explain briefly. For this reason it is impracticable to take up all of them or to treat any exhaustively. The following examples must suffice to make my point.

He writes: "By promotion-demotion I mean a system in which politicians decide that certain people or groups of people in an academic institution should be promoted above their seniors when in fact there is no academic or moral justification for such promotion. All the Ghanaians promoted to professorships in 1961-62 in the University of Ghana benefited from this system."

The fact is that the promotion, in 1961-2, of three Ghanaians to full professorships and of three others to associate professorships was in implementation of the Report of the Commission on University Education December 1960—January 1961 (Government Printer, Accra, and Crown Agents, London). This Commission, consisting of nine internationally known educationists and university people from the U.K., the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R. and Sierra Leone, was appointed by Government to advise it as the Special Relationship with London University was coming to an end and this institution was about to become a full University in its own right. Only one member of the Commission, its Chairman Mr. Kojo Botsio, was a politician. Paragraphs 30-36 of the Report concern "Appointment of University Staff: Africanisation Policy". Two sentences only need be quoted here: "The appointment of Professors and Associate Professors should be regulated in such a way as to ensure a smooth and rapid process

of Africanisation, without lowering academic standards Ghanaians who are of professional calibre, working in Departments which already have Professors, should be appointed either as additional full Professors or as Associate Professors." I have never learnt of any criticism of this policy on "academic or moral" or any other grounds.

The promotion exercise itself was conducted entirely within the University and in a perfectly straightforward and above-board manner. All the normally required procedures were fully observed, such as due consultation with the Heads of the relevant and cognate Departments, and in particular the taking up of references from competent external authorities. To become effective the proposed promotions must be approved by the University Council of which some Government nominees, usually politicians, are statutory members. They were the only politicians who had anything to do with the matter, and this was all the part they played.

Then Prof. Ofosu Appiah writes: "After the promotions had been announced one Ghanaian who was far better qualified than most of those who were promoted challenged the procedure and had to be promoted."

What happened was simply this. Owing to purely procedural delays the person concerned was not yet Senior Lecturer in October 1961, when the professorships were being considered. He actually received that appointment in December, back-dated to 1st October. Since he would have been promoted to professorial rank if he had been Senior Lecturer at that date, this appointment was later conferred on him and made effective from the same date as for the others approved in October.

Again Prof. Ofosu Appiah writes: "I once challenged the procedure of promoting people to professorships without advertisement, and the Vice-Chancellor asked Professor Baeta to persuade me not to press him to put my challenge before the Council for two main reasons: 1. The Council would be angry; 2. Members would think I was jealous. I told Prof. Baeta that I would not press the point because of the second reason, but I would resign from a University which defended such a system."

The first reason is not stated quite accurately; in fact there was only one reason. In Dr. O'Brien's opinion, Prof. Ofosu Appiah's persistence in his "challenge" was out of all relation to the significance of the issue; since in the promotions his younger departmental colleague had fared better than he, Council members were bound to suspect this as his real concern; Dr. O'Brien himself (he spoke and then wrote to me) would need to rehearse to the Council the reasons for the supersession; an embarrassing situation would arise, and the Council's reply might well merely add to already existing chagrin. The whole thing seemed utterly profitless and undignified to me, so I agreed to intervene.

Regarding his resignation, Prof. Ofosu Appiah told me more than once, and in different connections, that he would resign. When, nearly two years after this particular occasion, he did do so, his stated grounds were: "I find that the number of students taking Classics is now so low that I cannot honestly enjoy teaching in the Department. I also feel that I need a change in order to gain a new type of experience and to embark on a different kind of adventure."

His point, which is no more than that professorships should be advertised in the same manner as senior

lectureships, is made much of at more than one place in Prof. Ofosu Appiah's letter, despite Dr. O'Brien's patient three-page communication to him (copied to Professor Kwapong and myself) exhaustively explaining the matter. Of course Prof. Ofosu Appiah is entitled to his opinion, but the majority of us have held that, while advertisement is desirable and, indeed, necessary for "Pool" senior lectureships (i.e. when several lecturers from various departments are competing for a restricted number of posts and it is often only by a slight edge that one gets appointed rather than another), it is hardly equally suitable for internal promotions to professorships. In a small University such as ours these top promotions are necessarily few and far between; the individuals likely to be affected and their work are well known to the Appointments Board and there is here no question of competing within a "Pool". In fact the propriety and wisdom of leading persons of this stature on to apply and then having to dis-appoint them, might well be considered as very doubtful. Then, there are those who by themselves never apply for promotion, and have even to be urged by several reminders before they trouble formally to accept offers of it made to them.

The guiding lines which have been followed as a rule in the past and which have now, after approval by the Academic Board, been reduced to print in the "Outline of Appointments and Promotions Procedure" state on this point as follows:

"Section C—Promotion: Application for promotion to Senior Lecturerships, whether to Departmental vacant posts or Pool appointments, will be invited by notice in the University Reporter twice a year every November and April. Notwithstanding these provisions, a Head of Department may at any time, on good evidence, propose that a candidate of exceptional academic merit be considered for promotion.

Promotion to the post of Associate Professor, full Professor, or equivalent grade will be made at the invitation of the Vice-Chancellor on the recommendation of the appropriate Dean of Faculty. Any teaching or research officer may, however, apply through the appropriate Dean for promotion to that grade."

So far I have not heard of anyone else intending to resign on this account.

The last paragraph to be commented on is as follows: "In the Academic Year 1963-64 Nkrumah wrote to ask the Vice-Chancellor to promote three members of the academic staff to full professorships. The Vice-Chancellor wrote to protest, giving academic reasons why he could not comply with the order. Nkrumah was left unimpressed, so Dr. O'Brien had to call an Academic Board meeting to seek advice. Later, an Appointments Board consisting of four Ghanaians, including Prof. Baeta, met and compromised by promoting one of the men to a full professorship, a second to a senior lectureship and refused to promote the third man. This hardly supports Prof. Baeta's claim of firm and polite refusal."

Here the true story will be told mainly by the dates. Nkrumah first wrote on 20th February 1964 asking for these promotions; the Vice-Chancellor's reply explaining non-compliance was written on 24th February; Nkrumah wrote again on 27th February, insisting, and the Vice-Chancellor finally answered on 2nd March

"respectfully but firmly" declining to oblige. There was no further correspondence on the matter though, of course, relations were not improved.

As far back as 15th July 1963 one of the persons concerned, then already an Associate Professor and Head of Department, had been internally proposed to the Appointments Board for a full professorship. Upon receiving the references taken up on him in the usual way, the Board decided that in the interest of the person concerned himself as well as of the University this action should be deferred for a while. Later the candidate presented a full listing of his contributions to learned periodicals and other writings, completed and in progress, and after due consideration of these the promotion was made.

In the other case, again the candidate, in normal and proper form, presented a well-argued application for promotion to Senior Lecturership on 25th November, 1963. In fact one of the three opinions upon him, taken up in the usual manner, happened to be written in America on the same day as Nkrumah's first letter. He was found to satisfy the requirements and got his promotion totally irrespective of Nkrumah's demand, which was not that he should be made Senior Lecturer, but Professor and Head of Department.

Doubtless in order not to "compromise", the Board should have suspended the normal operation of its regular promotions machinery in respect of these two persons even without knowing whether or not they had anything to do with Nkrumah's endeavours on their behalf! The Academic Board meeting was of the "report" type routinely held when any matter of importance crops up which must be brought to the notice of the Board, with the usual opportunity for members to make any comments they might have.

Mr. Editor, Sir, these are not rumours, surmises or opinions, but readily verifiable facts, and I should be grateful to have them recorded along with all that has so far been written.

Legon

C. G. Baeta (Prof.)

Akaiyah In Retrospect

SIR—I have just been shown a copy of your issue of 25th November, 1966 (Vol. 1 No. 11), in which appears an interesting article contributed by a legal correspondent touching the dismissal of Mr. A. A. Akaiyah, from the Judicial service.

Under an asterisked footnote to the article it is stated that Mr. Akufo Addo (now Chief Justice of Ghana) was dismissed by the ex-President after the first Adama-Treasure Trial in 1964 and I was also dismissed for a different reason. Unfortunately the different reason for which I was dismissed is not stated by either your correspondent or you. To the best of my knowledge, Mr. Akufo Addo and I were dismissed as Judges of the Supreme Court on the same date and no reasons were given for the dismissals which included Mr. Adumuah Bossman also of the Supreme Court.

You will agree with me that by stating the reason for Mr. Akufo Addo's dismissal and stating that I also was dismissed for a different reason without stating what the reason, if any, was, your correspondent has left the impression that I was dismissed for a reasonable or justifiable cause.

I entertain the hope that you will be good enough

to remove the impression that has been created, inadvertently perhaps, by your legal correspondent.

Sekondi **R. S. Blay**

Editor's Note:

It was not our intention to create the impression that Mr. Blay was dismissed for a justifiable cause. We were sure of the grounds of Mr. Akufo Addo's dismissal, but we were not sure—like Mr. Blay himself—of the grounds of the dismissal of Messrs Bossman and Blay. The impression Mr. Blay complains of is purely inadvertent. We apologise for any inconvenience this has caused Messrs Blay and Bossman.

Reconciliation and Future Politics

SIR—It was generally accepted, long before the coup, that in the (inevitable) event of the overthrow of the C.P.P. Government, only a miracle could save the wretched lives of its leaders (ministers, parliamentarians, D.Cs., etc). On February 24, 1966, the miracle happened: the C.P.P. Government was overthrown, but all the leaders were placed under protective custody to prevent the excited mobs doing violence to them. After this humane act, the very least that was expected was that at least some of them would be brought to justice in the courts very quickly. It is now almost one year, and what has happened?

First of all, not one of the C.P.P. leaders has been put on trial. Now, we know from Mr. Harlley's speech soon after the coup that there was evidence of corruption against certain leaders which Nkrumah had ignored; so that even before all the commissions of enquiry have completed their work, trials could begin. It is dismaying that the bottleneck is at the Attorney-General's office; it is urgent that Mr. Victor Owusu be given as much money as possible to recruit more staff: this part of the revolution cannot be toyed with!

Secondly, as if this delay were not bad enough, and against all public misgivings, these C.P.P. rogues are being released in shoals to come and snub us with their stolen wealth.

Finally, we are being asked to regard this period as one of reconciliation, to forget the past, to forget that we were robbed, to ignore the taunts of Krobo Edusei's triumphant laughs.

Now I ask, why these incessant appeals for reconciliation? Has any of the released been molested? No, Or even threatened? No. As they brazenly swagger their wealth they stole from us, have we even opened our mouths to talk back? No. So why the unceasing call for forgiveness by us? Where is justice?

Or perhaps I have misunderstood the purpose of the coup, the essence of the "revolution"? All I hear about the "revolution" is that we have our freedom back (?), that we are rebuilding the economy (?), that we must love one another! But I most earnestly beg the new leaders to consider for a moment the precedent or pattern they are setting, which is likely to be a guide to the future politics and politicians of this dear Ghana:

"I go into politics. I must get rich quick. I take 10 per cent or more on contracts awarded by me. If the economy looks as if it will be ruined, I'll introduce an ideology to show that the hardship is imperialist-inspired, and that in any case this

phase is necessary. If the Opposition want to be troublesome, I'll muzzle them with P.D.A. After 15 years or so of this, there will (probably) be a coup, but by then I am rich. If I have timed it properly, I should have managed to pull out of party politics before the coup: then I may even be given a post by the new regime. But if I didn't pull out in time, no matter: I'll only go into protective custody for awhile. In (quick) time, I'll be back none the worse. There will be reconciliation, and I can enjoy my wealth forever."

Is that what we want?

Laterbiokoshie-Accra

K. Anso

Promoting the Arrest or Liquidation of Kwame & Co.

SIR—I am a bit confused about the recent police gazette announcing a £10,000 reward for anybody who would bring back, dead or alive, Kwame Nkrumah and three others. Mr. Harlley once said that his mission would not be complete until he had caught Nkrumah and brought him back to stand trial for his crimes. Then, "Wanted" notices went out to sixty countries for Nkrumah's arrest. And, most recently, at Addis Ababa, Lt-General Ankrhah stated that Nkrumah would not be killed if caught, but would be put on trial. So why the sudden change in policy? Is the man still threatening trouble?

Further, I believe that in this particular case, more details about the alleged crimes must be given. Whom did Nkrumah and his associates murder? What can we be told about the conspiracy (this, after all, will be published in a court of law)? Many people, like Ametewee, wouldn't mind risking a pot shot at the wanted men, but it would probably give us less cause for worry (if we suddenly found that we could take a life) if we knew just why we must do it. Otherwise, the £10,000 would not be enjoyed with a free conscience.

Suntreso, Kumasi.

Kwasi Osei-Ofei

Salary Increases

SIR—Since the coup we have been told that the old regime brought us to the brink of bankruptcy and that it will be a year or more before the economy fully recovers. We learned, if we hadn't already known, that the main interest of many of the officials in the old regime had been to enrich themselves without a thought of the people whose welfare was their responsibility. The long term remedy, we have been told, is to infuse the New Society with men having ability to do the job properly and integrity enough to see that it is done fairly. And from where might one expect such new men if not from the Universities of Ghana, so long renowned for their antipathy to the malpractices of the defunct regime? Hence my surprise to learn that the Senior Staff of the University of Ghana, those one would expect to be most conspicuous in their example, are among the first workers in Ghana to be awarded a pay rise. The increase is not comparable to the paltry 5/- a load given to the farmers but a substantial £300 per annum or about 20 per cent of our former salaries. The rise applies as much, if not more, to Ghanaians so it can't be said to be necessary as an inducement to bring staff from overseas. The N.L.C. has recently set up a body to review salaries and wages throughout the country; are we to understand that this body has thought the University's Senior Staff the most needy

and agreed to revise their pay before turning its attention to other sections of the community?

One might have expected this matter to have gained the attention of the Editor of the *Legon Observer*, at least of a reader prepared to write a letter, but none has appeared! Am I alone in thinking this silence to be the most damning suggestion that when it comes to integrity we are little better than the ex-CPP officials we treat with such disdain?

Legon

B. Hughes

Better Manners

SIR—There can be no doubt in my mind that manners are going from bad to worse in this country, campaign-for-improvement or no campaign. The present levels of public behaviour, of public manners, are really appalling.

Only a few weeks to our International Trade Fair, thousands of the younger Ghanaians with whom our visitors will most assuredly come into close contact are still disobliging, nonchalant, uncooperative, and downright rude—quite apart from being incompetent also. Worse than that: until recently we used to think these habits were the monopoly of young counter attendants and workers of that age and status alone. Alas, that relatively comforting assumption is no longer, in my recent experience, true.

Just now it is a fact that even doctors and dentists, no less, have in a few cases joined the ignoble cult of boorishness. Either they themselves are inconsiderate to or choppy with patients at certain times, and under certain conditions, or else—which is the more distressing—they suffer a few insufferable nurses and attendants to get away with laziness, sloppiness, discourtesy, and worse. Some nurses, like most of our "counter" assistants, lounge disgracefully about, treat patients with incivility and intolerance, and get clean away with it. Elsewhere in our service world, the experiences which clients, customers, and applicants can have would make the angels weep. In fact I am sure they do weep, a thousand-thousand times a day.

Mr. Editor, our current campaign of courtesy—or is it still current?—will avail us little, except perhaps on the short run. For long term, lasting effects we as a developing people need to go much further down: to the home and the school, where good manners are properly taught and permanently learnt. Until we mount a real campaign in the schools, as a means of carrying good manners back to the home and beginning again from there, the cause is to be considered as lost.

Legon

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

Hawkers and the University

SIR—I am a frequent visitor to your beautiful university campus (is that the word?), which I think is rapidly being invaded and spoilt by that ever-present pest in Africa: the hawker.

There they go, in clusters of two or three, sometimes more. They stroll, they chatter, they chant; they peep, shell, and cut; they laugh, litter and leave. In the process your campus is made less lovely.

Granted that in Africa, like elsewhere in Poordom, little girls must make a few pennies on a few shillings—the figure would be less apt if you said pesewas and cedis—either for themselves or for their mothers. Granted that even university people feel peckish betimes... But hawking, surely, must be confined and

contained? Surely there are thoroughfares, private walks, city squares, markets, gardens, village greens, shaded rests—each distinctive in its own right? Must hawkers over-run all of these in Africa, just to keep them African?

Osu-Accra.

K. Asenso

Book Review

Q. & A. Questions & Answers Based on the Companies Code, 1963 (Act 179) of Ghana. By I. Ackom Mensah, Published by the School of Administration, University of Ghana, 1965, xvi & 263 pp.

Review

By

S. O. Gyandoh, Jr.

THE WORK under review is a compilation of the more salient features of the Companies Code, 1963. The designation "Q & A" which evokes nostalgic memories for many a student of Law or Accountancy who trained in England is apt to mislead one who has not seen or read the book. This is a "Q & A" all right, but it is one with a difference: in size, quality of the paper, and its attractive appearance. Two hundred and seventy-two questions based on the 1963 Companies Code are posed and answered. In addition, eight useful appendices provide quick and easy references to such matters as the sectional headings to the Companies Code, the prescribed contents of the Annual and Auditors' Reports, Accounting requirements, Reports to be set out in the Prospectus and Regulations made by the Registrar of Companies as to prescribed Forms. Then, there is a ten-page index which facilitates references to the compiled answers.

All this adds up to an invaluable *vade mecum* for the professional businessman and the curious citizen, as well as for the student. But, it would be a serious mistake to conclude that is a text book on Company Law—a fact of which the author shows some awareness when he states that "the book is not intended to be a substitute for the Companies Code; it is only a guide." (Author's Note, p.xiv.)

The author is senior lecturer in Accounting at the School of Administration, University of Ghana, and was one time Chief Accountant, University of Science and Technology, Kumasi. He is a professional Accountant of long standing and also holds the enviable degree of M.B.A. (Master of Business Administration) from the University of Chicago, U.S.A. It is eminently fitting, then, that a man of such stature should undertake a job that needed doing so badly.

In his short and lucid 'Note', the author tells us that the book is meant for the business student, the busy company official and Mr. John Citizen

(i.e. the ordinary man in the street). More significantly, we are informed that the book was inspired primarily by the need to quickly provide "suitable material" for use by candidates intending to take the examination of the Ghana Institute of Chartered Accountants.

There would seem to be a certain amount of conflict in the avowed purposes of the book. A book that claims to present "suitable material" for candidates for a professional examination in Accountancy can scarcely meet the requirements of a Mr. John Citizen seeking enlightenment on "the fascinating matter in which Society, through the agency of the Companies Code, has prescribed preventive and curative procedures aimed at ensuring that the companies and those connected therewith do play the game as required by law, in the interest of our economic growth." Yet, the author attempts to fulfil both purposes simultaneously, and, it is to his credit that he almost succeeds in doing this in parts of the text. Thus, Q.48:

"It is financially prudent to provide for the rainy day. How many a Company adopts this wise principle with regard to amounts payable on its issued shares?" Or, Q. 138: "Catalogue a number of assumptions which a person dealing with a company is entitled to make." Without reading the answers, such imaginative questions are likely to arouse the intellectual curiosity of both the business student and Mr. John Citizen, a lay man. But a reading of the answers that follow is likely to give some misgivings to the layman.

Which brings me to the one misgiving I myself entertain about the book. From the author's declaration of his aims in writing and the otherwise charming Foreword by Mr. Justice Nii Amaa Ollenu of the Court of Appeal, high hopes are raised which are not entirely satisfied in the text itself. To take just two examples: First—Section 2 of the Book deals, *inter alia*, with the "Nature of Shares", without attempting, in the process, to provide a simple explanation which would be acceptable to Mr. John Citizen of what is meant when it is said that a person has a share in a company. It is not, in my view, sufficient merely to say, as the author does, that the 1963 Code "classifies the shares held by any member in a company as a personal estate or personality and not real estate or immovable property." Such an answer might do for a student of accountancy who may be assumed to possess some rudimentary knowledge of the law of Corporation from other sources, but certainly not for Mr. John Citizen, who should be assumed not to have read Rubinstein's "John Citizen and the Law." Second,

the answer to Q.34 tells us of the statutory conversion of all shares created after 1st July, 1963, into "shares of no par value." Yet, nowhere in the book is any explanation given, of the meaning of this technical expression or, which is the same thing, the practical effect of the conversion. Both of these concepts are clearly and simply explained in *Professor Gower's Final Report of the Commission into the Working and Administration of the Present Company Law of Ghana, 1961*, which, incidentally, is listed among the *General References* mentioned in the book (p.xvii). Clearly, then, the book could have benefited considerably from a more substantial reliance on this Report.

Admittedly, the task of reducing such a highly technical subject like Company Law into simple, intelligible language is not an easy one, as Mr. Justice Ollenu points out in his lucid Foreword. It is also true, as the learned Judge continues, that "until the Act has operated for some time, no better commentary than is contained in the (Gower) report may reasonably be expected" (p.viii). But these statements, taken together with a careful reading of the text, would seem to belie, at least from the point of view of Mr. John Citizen the following somewhat excessively enthusiastic, comment from the learned Judge in the same foreword:

"In the form of catechism, he (the author) has posed, answered and elucidated every conceivable question which may be asked; and by that means has explained fully and satisfactorily and in unambiguous language, each section and each group of related sections and each part of the Code."

These minor reservations apart, the book deserves to be kept by all professional businessmen and students of Corporation law, whether these be lawyers, accountants or other enlightened members of the general public, for it facilitates quick references to all the more important problems centering around company formation. The present economic climate in the country suggests that more and more people are going to be affected by the operations of companies, and it is therefore essential that we should all possess some rudimentary knowledge of the rules of the game. Mr. Ackom Mensah is to be heartily congratulated on producing a work which will go some way towards the realization of this desirable, perhaps necessary, objective.

COME TO

"THE POINT"

Open 7a.m. to 10 p.m.

Tel: 81-2851

Miscellaneous

TOLL FOR THE COWARDLY

By

A. Gematuxo

TOLL FOR the brave, certainly! but, ring the victory bells for the cowards, too.

In the "What Went Wrong in Ghana" series, many unkind things were said about those many gentle folk of Ghana who were guided by the sound philosophy, viz., that 'discretion is the best part of valour!'

Could it be that dastardly to have ducked a Cassius Clayan blow which to have exposed the jaw to might have felled many a valiant? Those also boxed who avoided the beefy blow. As with the manly sport of boxing, so with the machinations of a tyrant.

The best leaders of infantry brigades are known to have advised their other ranks to dodge the foe, to retreat under overwhelming cross fire and shelling, and generally to live to fight another day. For, what use is a dead soldier when the enemy are still on their feet and fighting? After all, it was because some who subsequently wore the Victorian Cross were chicken-hearted, they had fought like the devil. Because they were scared stiff, they gave the enemy all they had!

So also, under a despotic regime, those also defied who went underground and avoided arrest. Let us, by all means, pay homage to the J. B. Danquahs, who spat defiance into the tyrant's face and died fighting. And also to those other gallant friends who stood up to intimidation and suffered hellish brutality in detention.

At the same time, let us not despise the vast majority of Ghanaians who, by subterfuge, cajolement, or cunning, have managed to live outside the prison walls of Ussher Fort and Nsawam.

Toll the bells loud for those who fled the country the better to wage the fight from a distance!

And the many intellectuals, chiefs and people who outwitted the security police and thus kept the home fires burning—these also served.

Hurray! for the Bench and the bar which did not resign *en bloc* when 'justice' was prescribed and handed down from the Flagstaff House. By holding on to the bar and the Bench, they prevented a worse vendetta against the entire legal fabric.

Not more despicable, after all, were those, who, like the crowds in the "holy city of Jerusalem" waved the palms and sang hosanna in one breath, and in another cried crucify him—not so despicable, I say, were the Ghanaians who shouted "hedzole baa ba!" one day, and on the other spread the cloth on the ground for the Armed Forces who

achieved the "Glorious Revolution!"

The pastors who from the pulpit invited their flock to pray with them for health for "Osagyefo", and who today are decrying his many misdeeds are hardly more faint-hearted than the academics and the whisky-bibbing professional classes who, for all practical purposes, accepted the *status quo* of the former regime, or who did nothing to oppose the 'Tyrant', until after the event!

Nor is the diplomat whose tenure of office spans the two regimes such an insincere servant of the State, come to think of it! Long may he serve. What adaptability! What steadfastness!

The turn-coat who today extols the virtues of a free-enterprise system was the same who yesterday was the protagonist of "socialism" and "Nkrumahism" (is that the spelling?) Who is that so brave who has not since turned coat in whatever small a manner?

The Ghanaian tax-payer and the middle-class businessman who stood at their posts and contributed to the general coffers are not to be disdained simply because they did not walk, open-eyed, into the dangling noose. They fed the capacious paunches of the capitalist "socialists", it is true; but they also made it possible for the kids and the mothers to continue to feed.

Fact is: lion-hearts are in short supply in any society. The majority are lily-livered. It is the factory hand who produces the ammunition that makes it possible for the lion-hearted to assault the cannon's fury. Here, it was our rural folk who remained in dignified detachment on their farms who have fed the prisons and the schools and the cities.

It may sound disrespectful to compare the misery and suffering and sacrifice which we, who managed to stay out, had endured with the misery and suffering and sacrifice of those who languished in gaol, and who were fed on sand and garri and water. But, no disrespect is intended.

It is only a matter of degree, you see! To have lived through an atmosphere of general insecurity, to have queued for sugar and milk, to have pined for dear ones who were blinded in detention, or who died because they could not take anymore of it, and to have lived in fear of friends, ah! this, too, was sacrifice indeed.

The free-wheeling Ghanaian who went dancing and laughing under the pervasive atmosphere of insecurity has made the ultimate deliverance possible. He disguised the smouldering fires of discontent and rebellion, and in so doing he prevented more suppression and more detentions.

So, brother man, the next time you pooh-pooh the efforts, or the lack of them, in others, search your own heart. Accord us, the cowards, some due credit!

POEM

BIRIWA*

A million feet have trod this sand before me
And countless waves have washed the shore
clean again

While every day the tides have come and gone
And this so long that even time is young

Now my steps too are washed away
Like lives from the dim past
Which are unknown
And lost.

Cape Coast. Bronya Mann (Miss)

**Biriwa is a little village near Cape Coast.*

News Summary

25 December, 1966

Decree prohibiting communications with Nkrumah & Co.
THE NATIONAL Liberation Council issued a Decree making it an offence for persons in Ghana to communicate with the deposed President and others now in Guinea. Any communications received from the deposed President or those with him should be reported to the nearest Police Station or establishment of the Armed Forces, within 48 hours, no matter the nature of their contents, the decree said. It also charged all hotel or motel authorities to report the arrival of any stranger at their premises within 24 hours of arrival. The Decree describes "stranger" as any person whether Ghanaian or otherwise who is not previously known to the person harbouring him or her.

Warning against Strikes

IN A Radio and Television broadcast to the workers on industrial relations in Ghana, Major General Kotoka, General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces and N.L.C. member responsible for labour affairs warned workers that the N.L.C. would not hesitate to clamp down on any illegal strikers or fail to deal firmly with anyone who incited illegal strikes in contravention of section 22 of the Industrial Relations Act. He said the N.L.C. was aware that these illegal labour practices were being engineered by subversive elements among the workers. Any genuine grievances must be settled through the normal channels.

Renegotiation of External Debts

GHANA HAS reached new terms with Western creditor countries for the renegotiation of her external debts. These terms were agreed on at the recent meeting held in London between a Ghana delegation and representatives of the creditor countries. The Chairman of the Economic Committee of the N.L.C. Mr. Omaboe, who led the Ghana delegation to the talks told a news conference that the terms cover the payments which fall due from June this year to the end of 1968, including arrears as at the first of June this year. The extent of the relief stipulated in the terms is 80 per cent of the principal and interest for each year. This means that during each period only 20 per cent of the amount which would have been paid will be paid. It was also agreed, Mr. Omaboe said, that the present complete moratorium of payment which Ghana has been enjoying since June this year, may be extended to the middle of next year, and that the small amount which

the country should have paid during that period should be spread for payment over the period from July next year to the end of December, 1968. The amount of deferred debt during the period up to December 1968 will be paid over an eight-year period beginning from July 1971 and ending in June 1979.

Mr. Omaboe hinted that talks with Ghana's Eastern creditor countries may be held early next year.

The total of Ghana's external debt is £280 million.

Import Control of certain Goods

AS FROM the first of January 1967, applications for licences for the importation of a number of goods will not be entertained by the Ministry of Trade, except under special circumstances. According to a trade notice published in the Commercial and Industrial Bulletin, the affected goods will include ready-made suits for men, skirts and blouses, sleeveless singlets, bottles for beer and soft drinks, toothpaste and exercise books. The Comptroller of Imports and Exports reminds importers that goods imported without licence are subject to forfeiture and the importer renders himself liable to the penalties provided under the law.

Roberto in Ghana

THE HEAD of the Revolutionary Government of Angola in-Exile, Dr. Holden Roberto has returned to Congo (Kinshasa) after a four-day visit to Ghana.

Ghana Bar Association elects Officers

THE CHAIRMAN of the Cocoa Marketing Board, Mr. William Ofori Atta, has been elected President of the Ghana Bar Association at a meeting at the Supreme Court buildings in Accra. Other Officers are Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye, Vice-President and Mr. N. Y. B. Adade, Secretary. In a speech the Attorney General, Mr. Victor Owusu urged Ghanaian barristers to see that the rule of law survives forever.

Ghanaian Journalists

THE Association of Ghanaian Journalists and Writers held an emergency meeting in Accra. The members agreed to meet again on the 7th of next month to adopt a new draft constitution and elect officers.

31 December 1966

Police Gazette for the arrest of Nkrumah

THE GHANA Police are offering a reward of 10 thousand pounds for the arrest of ex-President Kwame Nkrumah and three members of his personal security men on charges of conspiracy and murder. The three are Ambrose Yankey, Sr., who is personal assistant to Nkrumah, Moses Boye (also known as Ntiti or as Ndede), and Matthew Ackah Mensah. A Police Gazette says the four people are wanted in Ghana dead or alive.

18th Annual New Year School

THE 18th annual New Year School of the Institute of Adult Education is being held at the University of Ghana, Legon. The school has as its theme: "the problems of nation-building in Africa." It is being attended by over 250 people.

Ghana's "Warship"

THE GHANA Government is negotiating with the British Commonwealth Office in London over the fate of a warship ordered for the Ghana Navy by Kwame Nkrumah with luxurious accommodation for official passengers. The vessel which cost 12 million

cedis, or five million pounds, was launched at Scotstoun (near Glasgow) in Scotland on Thursday. But there was no ceremony and the ship went into the water without a name. At the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime, the present government said it was not interested in the warship; but the country had by then been committed on the matter. Hence the present negotiations on the future of the ship.

Anti-Mosquito Campaign

THE N.L.C. has voted 100 thousand cedis for anti-mosquito and anti-malaria campaign which starts early next month.

1 January 1967

Questionnaire on the new Constitution

THE CONSTITUTIONAL Commission has in a statement, announced a list of some salient features of the Commission on which members of the public are expected to express their views. Important matters for consideration include the Head of State, the Executive, legislature, judiciary, national Security and chieftaincy. The statement explains that the list of the features is by no means exhaustive and that members of the public are free to address themselves to any additional features which they may wish the Commission to consider.

Observer Notice

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—LEGON OBSERVER

	Surface				Air			
	6 months		1 year		6 months		1 year	
Currency	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.
Ghana	23/-	\$3.00	45/-	\$5.67				
Africa	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	38/-	\$5.45	70/-	\$10.00
U.K.	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	64/-	\$9.15	120/-	\$17.00
Europe	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
U.S.	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
Canada	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00

Minimum Subscription: 6 Months

These subscription rates are expressed in shillings and dollars to avoid confusion when the value of the cedi is changed from 8s. 4d. to 10s. Subscribers may convert the rates into cedis and pesewas as appropriate. When the value of the cedi is stabilized we shall make the necessary conversions for the benefit of our customers.

O B I T U A R Y

K. Y. ATTOH

The death of Mr. K. Y. Attoh, editor of the "Ghanaian Times", is a hard blow to the Press of Ghana. It creates a sad gap in the severely limited ranks of those brave men who could write what they believed to be in the true interest of their country, and were prepared to suffer for their convictions.

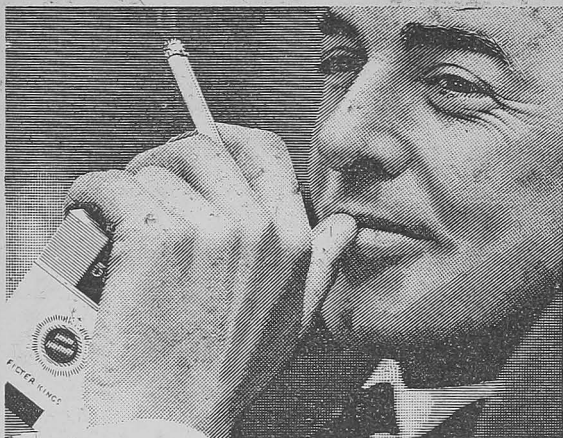
Mr. Attoh was a reputable journalist who rose through the ranks from a reporter's job. He actively participated in the turbulent politics of this country from the time of the U.G.C.C. He was a member of the Ghana Congress Party, the Shifimo Kpee, and the N.L.M., in that order after the U.G.C.C. He did not have the glamour of Danquah, or Obetsebi-Lamptey, or William Ofori-Attah. But he was, for Nkrumah, on the wrong side—against the C.P.P. and what it stood for—and, what was worse for him (than being merely associated with those Nkrumah regarded as his own superiors who must be liquidated), he was also, far from being just another member of the Opposition parties, an adversary Nkrumah could not ignore for being an able, competent journalist. So in 1958, he went into detention under the P.D.A. And that was that—until February 1966 when, by the Grace of God, the C.P.P. was overthrown and Mr. Attoh was released.

On his release, he received what for him

must have been a very gratifying, if for others a little ironical, position at the Guinea Press—as the editor of the "Ghanaian Times"—the very paper which had, up to the coup, stood irrevocably against all that Attoh and brave men like him had stood for. It is a matter of no small pride for all his friends, and no little wonder for his foes (if any), that under Attoh's leadership, and by his industry and resourcefulness, the "Ghanaian Times" was able quickly to erase all the past disaffection, rancour, and prejudices against itself, and turn the paper into a most popular, respectable medium. He was only 48, and had he lived a little longer, in all likelihood he might have been able to set a new pace for our daily press, and introduced permanently a new tone into our daily reading media. But that was not to be: his health had been irredeemably impaired by the long years of totally unjust, soul-destroying imprisonment by Nkrumah. The nation is the poorer for his untimely loss.

Our sympathies and condolences go to the bereaved family. We share with the Press of Ghana the loss of a true friend. We mourn the death of a great son of Ghana.

May he rest in peace.



555

**Now Available in Ghana
at the Standard Price of
60p. for 20**

Get the taste of international success

The taste that is uniquely 555. The taste that State Express created for you by being that much more exclusive in the tobaccos they choose. Smokers of good taste will be pleased to know that 555s are now generally available in Ghana at the standard price of 60p. for twenty. Small price to pay for the taste of international success.

555 by State Express

THE KING SIZE FILTER CIGARETTE OF INTERNATIONAL SUCCESS

