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EDITORIAL

BRINKMANSHIP IN THE MIDDLE EAST

CONES OF political storm have been gathering in the Middle East over the Israeli-Egyptian border dispute since last week. The Israeli-Egyptian border dispute became serious last week when the United Nations Peace-keeping Force was precipitately withdrawn from the Middle East.

Immediately after the withdrawal, authoritative reports from Cairo stated that Egyptian Armed Forces had arrived at Sharm El Sheik, which overlooks the Gulf of Aqaba; at the same time an Egyptian cruiser, motor torpedo boats and submarines had passed through the Suez Canal apparently heading for the Red Sea and a possible blockade of the Gulf of Aqaba.

The Western Powers might have believed that the Egyptian military build-up was just a demonstration. However, last Tuesday, it was announced that President Nasser had closed the Gulf of Aqaba, Israel's only access to the sea, which was formerly protected by a U.N. Peace-keeping Force. The closure of the Gulf is all the more dangerous in view not only of America's threat that it considers the Gulf as an international water-way, but also in view of Israel's contention that such a closure which interferes with shipping will be considered as a sufficient cause for war.

President Nasser's move is far from being a bluff which may be called off easily by an Israeli threat. Nasser's cause is the cause of all the Arabs; in fact, Iraq has offered—and Nasser has accepted the offer—to despatch Iraqi Armed Forces, comprising infantry, armoured and air force units. Moreover, Nasser may find it extremely difficult to go back on his decision; for, if he does—say, under U Thant's persuasion—he might be considered over-conciliatory by the Arabs who are emotionally involved in the dispute with the Israelis. This means that much hope cannot be put on the meeting between Nasser and U Thant.

Ever since Israel became a state in Palestine in 1948, the relations between the Israelis and the Arabs have been regulated by a series of armistice agreements. In May 1947 a majority decision in the U.N. recommended the termination of the British mandate over Palestine, to be followed immediately by the independence of Palestine. The majority wished to see Arab and Jewish states linked in an economic union in Palestine, with Jerusalem, the capital, as an international enclave. This plan was rejected by the Arabs, and fighting immediately broke out between Jews and Arabs with the Jews emerging victorious in the war. The victory of the Jews, which immediately was followed by the establishment of the state of Israel also began the exodus of about one million Arabs from Palestine into neighbouring

Arab countries. It is this mass exodus of Arabs, who are always looking forward to returning to their homes in Palestine, that lies at the root of all the present Israeli-Egyptian conflict. The Arab refugees have never been reconciled to their exile; moreover Israel, metaphorically and literally, has remained a Western island in a sea of Arabs.

A further complicating factor seems to be that Britain, France and the United States, on their past involvement in the Israeli-Egyptian dispute, seem to be prejudiced in favour of Israel, thus making the whole dispute a jigsaw of vested international interests. It is most unfortunate that political problems in Asia, Africa and Latin America are always subject to intense international pressures involving the rich industrialized West and Russia who can always have their way.

What has to be done at the moment is to bring in the United Nations which seems to be the only hope of the small nations of the world. But here, as in the Suez crisis, success lies in persuading the United States that peace must come to the Middle East by arriving at a just agreement in the Israeli-Egyptian dispute.

The editorial went to the Press on Tuesday

—Ed.

WHEN TO CHANGE, THE OIL

One of the most worrying problems for the motorist is deciding when to change the oil. On the one hand, for reasons of economy it is a pity to change it too often, but on the other, by economizing on lubricating oil one may be running the risk of ruining the engine.

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L.S.N.A. Communication

DECENTRALIZATION AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT—PART I

By

Our Political Correspondent

CENTRALIZATION is one of the most significant trends in all modern governments. More and more power gathers in the hands of every modern state, be the state a federal or a unitary one. Whereas in the past local, and even regional, units of government had their known fields of activity in the promotion of which they had considerable room for independent and unhampered action, now the centre claims to be the source not only of power but also of initiative and competence.

Increasing Centralization

There are very good reasons for this increasing centralization in modern governments. Universal adult suffrage has put political power in the hands of the common man and he has, quite rightly, used his political power to redress social and economic injustices in Society. The social and economic functions of the state have as a result widened. Economic crises and outright depressions have also forced the state to assume wide powers of control over the economy and world wars have added immeasurably to these powers. Not to be left behind, the development of the international economy has added its quota to the trend. Within the context of underdeveloped economies all these factors are multiplied several times over.

Liberty and Decentralization

Man, however, does not live by bread alone—there are other values of life that are dear to his heart. Whilst appreciating the economic benefits of centralization he is not unconcerned at the threat centralization itself poses to his liberty. Of what use is economic prosperity if man crushed by the weight of an omnipotent and is omniscient government? Of what use is a surfeit of goods if man does not realize the free expression of himself in them? What meaningful interest can the downtrodden African have in the economic prosperity of South Africa? It is not impossible to find a satisfactory niche for the common man within the government of a state in such a way as to retain the economic benefits of centralization. This is a pressing necessity in every modern state and Ghana is no exception. For this reason, if not for any other, the Constitution-makers must give serious attention to the problem of decentralisation.

Multi-Tribal State

In Ghana (as in most African countries) there are, in addition to the considerations adduced above, specific reasons why the Constitutional Commission must turn its serious attention to the problem of decentralisation. Ghana is a multi-ethnic state, like most other African countries. To most of its citizens the fact of being an Ewe or Fanti or Ga or Ashanti or Dagomba is more significant, more meaningful than the fact of being a Ghanaian. Indeed, it is doubtful whether to the vast multitudes of illiterates being a Ghanaian is comprehensible at all. It will take years of education and wise leadership to evolve a nation, in the true sense of the term, in which the fact of being a Ghanaian will be more meaningful than that of being a member of an ethnic group. One thing is certain: people cannot be dragged into forgetting their ethnic roots; they cannot be forced into embracing a national culture. In making arrangements for the government of such a country, therefore, it is necessary to ensure that the more or less localised character of the traditional system of government is not completely erased. Power, in other words, must be decentralized in such a way that the ethnic-local areas can participate, more or less directly, in the process of decision-making.

Uneven Distribution of Resources

Nature itself has not been of much help, in that by not distributing its resources evenly it has increased the differences, even the antipathies, between the various ethnic groups. Richer areas have never looked kindly on attempts to siphon off their wealth for the development of less rich areas and where different ethnic groups are involved reluctance almost changes into hostility. It is unhelpful to dismiss this as selfishness; it has recurred so regularly in the histories of so many countries that constitution-makers should accept it as natural and make provision to deal with it.

Pattern of Colonial Expansion and Administration

When to these factors is added the historical pattern of colonial expansion and administration in the country, as in most other African countries, the case for some measure of decentralization becomes irresistible. The fact that contact with Europe was much earlier along the coast, with all its consequences by way of education and acquisition of skills, has always put those farther from the coast at a great disadvantage and made the relationship between the two groups of people appear to be one of subordination and domination. Admittedly this is not as strong here as in Nigeria or Liberia or Sierra Leone, but it will be a great

mistake to pretend that it does not exist in Ghana at all. Moreover, it must always be remembered that it was not until 1951 that a unitary appearance was given to the government and administration of Ghana. Before then even the Legislative Council did not legislate for the North, just as it had not done so for Ashanti until 1946. As for the administrations, they had been virtually self-contained under Provincial or, later, Regional Commissioners. And after 1951 there was only an appearance of a unitary system, for the political and administrative units established by the historical pattern of colonial expansion have never been eradicated, having over the years acquired such deep roots as to make them real entities. The C.P.P. could not abolish regionalism in the administration of the country, try as it did. Below the over-centralized party-political structure was always a regionalized administrative system.

Verdict of the Past

It is clear, therefore, why all commissions and committees that have ever looked into the problems of government and administration in the country have, without exception, advocated some form of regional devolution. The Watson Commission (1948), the Coussey Committee (1949), Sir Sidney Phillipson (1951), the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly on Federal System of Government and Second Chamber for the Gold Coast (1951), Sir Frederick Bourne (1955) and the Regional Constitutional Commission (1958), not to mention the Greenwood Commission (1957)—each and everyone of these came to the conclusion that there must be regional devolution in the country. Indeed, Nkrumah himself, until Independence, accepted this position and promised to extend the experiment with the Trans-Volta Togoland Development Committee to the rest of the country. He also accepted the provision in the Independence Constitution which stipulated that the Regional Assemblies provided for under the Constitution would have "effective powers in specified fields". With his characteristic perversity and duplicity, however, Nkrumah promptly went back on his word after Independence. The Constitutional Commission must pay heed to the unanimous opinions of their predecessors.

Character of Decentralized System

What measure of decentralization, then, is to be introduced into the country? The intention, it has been argued above, is not to roll the wheel back and undo the advantages of centralization, but to find a meaningful place for the individual in the processes of decision-making especially in things that affect him more intimately whilst retaining the undoubted advantages of centra-

lization. This argues two conclusions. First, local government should be made real and effective. Secondly, whilst making provision for regional devolution in specified fields there should be no truck with federalism. The history of the federalist agitation in Ghana actually proves that what the federalists wanted was not federalism, properly so called, but a measure of decentralization that would serve as a buffer against the aggressive, dogmatic and thoughtless centralizing and anti-traditionalist policies of the C.P.P.

Regional Councils

Take regional devolution first. There should be Regional Councils or Regional Development Committees. (The name is of no great importance so long as it is not misleading.) These bodies should have two component parts—local council representatives and representatives of chiefs. The local council representatives should be elected by the highest tier of local councils, where the councils are tiered; where they are not tiered, all local councils should send representatives. The representatives of chiefs should be elected by the Houses of Chiefs and should constitute one-fourth of the membership. We believe chiefs will have a very useful role to play in regional development in harnessing ethnic pride and loyalty and traditional wisdom in governing medium-size areas to the solution of regional problems. It is, perhaps, useful to indicate here that the Houses of Chiefs, should remain as they are now: their composition, powers and functions (with a few variations) should be the same as provided for under the Houses of Chiefs Act, 1958.

The Regional Councils should be charged with the responsibility for regional economic development. That is not to say that they should be charged with responsibility for economic development that lies in or affect regions. That would be clearly absurd since every development project lies within one region or another. Rather, it means that *economic development with an eye on regional improvement* should be the responsibility of Regional Councils, whilst economic development that is necessary for national reasons, or directly affect more than one region or the resources for which are beyond the capacity of individual regions should be the responsibility of the national government. Thus, Regional Councils can be competent in such fields as local government, agriculture, animal health and forestry, education, communications, housing, town and country planning, medical and health services etc. Most of these powers will have to be concurrent to both Regional Councils and the central government. There is no reason, for example, why Regional

Councils, in co-operation with local councils, should not be responsible for elementary education and, perhaps, take also secondary and technical education whilst the national government concentrates on all forms of higher education. Nor, to take another example, is there any valid reason against Regional Councils being responsible for second-class trunk roads whilst the national government continues to be responsible for first-class trunk roads.

Non-Legislative Bodies

The Regional Councils suggested here are not to be legislative bodies, possessing neither original nor derivative powers to make laws; nor are they expected to have political functions except as necessarily flow from the functions they perform in the economic sphere. They will neither set up executives of their own nor establish an administrative machinery parallel to that of the central Government. They will be attached to, and work through, the regional administrative machinery of the central government. Where they are competent to take policy decisions it will be the inescapable responsibility of the regional administrative machinery of the central government to implement the policy decisions arrived at. Both the regional administrations and the central government will, of course, be at liberty to consult the Regional Councils on any matter whatever.

Financial Resources

It is important to bear in mind that the Regional Councils envisaged here are not to possess the power of taxation. That, however, does not mean that they will be financially at the beck and call of the central government. It is proposed that Regional Councils should have all their funds from the central government, but the latter should not have a free hand either to provide or withhold these funds, nor should they be free to determine how much should be made available or how it should be distributed. The Regional Councils should, as of right, be entitled to a fixed percentage of the national budget and each Regional Council should be entitled to a fixed proportion of the sum available. This provision should be written into the Constitution and entrenched.

It is hoped that these suggestions, if accepted, will ensure some measure of regional autonomy without saddling the country with a complete federal apparatus. They will also bring the government closer to the people and harness regional sentiments, initiative and knowledge to the solution of regional problems. Above all, they will lead to a more prevailing sense of justice which will be born of the feeling that no one region or group of regions is out to cheat the rest.

The Economy

GHANA'S POLICY FOR ECONOMIC REHABILITATION

By

John K. Orleans-Lindsay

(Economist, Research Dept., Bank of Ghana)

THE PENULTIMATE paragraph of the editorial "Economic Co-operation in West Africa," of 12 May, revealed that the *Legon Observer* is unaware of the existence of an economic policy for Ghana. This is most unfortunate for a paper which is the organ of a Society on National Affairs.

The aim of this note is to draw attention to the existence of an economic policy drawn up by the Economic Committee for the country, and to show how this policy has been pursued in solving the economic problems which were prevailing when the N.L.C. took over the Government about sixteen months ago.

The Economic Problems

At that time the country was on the threshold of total economic and financial collapse. This was the result of past budgetary deficits which had been financed mostly by inflationary methods. The world price for Ghana's main export crop, cocoa, which fell to catastrophic low levels around 1964/1965 also contributed to the strain on government finances and, particularly, on the balance of payments which was already heavily burdened with a large external debt the full extent of which had not been known previously. The deficits on the balance of payments in turn caused a serious depletion of our foreign exchange reserves which fell from N¢66 million at the end of 1964 to N¢0.9 million a year later, and registered a negative figure around February 1966.

The real growth of our gross domestic product has been negligible in the past few years, and in 1965 the increase was less than 0.5%. During this same period, however, the country's capacity to produce goods and services was greatly expanded as a result of large investments made, but this capacity remained extensively unexploited because of scarcity of raw materials and spare parts caused by lack of foreign exchange and the inefficient method of allocating import licences.

The shortage in the supply of local foodstuffs and some essential consumer goods and the large expansion in monetary demand that arose from the increasing budgetary deficits resulted in a sharp increase in prices (whose level could not be officially controlled). Concurrently, external trade and payments restrictions were intensified. The country thus faced a crisis of confidence, both at home and abroad.

The Urgent Measures

For any government the problems just mentioned are enormous. The N.L.C.'s immediate task was, therefore, to introduce emergency measures that would save the economy from total collapse before essential economic reforms were introduced later to ensure the smooth functioning of the economy. (See *The Rebirth of Ghana* pp. 25 and 26, Ministry of Information, Accra, March, 1966). The first major action of the government in the economic field was the appointment of an Economic Committee to direct and co-ordinate economic affairs. As far as can be ascertained this national Committee has not given any cause for the N.L.C. to feel dissatisfied with their performance, which has been described as excellent.

The Policy

The economic policy for the emergency period was outlined by the Chairman of the N.L.C. in a broadcast on 2nd March, 1966. (See *The Rebirth of Ghana*, pp. 33-39; Ministry of Information, Accra, March, 1966). For the implementation of the emergency measures the 1966 Budget of the old government was used as a guide for government expenditures during the period which ended in June 1966.

The immediate aim of policy was to alleviate the severe shortages of essential commodities such as rice, sugar, milk, flour, spare parts and raw materials. A thorough review of all government expenditures was also made with the object of eliminating unnecessary and wasteful spending. Thirdly, a review of all state enterprises was to be undertaken with the object of transferring some of them to the private sector. Fourthly, the 7-Year Development Plan was abandoned. Fifthly, Ghana's foreign debts were to be renegotiated so as to alleviate its burden on the balance of payments. Sixthly, there was to be a review of all existing trade agreements with the object of removing any harmful features. The import licensing system was to be reviewed and a system of priorities was to be established and the extensive irregularities eliminated. A greater weight was to be given to the needs of the private sector to encourage it to play a more important part in the process of economic rehabilitation and future development. Lastly, there was to be maximum encouragement of exports, including the re-organisation of an export promotion plan.

To relieve the shortages of essential food and other consumer goods the government sought urgent assistance from friendly governments, the U.S.A. (P.L. 480), Canada, West Germany and the United Nations (F.A.O.). The shortage of consumer goods was thus somewhat reduced.

In May 1966 the government concluded stand-by arrangements with the International Monetary Fund (I.M.F.) to support the economic policy being pursued. In June 1966, discussions took place in London with Ghana's creditor countries on the re-scheduling of the debts on suppliers' credits on which payments were temporarily suspended. This greatly helped in reducing the pressures on our balance of payments. The sharp and continuous decrease in our foreign reserves was thus slowed down.

In the budgetary field the result of the emergency action taken was firstly, the elimination of inflationary financing for the small deficit of N¢7.2 million during the six-month period (compared with N¢62.5 million deficit originally estimated by the old government for the same period), and secondly, the retrenchment of a large number of workers in the public sector. This was inevitable, for no programme for economic consolidation or stabilization can be implemented successfully without some labour being laid off. Since the government was acutely aware of an unemployment problem, it appointed a Special Commissioner to re-deploy the labour laid off by implementing labour-intensive projects.

These emergency measures went some way to stop the economy from total disruption and also helped to restore some confidence in it.

The Policy for Rehabilitation

The second phase of the rehabilitation process began with the introduction of the 1966/67 Budget last July. The period from 1st July 1966 through 30th June 1967 was officially designated the Stabilization Period. (See 1966/67 Budget Statement, para. 11). The Budget was a reflection of the government's economic policy to eliminate the serious imbalance between resources and their uses, and to restore financial stability leading to a more balanced and orderly growth of the economy.

In pursuance of this policy government expenditures have been strictly limited to an amount that could be financed through domestic revenues and other non-inflationary sources for the maintenance of minimum essential services, and for the continuation or completion of viable projects already under way. Additional expenditure on development projects may be considered only for projects in agriculture and the manufacturing industry where it is evident that such projects are necessary for improving the efficiency of existing investments.

I.M.F. support for the government's overall economic policy has meant that the monetary authorities continue their selective credit policy aimed at reducing the level of bank credit and aggregate demand so as to balance the latter with

the supply of essential resources in order to achieve a measure of price stability.

Debt Re-scheduling

External assistance in 1966 helped greatly to improve the position of the balance of payments, the most critical area of the economy, which deteriorated sharply in 1965. Although in 1966 the trade deficit decreased from N¢83 million to N¢29 million and the net deficit on total current account also declined from N¢159 million to N¢93 million, the balance of payments position is still subject to pressures.

In the fiscal year 1966/67 these pressures would have aggravated our economic problems if the discussions for the re-arrangement of our external debt had not been concluded satisfactorily in London in December last year. The principles for the re-scheduling of the debt have been embodied in bilateral agreements with individual creditor countries such as the U.K., France, Italy, and Israel. Others are to follow. During the rehabilitation period, therefore, our external payments will be reduced by the huge amount that would have been paid had these payments not been stretched out. A great relief has thus been given to the balance of payments. This means that with the improvement in our foreign exchange earnings within the next year, due to the higher prevailing world price for cocoa and the efforts being made at export promotion, we shall be able to pay for a large proportion of essential imports that are necessary to sustain and help in the process of rehabilitation.

The editorial (12/5/67) therefore appears to miss the whole point of the debt re-scheduling exercise which seems to you to have taken a greater proportion of the efforts of the Economic Committee in the direction and co-ordination of our economic affairs.

The present economic situation is a great improvement over that of about sixteen months ago. The monetary pressures and the rising price level have been reduced and new monetary measures have recently been taken to stimulate economic activity in the productive sectors. The position of our external trade and payments also appears to be satisfactory. Nevertheless it must be recognised that the economy is not completely free from pressures. Work has already been started on the economic programme for the second year of the Stabilization Period which is also the 1967/68 fiscal year.

It is expected that policy will not change significantly, and it is hoped that intensive efforts will be made to publish the draft of a new development plan which will be used for the third stage of the economic rehabilitation process in mid-1968.

Education

EDUCATION IN COMMERCIAL ART

By

Leroy E. Mitchell, Jr. (Achimota School)

THERE IS an opportunity to correlate some of Ghana's artistic efforts with the expanding commercial opportunities that now exist throughout the country. The practitioners of Crafts and Fine Art are playing their part in inspiring, developing, and recording the beauty of Ghanaian life, lest it be forgotten or overlooked. A natural beauty exists in the African environment that has all but vanished in the so-called developed countries. No effort should be lost in recording this before it gives way to our urban aspirations. On the other hand urban life is here! *If you don't cultivate and exploit your own merits someone else will.*

At present, from what I can ascertain, most of the art courses in Ghanaian schools are geared to giving an art experience in crafts, drawing, and painting; in addition to this, Kumasi Tech is teaching design. However, there doesn't seem to be any organized effort to train commercial artists or give students a taste of experience in this area. Meanwhile, most local newspapers, magazines, posters, and cartoons are appallingly unattractive; the majority of the more attractive publications and advertisements are either done by foreign companies or imported. This is both expensive and unnecessary. Some form of commercial art training should and can begin on the secondary level and, in some cases, continue on a higher plain, especially since Ghana has an expert reproductive plant at Tema.

Commercial Art as A Career

Many talented students, who now drop Art after the "O" and "A" level, would continue if there were some practical way for them to earn a living. Fine Art can be a long, arduous, and often unrewarding task. Those of us who love the palette and brush, and would not trade it for anything, cannot ask all our students to be so adventurous or self sacrificing. Parents insist on a change, because they usually pay the fees. Moreover, very few students want to teach, and one must often teach to survive in art. But more than that, reluctant teachers are the student's peril. Yet, in both Europe and the U.S. commercial art is a thriving lucrative business: it sells!

There is no periodical worthy of the name that does not employ some expert artistic advice to make it look *attractive*. It doesn't matter how

profound and well-meaning your publication, advertisement, or poster may be, if people are not attracted to it, you have missed the boat! It is not always the *best* product that sells; the one that attracts attention does. If your product is both good and attractive *you are in business*; if it is neither good nor attractive *you are in trouble*. With properly trained Ghanaians the entire commercial network of posters, illustrations, layout, bookcovers, labels, or what-have-you, could take on a refreshing new look *with an indigenous flavour*. Many so-called experts pass through Ghana and other African countries looking for "ideas". In the field of fashion, for example, they are robbing Africa blind!

Art and The Fashion World

In some way *fashion design* could also be incorporated into some of the Art curricula. Most of the styles in Ghanaian dress are not to be seen anywhere else in the world, except in modified form. However, if these styles are not organized and documented, we may see Paris or New York designers selling Ghanaian styles back to Ghanaians. If such imaginative creations can be developed without illustrated sketches how much better they will be when they are illustrated beforehand!

Although there is a current prejudice against the so-called "political suit", this style is not only more practical for tropical climates than the wild fashions coming out of London and New York but also more tasteful. Again, this style is found only in Africa, to my knowledge, and should also be developed and documented—before some Western "expert" claims it. Such has been the fate of much African Culture for the last 300 years. With the right direction Ghanaian school children can spring forth with ideas which we hardly conceive possible. With direction each generation brings new life; knowledge is cumulative: the more they know the more they will be able to learn.

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We could go on examining latent artistic ideas which have commercial potential. There are so many of which I have no knowledge. The important thing is that the need is here. I have given assignments in commercial art to students; it breaks the monotony and gives experience in combining lettering with drawing. The results, in many cases, have been superior to the same type of work done in many local publications. Furthermore, the quality has been as good as, and often better than, that produced in similar grades in U.S. classes. When we consider that U.S. students have far greater exposure to commercial "bombardments", this is all the more remarkable.

Towards Self-Sufficiency in Education

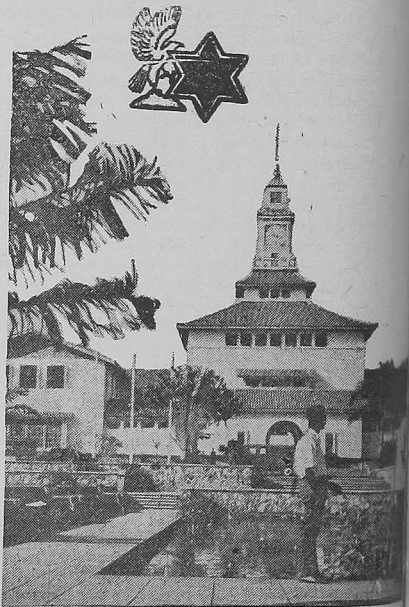
Of course a country of this size does not need to start a mass production of commercial artists, even if it were possible. Yet, it costs little more in material and trained personnel to integrate a commercial art scheme than the money now expended on Crafts and Fine Art. A good educational system should fulfil the needs of the country involved. There has been much "palava" made over low standards and bad education, but some extremely pertinent facts are often overlooked. Any person, however scholarly, who cannot perform a useful function in the country that educated him is *mis*-educated. Britain is not producing scholars for the U.S. nor is the U.S. producing scholars for Russia: each is producing scholars who will serve their *own* best interests first. Obviously, all African countries *must* do likewise, if they ever expect to be self sufficient. The sooner the better!

The sooner more Ghanaians can perform more useful skills, the sooner will fewer people be working for 66 new pesewas a day; thus the sooner there will be less political strife and animosities. I'm suggesting that certain fields of commercial art are being grossly ignored; meanwhile, many persons who have no special love for the country are exploiting the situation.

Now that the marathon of *what went wrong* is subsiding more can be said about *what can be done*.

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Observer Notebook

Date for a Return to Civilian Rule

WE WOULD like to congratulate the N.L.C. on the despatch with which they have tackled some of the disheartening weaknesses revealed in the Army by the recent insurrection and on the launching of the Kotoka Trust Fund. We only hope that the new Commanders will never fail us again and we would like to appeal to the public to support the Fund. We also hope that there will be a full commission to go into the grievances that appear to be pervading the Army. However, as we pointed out in the columns of our last issue, there are other questions raised by that disastrous episode which have not yet been tackled. Two of the most crucial of these to which we would like to draw the attention of the N.L.C. are the addition of civilians to the N.L.C. and the fixing of a firm date for the return to civilian rule. We advocated that to lighten the load being shouldered at present by the members of the N.L.C. and to enable them to concentrate more on the most urgent problems of security, some civilians should be added to the N.L.C. and assigned the political portfolios. This should be done as soon as possible.

Secondly, we would also like to repeat that in order to end all the wild speculations going round, the N.L.C. should accelerate measures deemed as necessary for the return to civilian rule, and fix a firm date for this return.

It is significant that the military governments of both Sierra Leone and Nigeria have already announced such dates. Surely, if even the military government of Nigeria with all its stupendous and bewildering problems have deemed it necessary to fix a date, why not our N.L.C.? The Army and Police still command considerable respect among the civilians and are still looked upon as our saviours. They should indicate a firm date for their withdrawal before this esteem in which they are held completely evaporates.

Foreign Currency Escape Valve

THE GHANAIAN public is becoming increasingly aware of the villainous tricks the Lebanese and Syrian traders in our midst are playing on us. It has long been known that some of them have engaged in all sorts of illegal currency transfers. The latest that we have discovered involves a round-about procedure of importing goods, which we outline below.

The Lebanese (or Syrian) importer (based in Ghana) places his order for imports not with the manufacturer(s) of the goods in Britain or Germany, for example, but with a dealer in

Cairo, Beirut, or somewhere in the Middle East, where our local importer comes from. This dealer in Cairo is no more than a middleman, perhaps a relative, but certainly a partner in this conspiracy. He is not a manufacturer of those goods himself; and the goods are not made in that country anyway. What he does is to contact the manufacturers in the appropriate country (i.e. Britain, etc.) to ship the goods to Ghana paying them the appropriate costs. The invoice(s) will come from the (middleman) dealer based in the Middle East, not from the manufacturers in Britain, and the "operating costs" of this dealer will of course be passed on to the Ghanaian consumer. But the real idea behind this kind of operation is that the Lebanese importer in Ghana has to pay the "manufacturer" from whom he has ordered the goods, that is, the dealer in Cairo, in foreign currency. It is here that a lot of our hard-earned currency gets transferred to Lebanon, Syria, the U.A.R. etc., direct.

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Motor Accident (1)

ONE OF the commonest causes of motor accidents in this country is the stationary vehicle left or abandoned on the road overnight without parking lights. It has been responsible for the loss of far too many lives. Only last month Mr. Justice Adumua-Bossman became the latest addition to this sad long list.

Nobody says that a car should not break down; but the way some motorists abandon their car while they go away to arrange for help is too irresponsible for words. Some motorists appear never to have learnt how to park: they leave their cars smack in the middle of the road! Others, no less inconsiderate than the former, park in a corner or on top of a hill or just below the top of the hill. And most people never leave their parking lights on to warn other motorists. The consequence is that the unsuspecting motorist drives straight into the back of the stationary vehicle, usually at a very high speed. The result is instant death.

We would like to urge the police to be sterner with motorists who abandon their vehicles wrongly parked and without parking lights, especially on the highways. However, it is only motorists who can really help themselves and everybody else by applying their commonsense in this matter. If your car breaks down, park where a clear view of the road is left for other motorists, not in a curve or near the top of a hill. Push your car to the proper place if necessary. Secondly, park properly, that is, as close to the edge of the road as possible, and not in the middle of it. Thirdly, leave your parking lights on. The battery won't run down on that account, and you may save an accident. (Do so even in the day-time, if you suspect you may not be able to return to the car before nightfall).

We would also like to suggest to the authorities the use of reflectors on vehicles. Many countries have adopted the simple, inexpensive, but highly effective device of attaching reflectors to the back of all vehicles. In Tanzania, for example, all vehicles, from jeeps and land-rovers to the big oil-carrying trucks, are required to attach two reflectors at the back (right and left). These are two plates, each about 18" by 18", painted zebra-fashion in red and white stripes with special paints containing components with reflecting properties. Even scooters have a plate at the back. And touring cars can be given special adhesive tapes with reflecting properties, which can be stuck on, say, the chrome at the back of the car. All these reflectors can be made here.

Incidentally, what have the police done about the truck which caused the death of Mr. Justice

Adumua-Bossman? Has the owner been prosecuted yet?

"Projectitis", the incurable disease of Prestige Projects

ONE OF the charges against the Nkrumah regime was the huge expenditure it made on "prestige" projects, that is, projects which were merely grand symbols of splendour and did not enhance our productive capacity. We have never tired of pointing at the £4m-concrete-Temamotor-way, the Tema steelworks, and "Job 600", that "building of Babylonian splendour" and the greatest monument to our folly, as examples of such prestigious expenditures. After 24 February, 1966, we resolved to show the world that the new Ghana would have no more of this nonsense, and proceeded to scale down or suspend a number of grandiose projects, even though such a step was sure to result in increased unemployment. Sanity, it seemed, had returned to Ghana. But are we sure we are completely cured of the disease of the love for prestige projects? There are signs that we are not.

In November last year, a £1m. project was announced by which the Femuase area (near Kumasi) was to be developed to house four research institutes of the Academy of Sciences. Nobody bothered to show that the existing facilities for the institutes involved were either inadequate for whatever research activities were under way or envisaged, or could not be expanded on the present sites. And in recent months, new projects have been announced: the "Golden Triangle", the "Science City", and a "model African Village", to name only three.

The "Golden Triangle" is planned to be a super highway system connecting Accra, Kumasi and Sekondi-Takoradi. Nobody has shown that the existing network is no longer capable of carrying the traffic load that can be envisaged within the next few years. Nobody has shown that this "Golden Triangle" will increase the supply of foodstuffs and other resources more than would be the case if the same resources and money were to be used to develop areas in the North, Brong-Ahafo, Ashanti, and the Volta Region. It would seem that the support for this project is based on the belief that it will solve the unemployment problem. But would this not be the case with alternative uses of the same amount in other areas, where there would be additional economic benefits?

We are also told that the "Science City" at Nungua will house all the scientific research activities in the country. Is it being seriously argued that efficiency in scientific research would be

maximized by concentrating all activities in scientific research—pure science, technical, industrial, etc.—in one place; and that this is worth millions of cedis and hard-earned foreign currency? Where are the research officers coming from? Are they Ghanaians or expatriates? If they are Ghanaians, who are they? How many Ghanaian scientists have we got at present? If they are expatriates, are the authorities aware of the calibre and turn-over record of expatriate research officers in the past twenty years in the institutions of higher learning in this country? What concrete research results have we gained from the many expatriate "research scientists" who have come to Ghana and gone? Is the real bottleneck not the availability of Ghana's own scientists able and willing to apply themselves to our own problems? Therefore is it not true that the real need is the design of a training programme to produce in the shortest possible time Ghanaian scientists (etc.) in the right quantities and of the right kind? The truth is that this country has no clear co-ordinated programme of scientific research or training. And yet we believe that mere buildings will somehow solve our problems!

And what is going to be the nature or purpose of that "model African village"? (1) Is it going to be a "model" for Ghanaian villagers, to show them how to develop a village? If so, will somebody tell the public why we have failed to develop Madina and other "model" villages which were designed by the old regime to show our rural people how to develop new communities? Are these villages not, in fact, slums at birth? (2) Or is it meant to be an attraction for tourists? If so, is it going to have mud-houses, the typical village pit-conservancy out-house, a well or a small, artificial, muddy stream for water-supply for both humans and animals? Or is it coming complete with modern amenities, such as electricity, pipe-borne water in every home, a post office, a police station, a hospital, a super-market and a departmental store where you can buy everything including a low-priced TV set? Whom are we trying to fool—the tourist or ourselves? How far is the typical village away from Accra? What's wrong with developing the present villages a little bit, providing them some simple basic utilities, like good water, modern health facilities, and roads?

Apart from all these irrational projects, the Nkrumah projects we said we had abandoned are showing signs of resurrecting. The Accra-Tema Motorway is being revived as Job 700; and the Tamale Airport is to be continued after several months of having been discontinued. It seems that the malignant disease—the love of prestige projects—is still there and we *shall* have our

prestige projects whatever happens. Meanwhile, the real needs of our people—better and inexpensive houses, water, electricity, hospitals, schools, etc.—must wait.

Batteries

BATTERIES of all kinds are in very short supply on the market; and, quite naturally, the available supply can only be obtained at criminal prices: for example, car batteries, which should not cost more than £8 in any sane society, are priced at £18 or more; and torch-light batteries which should not cost more than seven-pence (-/7d.), cannot be obtained for less than 2/6d. or 25np.—if you can get them!

What is the reason for this shortage? Could it be, as Mr. Beecham (Principal Secretary of the Ministry of Trade) suggested, the fault of importers, who are being slow in bringing in the goods? Perhaps so. Or could it be the result of a conspiracy by some unknown racketeers to create an artificial shortage in order to raise prices and profits? Well, your guess is as good as ours. Whatever the cause, we would like to urge the authorities to do something about satisfying the demand of consumers. (We assume that everybody knows what batteries are used for, so that we do not have to show that they are essential. Or are we assuming too much?)

Mr. Beecham's recent press statement, in reply to an *Evening News* editorial on this subject, needs some comment. The public was told that import licences to the value of several thousand cedis had been issued for the importation of batteries from China and Czechoslovakia. We in turn would like to tell our trade officials that the batteries that were imported from these countries some time ago were useless. The Chinese torchlight batteries, for example, were known to "sweat" even in the shop before a customer bought them, although the words "Leak-Proof" were most conspicuously written on them. Unless these two countries are going to bring us better manufactures than they used to under the old regime, please let us not waste precious money on their goods. The Ghanaian consumer is no longer the servile "socialist" comrade on whom inferior goods were dumped with impunity.

Politics in the Volta Region

IT IS well-known that the two crucially important political areas in this country are Ashanti and the Volta Region. Under the old regime this fact was amply proved by the Alavanyo riots in the Volta Region and the National Liberation Movement in Ashanti. Both movements were violent. Under the military regime, even though there is a ban on politics, the largest number of people

under protective custody come from Ashanti, and the Volta region has the distinction of having members of the banned United Party (U.P.) taken into protective custody for the first time.

It may be asked how come that members of the U.P.—who seem to be the political blue-eyed boys now—have been taken into protective custody? According to the official release, the U.P. members—the most prominent of whom is Mr. Apedo (sent into detention by Nkrumah)—are stirring up trouble in the Volta Region, especially in Anlo South. What, however, has to be explained is that Mr. Apedo and his colleagues are apparently stirring up political trouble because of a belief that Anlo South is proving a safe haven for pro-C.P.P. political intrigues. It has to be remarked that in politics it is not what is the case that is politically important and relevant for action, but what is generally believed to be true.

Many beliefs and rumours abound in the Region. It is, for instance, believed that ex-detainees are disliked by government officials in the Region. This may, in turn, be due to the airs with which the ex-detainees comport themselves. It is, again, believed that the Regional Committee of Administration viewed with jaundiced eyes the memoranda submitted by those who asked for a great measure of political devolution in the country's future constitution. Furthermore, it is alleged that the Paramount chiefs of Ho and Anloga have pro-C.P.P. sympathies. Moreover, the Ghana Ambassador in Cotonou, Dahomey, is alleged to be accommodating to the Paramount Chiefs in the Region. These are, perhaps, the more serious allegations, but others are made every now and then, especially, since the death of Lt.-Gen. E. K. Kotoka.

This atmosphere of suspicion, rumours and farrago of innuendoes and allegations must be cleared before anything serious develops in the Region. The Volta Region has a reputation of acting on conviction and the situation must not be allowed to get out of hand. A political solution has to be found; a prerequisite of such a solution is in releasing the four detained ex-U.P. members so that they can come to terms into the Awomefia of Anloga, who, it is believed, is never destooled, whatever an ignominious part he might have played in the old regime. If such a course is not taken the good intentions of the N.L.C. might be misconstrued.

Ghana and Indian Economic Experience

THE PLANNING Commission of India, judged by Press criticisms, has recently been facing a number of problems. The criticisms centre on two main problems. First, according to the *Eco-*

nomic and Political Weekly of Bombay, planning in India "has been essentially an exercise in statistical projections" whose models "are internally consistent only in a vacuum. Externally they come into conflict with almost every factor, every element of practical significance to Indian economic development". The second problem relates to the question as to whether the Planning Commission should be regarded solely as a technical body or technical-cum-political body. The political element predominated last year with 7 out of the 12 members chosen from the ranks of the central government, and through segment of civil servants to the Commission. Granted that planning is a political matter, what should be the right ratio of technical economists and politicians on this Commission? If the Commission becomes essentially technical like our Economic Committee, where is the political decision-making to take place? These problems were considered by the Indian Administrative Reforms Commission (A.R.C.). Their Report was released in early May, this year. The A.R.C. recommended, *inter alia*, that,

- i. there should be no ministers on the Planning Commission since the cabinet would find it difficult to reverse decisions taken by such Ministers;
- ii. the Planning Commission should be a basically expert body independent of the central government, and which could give impartial advice to it;
- iii. the political side of planning, as it affects all Indian states and their involvement in planning, should be handled by the National Development Council. The latter consists of central ministers, chief ministers and members of the planning commission.

However, this political body has existed only in name for fifteen years. The reorganization, then, of the Planning Commission is proving a thorny problem. No definitive answers have been given to these problems; they are, however, engaging the urgent attention of Indian political leaders.

In Ghana there is the Economic Committee which is a committee of experts whose experience does not lie specifically in economic planning. We urged in L.O. Vol.II, No.10 that this committee should be reorganized. In this reorganization the Indian experience should be considered relevant. A National Economic Council of experts and businessmen should be established. In addition, another body, consisting of trade unionists and men of public standing, could be established, distinct from the expert body to participate in the process of planning.

Letters

Detention in Angloga

SIR—I owe it to the memory of the late General Kotoka to comment on the statement made by the Government in justification of the detention of five persons from Angloga.

There has been great dissatisfaction among the vast majority of the people of Anlo with the conduct of Togbi Adladza in his chiefly rule. Since his accession to the Awoame Fia Stool he has ruled and conducted himself in Angloga not as the father of his people but as a CPP activist, and at the overthrow of the Nkrumah regime on February 24 last year, he actually went out of his way to suppress the spontaneous jubilation of the people and their expressions of support for the overthrow of that regime.

As a result of his activities there was a meeting in the late General's quarters in Burma Camp about May last year at which were present Togbi Adladza himself, Mr. Daniel Apedo and Mr. Francis Dogbe Sefe. The General himself, Togbi Preku of Tegbi, Togbi Acolatse of Kedji, Togbi Badu of Anyako and myself sat in to listen to the complaints of the people against Togbi Adladza. After listening carefully to these complaints and Adladza's own replies, the five of us who sat in withdrew into consultation.

As in our deliberations we could not absolve him of culpability, we advised Adladza to call a public meeting in Angloga of "all thirty-six towns of Anlo" to enable all grievances to be aired in order to pave the way for the restoration of harmony and tranquility in the state. This he promised to do but, to the best of my knowledge, has conspicuously not done.

The late General repeatedly mentioned this failure on the part of Adladza with grief to me, and towards the end of March he asked me to join himself, the I.G.P. and the Commissioner of Police, C.I.D. (Mr. Deku) to visit Angloga on Saturday, April 8, to attend a public meeting to go into these matters in an effort to resolve the difficulties. I pointed out my inability to join them owing to an impending mission abroad which I had for the N.L.C.

I was with the late General at noon on Wednesday, April 5, just before I went to the airport to embark on my mission. He informed me then that the meeting was to be postponed and that a committee might be appointed to go into these matters.

The importation now into the difficulties created around himself by Togbi Adladza of manoeuvrings for political advantage by elements of the banned United Party is extraneous, altogether new and quite unwarranted. There is no need for those in Angloga opposed to the banned CPP to manoeuvre in advance of any elections.

The death of General Kotoka is a national loss. Beyond that it is a personal loss to all but a negligible minority in Anlo as elsewhere, and there is justifiable resentment against his enemies and anyone who might be thought to have contributed, however remotely, to his untimely death.

There are wild rumours of certain ritual performances in Anloland which, according to those who hold beliefs in those things, might have been a contributory factor to the ease with which General Kotoka was got at and murdered. Towards the end of a public meeting in Angloga on Saturday, May 6, (assembled) to plan the

funeral of the General, some of those who participated in those rituals spoke of the parts they had played in them. If the authorities know beyond doubt that these rituals were in fact performed in good faith, that one thing was not professed and the contrary done, then their clear duty is to come out openly to say so in order to calm the anxieties of the Anlo people.

Since the death of General Kotoka I have learnt authoritatively that the investigating committee he had in mind (to go into the Adladza affairs) has been, or is about to be, appointed. Is the arbitrary detention of the alleged fomenters of trouble calculated to aid or obstruct the investigation?

Finally, if the persons now detained are genuinely involved in organising the criminal attack on Togbi Adladza's house, the clear duty of the Authorities is to prosecute them and not to imprison them arbitrarily.

It is in the interest of all of us Ghanaians that arbitrary detentions should be stopped: "Once bitten, twice shy"

P. O. Box 838,
Accra.

M. K. Apaloo.

Power from Akosombo

SIR—Your correspondent writing on the above subject at page 21 of your issue of the 28 April ends his letter advocating for "the abundant supply of cheap electricity throughout the length and breadth of this country" by the question "Is this too much to ask for?" The simple answer is "yes". I am glad all the same of the opportunity created by his letter to disabuse the mind of the public of a misconception which keeps recurring though it may be natural in the circumstances.

The problem is at once one of finance and economics, and this was explained in the lecture recently given by the Chief Executive of the Volta River Authority to the last Easter School at Tsito in which the following occurred:

"The Akosombo power station is designed to have six generators, each with a normal rated capacity of 128 MW, and a sustained built-in overload capacity of 15 per cent, thus giving each a maximum capacity of 147 MW, so that the total normal capacity of the six is 768 MW and a total maximum of 833 MW. At present four out of the total of six generators have been installed with a combined normal capacity of 512 MW and a maximum of 588 MW. Civil works have also already been completed for the remaining two generators, and they can be installed within two years from date of order when the demand for power justifies it. However, according to the forecast of normal growth of power demand in Ghana, it is not foreseen that it will become necessary to instal these last two generators until about 1971. Should any abnormal or unexpected demand occur in the meantime then, clearly, this date will need to be brought forward.

Of the total capacity of 512 MW installed at present the VALCO Smelter at Tema will take 200 MW when in full production with the three potlines of the present first phase of its operations, thus theoretically, leaving 312 MW available for other consumption. It is usual practice, however, to allow for one set as standby or for being under repairs, so that the firm capacity available for other consumption just now is 184 MW. The present total demand in Ghana, including the Mines which formerly generated their own power, is 70 MW and will grow to about 140 MW

by 1971 when it is expected that the additional two generators will be installed. Thus there will, for the foreseeable future, be a surplus of firm power capacity over the total maximum demand in Ghana of some 114 MW now, and diminishing to 44 MW by 1971".

In connection with the supply of power to other countries the Chief Executive said:

"This can only be assured so long as the supplying country has a surplus over her own needs, and if at any time it becomes necessary to divert the entire output of her resources to her own needs, then the other country will be left high and dry, so to speak. This is an important factor to be taken into account in any negotiations for the sale of power to other countries. If it is foreseeable that Ghana will require to divert such supply to her own needs at a future date, then at least sufficient time should be given for the receiving country to replace that power demand from other sources. This, however, is not such a serious problem as, apart from Akosombo, Ghana has other hydro-electric resources ready to be developed. Thus, in addition to the two additional generators yet to be installed at Akosombo, other projects have been designed for development at Kpong and Bui on the Volta, and Hemang on the Prah River, which are expected to yield 140, 200 and 80 MW respectively. Thus for a long time to come Ghana's supplies of power will exceed its requirements by a wide margin."

Then on the question of "the abundant supply of cheap electricity throughout the length and breadth of this country" Mr. Quartey said:

"We have seen that for the foreseeable future the demand for power in Ghana, including VALCO's requirements, will always fall short of the capacity of the installation at Akosombo by a wide margin. Here we are considering demand only which is economic to meet. Some people have the idea that since the power is available in abundance at Akosombo it must be stretched to reach every home in Ghana; but whereas the revenue for that kind of consumption is relatively low, the cost of such distribution is very high and cannot be met unless supported by heavy industrial users of power. If we were sufficiently well-off to be able to afford an investment without looking for returns within a reasonable period, a social service of this kind might be undertaken; but I am afraid we have not yet reached that position. The reasonable thing to do, then is to try and sell such surplus in bulk to anybody who needs it and can pay for it at economic prices. We have therefore, expressed our readiness to sell some of the surplus over our present requirements to our neighbouring countries who are ready to use it in place of their present inadequate and high-cost thermal generation."

Assuming even that the problem of amortization adequate returns on investment can be discounted, which cannot, the capital requirement for the distribution of electricity to reach every Ghanaian home runs into tens of millions of Cedis. If the writer could indicate a source where this huge amount could be obtained, in the present financial position of Ghana, we would be happy to use it in order to satisfy the domestic demand.

Volta River Authority,
P. O. Box M.77,
Accra.

E. A. K. Akuoko
Secretary

Uncontrolled Pricing

SIR—We refer to a letter from Mr E. Attaku in your issue of the 25 May, 1967.

The explanation of this anomaly is that we ordered two Grundig tape recorders from our suppliers, one of which was to be Model 120 and the other Model No. 125. The suppliers sent two of one model by mistake, but debited us as for one of each model. This error was not noticed when we received the tape recorders which were then marked up with the different prices. It was most unfortunate that Mr. Attaku happened to arrive in the Department Store only minutes after the machines had reached there.

The mistake was found out shortly after he had left, and one model was then returned to the suppliers, Standard Electric Company, and exchanged for the original one requested.

You will appreciate that this was an honest mistake and we would be most grateful if you would publish our explanation.

U.T.C. Ltd.,
Accra Department Store
P.O. Box 3068
Accra

Paul Schneider
Manager

Withdrawal of Scholarships

SIR—Mr. Kwame Arhin's article on "Withdrawal of Scholarships" in your issue of 31st March, 1967 contains sweeping criticisms of the recent review of scholarships and other awards held by Ghanaians in Britain. Mr. Arhin's criticisms are seldom supported by evidence; such facts as he quotes are seldom accurate. Much of his comment, indeed, is in the form of innuendo:

"... the cloud of suspicion that had enveloped the ... the regular staff of 102 Park Street have always ... those without connections in high places were victimised".

If Mr. Arhin can bring to our attention facts about members of the staff of the Education Unit in London or can quote cases of victimisation, we will be glad to investigate them. It is very easy to make general accusations against public servants who, by tradition, cannot write letters to the Press in their own defence.

The case of the Law Student "who for the past two years has been on Ghana Government Scholarship" is already under re-examination, but it should be pointed out that the student in question was on award from April, 1958 until June, 1965 when, by a Cabinet decision, all overseas awards for Law were terminated. The student's original award was for three years and he was not, at any time, given authority to proceed to post-graduate studies.

The Nutrition Board Scholar was placed at the Sheffield College of Technology for the three-year Institutional Management Association Diploma course, which qualified students to proceed to the post-graduate Diploma in Dietetics. The Scholar in question transferred herself to a four year course at a College in London leading to the Diploma in Hotel Keeping and Catering. It is nonsense for Mr. Arhin to argue that this course "clearly subsumes nutritional studies", but perhaps he could hardly be expected to be objective about the lady in question, who is closely related to him. The student's statement that she changed her course with the consent and knowledge of her Course Officer is not supported by any documentary evidence.

In a letter to the Education Attache dated 18th August, 1964, the Registrar of Scholarships wrote, of this student, that she had been "informed that changes in the content or length of the course will not be approved except for very exceptional reasons and always subject to your special recommendation and my approval".

The task of reviewing students' awards was an unenviable one and nobody would underestimate the human problems which the withdrawal of scholarship allowances is bound to create. The responsibility for this situation lies with those who in the first place, awarded hundreds of overseas scholarships without regard to students' ability or to the courses which they were pursuing. Finally, the Committee on Scholarships and Establishment Matters would like to express its complete confidence in the two members of the Review Board who are attacked by Mr. Arhin in a manner which, in our view, is unworthy of a journal such as the *Legon Observer*.

Committee on Scholarships,
The Castle,
Osui, Accra.

G. K. Benson
(Secretary).

The Minerals Industry

SR—Mr. Quarshie wrote his article, "The Future of the Minerals Industry in Ghana", which appeared in no. 10, vol. 2 of the *Legon Observer*, in his private capacity and the Department of Geology of the University of Ghana is in no way associated with the contents.

Nevertheless I should like to take the opportunity to comment on one aspect of that article, namely the recruitment and training of Ghanaian geologists.

Two main reasons for the reported lack of interest in geology as a profession in Ghana are:

- (1) The absence of geology from the curriculum of most schools. However, this is true for most countries and geology as a major subject is not a commonly studied science in universities anywhere.

The introduction of geology as a A- or O-level school subject is undesirable, because it consumes time that the future geology student could spend more profitably on the basic subjects, chemistry, physics and mathematics. However, some attention could possibly be paid to it in general science and geography courses.

- (2) The aversion to fieldwork, prevailing among our students, who prefer an office career and a conventional way of life. Geology by nature is a field science in the first instance and in institutions such as Geological Surveys, most of the basic work has to be carried out outdoors. The same difficulty is encountered in the training of agricultural graduates.

Of course the Geology Department of the University is aware of these difficulties and ways and means are being tried to overcome them. Members of the Department must draw attention to geology as a career by giving lectures and film shows at schools whenever possible; the Department welcomes visits by schools to its laboratory and museum; recently an essay contest was conducted etc. The second problem is difficult to solve directly, but one way of attracting capable students to the geological profession could be by offering higher "popular" professions. In Nigeria there is a greater interest in geology as a career, as the oil industry provides attractive positions.

I fully agree with the statement in the article calling

for close co-operation between institutions concerned with geology and mining and the Department of Geology of the University of Ghana. It is essential that all available energies are utilized in the development of geological training and research. However, I am afraid that public personal attacks will not have the desired effect.

Department of Geology
University of Ghana,
Legon.

A. F. J. Smit (Prof.)

"Volunteers to America" and the Ministry of Education

SIR—At page 12 of the issue of the *Legon Observer* for 12-25 May, 1967, appeared an article under the heading quoted above. The writer went to great pains to try and prove to your readers that there is muddled thinking in this Ministry, as a result of which the Ministry pursues "the most inconsistent and bizarre policies."

The purpose of this letter is to state the facts to enable your readers to decide who is doing the muddled thinking—the Ministry or your correspondent.

On 4 March, 1967, the Director of the U.S. Peace Corps (Ghana) discussed with the Principal Secretary, the U.S. Pilot programme of "Volunteers to America" and expressed the hope that the Ministry would be interested in taking part in it. The volunteers would serve as teachers and resource personnel in classes in History, Geography, Music and Art and it was hoped that their personal knowledge of Ghana and Africa would improve the teaching in these areas in U.S. Schools. They need not be university graduates.

The Chief Education Officer was not available to join in the discussions but the U.S. proposal was brought to his attention after the meeting with the following comment by the Principal Secretary:

"I do not think we can do this in a big way for obvious reasons; but at the same time I think in view of the great assistance the Peace Corps is rendering Ghana we should not decline entirely but should agree to make a token contribution."

The U.S. has so far sent to Ghana a total of 420 university graduates to work in our schools and colleges. There are at the moment 180 of these teachers in the country and there will be 208 in September this year. Under the former regime Ghana, of her own choice, paid each Peace Corps Teacher a flat salary of one thousand four hundred new cedis (NC1,400) per year. After the 24 February Coup with the approval of the N.L.C. the Ministry re-negotiated the Peace Corps terms with the U.S. Government and we now pay each Peace Corps Teacher only a token salary of one hundred and twenty new cedis (NC120) per year. It does not require very much arithmetic to calculate what saving this represents. And many of these young people from the U.S. are teaching in places where many Ghanaian teachers refuse to work.

One wonders how your correspondent who claims to possess "clarity of thought" can make such misleading statements as the careful reader finds in the article under reference. Your correspondent states that it is "in education that one sees the most inconsistent and bizarre policies being pursued" but lists no examples to support this statement.

By a careful choice of words he plays on the emotions of your readers by emphasizing that Ghana is going to be "drained" of her best teachers, when in fact not

more than five Ghanaian teachers can participate in the programme.

By design he omits reference to the fact that the "Volunteers to America" programme avoids the vital areas of Science, Mathematics, French and English where lies our greatest need for expatriate teachers at the present time.

Your correspondent states, "America and Britain have teachers and enough to spare" which every well-informed educator should know is untrue. Both America and Britain may have more than enough university graduates, but both countries have fewer teachers than they require. However, it suits his argument to distort facts and he does so. What he hides from the unwary reader is that both Britain and America send out to other countries not only university graduates but also some of their trained and experienced teachers, in spite of the fact that they are themselves short of the latter.

He is silent on the fact that there are teacher exchange programmes between America and Britain in spite of the shortage of teachers in both countries.

The idea that Britons should be taught by Britons will not make sense in Britain, but apparently the parallel idea makes sense in Ghana.

It is unfortunate that any educator, whether expatriate or Ghanaian, should have written so unguardedly about the Ghanaian graduate teacher, the Ministry that employs him, the Government that pays him and the people among whom he works.

The Ministry believes that any Ghanaian Teachers who may be selected to participate in this programme will endeavour to contribute something to American understanding of Africa and the African, and in turn enrich their own experience. We expect that they will enjoy their stay, but not merely enjoy themselves. Ghana has not gone "begging" for teachers. She has received voluntary offers from some countries and has invited assistance from others. Neither the Government nor this Ministry has ever made it difficult for any expatriate teacher to leave if he wanted to, and we have always believed that expatriates who work here get as much education from their work as they give. Nothing is more likely to lead to muddled thinking than ignorance of the facts, and your correspondent was ignorant of the facts.

Of course any Ghanaian who reads that this Ministry has sponsored "a project which is most likely to drain the best teachers we have in our schools and colleges" is likely to agree with your correspondent that the Ministry needs advisers of the calibre of your correspondent if there is to be any "sanity" in Ghana's educational policies. Fortunately, the officials who handle important matters in this Ministry have had far more experience of Ghanaian education, have the good of Ghana far more at heart, and have more confidence in the good sense of the Ghanaian Teacher than your correspondent appears to have.

It is the lot of Ministries of Education everywhere to be the target of criticisms and misrepresentations, both sound and unsound, and in a society like ours the Ghana Ministry of Education expects to have more than normal doses of these things from the public. And, in fact, it gets them. But when they come from someone who pretends to be less muddled than the Ministry

of Education and yet they are so misinformed and distorted, then we conclude that the intention is to vilify and not merely to criticise.

Ministry of Education,
P. O. Box M.45,
Accra.

D. A. Brown
Principal Secretary

The Public Executions

(An open Letter to the Christian Council and all Christian Institutions)

BRETHREN—What made you silent on the public execution? Possibly, you have protested behind the scenes by writing letters to the N.L.C. If so, then prove to the entire world that you do not support the public execution, which was un-Christian and un-Ghanaian, by publishing copies of your letters. Yes! Arthur and Yeboah should be executed; they themselves knew their condemnation was right and just, for he who takes a life by the sword dies by the same weapon. But was it necessary to execute them in public?

My fellow Christians, does any one of you happen to know how many children thronged to the site to witness the execution? It was the duty of the Christian Council to petition against allowing the public to wit-

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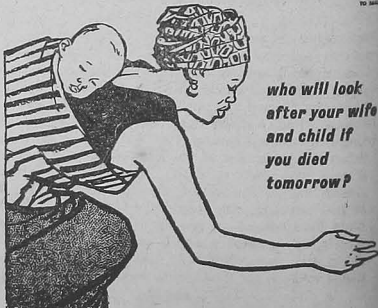
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who will look
after your wife
and child if
you died
tomorrow?

ness the execution. The unrest of the 17th April was caused by a section of the Army; therefore, they should have done their execution in their own way to deter other devils like Yeboah and Arthur amongst them.

If the authorities really wished all the nation to witness the execution, they should have allowed the Television cameras to cover the proceedings in order to show them later.

Christian Council, your excuses after the fall of Nkrumah that you were writing many letters in protesting against the Pioneer Movement is suspect unless your protest letters on the public execution are published.

Your silence is a disgrace to the Christian world and God.

Achiase,
Akim Kotoku.

George Anobil
(Local Preacher)

SIR—One hopes that the people who, from choice, watched the recent executions, will be moved as a result to press for the abolition of such public spectacles.

Department of Botany
University of Ghana
Legon

Julie Longman

The Legon Probe

SIR—It is extremely relieving to those of us who have the welfare and the reputation of Legon at heart, to read that a Commission has been set up to probe the accounts of Legon. For we strongly believe that it is only by this exercise that the gloom and suspicion that now surround Legon can be cleared.

It is true, as the *Legon Observer* has rightly put it, that it would be downright wickedness to extend to the entire University the disgraceful accusations levelled against the Finance Section in the Auditor-General's Report. But can we claim that other sections of the University such as the Administration, and the Estates have performed beyond reproach?

In certain departments and quasi-departments promotions are claimed to be based on qualification and hard work when in actual fact they depend on how "dear" you are to the boss.

This does not do any credit to the University, and the Council must show some initiative to look into every aspect of University life before they are told by somebody else to do so. A Legonite
(Name and Address supplied)—Editor.

SIR—Although the announcement to hold an enquiry into the accounts of the University of Ghana, Legon, is welcome, it appears supremely odd that the investigating Committee should have been appointed by the University Council and not by the National Liberation Council. Had a Committee been appointed by the University Council between 1961 and 1964 or any time before the publication of the Auditor-General's Report it may have been in order. Reports on University accounts are, by the Act of 1961, expected to be published annually. The post-coup University Council could have ordered an investigation in 1960 since no reports had appeared since the report of 1961-62 Academic year was published in 1964. It certainly seems highly irregular for the Council, which after all has the

final responsibility for the matter under investigation and therefore constitutes an interested party, to be allowed to appoint a Committee of enquiry at this time. For some of the Council's present officers of the University were responsible for the failure to publish the accounts.

The post-coup cleaning up has necessitated enquiries of various kinds. What most of them have had in common has been that they have been instituted by the National Liberation Council. Kumasi University of Science and Technology and the Ghana Academy of Sciences, which like the University, are institutions of higher learning have been no exceptions. The membership of the various N.L.C. committees and commissions of enquiry have been decided by the National Liberation Council. In the case of the Academy, where the need for an enquiry has been reported to be based on allegations, all but the Secretary of the 7-member commission are employees of the University of Ghana. It is positively irregular that at the University of Ghana, where mismanagement of accounts has actually been published by the Auditor-General, the University Council and not the N.L.C. should appoint a Committee and include on its membership some of its own employees.

Whatever else the University at Legon may be, it is supported by the taxpayer's hard-earned contribution, and since it appears necessary to have an enquiry into its affairs, like the other institutions, it should be subject to a thorough investigation by the N.L.C., not only into its accounts, but also into its administration and appointment of staff.

(Name and Address Supplied)
—Ed.

An ex-Legonite

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Book Review

THE ORGANISATION OF SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH IN GHANA

(Published by the Ghana Information Services and Printed by the State Publishing Corporation December 1966)

Review by

Fifi Hesse

(Editorial Secretary, *Encyclopaedia Africana*).

SINCE THE coup of 24 February 1966 which overthrew the corrupt and inefficient regime of the C.P.P., a conscious attempt is being made to determine what went wrong. This attempt takes two broad forms. First is the *investigative* type in the form of commissions of enquiry to determine specific instances of corruption and mismanagement and the extent of responsibility of public officers who perverted the ends of their offices. The second attempt takes the form of *reviews* of institutions to determine how they could be made more efficient, liberal and sound. The report of the Committee under review is of this latter type.

It was not perhaps surprising that the GAS should come under public scrutiny in the period immediately after the coup. Not only was the deposed President also the President of the Praesidium, the Academy's highest policy-making body, but also the GAS was itself a huge institution, managing 11 institutes and an assortment of other smaller units, and employing some 3,784 persons of whom 167 were scientific staff. Recurrent expenditure on the GAS in 1965 was £1,200,000 (N¢2,400,000) and development expenditure £226,000 (N¢452,000). Several questions were being asked of the GAS at the time, of which the following were prominent. Did the structure of the GAS, as constituted in the period immediately prior to the coup, provide a rational organisation for national scientific research? Was the GAS utilising available resources, both human and financial in the best interest of scientific research in Ghana? More fundamentally, it was being asked whether the GAS was not a mere prestigious institution, attempting to duplicate most of the scientific research effort which other institutions, especially the universities in Ghana could more effectively undertake?

These criticisms were made at a time when there was also widespread dissatisfaction with the entire educational system of Ghana. The result was that the N.L.C. appointed an Education Review Committee under the Chairmanship of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, to review the entire educational system from primary to university and including national

scientific research. Its wide membership was drawn from a fairly representative cross-section of schools, training colleges, universities and educational administrators. Later, the composition was enlarged by the addition of two more members who are also full-time officials of the GAS.

The Education Review Committee got down to work, but before it had gone far, a Committee of Experts was appointed in October 1966 with the specific task of advising "on the future of the GAS". The appointment of this Committee (henceforth referred to as the Cockcroft Committee) meant in effect that responsibility for advising on national scientific research was excised from the terms of reference of the earlier Education Review Committee.

The composition** of the Cockcroft Committee is interesting in at least two respects. None of the five members of this Committee was on the original Education Review Committee and none had been a Fellow of the erstwhile GAS. Secondly, only two of the five members are scientists. They are all, however, mostly high-calibre administrators with a rich store of experience of university administration. This explains the disclaimer of paragraph 75 of the report: "We do not have the technical knowledge to advice on the programmes of Research Institutes", and the recommendation that "specialists be invited to visit Ghana to carry out this work". The report of the Cockcroft Committee therefore deals in the main with the organisational problems of how policy-oriented national scientific research could be carried out alongside the normal academic research of universities.

The Cockcroft Committee interviewed certain individuals—about 30 in all, as well as two bodies. Its Report is, however, based essentially on an examination of three major documents. The first is the *Draft Report on National Research* which the intrepid members of the Education Review Committee drew up for the consideration of the N.L.C. even before the members of the Cockcroft Committee had had time to assemble in Accra to begin their labours. The second is the Minority report of the same Education Review Committee signed by the two members who were later additions to this Committee. The third is the memorandum by fellows on the reorganisation of the GAS in relation to national research. It is im-

**Members:

Sir John Cockcroft,	<i>Chairman</i>
Mr. R. K. A. Gardiner,	<i>Member</i>
Mr. A. L. Adu	"
Prof. K. A. Busia	"
Mr. M. Dowuona	"

portant to emphasise that all these three documents were prepared prior to the appointment of the Cockcroft Committee, and were essentially the work of Fellows of the GAS. Yet they all differ in some important respects on the crucial question of how the GAS should be reorganised.

What the Cockcroft Committee had to do therefore, was to reconcile different views held by Fellows about the future of the GAS and recommend a more rational organisation for conducting national research. This it has done tolerably well and with such an economy of words that on certain points the Report could be said to be ambiguous and would need to be critically examined and filled in by the Implementation Committee recommended in paragraph 76.

The report falls under three broad headings. The first relates to the future of the GAS as a Learned Society (para. 21-26). The second recommends the type of machinery through which national scientific research could be undertaken and methods of control including management of institutes (para. 27-71). Finally, there are recommendations about the future affiliation of existing research institutes.

The Committee's recommendation that there should be an Academy of Sciences, as a "Learned Society", distinct and separate from the body charged with responsibility for the conduct and control of national research is eminently welcome in the light of past experience. Some of the report's recommendations regarding the organisation of this body could however be criticised. The report is convinced of the need for a *voluntary body* to "provide an independent source of advice on pure science to Government when requested", and, yet, recommends that Government should subsidise it to the tune of N¢20,000 per annum in addition to providing other services. A voluntary association, even of scientists, which is dependent on government grants of this magnitude to carry out its functions, should not be surprised if its independence is compromised. Since the report stresses that "the exact amount should be determined by discussions", it is to be hoped that the Fellows themselves will realise the dangers of such heavy financial dependence on government.

Again, the report does not carry far enough its principle of separation between the Academy of Sciences as a Learned Society and the proposed Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Of the 18 persons listed as composing the CSIR (para. 27), no less than seven are to be "appointed by Government in consultation with the Academy of Sciences". If it is remembered that the "Academy of Sciences" referred to here is the same as the Fellows of the erstwhile GAS,

one is compelled to ask if the report is not actually contradicting itself in view of its earlier assertion (para. 22) that "the governing body of the Academy does not have a sufficiently broadly-based membership to advise the Government on science policy". As at present conceived, the CSIR could easily be dominated by the Fellows of the Academy of Sciences, especially since only one person out of the 18, is a member by virtue of his position as a full-time official of a Research Institute. There is need for strengthening the representation of the full-time research staff of Institutes to be set up under the CSIR.

Another reason why any weaknesses in the composition of the CSIR should be corrected is that the functions entrusted to it are varied and important (para. 29-33). It is not only an advisory body; it has powers to *control and co-ordinate* research in all its aspects. In addition, it has the task of *encouraging* all the various types of scientific research to be undertaken in Ghana, academic, industrial and commercial. Thus, although the report admits that the CSIR "will not itself undertake research", it is clear that the progress of future scientific research will depend heavily on its wise guidance. Of course one would expect it to delegate some of these functions to other bodies, and indeed the report recommends one such medium, namely Management Boards, to which will be delegated responsibility for the initiation, execution and supervision of research activities of specified institutes (para. 65). Each Board will have a broadly-based membership to ensure that no agency or institution with a legitimate interest in the research programme of the Institute, is left out. Whether this will produce a harmonious working relationship will depend on the members who serve on these Boards. It is also important to say that, while the Boards should be left a considerable degree of autonomy to run their Institutes, the CSIR should not allow its ultimate responsibility to slip away by default. A final point must be made about the administrative problems of controlling and co-ordinating research. Since the members of the CSIR including especially the Chairman, will all serve on a part-time basis, there is a real danger that power may fall into the hands of full-time administrators, unless some mechanism is devised to ensure that they only concern themselves with the speedy implementation of policies rather than attempting to determine such policies. The structure recommended by the report is not as complex as the previous set-up. It is nevertheless a structure made up of complementary parts and its effectiveness, in the final analysis, will depend on how the several parts work in unison.

Obviously, however, the most interesting part of the report is that section (para. 72) dealing with the fate of existing research institutes being managed by the GAS. It is remarkable that none of the report's recommendations on this score could be described as radical, except possibly in one case which is more appropriately described as 'curious'. This really underscores our earlier point that the Committee saw its major task as one of harmonising divergent but not necessarily irreconcilable viewpoints. The GAS at present manages 11 institutes and four other smaller units or projects and these are dealt with by the report in a variety of ways.

First, the report recommends that certain institutes should be "semi-autonomous". These are the Cocoa Research Institute, the Food Research Institute, the Institute of Standards and Industrial Research and an Agricultural Research Institute which will merge the existing Soil Research Institute and Crops Research Institute. These are the institutes to be placed under the proposed Management Boards, already referred to.

Secondly, some institutes are to enter into "special relationship" with our universities. The following institutes are in this category: for University of Science and Technology, Kumasi—Building and Road Research Institute, Forest Products Research Institute and the Local Alkaloidal Herbs unit. For University of Ghana, Legon—the Animal Research Institute and the Health Physics and Radio-isotopes Unit. There is some ambiguity about the terms of this special relationship. However, the report does give guiding principles such as the need to integrate research programmes of the particular institute with those of the appropriate university faculty; and the need for reciprocity in the sharing of facilities and personnel. Thirdly, the report recommends that a new Institute to be called Volta Basin Research Institute should be created and sited near the Volta Lake to take over the present Institute of Aquatic Biology as well as some of the functions of the Volta Basin Research Project at Legon. The report suggests a merger of the Institute of Geology and Geophysics with the Geological Survey Department; and the Encyclopaedia Africana, a project with pan-African implications, is left severely on its own, pending clarification of the agreement of African states to bear their portion of the cost.

There is, finally, that portion of the report dealing with the future of the National Institute of Health and Medical Research (NIHMR.) It is curious that of all the established institutes, this is the only one to be actually split up between the Medical School and the Ministry of Health

with the report spelling out very clearly how the various scientific sections of the Institute are to be dispersed between these two agencies. This is unfortunate since this Institute is one of the oldest and among the best-known outside Ghana. One would like to know more on the differences between the Ministry of Health on the one hand, and the Medical School on the other, as well as this latter and the University of Ghana. But pending clarification of this issue, the recommendation to break up the NIHMR stands in marked contrast to the report's other recommendations. Is it a coincidence that the only paper relating to this Institute which the Committee considered is listed in Appendix B as "Memorandum" on the future of the National Institute of Health and Medical Research?

This must now bring us to an examination of the criteria for making these recommendations. The Committee has tried to avoid duplication of scientific research. It is also apparently impressed with the fact that certain institutes are sufficiently *big* and *mature* enough to be on their own, but one would have wished this principle were consistently applied. Also mere physical location was not an unimportant consideration. Otherwise one would find it difficult to explain why the report should recommend that the Crops Research Institute, the Soil Research Institute, the Animal Research Institute and the Forest Products Research Institute should enter into *special relationship* with one or other of our universities, whereas the majority report of the Education Review Committee, on which the universities were very well represented, recommends that they should be *taken over* by the Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry. Is this a case of false modesty on the part of the universities both of which have faculties of agriculture, or rather an over-optimistic view of the ability of government ministries to control this type of research?

In the opinion of this reviewer, the Cockcroft Report represents the best possible compromise under the circumstances. The broad outlines for creating a rational framework within which national scientific research can proceed has been laid out. Of course important details remain to be worked out. The creation of the CSIR, and Management Boards; the detailed definition of *special relationship*; the division of assets between institutes, universities and other agencies; the delineation of areas of research activities; the transfer and redeployment of staff with its attendant problems of readjusting conditions of service etc.; these are tasks which demand fairness, firmness and quick action, and one hopes that the Implementation Committee will be fully conscious of all

these problems. The report itself stresses the need for "good-will" in carrying out this task. It is to be hoped that the completion of this reorganisation would remove those bottle-necks which have hampered the development of a virile national, scientific research programme in Ghana.

Commentary

THE PUBLIC EXECUTIONS—A NATIONAL DISGRACE?

By
Kweku Folson

LIEUTENANTS Arthur and Yeboah deserved to die. The justification for their deaths is based not so much on the fact that they embarked upon a reasonable and perilous adventure as that they were guilty of brutal murder. Many army officers before them have attempted to overthrow governments, although even here it is to be noted that it is effrontery of the first order for mere Lieutenants to attempt to overthrow the government of a country like Ghana. But to kill the head of the Armed Forces and callously to dispose of his innocent batman the way Lt. Yeboah admitted doing is surely a heinous crime. So is the way Lt. Arthur murdered Captain Avevor. Nor were there any extenuating circumstances to lead anyone to ask for their sentences to be commuted.

The N.L.C. and the Execution

The NLC had no alternative but to allow justice to take its course. If any attempt had been made either to commute the sentences or to relieve the culprits the NLC would no doubt have exposed itself dangerously to public hostility. The public was so enraged by the actions of the mutineers that any display of mercy would have been construed into culpable weakness or even condonation, not to mention complicity. People would no longer have called the NLC the National Christian Council but the National Cowardly Council and worse. An even more dangerous result would have been that the public, or a very significant section of it, would have been provoked into taking the law into its own hands. The law of the jungle would have been enthroned in the streets of Ghana. The result would have been similar to what happened in Nigeria last year. After the 15th January coup in Nigeria it was plain that the Northerners expected those who killed the Sardauna and Tafawa Balewa to be severely punished. Instead, there were rumours that they were being paid their salaries whilst allegedly in prison and that they had been transferred to the safe havens of their region of origin. The result was the terrible

events of May, July and September, the death of Ironsi and the pogroms in the North. One cannot escape the conclusion that both justice and politics demanded that Arthur and Yeboah should die.

Reasons for Public Execution

But there is a world of difference between saying that Arthur and Yeboah should die and saying that they should be *executed in public*. What reasons could have led to these public executions? Three have been advanced by the supporters of the action. One is informed, firstly, that it is a salutary lesson to those who would attempt to disturb the stability of the state. This is a poor reason. Every army officer who attempts a coup knows that he runs the risk of losing his life if he fails. But this has not prevented army officers the world over from attempting coups. Or is it being suggested that it is the public element that makes all the difference? How, in that case, can anyone bring himself to think that if a person is going to die the fact that he will die in public will make any difference to him? This reason can be safely dismissed as unconvincing.

It has been argued, secondly, that the public execution was necessary to convince the public that the officers had in fact been executed. Ridiculous as it may seem, this is not a frivolous reason. The unfounded suspicious and tenacious rumours that can sometimes exist in this country are surprising. If the officers had been executed in the usual way there are some people who would have persisted, in the face of every evidence, in the belief that somehow the public was having dust thrown in its eyes and that the culprits had not in fact been executed. Everyone knows, nevertheless, that these are not the people whose judgement should be the public yardstick. Such people are mentally sick and sane people do not adopt the standards of the mentally unstable. To assure the public that the culprits had in fact 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.

The third reason for the public execution that has been advanced by its supporters is that the public demanded it, just as we were told not so long ago that the "masses" demanded the public execution of Tawia Adamafio and his colleagues at the Black Star Square. It is necessary, however, to be quite clear in our minds that the fact that the public demands something is no sufficient reason for doing it. It is extremely dangerous to pander to public tastes and emotions. The public, our public, is in need of education and it is the duty of the enlightened few and the government to provide this education rather

than truckling to its momentary and unreasoned desires. Where the public demands something and one is convinced of the unsoundness of the demand it is the moral duty of the government and every enlightened person to resist it. The same public probably did not want any trial of the officers; they would have loved to see them sent to the Black Star Square and shot out of hand without wasting any time on a trial. No reflective person, however, could have approved that. And, in any case, no one should be misled into believing that everybody approved the public execution. Many people who condemn the events of April 17 are revolted at the idea of a public execution. They should not be forgotten. Nor should we forget that the same crowd that cried 'Hallelujah' also cried "crucify him."

Behaviour of the Public

No valid reason seems to be immediately clear why there should have been a public execution. Yet a public execution is such a terrible thing that the reason for it must be clear and beyond reasonable doubt. The events of the day leave no room for doubt that a public execution is a terrible thing. Early in the morning a huge crowd—estimates vary between 20,000 and 100,000—consisting of people from all walks of life, the mercedes-driving high, the trotting, unemployed low, errant office workers, pick-pockets, women carrying their shoes and their babies on their backs, children etc.—all had gathered to witness the execution. The crowd, described variously by the dailies as "teeming", "milling", "wild", "jubilant", jeered and booed until the zero hour when the guns cut the officers down. The barrage of shots was greeted with "yells" and the crowds then surged forward, shouting their last abuses on the dead bodies. They were satisfied; indeed, "their hearts were filled with joy". The radio and television news bulletins later in the day seemed to compete with each other in disgorging the details into the public mind, adding, significantly, that this was the first time this had happened in Ghana. The television service, however, seemed to have a guilty conscience about the affair: why, else, did it not show the actual shooting of the officers during the news telecast, something that the whole population had been invited to watch? The following day was the turn of newspapers. They came out with the gruesome details, accompanied by photographs, in one case with arrows indicating some finer aspects.

Attack on Human Dignity

In a civilised country the highest value is respect for human dignity and human personality. To execute people, however heinous their crime, amidst wild scenes of enthusiasm by the public is to subject this value to gross and indecent attack. The behaviour of the crowd at the execution shows the sadism that lurks in our national character: may it be held that if you scratch a Ghanaian you will find a sadist? Make no mistake about it, the crowd that gathered at the execution enjoyed the very sight of their opponents being shot dead. They were not satisfied merely that justice had had its course: they took positive pleasure in the very idea of bullets being emptied into persons they hated. This is reminiscent of some of our indigenous, customary practices; but for it to have happened in the modern Ghana in the second half of the twentieth century and with the apparent approval of the powers that be is national disgrace. It is the duty of men of goodwill to protest against it.

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News Summary

14:5:67

Top Police Officers alleged to be in business

MR. KOFI Akyigyina, an Accra businessman, has revealed to the Jiage Commission that some top-ranking police officers are engaged in private business. Mr. Akyigyina who was giving evidence before the Commission, narrated the story of how four senior police officers have teamed up with a few other persons to operate a multilateral business concern in Ghana. The name of the company is **Mates Industrial Investments Group (Ghana) Limited**, which was established about three months ago. He explained that the Police officers decided to form the company because they would be retiring at the end of this year. The police officers, all Directors of the Company, are Mr. A. K. Biney, Deputy Commissioner of Police, Mr. E. K. Lovi, Asst. Commissioner, Mr. G. C. Tay, Chief Superintendent and Mr. G. K. Acheampong, Chief Superintendent.

Team Reschedules Debts in Italy

A FIVE-MAN delegation led by Mr. Gyasi-Twum, Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, has returned home by air from Rome, Italy, after a two-week visit. While in Italy, it signed on behalf of the Government an agreement with the Government of Italy on the rescheduling of the medium term debts arising out of suppliers' credit contracts concluded between the two countries.

21:5:67

Arrests after April 17

SOME 550 persons have been placed under protective custody since April 17. This was announced in an N.L.C. decree published in Accra. Prominent among them are:

E. R. Boateng, Mrs. Nancy Tsioboe, Nana Akuamoah Boateng, Berekuhmehene and S. K. Danso, former vice-Chairman of the Kumasi City Council.

Finance Board

THE National Liberation Council has appointed a seven-man financial administration to be known as "The Finance Board". The Board may determine its own rules of procedure and the NLC may designate an officer of the Ministry of Finance to be the Secretary of the Board. The Board will be the Chief authority for carrying out the principles, purposes and provisions of the decree establishing it and in the exercise of its functions, will be subject to any direction given to it by the NLC. The duties of the Board include the collection, management and administration of and the accounting for public moneys and the maintenance of records of government property.

Re-scheduling of Debts—Israel

GHANA and Israel have signed an agreement providing for the rescheduling of payments by the Government of Ghana on account of medium term commercial debts owed to the Government of Israel, in accordance with the decision reached during talks between Ghana and her creditor nations in London last December. The amount involved is 742 thousand pounds.

Agricultural Council

THE Government intends to set up a National Agricultural Council with regional and district chapters. Each of these councils will have technical committees. This was announced during the week by the NLC member responsible for Agriculture, Mr. J. E. O. Nunoo at the opening of a National Agricultural Extension Conference held at the Kwadaso Agricultural Training School.

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