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## IN THIS ISSUE

<b>EDITORIAL</b> .....	1
Threatening War Clouds in Nigeria	
<b>AFRICA</b> .....	3
Sierra Leone: The Dons Reaffirm their Faith in Freedom (Communicated)	
No Mau-Mau in Rhodesia Political Correspondent	
<b>POLITICS</b> .....	7
Return to Civilian Rule (Report on a Survey of University Students) M. Peil and E. O. Odotei	
<b>THE ECONOMY</b> .....	10
The Role of Direct Foreign Private Investments in Ghana's Economic Development A. N. Hakam	
<b>OBSERVER NOTEBOOK</b> .....	13
The Case of Seyoum Sabat "Out!"	
<b>LETTERS</b> .....	15
The Public Executions (2) Anti-Apartheid Movement in Ghana We should cater for their children too Ministry of Education and Promotion Examinations Fair Treatment for all Teachers Neon Signs and Foreign Currency Is the Problem Salaries or High Cost of Living? The Legon Probe	
<b>REVIEWS</b> .....	17
Efficiency in Road Construction J. W. S. de Graft-Johnson Witness for the Prosecution (Agatha Christie) The Swarhp Dwellers (Wole Soyinka) Playgoer	
<b>COMMENTARY</b> .....	20
Foreign Aid and World Trade	
<b>MISCELLANEOUS</b> .....	22
An Open Letter to Mr. Harlley Kontopiaat	
<b>NEWS SUMMARY</b> .....	23

## EDITORIAL

### THREATENING WAR CLOUDS IN NIGERIA

THE FORMER Eastern Region has seceded from the Federation of Nigeria as the Republic of Biafra; Major-Gen. Gowon calls this secession "an act of rebellion". Because of its worldwide implications, the Israeli-Arab conflict has deservedly overshadowed the Nigerian crisis. However, the Nigerian crisis is of immense significance because the crisis throws into bold relief the problems African leaders confront in the enterprise of building legitimate and stable political systems in a political framework determined largely by European colonial powers. Constitutional and political troubles in the past derived from the fact that one region—The North—was larger than all the others combined—in terms both of area and population. Once voting became organised into regional blocs, it became impossible to vote the leaders of the Northern region out of federal power.

Under these political arrangements, power meant capturing federal power by leaders who remained basically regional; even though Northern leaders shared power with Eastern leaders, the latter remained basically regional. The North remained, and had the federation been viable, would have still remained, the federal power. This was a source of irritation and frustration to the other regions which, by African standards were too large, and more significantly, large enough to challenge the identity of the federation.

The present political impasse is interpreted largely in terms of an Ibo-Hausa-Fulani (pagan-christian-Moslem) antagonism. It is true that the leadership of the 15th January Nigerian coup was Ibo, it is equally true that the 29th July counter-coup was the revolt of the North against the Ibos of the South. However, it is not enough to interpret the present crisis solely in terms of tribalism. Ever since Nigeria became independent the North has effectively had the substance of political power. But, in the civil service, commerce, transport, building and the hotel industry in all parts of Nigeria the Ibos have, by and large, been pre-eminent. The Ibos have been irritated by the fact that with so much economic power to their credit, the federal system has not made it possible for them to exercise effective political power. The Northerners, on the other hand, realised that since the Ibos have had all the benefits western education could confer, they were at a great disadvantage in running a modern state. The North did try under the federal system, therefore, to divert resources to its own areas so as to catch up with the south; this was to give an economic basis to its political power. Attempts have been made to readjust these economic and political relationship between the two main

ethnic groups. It is these attempts which have bedevilled politics in Nigeria for a long time. Tribalism has, undoubtedly, been exploited in these exercises, but the major cause is economic. Therefore anybody who seriously wants to eradicate tribalism in Nigeria must seriously address himself to the task of evening out the economic, educational and political inequalities in the country.

In the present political stalemate, the position of the Western Region led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo seems to be crucial. If Chief Awolowo throws his weight behind the East (Republic of Biafra)—as seemed likely before the East seceded—then Nigeria is likely to break up along a North-South axis. If on the other hand, Chief Awolowo co-operates with Major-Gen. Gowon—as he seems to be doing now, (or is he prevaricating ?)—then the East is likely to be isolated. However, the East is likely to exist as a viable economic and political entity mainly because of its rich oil-fields. The East is likely to persist in its determination to go it alone because her oil is most likely to be of great importance to the West, at a time when some Arab countries have emotionally decided to cut off oil supplies to the West. The West is bound to look for alternative sources of supply, for, they are not likely to put up with this Arabic blackmail (it has to be remembered that the West has been so blackmailed twice in this decade). As a future source of oil supply to the West the East then is likely to be of great importance; it is this which may harden the Ibos in their determination to exist as an independent Republic of Biafra.

It is rather ironical that the Eastern Region should be the first Region in Nigeria to secede. It has all along advocated, if not a unitary constitution for the country, at least for a federal arrangement with a strong centre. It is quite possible to avert war at this time when the East and the Federation are in "war" postures. But personalities are a stumbling block to any peaceful settlement. Maj-Gen. Gowon is a level-headed conciliator; but he is not a free agent. He, furthermore, lacks a political base in Nigeria, for it is the army, consisting mostly of TIVS—(he is a Tiv himself), which put him into power. It is Col. Hassan Katsina

who seems to be exercising effective political power, but he is far from being conciliatory towards the Ibos. The Gowon-Hassan relationship is thus reminiscent of the Sardauna-Balewa relationship. It is this, unfortunately, which is standing in the way of a peaceful settlement. Col Ojukwu may be conciliatory but he is a popular victim of forces in the East which are not prepared to easily get reconciled to the massacre of Ibos in July, 1966. The East, by declaring herself independent, seems to have reached a point of no return. To go back on this decision will be tantamount to acceptance of defeat. But it is tragic that Nigeria should break up, for the trend in the modern world is towards larger political groupings. One hopes that commonsense and statesmanship will gain the upper hand in Nigeria, and that nothing will happen now to tip the threat to peace in Nigeria right over the edge. One hopes again, that the war clouds will clear soon, for war can only bring human misery to an already sick country.

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## Africa

### SIERRA LEONE: THE DONS REAFFIRM THEIR FAITH IN FREEDOM

(Communicated)

The following Memorandum was presented to the Sierra Leone ruling National Reformation Council on the 18th April, 1967. It will be recalled that Sierra Leone lawyers also presented a Memorandum to the N.R.C. on the 3rd of April, 1967 (L.O. Vol. II, No.9).

The statement speaks for itself as to the importance the dons in our sister country of Sierra Leone attach to freedom of speech; more remarkable, the courage to reaffirm a belief in freedom of speech is still not lacking in Sierra Leone academics. The statement follows in full:

Memorandum from Members of the Senior Staff of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone to the National Reformation Council, Sierra Leone.

WE, THE undersigned, members of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, consider it our duty as academics to declare once again our belief in the fundamental right of freedom of speech, which belief knows no frontiers and which right no national limitations. We write not as Sierra Leoneans, or foreigners, but as intellectuals whose concern is the truth, its free discovery and dissemination. We have been greatly concerned that by some recent actions of the National Reformation Council, the freedom of speech for which Sierra Leone is known and respected, and which is indispensable for the proper fulfilment of our academic duties, has been seriously affected. We have consequently resolved at a general meeting to send a letter to the National Reformation Council on this matter. We hope that it will be accepted as it is offered: in the interests of the dignity, integrity, harmony and future happiness of Sierra Leone.

#### Previous Resolution.

The National Reformation Council will recall that we delivered to them a resolution on Friday 31st March 1967 which reads in part:

We . . . wish to place before the National Reformation Council our view that only by free and frank discussion of the country's affairs can the national consensus which it is the declared intention of the Council to further, be obtained.

We are concerned that conditions now exist in which for comment on the country's affairs, people in Sierra Leone have to rely on foreign news stations and newspapers. These are the conditions which give rise to speculations and uninformed comment.

We therefore urge the Council not to curtail in any way the free circulation of news and comment through the media of speech, press and radio.

We, as members of an academic institution, cannot dissociate ourselves from the free expression, discussion and publication of what is believed, either by ourselves or by any other person, to be true. . . .

Since the delivery of that resolution events have occurred which would suggest that, despite the assurance given to us by the Chairman on Monday 3rd April and by Major B. I. Kai-Samba to the Chiefs of Pujehun District on Friday 7th April 1967 (see the *Daily Mail*

for 8:4:67 p. 9), the National Reformation Council has effectively curtailed freedom of speech. We have noted with dismay that many of the citizens of Sierra Leone have become apprehensive of discussing, even in private, the large problems which face this country at the present time, fearing reprisal if they offer an opinion on questions which, as the National Reformation Council has stressed, affect their future and their children's future.

On Monday 3rd April 1967 the National Reformation Council made public an enactment concerning the registration and contents of newspapers. Three measures in this enactment give us particular concern.

(a) Under Section 10 the National Reformation Council prohibits any "reference directly or indirectly, expressly or by implication" to any "political party or organization which was in existence before the 23rd day of March 1967". In effect it becomes impossible to discuss in a newspaper the politics of Sierra Leone before that date, this having been essentially associated with the political parties. We would maintain that no serious reflection on or criticism of the present political state of Sierra Leone is possible without reference to the past.

(b) Under Sections 11 and 12 the National Reformation Council in effect makes hazardous any adverse criticism in a newspaper of the National Reformation Council, its members, or anyone working on its behalf.

(c) Under Section 13 the National Reformation Council prohibits the publication in a newspaper of anything which "is likely to cause fear or alarm to the public", **whether or not it is true.** In effect it becomes impossible for a newspaper to warn the public even of impending national disaster or danger to the interests of the people of Sierra Leone.

On the day of the General Election the foreign press could truthfully report (London *Daily Telegraph* 17:3:67) "Sierra Leone is still a free country. The level of the opposition papers is quite high." We submit that since the new press law, this comment is no longer true. It is no longer safe to express adverse comment on the actions of those in power.

We acknowledge that in an "Explanatory Note" attached to the Newspaper Law it is stated that ". . . honest and constructive criticism of policies which are made in the interest of the good government of Sierra Leone are not prohibited." However, we suggest that in the context in which these words are published they are too indeterminate to serve as any reassurance to the public. For example, the public may well fear that the phrase "constructive criticism" is intended to exclude any radical criticism of the National Reformation Council's position. Proprietors of newspapers already seem to have construed the law in this way and have either refrained from publishing altogether, or have studiously avoided serious analyses of Sierra Leone's immediate problems.

We would add that we do not support the publication of any libel or incitement to tribal war, but we wish to point out that these were adequately dealt with before the introduction of the Newspaper Law.

On Tuesday 4th April 1967 the Sierra Leone Bar Association presented to the National Reformation Council a memorandum setting out what was considered to be the legal position of the Governor-General, the constitutionality of his choice of Mr. Siaka P. Stevens

as Prime Minister of Sierra Leone, the legal position of Her Majesty's Military Forces in Sierra Leone and other matters which are of concern to the lawyers and all people in this country. We understand that as a result of this memorandum the members of the Bar Association were threatened with detention under Section 6 (1) of the (National Reformation Council) Proclamation, 1967, and one member, Mr. J. E. R. Candappa, has been deported. The memorandum was described by the Chairman of the National Reformation Council as "subversive", and he was moved to issue a general warning against "interference" (see the **Daily Mail** 8:4:67).

In our opinion this memorandum was objective and relevant to the needs of the country, and was presented by a responsible body, well qualified to speak on the matters which the memorandum raised. We deplore the fact that the National Reformation Council did not give the memorandum the consideration which it deserved. If opinions expressed are unsympathetic to the National Reformation Council or adversely critical of its policies and actions they must be answered by rational justification and reasoned argument. Only in this way can there be reform without violence and the use of reason in political matters.

We regard it as obviously true that justice and right policy in government necessarily depend upon a knowledge of what is really the case. We also regard it as a truth that no man, whatever his position or ability, can ever be certain that what he believes to be the case is incorrigible. We therefore assert that it is only through a process of frank and open discussion, regulated only by the laws of rational discourse, that justice and good policy can prevail.

The National Reformation Council have repeatedly stressed the fact that they are soldiers and not politicians, that they are human and that they make mistakes. We therefore urge them not to place a barrier between themselves and the honest criticism of the people of Sierra Leone by curtailing the expression of the opinions of the latter.

We would point out to the National Reformation Council that the government of a country is the concern of all who live in that country, since all are affected by it, and that therefore every man should be free to voice his opinion.

It was initially through the exercise of their freedom of speech, including the freedom of the Press, that the people of Sierra Leone were able to demonstrate their repudiation of a regime which as members of the National Reformation Council have themselves pointed out mismanaged the affairs of the nation. Only through a restoration of that freedom can the people continue to fight bribery, corruption and nepotism.

To deny any man freedom of speech is to deny him the dignity of a rational being, by casting doubt on his integrity and intelligence.

The curtailment of freedom of speech is contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights, formulated by the United Nations, of which Sierra Leone is a member. Article 19 reads: "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."

Limitations on the free publication of news and ideas lead inevitably to ill-informed rumour and speculation

which is not conducive to good government. Repressive measures taken against "rumour-mongering" can only make the situation worse. We would remind the National Reformation Council of those words of Mr. Justice Brandeis which the members of the Sierra Leone Bar Association adopted as their own: "... it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope and imagination ... fear breeds repression ... repression breeds hate ... hate menaces stable government ... the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies ..."

In accordance with our fundamental belief in the value of free and public discussion, we are distributing copies of this letter to members of the public.

**Dated the 18th April, 1967**

	<b>Signed</b>
F. Tuboku-Metzer	Eldred D. Jones
P. A. Norris	Hugh Glanville
C. R. Cole	Michael Jolliffe
S. K. A. Gyebi-Ofusu	Lindis M. Dolphin
W. H. Callar	A. Shoedeke
Robert S. Jordan	Ed. Otis Pratt
Bruce McIntee	K. E. Williams
Donal St. John-Parsons	H. Kosić Williams
J. G. Hyde	J. A. Strasser-King
D. A. Ross	K. A. Tracey
D. F. Owen	Gary M. Spackey
D. G. Rivers	Michael Crowder
David M. Foley	John E. Peterson
Peter Young	E. Awunor-Renner
D. Elders	B. B. Ibrahim
J. O. Thompson	D. R. Pugh
M. E. Glasswell	Geoffrey J. Williams
P. W. H. Brown	D. H. Carter
Niall McCloskey	R. J. Collett
Gladys Harding	John Barry Riddell
R. M. Cross	F. H. Hubbard
P. S. Scull	M. Doyle
John C. Dewdney	J. Richard Houghton
M. M. Anderson	G. Wilson
P. M. Greaves	F. N. Jasper
A. W. Wild	W. Mounsey
Hans Zell	T. K. Agerbak
Derek R. Lane Smith	H. Hassan King
Le Ray Denzer	M. S. Ayoub
Gladys M. Sheriff	S. M. Sesay
M. Patricia Farquhar	B. L. Thompson
John Simbo	R. C. Pratt
W. Cecil Young	W. S. M. Marcus Jones
P. C. Branche	J. S. T. Thompson
Lemon Johnson	Eustace J. Palmer
A. V. Powell	T. Leopold George
C. E. O. Johnson	E. W. Fashole Luke
R. E. K. Taylor-Smith	Ken Evans
Newman Smart	B. L. A. Palmer
Hugh E. Conway	J. M. L. Kamara
Oresek J.	Liam O'Sullivan
Marylyn Robertson	S. F. Sparks
J. A. Carpenter	Michael Furay
Anne Foley	Not strong enough— Awadagim Williams

## NO MAU-MAU IN RHODESIA

By

*A Political Correspondent*

THIS WEEK another incident has been revealed of attempted arms smuggling into Rhodesia and an ensuing gun battle. Indeed in recent weeks, international interest in Rhodesia has mounted again considerably—in the United Nations, in serious academic journals concerned with Africa and in the popular press. The latest *Africa Forum*, for example, published by the American Society of African Culture, besides including articles by Zambia's Kenneth Kaunda and Zimbabwe's Nathan Shamuyarira, prominently features a call by Thomas Franck, director of New York University's Centre for International Studies, for the strategic bombing of communication lines and city centres—unilaterally by the United States if necessary! He argues that sanctions are ineffective and warns that if stalemate continues, "the United States may soon find itself being urged to initiate and execute much more costly operations in Rhodesia with far less hope of success." This issue of *Africa Forum* is by result banned by Smith's Rhodesian government and the publishers have proudly retaliated by advertising that fact.

### The Franck Recommendation

Professor Franck recommends that air strikes be mounted in sequence against the "very few bridges, pipelines, roads and lines of rail . . . sole lifelines connecting the Rhodesian economy with South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique . . . remote border crossings—their destruction would involve little risk to life," then "against the line of rail between Salisbury and Bulawayo" and finally "against the commercial centres of Salisbury, Bulawayo and Umtali."

That Professor Franck states that night raids would minimize the risk to human life is less significant than that such a plan should be put forward at all. It is a measure of how desperate the problem seems to sections of American opinion. "Thanks to the racial laws of Rhodesia," Franck writes, "no Africans are allowed to make their homes near the city centres, and almost all the white population prefers to live outside these areas." Incidentally, this is hardly true of Salisbury where there are many town flats, occupied by Europeans, several large hotels and significant staffs of African cleaners and night watchmen in all buildings. It would be unthinkable to bomb Bulawayo and Umtali for the same reasons.

This article makes passing reference to recent articles in *Africa Forum*, Vol. 2, No. 3, 1967 and *Africa Report*, Vol. 12, Nos. 2 and 4, 1967—Ed.

### American Involvement

However, the United States Government is not likely to heed Professor Franck's advice. Firstly, as he recognises, because Rhodesia is considered more a British vital interest; secondly, because it is already under minority criticism at home and majority criticism abroad for its intervention in Vietnam; and thirdly, because, isolated incidents apart, there seems to have been little indigenous African reaction to the Smith rebellion. The question has been posed in Britain—why should British lives be risked in such a circumstance? Brigadier Afrifa put the same question regarding Ghanaian lives in his book, *The Ghana Coup*—although many Ghanaians also believe that the deposed president's moves in the Rhodesian crisis were merely cynical attempts to distract attention from the home front.

In his different way, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania has recognized the crucial nature of this very issue. At the recent Cairo conference, he called on Rhodesia's African population to rise in revolt. But there seems little sign of this happening. Serious enquiry into the difference between Algerian or more pertinently Kikuyu and Kenya nationalism and that of "Zimbabwe" is revealing, for even if it is true as ZAPU and ZANU's exiled leaders claim that the world press ignores acts of sabotage in Rhodesia, they are at most sporadic and isolated. There is no Mau Mau in Rhodesia!

### Maoist Strategy in Rhodesia?

One able Zimbabwe nationalist exile, Davis M'gabe, has written in *Africa Report*, "Somewhere in Rhodesia is our Mao or our Castro." But is this wishful thinking—prelude even to despair? Objective critics point out that the terrain of the Rhodesian veld and Smith's air and ground forces prohibit the successive stages of Mao-like guerrilla insurrection. And are the masses angry enough? Indeed, there is no sign of even Mao's first stage of "small scale actions which begin to seize the initiative" let alone the effective consolidation and expansion of base areas. Significantly, it was eastern Africa and the Horn, and not Rhodesia, which prompted the Chinese premier's famous comment—that Africa was "ripe for revolution."

It is of course axiomatic to believe that no oppressed people, once aware of their misery, will not struggle to end it. However, this can be a long historical process. Is this the crux of the problem? How aware *are* the Rhodesian Africans? While any Ghanaian can testify that tyranny once imposed is not immovable, he can also confirm that an effective police state *can* hold down the aspirations of a people *for years*. In fact

until sophisticated, realistic and essentially dedicated leadership emerges. What has been the record of the leaders of Zimbabwe? It is a facile statement to say that peoples get the leadership they deserve, but these two factors—political consciousness and effective leadership—are not unconnected.

#### Lesser National Concepts

When the motley column of so-called pioneers made its way into Mashonaland, they did so at a time of decline in the material culture of the people. The Shona of the east, whose ancestors had built Zimbabwe and the other stone centres, were harried by comparative newcomers, the Ndebele of the west. Left to themselves perhaps these people, offshoots of the Zulu nation, might, through intermarriage and other contacts, have welded what is now Rhodesia into a nation. Or since they were not the first southern African invader, they in turn might have been swept away or absorbed. But they were not left alone. Moreover, the new (white) conqueror now eschews intermarriage and other contacts, though they have occurred, as nation building processes. The Ndebele and the Shona—and lesser groups (such as the important Karanga of the west)—have not had the opportunity to see themselves as one people. Thus Rhodesian nationalism must suffer from the tensions of lesser national concepts, or as some would put it, tribalism. (The Europeans, despite their diverse Boer and British backgrounds, present a much more united front on issues concerning the African population.) After the battle of Bembezi, the Ndebele chiefs accepted defeat. This was the end of the last century and within living memory. Significantly, in Kenya, although the so-called "pacification" of the Kikuyu involved much bloodshed and havoc, the many African defeats were nonetheless local. At no time was there one ceremonial and symbolic moment of surrender to the "Red Strangers" as there was in the Matopo Hills of Rhodesia. Rhodes, not Lobengula, lies buried there.

#### Conquest Mentality

At a conference in the then northern Rhodesia, Shamuyarira, then editor of African Newspapers, Salisbury, listened to the remark, "One thing makes people up here feel a little different. Here Africans feel they have accepted the white men on terms but in Southern Rhodesia, Africans feel they are a conquered people." Significantly, Shamuyarira agreed. "It is a fact that we were conquered in 1896 and you were never conquered here and that does bring a difference in approach. That is why I say many of our people tend to be servile in Southern Rhodesia which you people are not here." The conquest mentality of the

whites in Rhodesia is too well known to need illustration here. But the experience has been a *two-way* process. Again it must be emphasised that the human spirit cannot be *permanently* cowed, but awakening and recovery is an historical process and takes time, even though it can be hastened by political education.

Those who expect a violent African reaction to oppression in Rhodesia are almost certainly not wrong—such is the human spirit. But those who expect it *tomorrow*—and they exist in the U.N., the O.A.U., and elsewhere—could be dangerously deluding themselves and others.

This brings up the second issue. To what extent has the nationalist leadership recognised the handicap of this "conquest mentality" and hastened its demise? Or, on the wider front, to what extent has this same nationalist leadership taken stock of the whole political scene, internal and international, and correctly analysed the nature, strengths, and weaknesses of all opposition to its aspirations?

Nkomo and most ZAPU leaders have not written significantly (which is perhaps as well), but scrutiny between the lines of the work of M'gabe, Sithole and Shamuyarira from the more articulate ZANU group reveals, as it were from their own pen, a nationalist catalogue of false assumptions, indecisiveness and inadequate and misdirected activity. It depends upon one's political viewpoint whether one sees Britain's part as muddle of design, but if the latter, it could have been a less humiliating one. One thing, however, is indisputable. So far, the Rhodesian whites have played their cards with far the greatest skill.

#### Belated African Consciousness

Neither the 1923 Constitution which gave the Europeans self-government, subject to certain powers reserved in London, nor the 1930 Land Apportionment Act creating a rural and urban apartheid aroused significant African criticism. Not even compulsory movements of Africans from newly designated "European" areas was resisted, as it was in Kenya. According to the reports of the Native Affairs Department, unrest only followed population growth, soil erosion, the ensuing land hunger and destocking measures in the "Native Purchase Areas and Reserves."

Compared with the nearby Nyasaland Protectorate (Malawi), African nationalist rumblings were thus very late. There was no Chiblembwe and no rising early in this century. Significantly there is disagreement as to when the first African National Congress was formed in Rhodesia. Professor Ranger says 1934 but M'gabe puts it in the 1940s. It could not have been very active. There was an early nationalist manifestation led

by two clerics educated in South Africa, but not until the return of World War II soldiers from campaigns in Abyssinia (Ethiopia), North Africa and elsewhere was nationalism on a country-wide scale significant at all.

The late 1940s and early 1950s saw strikes and protests in what M'gabe calls the "Labour Phase" but this was only marginally political. The leadership resolved on mass action (M'gabe calls it mob action) and demonstrations. He reveals that this was ineffectively challenged by members of the African Teachers Organisation, some of them later—too much later—to become important leaders. Significantly long before this time, and opposed by a weaker and smaller settler group, the Kikuyu and their related allies decided on stronger tactics and had retained spirit enough to be able to organize secretly. In Rhodesia, the teachers, correctly recognizing that a legitimate political movement had to have mass support, urged in vain a greater concentration on the rural areas and the awakening of political consciousness at the "bottom of the heap," not just in the urban unions. In Kenya, African leaders had long recognised the need to foster and create grassroot political indignation. The spadework of Harry Thuku, Jesse Kariuki, Jomo Kenyatta, Mbiu Koinange and Joseph Kangethe was no accident. The nationalist movement in Rhodesia cannot be compared with the dedicated following and leadership found in the Kenya African Union. Both eventually, were to be banned—but there the parallel ends.

Background notes in *African Forum* credit Joshua Nkomo with organizing the African National Congress "in the early 1950s to agitate against federation," but this is misleading. ANC already existed. Nkomo rose as secretary of the Railway African Workers Union in Bulawayo. In the early '50s, this was part of Mzilingeli's Reformed Industrial Council of Unions. As M'gabe has pointed out, it was the All African Convention, formed in 1951 with these two leaders as secretary and president respectively, which was formed to fight Federation—and when that issue was lost, it became defunct.

(To be continued)

**Classified Advertisement**

in

**THE "LEGON OBSERVER"?**

Oh, yes; it is here!

## Politics

### RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE

(Report on a survey of university students)

By

M. Peil and E. O. Odotei

PEOPLE AT all levels of society have been discussing the return to civilian rule—when it should take place, what kind of government Ghana should have, etc. A group of second-year honours students of the Legon Sociology Department decided to find out the opinions of their fellow students on this all-important topic. In February, as a project for their research methods course, they interviewed 198 students randomly selected from lists of residents in each hall so as to be representative of all students at Legon, except that women were over-represented by giving Volta Hall equal weighting with other halls.

Most students do not agree with Dr. Busia that the country will be free of army control within a year\*. About one-third think civilian rule should come within eighteen months, but 43 per cent think it will take at least five years or that no limits can be set. Science students and those who grew up in Volta or Ashanti Regions appear to be somewhat more pessimistic about an early return to civilian rule; they were more likely than other students to say it would take at least 2½ years.

#### The Army and Politics

One-fifth of the students feel that the army should not be running the country. As they put it, "The army have no mandate" and "The army can never be democratic." There is also some fear that the army will get a taste for power and refuse to give it up when the time comes. The majority of these thought that the country should be returned to civilian rule within eighteen months, but one in five thought it would take at least 2½ years. Other reasons given for setting various time limits include economic and political factors: "To enable the present government to build the economy." "People need political education." "We need security; it will be easier to subvert a civilian government." Many students mentioned both factors, and nearly a quarter said, in effect, "To give the army time to clean up the mess the country is in." These expected it to be a long-term process; 59 per cent thought it would take at least 2½ years.

When the army hands over power, there will be a need to redefine its role in relation to the new

\* Dr. Busia never quite categorically said this. In his lecture (L.O. Vol. II No. 8 Supplement p. iv) he said that all concerned should make it possible for the second anniversary of the coup to be celebrated under an elected government.—Editor.

government. Nearly half the students questioned said the army should have no role in government—soldiers should stay in their barracks. Over one-third think the army should be subservient to the government, but willing to help when asked (a few want army officers to sit in Parliament or the Cabinet); 14 per cent think the army should continue as a watchdog to see that the new rulers do not abuse their power. On the whole, students would rather take their chances with a civilian government than let the army be the final arbiter, with the constant danger of seizing power whenever its leaders are dissatisfied. Those who think the army should have no part in the new government generally favour a quick return to civilian rule; those who want it to continue to be watchful are most likely to think civilian rule will be long in coming. Although differences were rather small, those from cities (places with over 40,000 population) were least likely to say the army should have no role and most likely to favour watchfulness. Many of the oppressive measures of the old regime were felt most strongly in cities.

#### Form of Constitution

Students are overwhelmingly in favour of a unitary constitution (76%). About one in five (22%) prefer extensive decentralization, and only three of those questioned voted for federalism. Reasons for their choice most often centre on the fact that decentralization and federalism are too extensive for such a small country as Ghana (47%), that there is a need to emphasize national feeling while other types of constitution would encourage tribalism (35%), and that unitary government and the concentration of power associated with it is more efficient (23%). (Several gave more than one reason.) Those arguing for decentralization emphasize that the regions should have some say in the government, but many others feel that the poorer regions would have less chance to develop under a decentralized system. The region or size of place where the student grew up made little difference to his preference for unitary government, although there was some tendency for those from Eastern Region to prefer decentralization; those from Volta Region were strongest in preference for a unitary constitution, followed by Western and Central Regions (treated as one) and Ashanti.

To confirm their preference for centralized power, the majority of the students questioned favoured a single house of Parliament (72%), in office four or five years (89%) and an active head of state (57%). Parliamentarians should be at least 25 years of age (29%) (would set the minimum age of thirty or above) and educated (52%) would require training college or secondary school and

an additional (22%), sixth form or more). This is an obvious reaction to the use of poorly qualified members of the previous Parliament to carry out orders rather than represent the people who elected them. The students propose even higher educational qualifications for D.C.'s if they are to exist at all, the posts should be filled by graduates from within the civil service or with some administrative experience. There is possibly a measure of self-interest here, since such requirements would make these students obvious candidates for the posts. The majority of students would not have minimum occupational, property or other qualifications for parliamentarians, but from 10 to 15 per cent would require some property, a non-manual occupation (or, in some cases, steady employment of some kind), or both. A few think requirements should include relevant experience or character traits—responsibility, intelligence, no criminal record, etc.

Almost all who favour a unicameral legislature stipulate that it should be popularly elected. Those who favour two houses differ on the composition of these houses. Nearly half (10 per cent of the students) want judges, dignitaries, intellectuals and/or representatives of various interest groups in an upper house. Somewhat more (13%) said that chiefs should belong to the upper house, usually with others of the groups previously mentioned. A few want two houses, both popularly elected, or are in favour of only one house with specially appointed members. Nearly half of those who think that there should be chiefs in the upper house are from Ashanti. Those from Volta Region, on the other hand, were more than twice as likely as those from other regions to want a bicameral legislature not including chiefs. Those who had grown up in a village (a place with less than 10,000 population) were most likely to favour a single house of parliament.

#### Chiefs and Politics

Much has been made of the divergence of opinion on how to run a country between the "traditional" chiefs and the "modern" intellectuals. It should thus be no surprise that over half the students think that chiefs should have no role in the new government. Only 7 per cent think chiefs should be active on the national level; the rest (42%) say chiefs should be limited to an advisory or ceremonial role or might be active on the local level—giving advice to or sitting on local councils. Students feel that "modern politics are too intricate for the understanding of illiterate traditionalists." Those who suggest that some chiefs might be elected to Parliament usually specify educated chiefs. Less than one-third of the students from Eastern Region think chiefs should have no role;

they were more likely than others to say that chiefs should have an advisory role or be active locally. Those who grew up in Volta Region are four times more likely than others to say that chiefs should be active nationally (20% thought so). Generally, the larger the place in which a student grew up, the more likely he is to say that chiefs should have no role. Those from villages tend to favour an advisory role or local activity. Those from towns are somewhat more likely than villagers to say the chief should have no role, but three times more likely than others to say he should be active nationally (15% thought so). Nearly three-fifths of those from cities thought chiefs should have no role in the new government.

#### The Electorate

What of the electorate? While many of the students may have felt that an educated electorate might use their vote more wisely, it is obvious that at present rates of literacy, such an electorate would not be democratic. Half the students questioned specified universal adult suffrage. Most set the minimum age at twenty-one, but a few would allow eighteen year olds to vote. From 11 to 14 per cent said that voters should be residents of the district and/or have paid taxes, that they should be educated (either have reached a specified level in school or have had citizenship education), or be sane and have no criminal record. While 8 per cent think that all voters should be Ghanaians, several others want all residents to vote regardless of their nationality. This might be a practical solution to the nationality question, since many who were born in Ghana would claim foreign nationality on the grounds of membership in a foreign tribe or attachment to their parents' hometown. This does not seem a valid reason for denying them the vote.

As to means of organizing the electorate, it is obvious that bitter experience rules out a one-party system; only one student said there should be only one party. Half favour a two-party system, and a substantial minority (38%) think there should be more than two parties. One student in ten is against political parties, apparently feeling that they add more heat than light and that Ghana is not ready for an organized opposition. It is not clear what system is to be used to rally the voters in the absence of national parties.

#### C.P.P. Activists and Elections

Should former C.P.P. activists or party members be allowed to take part in the future government? Over half the students (56%) say yes, because they are citizens and must not be denied participation if Ghana is to be a democracy. A substantial number feel that much useful experience would

be wasted by ruling out all ex-C.P.P. members; only those who have been proved corrupt and/or unrepentant should be barred from active politics. Not all students are so willing to forgive; over one-quarter feel that former C.P.P. activists were too corrupt, that they were not interested in the people and did not use their chance to rule to advantage, and so should not be given another chance. Another 16 per cent think ex-C.P.P. members are still loyal to Nkrumah and so cannot be trusted. Those from Ashanti and the North are most likely to be permissive toward ex-C.P.P. members; those from Central, Western and Volta Regions are least permissive.

#### Stability and Politics

Finally students were asked, "What measures would you suggest for encouraging a stable and continuous democratic system in Ghana?" One quarter of the students did not answer this question. While many of these might have given an answer if the interviewers had been more experienced at their task, it is quite understandable that many people might not be sure that any measures would ensure the continuance of democracy. Of those who did answer, the vast majority (72%) mentioned that one or more civil rights (free speech, press, elections, etc.) be guaranteed by the constitution or that some way be found by which the government be made to heed public opinion. Next most often mentioned (sometimes in addition to civil rights) was a system of checks and balances, with a separation of powers and an independent judiciary. A few mentioned the need to eliminate corruption or develop opposition parties, an educated electorate or economic stability. It should be emphasized that these were short interviews, so the students did not have much time to consider their answers.

A representative sample of about one-tenth of the students at Legon were asked for their opinions on the timing of the return to civilian rule and the future government of Ghana. Most think it will be a fairly long time before the politicians take over from the army, that Ghana should have at least two political parties and a unicameral legislature, that neither chiefs nor the army should be active in politics and that ex-C.P.P. members should have the same rights as other citizens.

## The Economy

### THE ROLE OF DIRECT FOREIGN PRIVATE INVESTMENTS IN GHANA'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By

A. N. Hakam

TO APPROACH this subject, it is best to look at the following aspects:

1. The amount of foreign financing needed in Ghana's development
2. Suitability of direct foreign private investments versus other alternative forms of foreign financing, weighed in terms of availability, contributions and cost, to the economy
3. Control and directional policy towards private foreign investment in the framework of Ghana's total investment strategy.

#### The Amount of Foreign Financing

The first aspect above is dependent on the growth objectives of Ghanaians. Having a given desirable annual growth rate of say 5%, the trend in the net capital formation in the country, the productivity of capital and the forecast of expected imports and exports (including predictable capital inflow and outflow), we would be able to estimate the additional amount of foreign financing needed, say the next ten to fifteen years.

In Ghana in recent years gross capital formation has been a healthy 16% to 18% of GNP but that in itself does not guarantee the desired 5% growth, as witnessed in 1965, when growth was at 0.2% in spite of a 16% gross fixed investment. Capital has to be invested in the right, productive sectors in order to produce the results. Nevertheless, assuming that Ghana can again produce approximately a unit of additional income for each three units of capital, as she had been doing in the long term, this ability is highly dependent on a considerable import capacity. In a given year, Ghana imports approximately two-thirds of the capital goods required in the productive and capital accumulation sectors of the economy. In addition, consumer goods in a finished form have to be imported in considerable volume. It is therefore not surprising that imports have been rising at approximately 6 to 7% per annum in the past. On the other hand, exports have been rather static in recent years and thus a widening gap between imports and exports has been the trend.

However, in spite of considerable lag of exports in relation to imports, Ghana has been able to

finance her high level of imports in the past. This was made possible by the huge reserves accumulated during the 1950s and the capital inflow such as that connected with the Volta Dam project in the early 1960s. Later when the reserves were nearly exhausted the deficit was increasingly financed through medium term (thus burdensome) suppliers' credits at high rates of interest.

#### Import Substitutes

How would the situation be like in the future, say, the next fifteen years? It is expected that deficits in the current account (merchandise trade and invisibles) will continue for the following reasons: (1) Exports have grown very little in the past ten years and future growth at least in the short run will be limited and cannot be expected to grow by more than 4% per annum, unless there are unusual resource discoveries, such as petroleum. We mentioned in a previous article (Vol. II, No.5) the difficulty of expanding exports of manufactures; for, as we said, these could not compete, price-wise. There is hope of expanding and diversifying the exports of agricultural products, but that would take some time before it can make an impact. (2) What of import substitutes? These would be dependent on considerable imported components for some time to come. Indeed, as the country industrializes, there emerges an increased demand for intermediate or producers' goods: raw materials, fuels, chemicals, metals and building materials of all sorts. Many of these producers' goods cannot be manufactured in the country economically at present. Indeed, as consumer goods industries expand, Ghana would simply shift her import requirements from such basic consumer commodities as textiles, sugar, flour and shoes to the capital goods necessary to produce these commodities. (3) There will also be pressure for expanded imports of other consumer goods because of the factor of an increasing population with an increasing per capita income. All these are expected to continue the trend of increasing imports by about 6 to 7% annually at least for the next ten to fifteen years. Exports as was mentioned, in the best estimates, are not expected to rise above 4% (and this is largely based on annual world increases in consumption of such commodities as cocoa, timber, etc.). So there shall, predictably, be a gap in the merchandise sector (the difference between imports and exports) currently running at about N¢40 million annually. In addition to exports and imports, another major factor to consider here is external debt servicing which is quite high. Thus, it is expected that the total foreign financing needed in Ghana's balance of

payments account may continue to be high, as much as N¢30 to N¢100 million per year.

Now Ghana may decide to take Burma's model of development and simply cut her industrialization to a level which could be financed from local sources. This may not be desirable on the grounds of the principle of rising expectations. The standard of living would likely remain at the current level or may even deteriorate in the formative years of this self-sufficiency programme. The sacrifice and hardship, moreover, in terms of greater taxation (which in any case is already quite high in Ghana) may not produce the results desired even in ten to fifteen years. Reliance on foreign capital financing to bridge the balance of payments gap, to improve the productive capacity of the country and to speed up the day that Ghana can have a fairly self-sustained industrialization programme can be the answer.

#### Type of Foreign Financing

Having established that in all likelihood there shall be a strong need for foreign financing in the country within the next ten to fifteen years the question then may be asked as to what type of foreign capital it should be. The problem is not so simple. There are a number of issues confronting a capital borrowing nation. One issue is that the world total demand for capital borrowing well exceeds the supply, so it may not always be easy to be choosy about the type of capital. Both multilateral aid (such as that given by U.N. agencies and the World Bank) and direct bilateral loans from Eastern and Western countries are scarce. The latter type is getting more difficult due to the easing of the cold war and also in the case of the U.S., because of the Vietnam War and her balance of payments problems.

Secondly, what is needed in addition to capital is the transfer of skills, technology and entrepreneurship to the productive sectors of Ghana's economy. As the manpower survey of 1962 has shown, Ghana would not even produce quantitatively within the next several years the high level manpower necessary to run a rapidly industrializing nation—this is not to mention the qualitative aspect. Special experienced qualified manpower is not likely to be available in sufficient quantities locally. All this means that, in addition to capital borrowing, Ghana would have to borrow skilled manpower and technology from abroad rather heavily.

It is in the light of this fact that direct private foreign investment is recommended over other types of capital inflow. It provides for capital, entrepreneurship, technology and skilled man-

power all in one package. It may be said, however, that alternative capital can be borrowed, foreign skills and technology contracted and even the actual running of the business can be had on an agreement basis, but experience shows that rarely does such synthesis rival the performance of a direct operation of an experienced enterprise. Here the element of risk taking is important and the experienced foreign investor knows how to take it (and this is the reason why in the formative years of a complex large scale industrial undertaking the risk decision-taking should be left with the foreigner, even though the foreign firm may have less than a majority of shares in the business.) Apart from this risk-taking aspect, there is the day-to-day management of complex enterprises—operations that would tax the short supply of experienced qualified manpower.

#### Control and Directional Policy

Foreign private investment presents disadvantages or costs to the economy, but these can often be outweighed by the advantages if properly directed. The control by foreigners of vital economic decisions affecting the country is one disadvantage. This is a most widespread fear. Typically, as a certain correspondent wrote to the *Observer* recently he expressed fear lest the American marines would one day land on Labadi Beach. They may do so, but all that depends on the type of government that is in power. The writer cannot see how this may happen in Modern Mexico or Canada despite the fact that U.S. investments are in control of a sizeable portion of the industries in each of these countries. Both these countries pursue highly independent economic and political policies.

The other major grievance against foreign investors is connected with the rate and amount of profits received. Statistics, however, show that monopolistic profits tend to be greater with domestically owned firms. But of course the difference is that the former may repatriate their profits while the latter keep their profits in the country. Here again progressive international firms would re-invest their profits if the economy is growing and thus the firms would grow with the growth of the economy. Other inducements such as tax incentives would make it far more attractive for the foreign firm to re-invest the profits than repatriate it. The main problem here is that with the growth of assets by foreigners, the liabilities of Ghanaians to foreigners grow in the same proportion—that is foreigners will come to own a bigger chunk of the Ghanaian economy. Here again government policy should be to insulate foreign equity from control over the economy.

This could be done by various means such as requiring an eventual local majority equity participation (and in this regard an Accra Stock Exchange is a most essential step). Share re-purchase option should be included in some foreign investment negotiations. In this respect joint international ventures (partnership between the foreign firm and a local private firm or government) has been about the brightest development in the field of foreign investment. The global trend in investments since the second world war has been along the joint international venture line. The profit making of the Ghanaian joint private public enterprises in contrast to losses of the state-owned enterprises supports the view that these types of relationships should be encouraged as much as possible in Ghana. The effect would also be to eliminate lopsided foreign ownership of businesses in this country and provide a base for a more vigorous training of Ghanaian managers who could take over one day in the enterprises.

#### Tax Concession

The government of Ghana, with prepared feasibility studies in hand, can take active steps to invite the right sort of foreign enterprise to come here for specific projects. In this respect, the revitalized Ghana Investment Bank has initiated some feasibility studies. Moreover the attraction process such as the ease of repatriation of profits, favourable rate of corporate and dividend tax, convertibility, and ability to import needed equipment are vitally important; for, Ghana is in competition with many developing countries for private investment funds. However, in her bid to get the investments she desires, Ghana does not have to make unnecessarily generous concessions. Of particular attention here is the present scheme of corporate tax exemptions for the first ten years of a business. The foreign firms may well be reaping huge profits after a year or two; thus, for eight years there could be huge profits amassed without any benefits to government revenues. This could be doubly hurtful in the case where government may also lose substantial revenue through import duty relief and protective tariff concessions. The whole business of generous corporate tax reliefs is a dubious one. Five years of corporate tax relief is quite adequate, as most governments do not give more. The purpose is to help infant industries reach the maturity stage through self-sustained profit-making. In this respect duty protection is much more important as an instrument of guaranteeing the profit-making ability of new industry. A factor to consider: a ten year tax relief may induce foreign firms to enter Ghana, make

profits and pull out after the ten year period of grace without having been once taxed. This would be a far more expensive deal for Ghana than a loan at thirty per cent rate of interest.

#### Benefits of Concessions

Another measure would be to prevent firms under the disguise of foreign investment to get the benefits of concessions for nothing more than a simple assembly or packaging operation (particularly those that are not likely to have any linkage effects in inducing more manufacturing in the country). These types of operations can also turn up to be nothing more than a subtle way of obtaining scarce foreign exchange for imports, otherwise prohibitive. In short, a foreign firm has to deserve the concessions and the foreign exchange. His activities should be checked periodically and enormous pressure has to be exerted to make the firm abide by its pledges to reduce the dependence on imported components and foreign personnel. This is to be done without scaring him away.

In conclusion, foreign investments should be treated in the same fashion as a bank would treat its borrowers. The borrowers are attracted by various incentives and measures, but those loaned to, must have the best possible qualifications. This policy of selective and regulated foreign investments can in the course of fifteen years contribute to making Ghana achieve the path of sufficiency in foreign exchange needs, for by then a whole range of viable and intermediate and finished goods industries would have been set up.

This coupled with other policy aims of the country, such as improved and diversified agriculture and economic integration with other West African countries, would have gone a long way into making Ghana a self-sustained economy.

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## ***Observer Notebook***

### **The Case of Seyoum Sabat**

GHANAIANS WHO know that Ethiopia's ageing Emperor Haile Selassie has never allowed political parties in his Empire have been surprised this week to learn that a certain Ethiopian, claiming to be leader of a political movement has fled to the Sudanese Republic. So also it seems are the Sudanese authorities who have placed Seyoum under surveillance until the cabinet decides on his appeal for political asylum.

Who is Seyoum? Is his position genuine? The answer is almost certainly yes. Seyoum is one of the brightest of the post war generation who in other African countries would have been the new nationalist leaders. Indeed, he was a schoolmate of Germaine Neway who planned the attempted coup d'etat in Ethiopia back in 1960. He worked for the State Bank before making his way to Switzerland and England for further education.

Always an outspoken critic of Ethiopia's feudal leaders it was unfortunate that Seyoum just came to prominence as a diplomat in Moscow—for he is not a communist. It seems his lively mind attracted Voroshilov, and he was soon recalled to Addis Ababa. He worked for the Haile Selassie Theatre but seemed to drift aimlessly. Foreigners found him a source of fun and gossip but many Ethiopians feared association with him because of his frank, straight talking. Few knew this was a front.

He was not involved in the attempted coup of 1960 but was arrested not so many months afterwards. It was never clear why he was detained—but he was kept in Jimma for years. Some said he was plotting with another member of the Imperial Family; others said he was too close to the Lord Chief Justice who was also arrested and detained for years without charge or trial, but nothing was proved. He remained uncowed when others of this group of friends—Hailu Kibret and his nephew—were secretly hanged in 1962.

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When he was released eventually, he was repeatedly overlooked when appointments were bestowed. Were the authorities expecting him to divulge some secret plot? Ethiopians could only speculate. Seyoum once contested an election in Addis Ababa. One of the first to do so—that was before his arrest. If he has since led a political movement it must, by the nature of Ethiopian political realities, have been semi-clandestine.

The issue before the Sudanese Government is complicated by the fact that one of Haile Selassie's chronic revolts—the Eritrean Independence Movement—keeps spilling over the frontier and causing incidents. Since the Sudan has similar problems of her own near her southern borders with Ethiopia, there is always the temptation to arrange mutually desired extraditions. But Seyoum is not an Eritrean or a Somali. His case appears genuine. Let us hope that he is granted his asylum. Perhaps he will write. There are too few books on Ethiopian Politics. One thing is certain. If Seyoum is returned to Addis Ababa we are unlikely to hear of him again.

### “Out !”

ASSOCIATION Football, or Soccer, is the world's most popular spectator-sport. It also happens to be the one most plagued by temper tantrums and bad behaviour, on the part of players and spectators alike. Even at the very top—the World Cup competitions—foul play in the field and rioting among the spectators are painfully frequent. Famous players and goal-scorers are often incapacitated through deliberate fouling by lesser lights from the opposite side: one watched in horror as the great Pele himself was reduced to limping, one-footed impotence at Liverpool during the 1966 World Cup, as first the Bulgarians then the Hungarians chopped him down by vicious but sly foul play. (True, Pele didn't seem in top form at the start of the tournament, but neither was he given a fair chance to get into his stride as the then world's greatest footballer).

The only way to make and keep football clean and safe is to uphold the stringent rules made by the authorities for that purpose. And the people who are in position to do this more than any others are of course the referees. That is why we must salute today Referee Kofi Andrews, for the uncompromising way in which he dealt with the ugly behaviour of Goalie Dodoo Ankrach and back-keeper Addo Odametey at the Hearts-Olympics League opening match of Sunday, May 28. Captain Andrews was entirely right in ordering Ankrach out for attacking the Olympics forward, Oti, after an infringement involving the two players which the referee had already called. He was equally justified in ordering Odametey to

follow his goalkeeper out of the field, after this captain—and Ghana International!—had rudely pitched the ball straight at the on-coming referee's face, or head, in a fit of temper at the dismissal of Ankrach.

Such behaviour on the part of ordinary “sportsmen” is bad enough; on the part of internationals and former internationals full of prestige, like these two, it is shocking. Captain Andrews was right, and we greet with further applause and satisfaction the approval of his action by the G.A.F.A. authorities later. Blatant ill-conduct like this should be handled not with kid gloves but with an iron fist. “Out !” with it. We want to breed sportsmen of world standards in performance as well as conduct, not footballing bulls, silly little table-tennis madonnas, and their kind.

If Odametey carries out his reported threat to retire from the “game I love so much”—to quote himself—we would be sorry to see him go. He has played well for Ghana for years, and been truly outstanding in some of the proudest performances of the Black Stars—now in temporary eclipse. But personality is not to be equated with principle, let alone set above it; nor can the greatest player ever be greater than the game. We can afford to lose Addo Odametey to our national team, if the worse came to the worst; we cannot afford to lose our pride and prestige as a sporting nation.

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## Letters

### The Public Executions

SIR—Mr. Kweku Folson writes under the title "The Public Executions—A National Disgrace?" In his article he abandons the question mark.

May I give the point of view of one foreigner who doesn't agree with him. But if I do so, may I also ask for the Editor's protection against other foreigners who, judging by a previous occasion, wish to accuse me of not being interested in the subject, but only in seeking publicity for myself.

Those Ghanaians who deplore the public executions are, I think, super-charged with humanitarian feelings but under-endoed with a sense of proportion. Mr. Folson gives two excellent reasons why the killings had to be done in public. The first—the need to convince the public that it had taken place, and second—the public demanded it. While half accepting the first he rejects the second, and his arguments appear to me to lose the logic of the earlier part of the article.

He compares the public demand with the so-called public demand under the Nkrumah regime for the public execution of Adamafo. It has already been pointed out that under Nkrumah such public views were unflinching and bogus; now they are "flinching" and genuine. Moreover, the NLC did not give in to what, according to Mr. Folson, the public wanted—execution without trial.

In my view, public execution was necessary because Ghana had been saved from destruction. When any of the European powers is threatened by destruction it does not hesitate to use war, which means the slaughter, often in public, of hundreds of thousands of people. In Germany's history are the concentration camps; in Britain's the fire raids on Hamburg and other cities and such other unpleasantnesses as the Hola camp in Kenya. What Ghana has done is nothing in comparison.

Nor need Mr. Folson fear that Ghanaians are sadists. All in wrestling and violence in films, to name but two Western phenomena, seem to me to be far more sadistic.

If I wanted to criticise Ghanaians I should do so for the way they sometimes treat their servants, not for watching a public execution.

Dept. of Modern Languages,  
Legon.

P. W. C. Maxwell

SIR—I have read with interest Mr. Kweku Folson's article which appeared in your issue of 26 May (Vol. II No. 11) headed: "The Public Executions—A National Disgrace?" While I quite agree with him on many points raised and admire his objective analysis of the whole situation, I wish to differ from his last conclusion that the execution was a national disgrace, and that all men of goodwill should protest against it.

I do not think the writer is aware of the contradictions impliedly stated in the article. He agrees that the people deserved execution for their heinous crime, but disapproves of it being taken place in public. He, however, feels that if it had not been done in public, Ghanaians, being prone to unfounded rumours' would have hardly believed it. The writer continues, and I quote: "To assure the public that the culprits had been executed all that was necessary was to call the representatives of the press, both local and foreign, to witness the execution. They could then publish the fact to

everybody."

Here, one is inclined to ask the writer the difference there is between his 'public' and representatives of the press. Is there any difference between an execution carried out before about 150 people and one carried out before a crowd of 10,000? Is he shocked by the number of people who attended the execution? Is he sure the same public would have been satisfied with press reports? What a contradiction!

The word 'public' appears a little misleading anyway; but to compare public opinion today to public opinion under the last regime is to make things even more misleading. Surely, public opinion under the N.L.C. is a "consensus" opinion of majority of Ghanaians, unlike public opinion under the dismissed government which was a sham. What is public opinion in Ghana today is majority-inspired because people are free to say "yes" or "no", and I don't think any sane government will ignore the opinion of the public it stands to serve. The writer himself admits that the government did not follow the public blindly otherwise it would execute the people in public without trial as the public demanded. Why then does he think that this same government capable of acting on its own carried out the public execution under pressure by 'uneducated public'?

In his hurried and undigested conclusion Mr. Kweku Folson feels that not a single 'reflective person' approved of the execution, although he states that people who witnessed the execution with joy comprised of men of all walks of life; from the "Mercedes-driving high to the unemployed low, pick-pockets and even innocent children." No doubt his 'reflective person' is yet to be born.

Mr. Kweku Folson's conclusion is indeed emotional. His assessment of the situation is misleading. He is no doubt exercising his newly-won freedom of speech. Every civilised nation is ruled by law. The writer is the only stranger in Jerusalem if he does not know that a law exists in Ghana today that people found guilty of subversion have to face a maximum sentence of death by firing squad. Laws in all civilised nations are made in accordance with requirements of the societies for which they are made. Suitable punishments are also determined according to the nature of the offence. The seriousness with which the government considers subversion is determined by the fact that the maximum sentence of the offence is death by firing squad. One who causes ordinary murder can die secretly in an electric chair, but one who attempts to throw the whole public into confusion should die before the same public.

Ghana is civilised, at least, on African standards. It is erroneous to think that Ghanaians are sadists. But it is also misleading to compare Ghana to the developed countries like Britain. They all went through the same revolutionary periods. If Ghanaians are sadistic then they should be left alone to behave sadistically.

St. Augustine's College,  
Cape Coast.

A. Badu-Nkansah.

### Anti-Apartheid Movement in Ghana

SIR—Do Ghanaians really care about the problems of the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Rhodesia? Over the last year there have been growing economic ties between the racialist regimes and some of the large firms operating in Ghana. Agreements which have

passed by without a single protest from any quarter in this country.

Unilever for instance, has just decided to spend NC270,000 in Rhodesia, in the words of one of its executives, "to help to stimulate many sectors of Rhodesia's economy". Perhaps this is why Kingsway Stores has found the need to sell shares to the Ghanaian public?

The Pioneer Tobacco Company is manufacturing State Express cigarettes. The proprietor of this brand is the Rembrandt Tobacco Company of South Africa, and the Chairman of this company, Mr. Rupert, is a well known financial supporter of Verwoerd and Vorster's Nationalist Party.

One of the largest banks has been renamed the Standard Bank of West Africa as it is now controlled by the Standard Bank of South Africa. Are you lending your money to Vorster?

The Anti-Apartheid Movement exists in many countries to remind both Governments and the public of the part they can play in supporting the call of the O.A.U. and the African Nationalists for a complete cultural and economic boycott of South Africa and Rhodesia. Perhaps the moment has come for a Ghanaian Anti-Apartheid Movement!

Ghana Medical School,  
P.O. Box 4236,  
Accra.

David R. Mobbs  
(Former Chairman, Scottish  
Anti-Apartheid Movement)

#### We should cater for their children too.

SIR—All freedom-loving Ghanaians owe it as a duty to honour the few men who laid down their lives in order that all of us may live as free men and women and in human dignity; for, in the language of the late Sir Winston Churchill 'never in the history of human struggles for freedom and liberty was so much owed by so many to so few.' Ghanaians have shown their appreciation and reverence for the supreme sacrifice which these few gallant soldiers made to liberate us from the clutches of a stupid tyranny by the spontaneous organisation of funeral celebrations for the late Lieutenant-General E. K. Kotoka and his Colleagues and by the enthusiastic and generous contributions they have been making to the Kotoka Trust Fund.

While we are all by our contributions demonstrating how we value the freedom won for us by these men. I should like to make one suggestion. I suggest that when the time comes for the N.L.C. and the Trustees of the Kotoka Trust Fund to dispense its funds, they should not forget the children of the few soldiers who died during the glorious revolution of 24th February 1966. They should earmark a proportion of the fund for the education of the children. That is the only way we can demonstrate in concrete terms what the few soldiers did for us.

Unlike the late Lieutenant-General E. K. Kotoka they did not live to see even for one day how liberated Ghanaians value the revolution they carried out. If we cater for their children, our action shall not only instil a high sense of patriotism in all Ghanaians, but it will also inspire all Ghanaian soldiers to make similar sacrifice when the occasion demands it.

I am sure the late Lt.-Gen Kotoka himself would prefer such a course to be taken for he was not just a great patriot but was above everything else a selfless person who loved his people. These facts about him are clearly revealed in his last earthly request to

his assassin: 'if you will not send me to the hospital then send these other wounded soldiers to the hospital'. In the same way he would say to us, "if you have raised funds to educate my children, then please use part to educate the children of these few soldiers too because they helped me to liberate you".

We shall therefore be doing the wish of the late Lieutenant-General Kotoka if we include these children in the list of the beneficiaries of his Trust Fund,  
Institute of African Studies,  
University of Ghana,  
Legon.

K. N. Bame.

#### Ministry of Education and Promotion Examinations

SIR—It is most unfair for the Ministry of Education to decide to suspend the Promotion Examinations conducted yearly for the Non-teaching personnel engaged in Government Educational Units and Higher Institutions in the country on the excuse that a review of the non-teaching establishment is being undertaken at present whilst other Government Departments of the Civil Service continue to conduct Promotion Examinations for their qualified personnel. The decision to suspend this year's examination is discriminatory, and I suggest that the decision be rescinded to allow the qualified personnel to sit for the examination THIS YEAR. The excuse that the exercise is being done "with a view to removing over-loads of work from the shoulders of some members of staff should not prevent the qualified members of staff from taking the examinations THIS YEAR.

If the Ministry is understaffed and cannot conduct the examination, I suggest that the whole exercise be transferred to a responsible examining body, say the West African Examinations Council, after negotiations with the Ministry to avert inconsistency and repetition next year.

Omanhene's Palace  
P.O. Box 5  
Oda

Kwasi Mensah.

#### Fair Treatment for all Teachers

SIR—On April 14, 1967, the head of the Aburi Methodist Training College wrote to some of those who had passed out thus:

"I have the honour to inform you that the Ministry of Education has so far released the results of only nine (9) of your colleagues to this office. We shall, however, get in touch with you as soon as your result is known to us."

This means that more results are to be expected. If so, then why did the Examination Council publish the results in the daily papers (Times, 5 April) and request unsuccessful students to re-apply for forms? Why has the Ministry not informed students whether they have in fact failed or not? Why keep us in suspense?

P O. Box 27  
Somanya.

J. A. Asante

#### Neon Signs and Foreign Currency

SIR—Ghana is short of foreign currency and that is why the little we have should be wisely used.

Neon signs are very expensive and since they are not manufactured in Ghana, they have to be imported; and this means the use of our very scarce foreign currency. Neon signs certainly do not fall within the items we desperately need to exist now, and one wonders why all this noise and emphasis on neon signs by the Accra-Tema City Council.

There are two Lebanese firms in this neon installation business and since they are foreigners whatever profits they make will be repatriated to their country in foreign currency.

The installation of neon signs cannot be described as an industry within the Ministry of Industries' definition, and one wonders under what business category these Lebanese fall for import licence purposes. In any case why give import licence for neon signs while the requirements for food, drugs, spare-parts and other essentials cannot be met?

The tax-payer would be happy if the Accra-Tema City Council would divert its energies from neon signs to the provision of streets, drains, water, dustbins, toilets, incinerators, transport facilities and the scores of other things they have so conveniently forgotten to do.

We can afford to do without neon signs in the mean time. Sense of Priorities please.

**Tax-Payer.**

(Name and address supplied—Editor)

#### **Is the Problem Salaries or High Cost of Living?**

SIR—The salaries committee has not completed its work. But before it does, I suggest that the real problem be tackled most realistically.

The problem is not with how much money is being paid to the worker as a wage or salary, but with how much money he pays out for the essentials of life.

The prices of essential goods have risen dramatically in recent months mainly because of the high tax and duty rates imposed on essential goods by the Government. Already there are very few goods to buy and these goods, essential though they are, are sold at cut-throat prices. The worker thus pays a greater part of his income to the Government in the form of taxes—purchase tax, sales tax, entertainment tax, etc. These overheads reduce his purchasing power tremendously.

May I suggest that the government reduce taxes and duties on essential goods to a minimum, and import more into the market and thus reduce their prices. This would in effect give more weight to the cedi, or to the employee's income. To pay him more money without reducing the cost of living will only mean pumping more money into the economy. If salaries and wages are increased the market woman will increase her prices too, unless an effective way of price control is devised.

Granted that the Government must earn revenue from taxes and duties in order to build the country. But must the rate be as high as they stand now?

Note that sales and purchase taxes are not paid by the seller but by the consumer—the worker.

P. O. Box 1507  
Accra. C. E. Quist

#### **The Legon Probe**

SIR—"Ex-Legonite" says that the N.L.C. should probe the University's administration and appointment of staff, because the University is supported by the Tax-payer. But so is the N.L.C.; so it would have to follow that somebody, say the University, should probe their appointment, which "Ex-Legonite" could hardly have wanted to say.

In a free country, Universities administer themselves and appoint their own staff. They concede to their governments the "things that are Caesar's" not the things that belong to Learning.

Classics Dept.  
Legon.

Daphne Hereward.

## **Reviews**

### *BOOK REVIEW*

#### **EFFICIENCY IN ROAD CONSTRUCTION**

(H.M.S.O. Publication London 1965)

Review by

J. W. S. de Graff-Johnson

IN JUNE 1965, the Economic Development Committee for Civil Engineering in the United Kingdom set up a Working Party on Costs and Productivity in Road Construction in the United Kingdom. The publication "Efficiency in Road Construction" is the result of the work of this Working Party and it is of interest to Ghanaians in that it deals in an authoritative and detailed manner with a problem that the country faces—inefficiency in road construction.

Since February 24, 1966 the country has witnessed the establishment of a series of Commissions of Enquiry. Most of these commissions of enquiry have had lawyers as chairmen and they have been concerned mainly with determining how bribery and corruption among politicians and public servants helped to drain the country of her much needed capital. A lot of surprising information has since emerged. It is now generally known that during the Nkrumah regime most contracts for Civil Engineering construction projects were subject to about 10% bribe, part of which might have found its way into Party coffers, but a not insignificant portion went into the pockets of individuals.

When it is noted that the gross domestic capital formation on building and road construction in Ghana for 1964 alone was about £94 million and that for the period 1960-1964 this ran up to about £376 million, the immense cost of bribery and corruption may be appreciated. There is therefore justification for investigating the corrupt practices rampant during the period if only it is to serve as a sort of deterrent to future politicians and public servants. We should not, however, believe that once bribery and corruption are removed, if indeed they can be removed, our troubles are over.

A deeper understanding of the workings of the Building and Road Construction Industry would indicate that for every 10% that went into bribery and corruption a proportionate 20% to 25% was wasted on inefficiency, disorganisation of the industry and a general lack of appreciation of the basic requirements for achieving efficiency and increasing productivity. Thus taking measures to reduce the possibility of recurrence of malpractices in the building and road construction industry without at the same time taking adequate steps to improve

efficiency, reduce cost and improve productivity in the industry is, to say the least, short-sighted.

The degree of inefficiency in building and road construction is not as high in U.K. as it is in Ghana; therefore, the need for getting better value for investment into building and road construction is even greater in Ghana than in U.K. Better value for building and road construction can only be achieved if for each mile of road constructed and for each house erected the minimum real resources are called for. This means that each project should require less labour, and use materials and machinery more economically. This requires better administration and better planning in the industry. The Working Party took great pains to isolate the numerous factors that influence costs and productivity in the industry and to make recommendations for improvements.

Not all the recommendations are applicable to the Ghanaian situation. The value of the findings of the Working Party may not be found in the direct application of their recommendations to the Building and Road Construction industry in Ghana, but in creating an awareness of the need for such detailed investigations if the country is to have better value for investments into the industry.

The structure of the Building and Road Construction Industry needs to be geared to the achievement of maximum efficiency. Of particular importance is the need to ensure that there are not too many firms chasing after a few contracts. Experience has shown that when that happens the firms have too little confidence in a continuing demand for their services and therefore they tend not to build up an organisation that will achieve the greatest possible cost savings in the long term. In Ghana, where state organisations have undertaken contracting jobs, recent redundancy has clearly shown the lack of wisdom in creating large organisations when there are significant fluctuations in the extent of Government developmental projects. The Government's contribution in this direction may be found in long term planning which will ensure continuous work and enable suppliers of materials to plan ahead and invest for a sufficient output.

The Committee found that competition among contractors for contracts was not sufficient to ensure the lowest possible price in constructional work. Open competition was found not to encourage long-term saving. The variation of design from construction which for years has been considered to be in the best interest of the client has been found to lead to extravagant design and expensive construction. These findings are

of tremendous value to the Industry in U.K. where the level of professional integrity is high. For a country that has only just graduated from a period when contracts were arbitrarily awarded based upon the extent of deposited percentage and with the level of professional integrity amongst both Ghanaian and expatriate contractors being at the level that it is, it will be suicidal to consider the removal of competitive tendering at the moment.

In all future contracts, particularly where state organisations take part, it will be necessary to conduct a costs study. This will indicate areas of inefficiency. Steps can then be taken to improve the efficiency.

The report of 48 pages has been published by HMSO. It is not a highly technical paper and will be found interesting.

### THEATRE

#### WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION

(Agatha Christie)

#### THE SWAMP DWELLERS

(Wole Soyinka)

Review

by

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

ACCRA IS at the moment bursting with theatrical life, amateur and professional. It is one of these periodical phenomena in the artistic world, though in London or New York it would more likely be a periodical bleakness in the offerings rather than no offerings at all. Lagos and Ibadan may be exceptional now and then, but by and large all West African countries suffer from long periods of theatrical famine. Just now we are having comparatively enough to feed on. In Nigeria Wole Soyinka and his contemporaries are irrepressible in productivity—in spite of political upheavals (perhaps even *because* of them); Sarif Easmon's *Lilys*, *Dear Lilys* is being readied for presentation in Freetown, Sierra Leone; and in Ghana we have had a fairly long run of productions and "happenings" from the various companies involving Beatty Casely Hayford, Efua Sutherland and Joe de Graft (of the University and the Drama Studio), George Anoh Wilson, and others.

Now comes a resurgence of activity from the always to be expected talents of the British Council people, this time principally the McAllums and the Calders. Iain McAllum has recently had a crowded and riotous "run" of Agatha Christie's "Witness", at the Arts Centre in Accra (May 24-27). His wife Ruth was in an outstanding minor role and Ian Calder in a star part; while Mrs. (Patricia) Calder has "just" (June 1 and 2) produced Soyinka's "Swamp Dwellers" before small, invited

audiences at the Calder residence on the 7th Avenue Extension. "Witness", in addition, was the first offering of a new amateur company: the International Drama Group, a phoenix out of the ashes of the old British Council players.

No two plays could be more dissimilar than *Witness for the Prosecution* and *The Swamp Dwellers*, a fact attested by the immediately perceivable contrast in venue. The Christie thriller, with 25 in the cast, would require the large—though by no means altogether adequate—stage at the Arts Centre; while Soyinka's potential little masterpiece of six actors just fitted into the sitting room-diner in which it was contained. The one is a skilled *tour de force* of manipulations and contrivances, unashamedly overt and even rampant; the other is a mood piece, ranging from *soto voce* sardonicism of quiet yet devastating intensity, to the towering rebellion of the swamp-dwellers' son against swamp dwelling.

Agatha Christie has her annoying ways with words and images, like everybody else; in *Witness for the Prosecution*, however, she provides straightforward, middle-brow theatre without wrinkles of doubt as to meaning. In any case a court scene, whether in fact or in fiction, is a notoriously successful formula for "spectating" which hardly ever fails. Even with its incredibly banal first act, shattered off with that most monumental cliché among exit-lines: "Never trust a woman!"; and even with its multiple twist at play's end which is at least one twist too many, *Witness for the Prosecution* makes for a fun-loaded evening.

It also has its poignancies and its moments of high tension. Loenard Hobbs, as Leonard Vole, brings off one of these with great *eclat* at the climax of his trial for the murder of the rich "old" lady. And there he finally up-ends a characterisation which until then had been somewhat suspect: one wondered whether it was the character or the actor's style that was slightly off the line of purity. The climax of the trial put all that right. In addition, Hobbs also had another gem in the last scene of the evening, which he polished brilliantly when going through his metamorphosis: from loving, forgiving, protective husband, to philanderer, hypocrite, and shyster.

The title role, the "Witness" herself, was played with professional panache by Pat Calder. Her Romaine Vole, wife of the accused man—or was she?—bristled with the proper mixture of treachery, perversity, sauciness, and *European* contempt for Anglo-Saxon obtuseness; she also lied with smoothness. The fate to which Vole's eventual perfidy drove her could hardly be called sporting.

But still in Romaine's favour be it said that she earned even her doom with dramatic conviction. Other parts received fine performances, especially those of the two leading counsel (Ian Calder and Frederic Leary), Clerk of the Court (Michael Humphries), the Judge (Leo Riby-Williams), and Janet Mackenzie (Ruth McAllum).

*The Swamp Dwellers* cast consisted of Pearl Jones-Quartey (Alu, the swamp-dwelling old wife), Nic Hoedzie (Makuri the husband), Joe Nii-Obli Armah (a beggar) Kwame Okoampa-Ahoofe (the Kadiye), Otanka Obetsebi-Lamprey (Igwezu, the son), and Evans Hunter (an attendant and drummer). The performance they gave under Pat Calder's direction rose from the *piano* of a "quiet" exchange of verbal blows between husband and wife to the *crescendo* of vocal rejection by Igwezu of most of the meaning of swamp-dwelling.

The contrast between the two extremes was very sharp indeed. One waits to see what either a T.V. production or a full-stage presentation would make of Igwezu's roaring decibels of sound, so fast and so furious that it was difficult to catch some of the words. The audience was much appreciative of play, players, and producer alike.

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## Commentary

### FOREIGN AID AND WORLD TRADE

*In view of the importance attached to aid by developing countries, we find it necessary to publish in our columns the views of an important American banker. We are grateful to the Standard Bank of West Africa for making this speech available to us—Ed.*

THE STANDARD Bank reports that David Rockefeller, president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A., which is associated with the Standard Bank Group speaking before the Council on Foreign Relations in Chicago last week, said that it would be "dangerously short-sighted" for Congress to cut back on U.S. foreign aid appropriations at a time when "the need is so great and the prospects for achievement so promising."

Mr. Rockefeller said "what we need is a progressively expanded programme of assistance, not a reduced one." He added that "in this critical area, the choice we face is to bear the costs—onerous though they may be—or bear the consequences of evading them."

The New York banker pointed out that the long-term security of the U.S. is directly linked to the development of less fortunate nations into "stable and peace-seeking" political entities.

"Such a world", he said, "is not likely to emerge so long as two-thirds of the earth's people continue to live far below the waterline of adequacy.

"The prime requirement," he said, "is to think and act on a scale commensurate with the mammoth problems faced by the developing nations. This means setting aside a larger share of funds for this purpose, and shifting the nature of economic aid from the present dominance of bilateral arrangements to a much greater reliance on multilateral aid."

Mr. Rockefeller noted that last year industrial nations as a group pumped \$7.5 billion in new funds into developing areas. He pointed out, however, that the net flow was considerably less because of the mounting burden of repayments of interest and principal on past loans.

"One estimate," he said, "places the real cost to donor nations at somewhere between \$4.5 and \$5 billion, which is far less than the rich can afford or the poor can absorb. More than that, there has been no material increase in this sum over the past five years.

"The flow of aid has been a declining proportion of the total output of both the developed and the developing nations. So at a time that should be an exhilarating one in economic development, we are actually slowing down and in danger of losing our momentum.

"The gross national product of all the industrial nations is now running about \$1.5 trillion a year. A figure of one per cent for the gross flow of economic aid—which many authorities have recommended and which I myself feel would be appropriate—would work out to about \$15 billion, double the present level."

Calling the multilateral approach the best hope of reaching such a dimension of aid, Mr. Rockefeller said, "In the past, our own government has tried without too much success to persuade other countries to step up their aid, but they have had understandable misgivings about supporting purely American aims. However, they might be more willing to provide funds through a multinational agency such as the World Bank, if the United States showed that it, too, was prepared to raise its own contribution."

Presenting his case for increasing U.S. foreign aid appropriations, Mr. Rockefeller said:

✓ "First, the aid programme is working—that is, it is moving some nations toward what presidential adviser Walt Rostow calls the 'takeoff' into self-sustained growth.

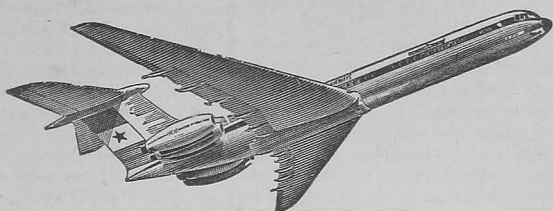
✓ "Second, it is working because, in two decades of trial-and-error, we have learned how to administer it effectively. There is still considerable room for improvement, but I am persuaded that we are on the right course.

✓ "Third, from a political, economic and moral standpoint, it is an essential—indeed, an indispensable—corollary to our leadership role in the Free World."

Elaborating further, he said, "When I say the aid programme is working, I mean that it is making a substantial difference in the lives of millions of people living in countries as widely scattered as Taiwan, Mexico, Thailand, Israel, Venezuela and many others. Unfortunately, failures are often easier to identify than successes. The overthrow of a corrupt regime supported by our aid commands bold headlines. An increase of \$5 a year in a country's per capita income stirs scant public attention.

"Yet measured by the hard calculus of tangible accomplishment, the developing nations as a group have made notable advances. In the past decade, their industrial production has doubled. So has the output of their mines. The manufacture of steel has tripled, and annual cement production is now higher than the total pre-World War II output of Western Europe and North America combined. Transportation and education have been vastly expanded.

"It is paradoxical and more than a little ironic, I think, that just when our foreign aid programme is most successful in its impact on the developing



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nations abroad, it seems to be at its lowest ebb in public and Congressional support at home.

"Now that we have learned how to make foreign aid work, we should not be reluctant to apply increasing resources to the task. Surely, a nation which can afford to spend \$20 billion or more in Vietnam, can afford to spend a fraction as much to eliminate the conditions that feed such conflicts.

"It seems to me, therefore, that rather than cutting back on foreign aid funds, Congress would be well advised to set an example for other industrial nations by maintaining and even increasing our own efforts."

## Miscellaneous

### AN OPEN LETTER TO MR. HARLLEY

By  
*Kontopiaat*

DEAR MR. HARLLEY,

You know that I have always admired you, and my admiration soared to its highest point as a result of the brave and enviable role you played in the glorious coup of 24th February—the year is not even necessary now, rather like Quartorze Juillet ! I did get a bit frightened of you when you assumed the awe-inspiring colonial title of I.G.P. But thank God you have not assumed all the airs and appurtenances of that title. At least you are still gay, not grim, and sociable, not snobbish. Indeed, you even smiled at me (probably unconsciously though) the last time I saw you drive past in that car with that terryfying number plate.

But this is not a panegyric ! I am writing to you now because my spies have sent me a lot of complaints and some rather disturbing news—not rumours please, Mr. I.G.P.—about the organisation that you are heading now, and I feel that as a responsible citizen and a suffering but submissive tax-payer I should bring them to your attention.

The first news concerns the excellent and ready way that people have discovered after the inglorious insurrection of getting rid of their enemies, rivals, over-bearing and grabbing mistresses and impertinent girl-friends (you can prolong the list, Sir). One has only to telephone or write an anonymous letter to the nearest Police Station that so and so rejoiced on that eventful morning and that person is promptly picked up. As a result of this exercise, my spies assure me that hundreds of people in different parts of the country have in fact been arrested and are being held in various Police Stations, army barracks, etc. What is even more disturbing is the report that nobody has gone to question them or say anything to them since they were put away. Mr. I.G.P., are you

aware of all this? I am, because fortunately some of my enemies are involved. If you are, don't you think that this is too reminiscent of the pre-24th era ? Are we back then to where we started from ? We can't be, Sir, because you have not changed your post-24th title ! I think justice and the spirit of the 24th Revolution demand that these very wide reports—not rumours, Sir—should be promptly investigated by your organisation, and these people including even my enemies be tried and either properly put away or released.

My second complaint is about the business of over-speeding and your people who deal with it. Mr. I.G.P., why in Kwaku Fri's name do your people have to arrest any driver doing between 30 and 45 miles per hour on double-carriage roads or on the beautiful broad stretch from the Airport petrol-filling stations to the Airport Police Station in Accra. Why, Sir, are these double-carriage roads constructed ? Are they meant to accelerate the flow of traffic or simply for aesthetic reasons, rather obviously like the Tema Motor-Way ? Furthermore, is the arrest of drivers allegedly over-speeding on such absolutely safe broad roads meant to be a punitive measure or a fund-raising exercise ? If it is the latter, and this is precisely how I see it, on whose behalf is it: the State or the men usually in smocks who hide in the bush or behind poles ? Mr. I.G.P., the answer is obvious if you have checked up, as my spies have, on the number of drivers that are arrested on the spot and the number that do appear at that famous court rather deliberately tucked away in an obscure but picturesque part of Accra, namely, Accra Lagos Town, now given the fascinating misnomer of Accra New Town !

And talking of this court reminds me of what does happen to those who actually end up there. In the first place they are almost invariably accused of doing 40 miles per hour. At least on the day that I happened to be present, the ten unfortunate victims arrested in different parts of Accra were all reported to have been doing 40 miles per hour ! It could have been sheer coincidence but it is a strange one none-the-less. Secondly, if you plead guilty don't bother to give any explanation because not much notice is really taken of it. The fine appears to be fixed—Ten Adomako's = Two New Cedis for every mile in excess of 30 m.p.h. But if you make the mistake of pleading not guilty on the grounds that you were in fact doing 29.999 miles per hour and not 40, or that you were not the one over-speeding but rather the driver in front of you, woe betide you !! Your case is immediately adjourned, you are granted bail in your own cognisance if you happen to be wearing a decent suit and then you have to turn up every

fortnight and sit throughout the day in the hope that your case might come up. Mr. I.G.P., and in this case Mr. Chief Justice and Attorney General too, I met people there who told me that they have been regularly showing their noses there every fortnight for the last year and their cases have not come up as yet! Surely, surely, Mr. I.G.P. and Mr. Chief Justice you must do something about this fortnightly ordeal, and you Mr. I.G.P. should look into this 30 miles per hour business on double-carriage roads. You will, won't you?

Mr. I.G.P., I have yet a third complaint and this is about your men at the check-points. Quite honestly what are they looking for? I have never been able to find out. Moreover I have noticed that different officers use different criteria for the type of cars and lorries they stop and search. I have noticed—or rather my spies have—that, at most check points, army officers' cars and private cars are not searched. When I once asked a policeman at one of these points why he did not stop and search my car or that of the army officer in the light of recent events, he just turned round and said, "You see"! When I told him that I did not see anything he simply waved me on. Obviously in Ghana, the law (police) respects the person, and the bigger the person's car and the smarter the attire one is wearing, the more respected he is.

However, there are three categories of vehicles that are always stopped and the motions of a search are gone through. These are taxis, mammy lorries and those small buses known as *Trotro* ("three pence-three pence" which was the standard charge when they began operating) in Accra, or *Anwona Patuo* (Anwona owl since their faces are as short as those of owls) in Kumasi, or *Fa wo sem ko* (Advance in the direction of your cheeks, which in fact you do because of the arrangements of the seats) in Koforidua. I have always wondered why these particular vehicles are always searched. Surely it is not because they alone are capable of carrying contraband goods or high explosives. It was only recently that the most inquisitive and therefore most efficient junior officer of my spies gave me a hint. I was told that almost invariably something is passed by the driver to the officer. What that something is, Mr. I.G.P., do please find out yourself.

Finally, and this is a complaint directed to me by your men in the sub-stations, they complain incessantly of lack of facilities for work and inadequate hands. I had an opportunity to check up on these when I had the fortune of coming across a taxi driver assaulting, to put decently, a young girl of about 16. I gave chase but athletics was never one of my strong points at school and so the taxi driver got into his car and drove away.

I, however, succeeded in taking down his number because, unfortunately for him, it was exactly the same as the year in which a favourite battle of mine was fought in the fifteenth century. History does have its practical uses after all! I tried to telephone to the nearest Police Station but failing to get through, I drove there myself. When I asked about the phone, the officer-on-duty told me that it broke down six months ago and had not been repaired since in spite of their repeated appeals! I reported the case and proudly called out the number of the taxi. Now, in any country where the Police are really "police", this taxi would have been picked up in a matter of minutes, let alone hours. But when I went to the Police Station a week later nothing had been heard about the taxi. When I asked them why they had not gone to the most obvious place, the Licence Office, which happened to be only a few miles away, to trace the owner of the taxi, I was told that the station was woefully understaffed and no officer could be spared. It was, in fact, not until almost a fortnight after my report that the taxi driver was apprehended.

Mr. I.G.P., I believe I have said enough to convince you that I am really totally dissatisfied with your organisation, and that it needs the same sort of shake-up that the Army, thanks to my friend General Ankrah (he does not know me though!), has recently been subjected to. I am one with you in looking for "rumour-mongers".

## News Summary

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

28/5/67

### More trials promised

AT A press conference in Accra on 25/5/67, Lt-Gen. Ankrah said that the trial of a number of non-commissioned officers in the Army alleged to be involved in the events of April 17 would be announced soon. Investigations were still going on. In the meantime certain aspects of the internal security system of the country were being reviewed and reorganised as a matter of urgency. Meanwhile, three officers and 211 men of the Ghana Army have been placed in custody.

The General also spoke about the role of the press and radio, and severely criticized the performance of the press. He expressed his belief in a strong and independent press, but urged that a greater sense of discretion and responsibility might be shown.

### I.M.F. Assistance

THE I.M.F. has granted Ghana a stand-by aid of NC17m. for a year. The Government says this, together with further assistance from friendly countries, will be used for a larger flow of imports, especially of raw materials and spare parts.

### Joint State-private cement enterprise

A JOINT Ghanaian-Norwegian company, known as Ghana Cement Works Limited, is to be formed to take over all the assets and management of the Tema and

Takoradi clinker grinding mills. An agreement for the establishment of the company was signed on behalf of the government by the N.L.C. member responsible for Industries, Mr. B. A. Yakubu, and Mr. E. A. Tolsby, Managing-Director of the Norway Cement Export Limited signed for his country. The Company will have a total paid-up capital of NC2m. The Ghana government will subscribe 75 per cent of the capital and the Norwegian company will subscribe 25 per cent. The agreement, according to the Ministry of Industries, is in accordance with the policy of the N.L.C. that private foreign capital and enterprise should be invited to participate with the government in the efficient management of state enterprises.

#### Bottling Company to float shares to public

THE Chairman of the Economic Committee, Mr. Omaboe, announced at a news briefing that the N.L.C. has decided to turn the Ghana Bottling Company, the producers of Pepsi Cola, into a public company. Shares will be floated for purchase by the public. Mr. Omaboe refuted press reports that the government had handed back to Mr. W. A. Wiafe, an Accra businessman, the company as well as the West Coast Insurance company.

#### Foreign Capital for local enterprise

THE Chairman of the Negotiation Committee of the State Enterprises Secretariat, Mr. R. S. Amegashie, told a news conference during the week that Ghana may earn about six million new cedis in foreign exchange through the participation of foreign companies in four state-owned enterprises. This amount of foreign exchange will come from the share capitals of the prospective companies. The enterprises, are the Kade Match Factory, the State Pharmaceutical Corporation, the Rubber projects and the Tema and the Takoradi cement works. The Rubber project will be managed by Firestone Tyre and Rubber Company of the U.S., the Kade Match Factory by the Franco-Kuwait Merger, the State Pharmaceutical Corporation by the Abbott Laboratories of the U.S. and the Tema and Takoradi cement works by the Norway Cement Exports Limited.

4/6/67

#### Death Sentences Commuted

IT HAS been announced that the Chairman of the N.L.C. and Commander-in-Chief of the Ghana Armed Forces, Lt-General J. A. Ankrh, has commuted to 40 years imprisonment each with hard labour the death sentences passed last week on the three persons convicted of subversion by a Military Tribunal in Accra. They are Sampson Baffour Awuah, John Osei Poku, former Chief Administrative Officer of the Workers Brigade, and Lt-Augustus Owusu-Gyimah of the Cavalry Squadron of the Ghana Army. General Ankrh has also reduced to 10 years with hard labour the 25 years sentence of the fourth accused person, Kofi Owusu, a former student of the Konongo-Odumasi Secondary School, who was found guilty of knowing subversion and failing to report it to the authorities.

#### Kotoka Trust Fund—the Civil Service

AN ANNOUNCEMENT from the Establishments Secretariat says it has been decided that as a demon-

stration of the appreciation of the benefits which flowed from the gallantry of the officers and men who staged the 24th February Revolution, members of the Civil Service are to make voluntary contributions to the Kotoka Trust Fund at stipulated rates for the months of May, June and July. Officers on salary of NC2,940 per annum and above are to donate one new cedi. Officers on NC1,360 per annum and above, 30 new peswas and those taking below NC1,360, 20 peswas. The announcement says the stipulated rates may be exceeded by those whose generosity and means permit them to do so. The contributions are to be collected on each pay-day for the three months by Heads of Departments who will pay in to the nearest District Treasury and furnish particulars of payments to the Regional Administrative officer. The Regional Administrative Officer will inform the Secretary to the National Liberation Council who will in turn notify the Chairman of the Kotoka Trust Fund. A special 14 page booklet, priced at 5 Np has been published on the Fund.

#### GHANA PRESS RELEASE

##### Shortage of Dry-Cell Batteries

FOLLOWING reports in some publications attributing the present shortage of Dry-cell batteries to a ban purported to have been placed on the importation of this commodity into the country, the Ministry of Trade wishes to make it clear to the public that the importation of this item has neither been banned nor restricted. In support of this, import licenses totalling NC1,718,000.00 were issued early April to some importers, including the large firms for the importation of "electric machinery, apparatus and appliances including batteries". These licences were published in the Commercial and Industrial Bulletin No. 20 of 12th May, 1967.

In addition to these, licences totalling NC129,186.00 were issued to some importers during the trade fair for the importation of dry-cell batteries only.

1st June, 1967. Issued by the Ministry of Information

#### SUBSCRIPTION RATES—THE LEGON OBSERVER

	Surface				Air			
	6 months		1 year		6 months		1 year	
Currency	Sterl.	NC	Sterl.	NC	Sterl.	NC	Sterl.	NC
Ghana	23/-	2.30	45/-	4.50				
Africa	28/-	2.80	55/-	5.50	38/-	3.80	70/-	7.00
U.K.	28/-	2.80	55/-	5.50	64/-	6.40	120/-	12.00
Europe	30/-	3.00	60/-	6.00	84/-	8.40	160/-	16.00
U.S.	30/-	3.00	60/-	6.00	84/-	8.40	160/-	16.00
Canada	30/-	3.00	60/-	6.00	84/-	8.40	160/-	16.00

Minimum Subscription: 6 Months

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