

CONTENTS

Our Perspective

The Soccer Fiesta and the People



Jubilating Ghanaian Soccer Fans - Germany 2006

There has never been any doubt about the importance of football to most Ghanaians. In 1978 when Ghana hosted the African Cup of Nations tournament for the first time, it was in a period when the economy was in a shambles and the people were completely frustrated. At that time many Ghanaian professionals were on their way to Nigeria and other places in search of the proverbial greener pastures. Despite the difficult times, the government and the people of Ghana managed to put on a fairly decent show which saw Ghana win the tournament. Many were those who momentarily forgot about their economic problems when Ghana beat Uganda in the finals on a hot March afternoon, courtesy of two goals from Opoku-Afriyie. The people rejoiced but they were not a very happy people. The competition was not that stiff in 1978, and the people had many other worries. This was clearly reflected by the fact that the

stadium was nowhere near full when Ghana played in the finals at the Accra Sports Stadium.

The second time Ghana hosted other African nations to a similar competition was in January 2000, when it did so jointly with Nigeria. It was a very different kind of competition which came as a surprise to many Ghanaians. It fell upon Ghana and Nigeria to host the event because Zimbabwe pulled out as the host at the last minute. It came at a time when the Black Stars appeared to be too poorly prepared to make any impact on African football. It was no surprise when South Africa kicked Ghana out at the quarter final stage in Kumasi, with a heart-breaking goal from Nomvete. Considering that there had been no opportunity to make a significant investment in the organisation of the competition, many Ghanaians did not think too much about

The Soccer Fiesta and the People

The 2007 Kenyan Elections: Lessons for the Rest of Africa
Emmanuel Debrah • 4

Alternative Energy in Ghana: Prospects and Challenges
A. K. Ofori Ahenkorah • 7

CAN (Ghana) 2008: What does it mean for Ghanaians?
Ama de-Graft Aikins & Yaw Nsarkoh • 11

GHANA 2008: A Sports Medicine Perspective
Akwezi Adomakoh • 15

The Ghana 2008 Africa Cup of Nations Tournament and International Relations
Bonni Yao Gebe • 18

Letters to the Editor • 26

Special Credit:
Sport Photos from "Pride & Glory, Black Stars in Germany '06".
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the cost of playing host, particularly as we did not get too far. So Ghana has had mixed outcomes from hosting Africa's most significant football tournament. Clearly, there is no guarantee that hosting it will bring the desired outcomes.

It is therefore not surprising that sometimes people ask: "is it worth it?" Is it worth the resources that are devoted to it? Is it worth the time and attention devoted to it? Our perspective is that it may be worth it, if properly organised. It may provide an opportunity to showcase Ghana as an emerging investment and tourist destination in Africa. It may offer a chance to begin to tackle festering national problems such as poor sanitation, crumbling stadia, unreliable electric power supply, a hospitality industry whose performance leaves much to be desired, etc. It can bring relief to frustrated people. It can divert attention from both national and personal problems. It may bring income to some people. Doing well in a competition hosted by others could also boost national pride, as happened to Ghanaians during the FIFA World Cup tournament held in Germany in 2006.

Ghanaians have always been proud of their international football achievements. As a people we made an impression on Africa long before countries like Cameroon, Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire began to count. In the early part of the 1970s, when the Black Stars played in any tournament, there was seldom any question about Ghana winning. It was more a question of the number of goals to be scored in winning a match. In those days if the Black Stars failed to score more than two goals the numerous supporters felt let down. Ghanaians often boasted to the whole world about the number of times we had won the African Cup, and other African countries envied us. In those days we never failed to let the world know that we had won the trophy more often than any other country; that we were the first African nation to become independent from colonial rule; that we had the most educated middle class reflected by the number of Ghanaians working in international organisations. Ghanaian students studying abroad believed they were ordained to top their classes.

By the late 1970s and into the 1980s, however, many of the claims by Ghanaians were being made with very little confidence. But an opportunity to brag again came when Ghana won the African Cup of Nations in far away Tripoli in 1982, beating the hosts, Libya, on penalty kicks. This achievement was against all odds, considering the national economic and social difficulties at the time, and was accomplished with a makeshift team that had been quickly assembled. There is no doubt that in times of national despair, success at football tournaments has

lifted the spirits of Ghanaians very significantly. In 1982 it did so briefly, even though it was the only bright spot in a nation that was low-spirited. Success by the Black Starlets (the under-17 national team) in the 1990s always made Ghanaians very proud and hopeful of a much brighter future for a nation that was having problems with its senior team. The Starlets of the 1990s definitely gave Ghanaians what the senior team could not.

So football can do wonders for a people's psyche where politics and economics have failed. Unfortunately, the relief that comes from football or any other sporting success is temporary, at best. After we have rejoiced and partied in celebration we often wake up the following day to the grim reality of difficult personal circumstances and national development choices, often influenced by bad politics and economics. The big challenge is how to make the effects of the sporting success more lasting. How can we use sports to provide regular recreation, fun and livelihoods for thousands of people? Currently only a small number of people derive significant income from their link to sports, particularly football. In many African nations it is the players plying their trade in Europe and Asia who receive the big rewards. From those rewards the players have sometimes given something back to their countries; not all the time though.

Organising a tournament like the CAN 2008 (African Cup of Nations Ghana 2008) offers an opportunity to create employment, if properly planned. Employment is the outcome of appropriate investment. The most obvious candidates for job creation will be in the hospitality industry. But

this will be most beneficial in the long run if it is designed in such a manner as to support the long-term development of the sector. Investors may build hotels, restaurants and other supporting facilities to support the tournament but they must be convinced that the facility will continue to be patronised long after the tournament is over. The same logic applies to the development of infrastructure and sports facilities. If it has become essential to develop beautiful modern stadia at Essipong and Tamale then the authorities must also invest in developing football and other sports in those regions.

There is no point in building such beautiful stadia if there are no plans to ensure that local and national football leagues will be properly organised in order to attract larger numbers of spectators. It is the fees from regular and growing numbers of spectators that will ensure that the facilities can be maintained over a long time. And the spectators will only come to the stadium if the activities are well organised and regular. Additionally there must be attractive sporting events to draw in television and the associated advertising revenue. In the absence of regular activities, it is likely that various religious and other groups will ask to use the facilities for meetings and conventions. One should not be surprised to find requests for these stadia to be used for funerals.



Essentially our perspective on the subject of getting the most out of CAN 2008 suggests the need for a long term plan for the management of the facilities and related investments. Organising these tournaments is not only about the footballers that we will showcase.

It is also about the business of generating employment and providing livelihoods for thousands in the short term and long term. It is perhaps, not too late to build these into the preparation of the 10-Year Development Plan for Ghana currently underway at the National Development Planning Commission (NDPC). The development of supporting infrastructure needs to be part of the human settlements development programme under the plan.

As we begin hosting 15 African nations, more than twice as many as we hosted in 1978, the New Legon Observer would like to congratulate the Government of Ghana for having the foresight to think about inviting the Confederation of African Football (CAF) to bring the 22nd edition of the tournament to Ghana. It has created an opportunity that will allow the world (or a part of it) to focus on Ghana for several weeks. Ghanaians should enjoy the tournament and savour all the main activities for as long as possible. Ghanaians extend a hand of friendship and welcome to all the participating teams and other visitors. While wishing them all a great success in the tournament, it should come as no surprise to them that it is our strong desire to see Ghana once again on top of African football.

The 2007 Kenyan Elections: Lessons for the rest of Africa

Emmanuel Debrah ¹

Introduction

The violence and political turmoil generated over the December 26, 2007 Kenyan general elections and their concomitant loss of over 300 lives have once again reminded us that the outcome of elections cannot be taken for granted in Africa. Kenya as a country is a bastion of peace and stability in Africa and for it to descend into anarchy for about a week shows that there may be something fundamentally wrong with the electoral process in many African countries.

A brief background to the elections

Flawed elections are not new in Kenyan electoral politics. The first multiparty elections held in 1992 that brought Daniel Arap Moi and his African National Union (KANU) to power and the 1997 elections that endorsed his second term were widely viewed as fraudulent (Närman 2003:344). However, the general pessimistic view about achieving credible elections in Kenya gave way to optimism when in December 2002 Kenya held its general elections which were judged as "free and fair" by both local and international observers. This marked an important turning point in Kenya's democratic evolution. Mwai Kibaki's defeat of Moi encouraged electoral competition within the body politic (Närman 2003:345). As Kibaki's tenure was coming to an end, he also faced stern competition from his former allies. Of the other eight candidates who

challenged the incumbent, Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) and to some extent Kalonso Musyoka of the Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya (ODM-K) are of major importance.

The electoral process

The credibility of elections depends on the quality of the electoral process. Given the stakes involved in winning or losing elections, it is not surprising that attention is paid to the effectiveness of the election institution that manages the process. The 1992 Kenyan constitution established the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) as an independent and impartial election commission and under Kenya's electoral system, the president is elected for a five-year term by the people (on the basis of universal adult suffrage). The winner of the presidential elections must secure the largest number of votes among all contestants nationwide (in absolute terms), win at least 25% of votes among five of Kenya's eight provinces, and be elected Member of

Parliament in a constituency (Wikipedia.org, 2007).

The overarching question is, why did the election fail to achieve credibility? And, what lessons can guide us in the quest for free and fair elections in Africa?

Integrity and outcome of the elections

The disputed election results, are in part, a testament of a failed election process. The 46.4% votes for Mwai Kibaki as against 44.1% for Raila Odinga are the bone of contention. The challenge to Kibaki's victory is that about 300,000 votes were falsely credited to him in most remote constituencies (see Table 1). According to Odinga, vote rigging in four provinces, namely, Western, Coast, Upper Eastern and North Eastern Province were responsible for the incumbent's election victory (see Table 2). Consequently, Odinga refused to concede defeat to incumbent Kibaki.

Table 1: Final Election Results

Candidate	M. Kibaki	R. Odinga	K. Musyoka	J. Karani	P. Muiru	N. Omar	K. Matiba	D. Ng'ethe	N. Kukubo
Votes	4,584,721	4,352,993	879,903	21,171	9,667	8,624	8,046	5,976	5,927
%	46.4	44.1	9	0.2	0.09	0.087	0.081	0.06	0.06

Source: Wikipedia.org, 2007.

Table 2: Provincial Election Results

Province	Central	Coastal	Eastern	Nairobi	N -Eastern	Nyanza	Rift Valley	Western	Total
Kibaki	97.4%	34.4%	54.7%	41.5%	47.9%	14.6%	28.7%	30.0%	4,584,721
Odinga	1.9%	58.9%	6.4%	53.3%	49.6%	85.0%	70.3%	69.2%	4,352,993
Musyoka	0.7%	6.7%	38.8%	5.1%	2.4%	0.3%	1.0%	0.3%	879,903

Source: Wikipedia.org, 2007.

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(L-R) Mwai Kibaki, John Agyekum Kufuor (AU Chairman), and Raila Odinga

The EU Election Observation Monitoring (EOM) team and other Western governments have concluded that the election was flawed because the ECK failed to establish the credibility of the tallying process to the satisfaction of all parties and candidates. According to the EU EOM, the result for the Molo constituency that was initially announced as 50,145 votes in favour of President Kibaki was later altered as 75,261 votes. The lack of transparency in the tallying process raised serious problems about the effectiveness of the election process (see *voanews 2007; the commonwealth.org 2008*).

At the centre of the controversy surrounding the election results is the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). Its declaration of Kibaki winner in the elections demonstrated a complete lack of competence to hold credible elections. Its supervision of the election has created doubts not only in its own integrity but its ability to manage free and fair elections. The lack of independence and impartiality became manifest when the chairman of the ECK admitted on January 2,

2008 that he was pressured to declare incumbent Kibaki as duly elected. Yet, the chairman and his board of commissioners knew of the election fraud that occurred in some constituencies that undermined the integrity of the results. What is puzzling is the chairman's (Samuel Kivuitu) claim that he could not be exact on who had won the presidential election! The malpractices in the votes counted and results tallied for some constituencies appeared to suggest that ballots cast were more than the voter turnout. What is more disturbing is that four out of the 22 Kenyan election commissioners expressed doubts about the veracity of the election figures for Kibaki. For instance, Jack Tumwa remarked that he was highly disappointed in the overall results (*thecommonwealth.org 2008*).

The call for a re-run of the presidential polls by an independent body other than the electoral commission again is indicative not only in the loss of confidence in the results but also in the ECK. Kibaki's own Attorney General, Amos Wako has noted that, "a proper tally of the

valid certificates returned and confirmed should be undertaken immediately and on a priority basis by an agreed and independent person or body" (*BBC News, January 4, 2008*).

Although conflict is inevitable in a democratic competition, it manifests in gigantic fashion when an election outcome is questionable. The incumbent's electoral victory that was overshadowed by violence has denied Kibaki and his supporters the joy of fairly defeating the opposition in an election contest. Whereas post-election conflict is a recurrent theme in Kenyan politics, what has happened is unprecedented since returning to the democratic path in 1992, with anarchists pursuing their victims, mostly women and children, to a religious sanctuary (the Kenya Assemblies of God church) to massacre their prey (see *The Nation (allafrica.com)*). Admittedly, the post-elections violence was largely framed around ethnic sentiments. Odinga is a Luo and other smaller tribes that are historically marginalised have pitched battle against Kibaki's Kikuyus to revolt against their hegemony in Kenyan politics. The eruption of conflict following the pronouncement of Kibaki's victory and subsequent swearing into office have dented Kenya's democratic record and erased any gains made in more than 15 years of a return to multiparty politics.

The lack of faith in the courts' ability to dispense justice may have accounted for the opposition's continued acceptance of violence as the surest means of redressing their election grievances. In a clear show of lack of faith in the judicial process, Odinga has called for a recount or a

re-run of the whole election. This will be the surest way of securing the integrity of the 2007 elections and future ones in Kenya. This is important because once incumbents realise that rigging elections will guarantee their stay in power, there will be elections, but there will be no choice (Haugerud 1999:340).

Unable to construct a post-election peace whereby his mandate will translate into legitimacy, Kibaki seems hopeful that the only option for his continued exercise of sovereignty lies in accommodating the opposition in government. But while a government of national unity seems appropriate in the immediate term, because it fosters the spirit of reconciliation, the government-opposition sharing power formula may be a dangerous recipe for multiparty politics as the opposition could melt or dissolve into the ruling government during the partnership period, as was the case in Senegal until 2000.

The socio-economic repercussions of the post-election conflicts in Kenya are incalculable. Women and children, who have been caught up in the web of the election conflict, remain the most vulnerable. The violence has halted brisk business activities. Many shops remain closed, and this has triggered fuel shortages, and prompted the closure of the Nairobi Stock Exchange. Tourists who planned their holidays in Kenya have had to cancel their trips, leading to revenue loss to the Kenyan economy. Conclusions: Lessons

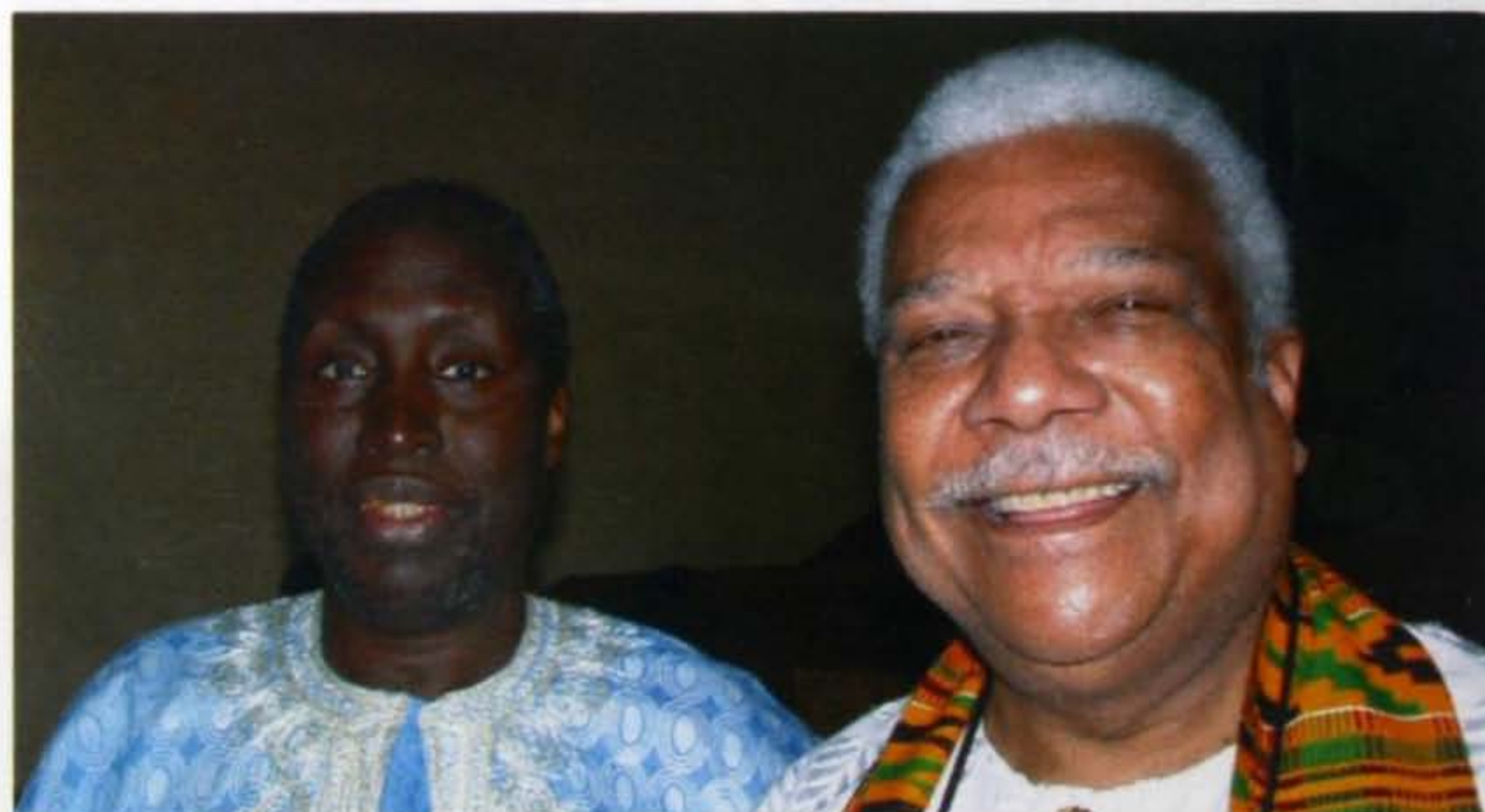
Several lessons can be learned from the Kenyan elections. First, they have shown the difficulty in securing free

and fair elections when an incumbent seeks re-election. The belief that in Africa, incumbents do not enter an election race and lose has encouraged rigging. The manipulation of the election figures in several constituencies in favour of Kibaki and the apparent weakness of the Electoral Commission in dealing decisively with the outcome signify the overbearing influence of the incumbent in the elections. Also the use of force to intimidate the losing candidates and their supporters further highlights the problem of incumbency in achieving credible elections and resolving post-election disputes. It suggests that incumbents with, many resources and control of executive power, can deploy and use all forces under their disposal to rig elections and legitimise their stay in office.

Secondly, conflicts are a feature of multiparty competition and democracy but their prompt resolution is important for securing peace and legitimacy, and survival of the political order. Hence mechanisms for dealing with post-election conflicts are important for securing the

integrity of the electoral process. The escalating conflict over the election results points to a failed or nonexistent means of post-election conflict resolution in Kenya's electoral process. It further shows lack of confidence in the Kenyan courts that are constitutionally saddled with the responsibility of adjudicating election disputes. This point may equally be true of Ghana where some post-elections cases are still not decided by the courts. This problem of lack of faith in the courts in resolving post-election disputes has been addressed, for example, in Mexico where an electoral court has been specifically established to deal with problems posed by election disputes, to guarantee the survival of democracy. This is a red flag for Ghana!

Thirdly, a durable election process is the one that safeguards the independence and impartiality of the election commission to achieve credible elections. Where election results fail to secure the legitimacy of the successful candidate, the integrity of the election body becomes doubted. The failure of the



Prof. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (left) and Prof. Ali Mazrui (right), eminent Kenyan intellectuals

election machinery was a manifestation of the lack of its independence and signals its inability to hold credible elections. The resoluteness of the electoral commission has been demonstrated in the Ghanaian situation, where in the face of attempted incumbent intimidation, it has asserted its autonomy by pronouncing on cases that in many instances have been at variance with the incumbents' choices. The lack of confidence and firmness, two essential components of an independent election commission, accounted for its failure

to dispense a credible election in Kenya.

Fourthly, the outcome of the elections has exposed the role of ethnicity and local community support in the Kenyans' political structure. The *Kikuyus'* unflinching support for their ethnic incumbent Kibaki was comparable to the *Luos'* attachment to Odinga, thereby reducing the election contest to a referendum on which candidate has the most ethnic backing. Thus electoral politics framed around ethnicity risk not achieving post-election peace and

stability in the political system as the losing groups would always lean on their ethnic groups to foment conflict. De-emphasising ethnic politics should go beyond the usual constitutional provisions, because where there is a weak and non-performing judiciary, ethnic voting will manifest in a gigantic fashion to paralyse the election process. Thus there must be appropriate reforms to the electoral system to encourage national parties to address ethnic voting in a multicultural and multiethnic societies as in Kenya and Africa generally.

Alternative Energy in Ghana: *Prospects and Challenges*

A.K. Ofosu Ahenkorah ²



Osagyefo Power Barge

The main energy resources that have been developed and exploited extensively in the world to date are fossil fuels, coal, oil and natural gas, all of finite quantities and subject to

depletion. Recent research and observations have identified the use of fossil fuels as the main cause of global warming or climate change. Alternative energy could be defined as energy that is derived from sources that do not harm the environment or deplete the earth's natural resources. Alternative energy can also be defined as energy derived from non-traditional sources. Alternative energy resources include solar power, including photo-voltaic (PV), bio-energy, wind, hydro, tidal and wave power, compressed natural gas, geothermal power, fuel cells, hydrogen generation and storage. Nuclear energy is usually excluded from this definition although Green House Gases are not associated with nuclear power production.

The amount of alternative energy that can be harnessed in a country depends on the natural resources available. In Ghana exploitable alternative energy resources include hydro, solar, biofuels, and wind. Ghana has no known sources of geothermal power.

Challenges to Future Energy Development Worldwide

Future energy development faces great challenges due to an increasing world population, demands for higher standards of living, demands for less pollution and the fear of depletion of fossil fuels. Without energy, the world's entire infrastructure collapses. The recent shortages in electricity generation, which make up

² Dr. A. K. Ofosu-Ahenkorah is currently the Chief Executive of the Energy Commission. He was previously the Chief Executive of the Energy Foundation.

only 7% of total energy use, are reported to have caused considerable hardship and economic loss.

Ghana's Energy Challenge

With an expanding economy and a growing population, Ghana faces major challenges in providing the required energy in a reliable and sustainable manner, bearing in mind the environmental and economic impacts of energy production and use as well as the connection between energy consumption and development.

In 2005, energy consumption in Ghana consisted of wood fuel (60%), electricity (7%) and petroleum fuel (33%). Should the Growth and Poverty Reduction (GPRS II) targets be realised, demand for energy is expected to rise steadily. Wood fuel consumption is expected to rise from 14 million tonnes in 2000 to 66 million tonnes by 2020. Such a development would put the nation's dwindling forest reserves under undue stress. Total petroleum demand is projected to grow from about 1.6 million tonnes in 2000 to about 4.5 million tonnes by 2020. With crude oil prices, a quantum jump in demand could put a strain on

the nation's balance of payments. With regard to electricity, demand is projected to exceed 3,000 MW and 4,400 MW in 2015 and 2020 respectively, while overall energy demand is estimated at 26,600 GWh and 33,000 GWh for those years.

The existing installed capacity for electricity generation of 2,044 MW, made up of 58% hydro, 37% thermal plants which use light crude oil as fuel, and 5% diesel generators will have to more than double by 2020 in order to meet the local peak power demand.

Alternative Energy Resources

There are several alternative energy resources available in Ghana:

Wind Energy: its availability depends on the geographical position of a country relative to the equator. Countries which are farther from the equator are known to have relatively high wind energy potential as compared to those which are closer to the equator. Another challenge associated with wind energy is that the wind does not blow all the time, and the electricity produced during blustery periods cannot be easily stored. Wind speeds of less than 5m/s (metres per second) are considered to be too low for commercial exploitation.

Solar Power:

The sun is known to be the most abundant source of energy in the universe. The sun's energy can be harnessed in the form of heat

or light. In the form of heat it can be used to heat water or other media which can then be used to drive turbines to generate electricity. In the light form it can be harnessed through the use of solar photo voltaic panels which convert the light from the sun into electricity. Solar Energy has long been limited by the fact that it requires mounting expensive panels made of silicon and glass on special mountings on a roof. Flexible "thin-film" photo voltaics are being developed and if successful could change the prospects for harnessing solar energy.

Biofuel: Biofuel is any fuel that is derived from biomass and is classified into solid, liquid and gaseous biofuels. Solid biofuels are firewood and charcoal. Unlike petroleum, biofuel is a renewable energy resource and liquid biofuels are being developed as an alternative to petroleum products.

Experience from countries such as Brazil, Malaysia and Germany has shown that biofuels could be used to supplement fossil fuels for transportation. Brazil has developed "gasohol" which is a blend of gasoline and bio-alcohol. In Malaysia palm oil derivatives are used as substitutes for diesel. India and Mali have extracted plant oils as diesel substitutes. Nigeria has launched an import-based programme to introduce a 10% blend of bio- and fossil fuel. Blends of up to 10% are acceptable worldwide without the need to modify engines and do not affect manufacturers' warranties on most vehicles.

The key drivers of the increased use of biofuels throughout the world are energy security, local agricultural



Celebrated Ghanaian Novelist Ayi Kwei Armah taking visitors round Solar Panel Installations at the Rooftop of the Per Ankh Building in Popenguine, Senegal. Solar Energy provides electricity for the entire building.

benefits, climate change mitigation, technology developments, which have made biofuel production and use possible, deliberate energy diversification and security, and economic and environmental benefits.

Fuel Cells: A fuel cell is an electrochemical energy conversion device that converts hydrogen and oxygen into water, and in the process produces electricity. Compared with a battery which has all of its chemicals stored inside, and converts these chemicals into electricity and eventually "goes dead", in the fuel cell, chemicals constantly flow into the cell so it never goes dead. As long as there is a flow of chemicals into the cell, electricity flows out of the cell.

Energy Efficiency and Conservation: Energy supply and uncontrolled consumption have adverse financial and environmental implications. The best approach to energy supply is therefore a combination of supply and demand options that ensure the least economic and environmental impacts. Energy efficiency improvements are the most important measures to achieve policy objectives related to energy security and global carbon dioxide (CO₂) emission reductions. Where energy is in short supply, the increased availability of energy as a result of increased efficiency of its use leads to direct economic gains. According to the International Energy Agency reports of 2002 energy efficiency accounts for 40 to 53 per cent emission reductions in the long-term projections to 2050.

The cost of investment in end-use efficiency improvements are in most

cases less than half of those of comparable supply side costs. For example, the government of Ghana as part of measures to reduce the impact of the recent power shortages imported and distributed, free of charge, over 6 million compact fluorescent lamps (CFLs). This single act is expected to reduce peak demand by over 200MW and save 1,000MWh of electricity daily. The lamps are expected to pay for themselves in energy cost savings in less than six months

The Future of Alternative Energy:

While the price of petroleum fuel may be the most tangible issue driving public interest in alternative fuels, there are a number of other significant factors underpinning this burgeoning industry. Climate change and environmental concerns, desire for energy security, increasing demand for oil and gas as supplies diminish, infrastructure constraints (e.g., refineries), geopolitical concerns (e.g., terrorism, Iraq, Iran, resource nationalisation), expanding government incentives and tax benefits and the reduced cost of many alternative energy sources. As part of total energy consumption, alternatives are, and will continue to be in the near future, dwarfed by traditional fossil fuels, but they offer something fossil fuels often do not, dramatic growth. Solar and fuel cells are both expected to be \$20 billion industries by 2015; wind energy costs have dropped 90% in 20 years, making it cost competitive with traditional fuel sources, and ethanol demand is up nearly 100% in just four years.



Energy Installation

Challenges to the Development of Alternative Energy in Ghana

Although opportunities exist for the development and deployment of alternative energy resources several significant challenges that hinder their development exist.

a. Limited Alternative Energy Resources:

In Ghana, alternative energy sources consisting of small to mini/microhydro, wind, solar, biomass and municipal solid wastes would only be able to supply between 380 and 500 MW delivering between 2,500 and 3,500 GWh competitively. This is just about one-tenth of the total capacity needed in Ghana by 2020. Alternative energy delivering more than 10% of the total national energy supply would increase the cost of generation significantly. All the hydro sites on the Pra, Ankobra and Tano rivers could provide only about 425MW of capacity to generate about 1,000 GWh.

Solar-grid electricity capacity is limited largely by capital cost rather than natural resources. It is the most expensive means of generating grid-electricity. Among the alternatives,

wind may have the largest capacity for expansion and the best prospects to contribute significantly to grid power supply of the country by about 200-300 MW producing about 600 GWh a year. The highest wind speeds recorded at heights of 12m by the Energy Commission in Ghana are between five and nine metres/sec and is available only along the coast east of the meridian.

b. Cost per Kilowatt Hour: One of the most critical obstacles to the adoption of alternative energy sources is their cost to consumers and how that cost compares to the cost of production of one kilowatt hour of energy from competing sources. Improved technology that leads to the more efficient production of energy from alternative sources is critical to ensuring the cost compatibility of alternatives with fossil fuel sources and, as such, all costs must be addressed if alter-

natives are to remain or become commercially viable. The cost of grid connected solar energy per kWh is over US\$.30 as compared to US\$0.04/kWh from coal fired fossil fuel plants. The cost of solar panels in Ghana is about US\$7000/kW as compared to US\$500 - 1000 for a gas fired thermal power plant. Whilst large hydro power plants could be installed at about US\$1,500 per kW (eg. Bui) the installed cost of mini and micro power plants is about US\$3,000/kW, mainly due to high civil

engineering costs and difficult access. The relatively high cost of wind energy is due to the difficult access and cost of construction and maintenance at heights of 50m and over.

c. Returns at Risk: As evidenced by recent economic activity, oil and gas are "volatile commodities". Many industry analysts and executives contend that today's prices are not supported by supply and demand balance. If those executives are correct and the price of oil drops significantly, the relative cost of alternative energy will certainly increase, putting the returns to

alternative energy companies and their investors at risk. There seems to be a market perception that today's environment is unique – and it may well be – but history has shown that a drop in hydrocarbon

prices erodes enthusiasm for alternative energy. Alternative energy offers investors higher returns at a higher risk premium than conventional energy.

d. Competing Technologies: Though no single alternative energy source, at least in the near future, will displace others, there is intense competition to achieve hegemony within each individual alternative energy market. In biofuels, lobbyists for a corn-based solution vie with

those championing cellulosic ethanol, biodiesel, and biobutanol. Within the solar market, concentrating solar power systems compete with the much more popular photovoltaic systems. The growth of the hybrid automobile market erodes some of the interest in the more expensive hydrogen fuel cells market. If one technology becomes increasingly mainstream, it does so at the expense of another's market share.

e. Not In My Backyard Syndrome (NIMBYism): One of the essential benefits of alternative energy sources is that they are independent of fossil fuels and, as such, provide for cleaner living environments. Despite the appeal of alternative energy, there has been a significant backlash from communities regarding the construction of the facilities necessary to produce it. For instance, while citizens of a particular community may embrace wind power as a source of electricity, they often have a negative response to the prospect of a turbine's siting if it impacts that community's aesthetics. This "Not In My Backyard" (NIMBY) phenomenon presents a challenge to organisations attempting to expand or establish capacity.

f. Intermittent Nature of Alternative Energy and Storage: Many alternative energy sources are often dismissed because they cannot be stored and because they are often intermittent (e.g., solar, wind). However when used in conjunction with another alternative fuel source, energy can be stored and used to supplement supply when the sun isn't shining or the wind stops blowing. Excess wind capacity, for instance, can be redirected to create energy through hydrogen fuel cells which can, in turn, supply energy when



Bulk Oil Storage Facility

wind ceases. Storing energy in this fashion is capital intensive at the outset, although the efficiency and flexibility of these "combined cycle" solutions could make up for the initial costs over the long-term.

Constraints to Biofuel Development:

The development of an alternative to an existing fuel requires policy directives and strategies that will address the typical constraints that relate to introducing alternatives to existing fuels.

• Feedstock for Biofuel Production:

Different feedstocks are used for biofuel production in different countries. The general trend is that countries choose feedstock plants which are already in mass production in their countries and which have commercial value other than the production of fuel.

Ghana produces only about 80,000 of the 200,000 tonnes of palm oil that it consumes annually. Production will have to be increased before any marked production of biodiesel could be promoted. *Jatropha curcas* on the other hand is new and its agronomic properties are unknown. Due to its single use nature its adoption should be carefully considered in terms of the opportunity cost as against food production. The cellulose part of the palm tree can also be processed into alcohol and other products. Although the sugar industry has collapsed sugarcane cultivation is still going on and is used for the production of alcoholic beverages. A PSI on cassava has seen the establishment of a cassava processing plant. These crops offer some advantages to Ghana in biofuel production.

• **Cost Competitiveness of Biofuel:** The biofuel market worldwide is not well developed and

biofuels are not cost competitive even with crude oil prices at US\$73.00 per barrel or higher.

The global market for biofuels is politically driven and relies on tax rebates and high oil prices. There is also the potential clash of energy and food production in terms of land use. Government intervention is driving the biofuel market. A comprehensive value chain analysis of an integrated biofuel industry is therefore required to ensure profitability. At current world market prices for fossil fuel, price cannot be used as an objective for a biofuel industry, except ethanol.

Conclusion

Alternative energy can be harnessed to augment energy supply. However, significant cost, technology and attitudinal barriers need to be surmounted before any meaningful breakthrough can be achieved.

CAN (Ghana) 2008: What does it mean for Ghanaians?

Ama de-Graft Aikins & Yaw Nsarkoh³

Ghana has received many gifts in her golden jubilee year. The conferring of the African Union (AU) chairmanship on President J.A. Kufour, the nation's hosting of the AU meeting, the discovery of oil at Cape Three Points, and the final arrival of rains ending stressful months of energy rationing for homes, businesses and industries.

But for a football loving nation, still giddy with the resurgence of national pride evoked by the Black Stars world-class performance in the 2006 world cup, still wearing 'Proud to be

Ghanaian' t-shirts with panache, the hosting of the 2008 African Cup of Nations (CAN) tournament on Ghanaian soil must be the best gift of all.

In a New Year's Day article in the Daily Graphic Kobby Asmah, Samuel Ablordeppey, and Kofi Yeboah summarised year-long local media sentiments for the event:



³ Ama de-Graft Aikins, PhD, is a Social Psychologist based at the Cambridge University and the Regional Institute for Population Studies, Legon. Yaw Nsarkoh is the Marketing Director for Unilever, Ghana.

"Less than two weeks from now all traffic, mostly road and air, from various parts of the African continent and beyond will lead to Ghana for the 26th edition of the Africa Cup of Nations tournament (Ghana 2008), which kicks off on January 20, 2007. It will be an event of immense significance because it comes on the heels of the country's Golden Jubilee celebrations and at the time when interest in the game has soared ... At the continental level, Ghana 2008 also commands historical significance, coming two years ahead of the historic hosting of the World Cup on African soil, South Africa 2010 ... As the host nation, four-time champions ... Ghana's Black Stars have been tipped among the favourites to win the trophy for the fifth time."⁴

In his New Year's Eve media address to the country, President J.A. Kufour singled out the significance of CAN 2008 in the same spirit. In the regional media - the *New African*, *BBC Focus on Africa* - analyses of Ghana's role as host of CAN 2008 have mirrored these sentiments. Ghana 2008, as the event has been re-christened, is expected to do wonders for Ghanaians and for our national identity. But will it? Few commentators and analysts have moved beyond reporting the economics, logistics and politics of organising the event to probe the scope and nuances of public expectations and needs.

We set out to examine what a cross-section of Ghanaians, living in Accra and Tema, thought about the impact of Ghana 2008 on their lives and on Ghana's image in the world. We asked our parents and their friends, the sixties and seventies generation who grew up in various rural communities where football flou-



rished - and still does - on school parks and on any space large enough to contain dribbling; the generation that produced the original line-up of the Black Stars, such as C.K. Gyamfi, Aggrey Fynn, and Edward Acquah. We asked our younger siblings and friends, the teens and twenties generation who are being socialised to (seriously) grade a footballing career on the same sheet as the holy trinity of medicine, engineering and law; the generation that consumed the recent MTN Soccer Academy on Metro TV, and partied with the evictees and eventual winner, Gideon Baah, at various clubs in Accra. We talked to our own peers, thirty-somethings, forty-somethings in academia, industry, business, and the arts: the well-heeled generation with a thoroughly international outlook, the cohort that thought nothing of hopping onto a plane to Germany, with a bunch of friends, to root for the Black Stars through quarter-final victory. We also hit the streets and talked to familiar strangers: taxi drivers, street hawkers, phone-card vendors, artisans, security guards, Saturday morning football players and their loyal fans - everyday people

of all ages, ethnicities and classes who make up the complex spectrum of urban Ghanaian society.

Many of our respondents were football enthusiasts, with formidable knowledge of the history and technicalities of global football, and they fully intended to attend some games or to make time to watch them on television. Others did not understand the first thing about football, except to recognise Michael Essien in a recent FanYogo advert. We asked them three questions:

1. Is CAN 2008 good for Ghana?
2. Is Ghana prepared for CAN 2008?
3. What are Ghanaians' attitudes and feelings towards CAN 2008?

We present, and reflect on, their responses.

Is CAN 2008 good for Ghana?

There was a resounding consensus that CAN 2008 was good for Ghana. Yaw Benneh - Amponsah, an Administration and Finance Manager for a mining company, explained the dominant reason best:

⁴ Daily Graphic (2008). 2008'll be very exciting. Soccer, politics & all. (K. Asmah, S. Ablordeppey, K. Yeboah) January 1st.

"The hosting of, or participation, in tournament football has been used as a "coming of age" announcement to the world. This was one of the motivations for Germany's hosting of the last world cup, South Africa (WC2010) and Beijing's hosting of the next Olympic games in 2008. Ghana 2008 is our way of announcing to the world that Ghana is now a country that is ready to do business with the world hence the enthusiastic government backing."

Beyond the potential of the tournament to shunt Ghana fully onto the world stage, it was good for Ghana and for Ghanaians economically, culturally and politically. The games would bring in an expected one million foreign football fans with foreign exchange, creating economic opportunities for government, banks, and businesses such as those in hospitality, tourism and travel. These fans were also potential tourists: their experiences with the people and landscape of Ghana could transform them into Ghana's cultural ambassadors. Finally as Kojo Addae-Mensah, a senior manager in one of the major banks, observed: "Football has a funny way of bringing people together - irrespective of political religious or other social affiliations. If we do well at the tournament, it will bring Ghanaians together in a stronger bond than we experienced during the world cup in 2006." For many stronger community bonds equalled political stability, which equalled less risk of civil unrest in an election year.

Is Ghana prepared for CAN 2008?

The consensus appeared to be that if we limited attention to sporting

infrastructure then Ghana is prepared for Ghana 2008. Most respondents described the revamped stadia in Accra and Kumasi and the new stadia in Takoradi and Tamale as impressive. Some observed that in contrast to the preparation records of recent African hosts, the Ghanaian facilities were of a higher standard, and had been completed or refurbished ahead of the deadlines.

But as many noted, a game never ends at the stadium: its spirit spills over into the streets when jubilant or despondent fans congregate in bars,



Ghanaian Soccer Fans in Germany

restaurants, and parks to carry out the crucial post-mortem. Many agreed that if we extended our concerns to ancillary services - hospitality, travel, healthcare, security, media reportage, sanitation - then Ghana is ill-prepared.

Some of our respondents were not convinced that the hospitality industry could contain the expected one million visitors. Others wondered how the visitors would travel comfortably to the various destinations with major road networks still under construction: the Tetteh Quarshie-Aburi road in Accra, the Nsawam area, the Accra-Kumasi

road, areas around the stadia in Kumasi and Tamale. The adequacy of our healthcare system came under question: did we have enough medical professionals and resources on hand for minor and major emergencies? Others focused on local fans and felt the accommodation needs of ordinary Ghanaians who planned to travel to participating cities to watch the games had been marginalised: "Where are we going to sleep? Since the hotels are too expensive I am not sure I can watch any games outside Accra." Andy, a 28 year old barber explained. Meli Salifu, a food vendor, suggested that "tents should be put up so people can have affordable places to sleep".

Security was a concern. There was fear of the opportunistic rise of local criminal activity and the influx of 'foreign criminal elements'. Police were being trained specially to provide security during the tournament on and near football grounds. But to what extent were these new measures sufficient to prevent and apprehend petty and big crimes - from mobile phone

snatchings to car-jackings - in the heart and suburbs of the cities? Would the police be given enough vehicles to respond promptly to emergency calls?

The local media was commended for publicising the tournament and providing adequate education on the impending event. 'Roadmap to CAN 2008', broadcast on the major TV stations, was cited as a specific example of solid edutainment on Ghana 2008. However most thought that while camera coverage would be great, the local media was ill-prepared for world-class commentary on the games.

But top of the list of collective bugbears was poor sanitation. Every single person we interviewed believed sanitation would be the Achilles heel of Ghana 2008. The wry observation by Eleanor de-Graft Aikins, a 61 year old caterer, that "*Se eko bebi wo Nkran ha a, bola na o si ho no, waye de abrosan*" (If you go to some parts of Accra the rubbish is heaped like a storey building) made us laugh. But it was followed by sober recollection of a cleaner more beautiful Accra at the turn of Independence, when the town council cleaned streets and gutters regularly. Deep disappointment for current sanitation policies was not the sole preserve of the older generation. Respondents across a broad age range viewed sanitation policies as reactionary and short-term. Despite the valiant efforts of Zoomlion to "Keep Ghana Clean!" and recent attempts by Accra Metropolitan Assembly to do the same for the capital - clearing hawkers of the streets, demolishing roadside kiosks - practical responses to poor sanitation were viewed as too little too late.

What are Ghanaians' attitudes and feelings towards CAN 2008?

The feelings of our interviewees, and of those they associate with, towards Ghana 2008 can best be described as mixed: part apathy, part frustration, intruding into growing excitement.

'Ghana is hard'. This sentiment drove apathy for the event, particularly for women. People seemed to be saying that despite Ghana's macro-economic stability micro-economic pockets are volatile. People do not have enough money to buy food to feed their families, people are worried about their electricity and water bills, job security is dismal in some sectors: '*asetena mu enye*', in short.

There is frustration too. First because the logistical machine appears to have broken down on very basic things: making tickets available, getting souvenirs on the streets in good time and at affordable prices,⁵ transforming public spaces into a visual soccer feast. Caesar Abagali observed in an article in Accra Mail last October that "the necessary fever for the competition is lacking and is yet to be generated and have a bearing on the people". Two months on, the basic things that would generate 'the necessary fever' were still absent for a number of individuals. Second, there is the issue of participation. An art promoter noted "nobody is being allowed access to CAN 2008; instead of more people making money only a few will benefit". This was not a lone view. For some, the lack of transparency and inability to foster collective participation on the part of the Local Organising Committee (LOC) was described, wearily, as the bureaucratic way of doing things in Ghana, rather like the opaqueness of Ghana@50 secretariat activities in the months leading up to March 6 2007 - a long period of information blackout, followed by an avalanche of media publicity on a line-up of elitist events. Would the ordinary Ghanaian benefit from Ghana 2008 many asked? Would visitors leave their hotel restaurants to sample kenkey, fish and pepper, waakye, or roast plantain and groundnuts at popular local spots? Had the potential for



Laryea Kingston of Black Stars in Action

promoting Made-in-Ghana goods been maximised? Could the success of the Ghana@50 Theatre Classics event be replicated to showcase the Ghanaian literary tradition to a new audience?

But for many, including (even) the apathetic or frustrated, excitement is the overriding emotion. There is excitement because the tournament is going to be in Ghana, period. For the die-hard football enthusiast this is almost as priceless as having vivid dreams of the Black Stars winning the world cup. One can actually go to the Ohene Djan Stadium, sit with thousands of fans, and watch the games kick off with Ghana and Guinea on January 20th. One can speculate about the chances of the Black Stars scooping their fifth CAN victory and then be there in the final 90-odd minutes when this speculation becomes reality. And all the die-hard fans are absolutely convinced the Black Stars are going to win!

Final reflections...

This is not the first time Ghana has hosted CAN. In 1963 and 1978 CAN was ably hosted on Ghanaian soil; in

⁵ CAN t-shirts, according to some interviewees, cost between GH¢18 and GH¢25. For the average Ghanaian earning a minimum daily wage of GH¢1.9 this is exorbitant. Kofi, a phone-card vendor, said: "If I buy one [t-shirt] for my girlfriend I will not be able to eat for a week." Accra Mail (2007). Ghana: Where is the Ghana Can 2008 Fever? (C. Abagali) October 17.

2000 Ghana shared the honours with its arch footballing rival, Nigeria. But 2008 is different, it seems. For the football pundits, the political elites and ordinary Ghanaians featured here, Ghana's hosting of the 2008 games is especially important because it does so in its jubilee year. There is a palpable sense that our 50th anniversary has evoked collective memories of Ghana's key role in African independence and development projects: "we are the torch bearers of African Unity" as Issah Adam, a top-level chartered accountant asserts. If the deep position football occupies in the African psyche is anything to go by, then our hosting of CAN 2008 in our jubilee year makes us 'torch bearers' of Africa's contribution to "the beautiful game", a vital extension to the great contributions African footballers have made to the symbolic and economic fortunes of foreign clubs the world over in the

last few decades. And so beyond personal expectations - 'I can't afford the t-shirts', 'where do I get tickets?', 'how do I travel to Tamale to watch the games?', 'how can my business flourish during the tourist boom?' - there are collective aspirations and waves of goodwill. Ghana 2008 must pick up where the Black Stars left off in 2006 and deliver Ghana as an important global player in football, thereby garnering respect and partnership in other geo-political spheres. But the challenges are real and clear.

In marketing there are two important organising principles: the concept and the product. The concept encapsulates the potential, the promise. The product is the concrete output, the deliverable. Expectations are created and heightened, usually, through exposure to concepts. Ghana's reputation as a peaceful and open society, as a growing economy,

and its strong potential to excel during a period when African football is in its prime, all signal great promise. But as all marketers know, and common sense suggests, to score that exhilarating hat trick a strong concept must deliver through a strong product. Excellent product delivery yields good consumer experience and loyalty. A strong concept matched with a poor product is the marketer's nightmare. For where promise is high and delivery weak consumers, and their wallets, flee. Will our expected one million visitors experience the hospitable, dynamic, cosmopolitan Ghana we project in our promise? Will Ghana 'come of age' on the global stage, in soccer, economic and political terms? Will our sense of national pride soar? In the final weeks leading up to the tournament the real test will lie in the concrete steps we take to finish and polish our product.

GHANA 2008 – A SPORTS MEDICINE PERSPECTIVE

Akwesi Adomakoh⁶

Introduction

From the 19th of January, 2008 lenses all over the world will be zooming in on Ghana. Certainly they will stay focused on this country because of the much-awaited MTN AFRICA CUP OF NATIONS. All football-loving fans expect it to be very exciting and hope that their favourite teams will emerge victors.

This competition is going to be grueling. It involves a group of well trained athletes whose cardiovascular, respiratory and musculoskeletal

systems have adapted over the years to the demands of their profession. Sixteen teams, presumably the best in Africa, will be parading some of the world's best players and there is no doubt that this competition will overshadow all sporting activities running concurrently during this period.

Many factors will determine which team will eventually emerge the winner but from a sports medicine perspective it will be a healthy and well drilled team. A lot will depend on the ability of individual players but inputs



Medical Procedure

⁶ Dr. Akwesi Adomakoh, Sports Medicine Physician/GP, Trust Hospital.

from administrators (football federations and government agencies), coaches, trainers, team physicians, physical therapists, masseurs, sports nutritionists, sports psychologists, podiatrists and referees make crucial contributions which influence the performance of the team. The weather, state of training and pitches and suitable accommodation cannot be ignored.

Football is a sport played at moderate to high exercise intensity levels and the body relies on anaerobic and aerobic processes to provide the

trainers draw their programmes and take the players through various training schedules to get their team 'combat' ready. They also work closely with the administrators and the medical team.

The Role of the Medical Team

In order to carry out their roles effectively the players must be healthy and physically fit. They should not be suffering from any form of pathological state which would adversely affect their health and performance.

Understanding the roles of each player and observing them at training sessions will give valuable information. A good medical history is always advisable and can be obtained by taking players through a questionnaire. Areas to be covered include training and competition history which refers to the position of the player, number of training sessions per week and number of matches played in the previous and current seasons. Symptoms such as chest pain, dyspnoea (breathlessness), palpitations (increased awareness of heartbeats), arrhythmias (irregular rhythm of heart beats), dizziness, syncope (fainting attacks), flu-like symptoms, coughing with or without expectoration, loss of appetite, weight loss, sleeplessness and gastrointestinal upset would have to be checked by the medical team.

A review of the players past medical history looking at previous heart disease, fainting episodes, bronchitis, asthma, allergies and susceptibility to infections is also important. We should also probe a family history of sudden death, cardiomyopathy (a condition affecting the heart muscle), myocardial infarction (heart attack), hypertension, strokes and diabetes. A history on their latest vaccinations, previous and current medical treatment and nutritional supplements should be noted. We should also be interested in whether the player drinks alcohol, smokes and uses any recreational drugs. This is very important since certain drugs adversely affect the player's performance or may impinge on doping issues.

A complete physical examination should be done and this should include a detailed musculoskeletal (muscle, bone and joint) assessment. Finally taking blood, urine and stool samples for various laboratory



Public Health Screening

needed energy (ATP). Each game, lasting at least 90 minutes, involves bursts of intermittent sprinting, jogging, walking, jumping, backward movements, diving, shooting, crossing and heading the ball. The nature of the game is such that there are tackles with robust physical contacts but the players will try as much as possible to be fair in their exchanges. So much skill is exhibited and the mental task is very intensive. Administrators put together structures which make the entire team (technical, medical and playing body) function effectively and provide financial support. The coaches and

Players generally have minor aches and pains because of the nature of the game but to get through such a competition successfully, the medical team should examine them meticulously to identify chronic and acute injuries and any life-threatening conditions. Sudden deaths in football have occasionally occurred. Phil O' Donnell is the latest sudden death-related casualty. He was a great player for Motherwell Football Club in Scotland who is reported to have died from left ventricular failure in the line of duty in December 2007.

investigations as well as resting and exercise electrocardiography and echocardiography are very essential. At the end of the examination the team physician should decide whether a player is eligible for competitive soccer or not.

The psychological traits and preparedness of the player/team determines response to various situations on and off the pitch and how well they remain focused. The team physician or sports psychologist, if available, should know his individual players and have different approaches to them, based on their personality especially when problems arise.

Nutrition and fluid replacement are key issues in a sport like soccer. The main source of energy is glycogen (a complex polymer of glucose), which is derived from carbohydrates and stored mainly in muscle. Muscle glycogen stores decline during training and matches and considering the fact that each team would play matches after a few days' interval, the quality of the players' meals and timing should be right to optimize glycogen stores in muscle. Low levels of muscle glycogen are associated with fatigue and there is evidence that increasingly low glycogen stores as the game nears its end is one reason why fatigue in football leads to more goals, more injuries, poor skill and poor decisions late in the game. Muscle glycogen stores can be best replaced in between training sessions and matches by high carbohydrate meals. A typical meal eaten during the competition should comprise 65% carbohydrate, 20-25% fat and 10-15% protein. Repletion of glycogen stores in muscle is best done immediately after exercising. When eating is delayed after two hours glycogen repletion is not as rapid. During training and matches



Fit, Competitive Ghanaian Footballers

low blood glucose levels can be prevented by taking carbohydrate/electrolyte drinks of specific concentration. This can make available an alternate source of fuel during physical activity.

During exercise fatigue tends to set in as the core body temperature approaches 40 degrees Celsius. The body deals with this situation by producing sweat which cools the body by evaporation. This fluid and salt loss must be replaced to prevent dehydration and poor thermoregulation which ultimately lead to fatigue and poor performance. At this time of the year when the weather is hot and dry it poses real challenges to the players and this may be the reason why matches are scheduled to be played in the evening. Studies have shown that up to 3% of body weight can be lost through sweating and it is obvious that this amount of fluid cannot be replaced instantly, otherwise this leads to heaviness or gastrointestinal problems during matches. The best way to offset this loss is to drink fluids pre-match, during the match and post-match as well as during training sessions. This

can be done with water or commercial sport (carbohydrate/electrolyte) drinks.

The team that has a low incidence of injuries is likely to maintain most of the coach's first choice players and is likely to perform better. Injuries cannot be prevented completely but having a good warm up, adequate stretching exercises and post-training warm-downs are known to improve flexibility and prevent injuries. Using protective gear during training and competitive matches also helps and so does the taping of joints in certain situations. However, the team physician should be well prepared to deal efficiently with injuries they may be confronted with and decide precisely whether it is safe for players to continue with the competition or not. Even though musculoskeletal injuries are the most common in such competitions the team physician should have an anticipated plan to manage lacerations, concussions and other head and neck injuries and cardiac problems including trauma to the chest. He should have a systematic plan of diagnosing, instituting first aid or emergency

treatment and evacuation to hospital, if needed. Hospitals and emergency services should be prepared for such situations.

Doping control is another area of concern to the medical team and both the technical team and the players should be educated on such issues. The team physician should always be abreast with drugs on the doping list and banned methods since it is reviewed periodically. He should always have a list of therapeutic medications which he would submit to the doping control officer 48 hours before the competition. Referees play an important role in handling football matches by applying the rules of the

game. They ensure that the spirit of fair play reigns supreme. Tackles by players and consequent injuries and decisions by the referee have profound effects on the outcome of the game. Team supporters and their behaviour towards the team either propel or deflate individual players or the team as a whole. It is obvious that such competitions have a myriad of factors interacting to determine the outcome of the game. The individual player's characteristics determine performance outcomes. Hardwork and dedication help the player acquire skill, speed, agility, strength, decisiveness, focus and discipline which are the hallmarks of a good footballer. Bad training and

competition pitches increase the incidence of injuries sustained.

Conclusion

Continuing research in sports medicine is still probing the many unanswered questions in metabolism and physiology of physical activity. Players, coaches and trainers need to be educated on the concepts which are known to improve or retard performance. Above all, the competitive spirit is important and this can be done if players refrain from the use of performance-enhancing drugs.

THE GHANA 2008 AFRICA CUP OF NATIONS TOURNAMENT AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Boni Yao Gebe⁷

Introduction

The 26th edition of the African Cup of Nations commences in Ghana this January between the 20th of January and the 10th of February 2008, consummating the high point of a tradition that has lasted over 50 years of positive rivalry within the confines of association football and sportsmanship. As should be expected, all the participating teams are putting finishing touches to their preparations so as to be battle ready for the three-week long event. The event itself has direct and indirect implications for Ghana's image and

reputation as a sports loving country. A successful holding of the tournament will, therefore, go a long way to demonstrate to the international community the country's current credentials as a peaceful and stable country capable of hosting events of such magnitude. The significance of the tournament from an international relations perspective should therefore not be in doubt. What this write-up does is to provide a brief historical insight, examine some security related issues with possible international and national repercussions as well as the related

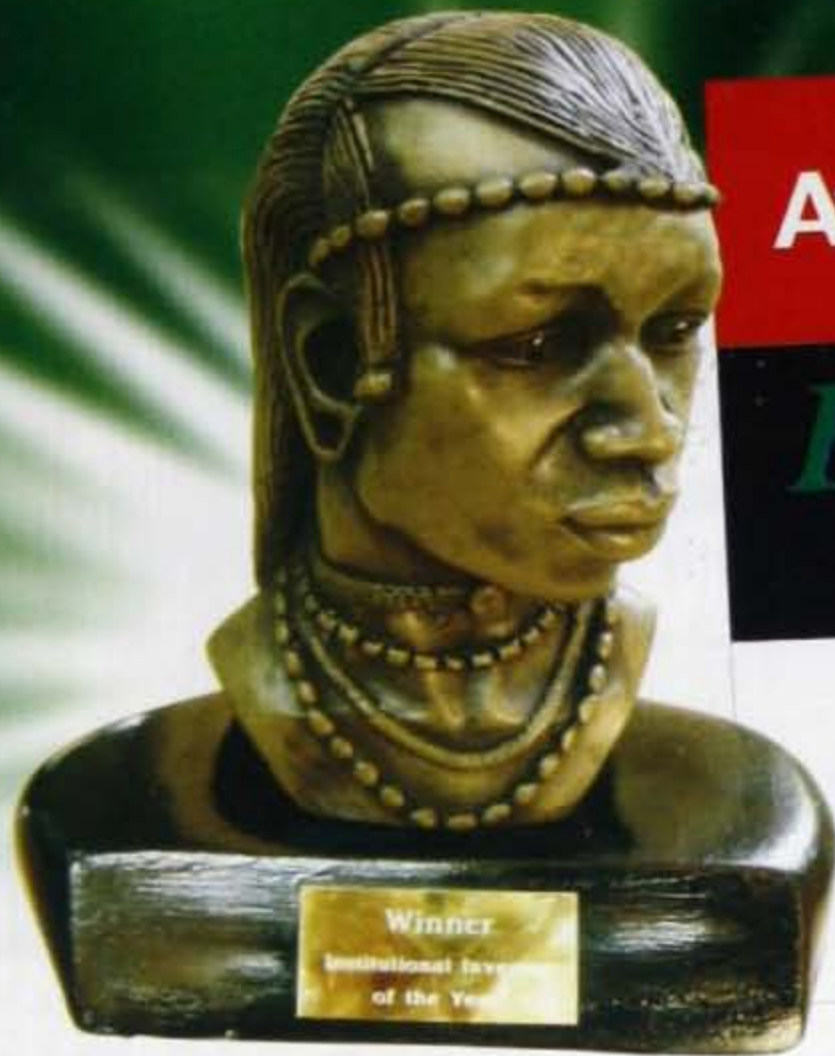
benefits and associated challenges to Ghana and Africa as a whole.



Ghana 2008 Soccer Stadium Locations

⁷ Dr. Boni Yao Gebe, Research Fellow, Legon Centre for International Affairs (LECIA), University of Ghana, LEGON

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Historical Antecedents

From its humble beginnings in the late 1950s, when a majority of African nations had not yet attained political independence, to its contemporary magnificent stature, the African Cup of Nations has been transformed into an exciting and highly competitive international sporting event. In recent times, the hosting of the event has been keenly contested due to the perceived prestige, honour and glory that it accords. As prevalent at the World Cup and similar regional soccer tournaments in Europe, Asia and Latin America, there is the perception that the country can benefit from the international exposure, tourist attraction and possibly the financial gains that accrue from holding a successful competition.⁸

Increasingly also, in the context of African cup competitions, there is the illogical deduction that the host nation invariably wins the tournament, which has added to its lure and attractiveness to the citizens of the host country. The historical examples of Egypt and Ghana in earlier editions, South Africa in 1996, and most recently Tunisia and Egypt in



Black Stars in a Friendly Match

the last two editions in 2004 and 2006 respectively give some credence to this conclusion. Despite this emergent dynamic, every country contests the qualifying rounds and the group stages with relentless zeal, expecting to be part of the actual competition. After all, each participating country has an equal chance of winning the cup, especially in contemporary times when it is rare to talk of minnows in the game. An added new attraction is the fact that qualification to the Africa Cup of Nations competition also guarantees places for the five top

teams to participate in the more lucrative and rewarding Coca Cola World Cup tournament which just recently was made rotational on a continental basis. Coincidentally, the World Cup will be held on African soil, thus South Africa in 2010.

A scrutiny of the 2008 tournament reveals that there is a disproportionate geographical spread of the participating teams. West Africa takes the lion share with almost half of the 16 competing teams. These are Ghana the host country, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Benin,

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Senegal, Mali and Guinea. Southern Africa has four countries participating for honors, comprising Angola, South Africa, Zambia and Namibia. There are three teams from North Africa made up of Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco. Competing from Eastern Africa is Sudan, winners in 1970 and from Central Africa comes Cameroon considered as one of the most successful participants in the tournament.⁹

In terms of individual success and the concomitant prestige, three countries come up for recognition, namely Egypt five-time winners, followed by Cameroon and Ghana with four wins apiece. In total, the three countries have won the tournament thirteen times out of the twenty-five previous competitions that were held. A win by any of these three nations at the 26th edition means their aggregate strength matches those of the entire continent. In the case of Ghana, her successes came in 1963, 1965, 1978 and 1982. Two of those wins came as hosts of the tournament in 1965 and 1978. The last time Ghana won the tournament in 1982 was in far away Libya when Ghana edged out the host country through penalty kicks. Ghana managed to reach the finals on other occasions including 1968 when they lost to the eventual winners Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) and 1992 when they were beaten on penalty kicks by Côte d'Ivoire in Dakar, Senegal. The 2000 edition which was co-hosted by Ghana and Nigeria (as last minute replacements for the purported host) did not yield any concrete dividend in terms of the ultimate prize. Ghana was shown the exit by South Africa at the quarter-final stage in Kumasi, while Nigeria was also overwhelmed in the final match by Cameroon, the winner that year.

Organisation and Security

The organisation of a successful tournament puts tremendous pressure on the host to meet an array of responsibilities. Among these is the important factor of national security. Security in this regard entails countering all real or perceived threats to the success of the tournament, lives of the citizenry, national assets and ensuring that the very integrity of the state is preserved. In the same vein, security must be extended to all the participating teams and their officials, overall protection of all facilities and their immediate environs, also ensuring that the facilities measure up to international standards to forestall any mishap. This has been aptly demonstrated as the four selected venues for the tournament, namely Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi and Tamale have all undergone structural rehabilitation and refurbishment or as newly constructed arenas. Related to this is the need to provide adequate accommodation, facilities for training and upgrading recreational and tourist attractions for visitors, some of whose itinerary may be completely removed from the main event. Again, there is the important human

element, which is the preparation of the psyche of all the citizenry to be hospitable and warmly receiving of all the visitors without any inkling of intimidation.

In all these, the onus of responsibility lies first and foremost with the Local Organising Committee (LOC) in collaboration with other principal stakeholders such as the Ghana Football Association (GFA), the National Sports Council (NSC) and other relevant agencies. It must be stated, however, that these activities and preparations are being done on behalf of the government of Ghana which cannot stand aloof or exhibit indifference. The Ministries of the Interior and Defence and other security agencies have critical roles to play in this regard, particularly when it comes to the deployment of personnel from the Ghana Police Service, the Ghana Armed Forces, the Ghana Fire Service and other auxiliary services. The experience of the country in disaster management in sports-related mishaps, for instance, the May 2001 Ohene Djan (then Accra Sports Stadium) disaster must serve a useful purpose in this regard.



Body Make-Up Artist Celebrating one of Ghana's Wins during the 2006 World Cup

Photo: Courtesy Kofi Anyidoho

The Ghanaian authorities should not be complacent into thinking that they have the wherewithal to supervise a three-week long international tournament without any hitches. It is worth it seeking the necessary assistance from countries which have held such tournaments in the immediate past for the appropriate insight and technical assistance. Most often, poor and uncoordinated crowd control, arising from extreme fanaticism and hooliganism, had been the bane of an effective exercise. The country must therefore not be lax in this department since the lives of other nationals are also at stake.

An estimated one million people from diverse backgrounds and nationalities, including government officials and dignitaries, representatives of international agencies and organisations, tourists and countless fans of the participating teams will virtually overrun the country and test Ghana's hospitality and resilience at the highest level possible. The priority areas for the country are therefore very clear, particularly on such issues as the prevention of armed robbery, hooliganism and other petty crimes.¹⁰ Indeed, all the major roads in the sub-region lead to Ghana in the next few weeks since five of our immediate neighbors namely Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali and Nigeria are participating in this tournament with the expectation to emerge the victorious team. This definitely creates unrealistic expectations, pressure and the possibility for pent up feelings and emotions to overrun sanity. The three main corridors to the country, consisting of the Eastern, Western and Northern entry points must therefore receive the necessary reinforcement and vigilance from the security forces to tackle all emergencies with purposeful alacrity should they occur. All precautionary measures by the country's security apparatus to ensure discipline both

within the selected national stadia and the various pitches earmarked for team rehearsals and practice are very important.

It is important that the issue of international terrorism is given due consideration at the tournament. The uncertainties and volatilities associated with the current inter-national system and the trend of large-scale violence being perpetrated against innocent populations in other parts of the world should serve as enough warning for this country to be alert. One may wonder why Ghana should be a target for an international terrorist groups or organisation. Here, the examples of Kenya and Tanzania which suffered from bombings of American embassies in Nairobi and

Ghana's International Image and Prospects

The country has, since the return of constitutional rule in 1993, enjoyed the goodwill and respect of the international community through the cultivation of democratic principles and practices in our domestic politics. This has gone a long way in endearing the country to a large segment of the international community as a peace-loving society. The decision by the Confederation of African Football (CAF) that Ghana should host the tournament is also a demonstration of the trust in the country's leadership, maturity and ability to handle a tournament of such magnitude. One critical factor in the decision-making process obviously is the stability that



Black-faced German Fans Celebrating Ghana's World Cup Success

Dar es-Salaam in 1998 are useful¹¹. The fatalities, casualties and destruction that were brought to these societies are useful lessons in this regard. It is therefore important that the security agencies work out a detailed plan to prevent any such eventuality, or at worst a well rehearsed crisis-response mechanism.

the country enjoys. Except for the serious intra-ethnic altercations in the northern part of the country and the sporadic and irregular land and chieftaincy disputes in other parts of the country, Ghana can readily be given the nod of being a stable and peaceful country.

This enviable credential, however, goes with certain important responsibilities. Firstly, the citizenry must demonstrate to the international



Ghana Black Stars World Cup Team - Germany 2006

community that it can be trusted to host Africa and the rest of the world without any dire consequences. The proverbial Ghanaian hospitality must overflow to the brim, law enforcement agencies must assist in seeking redress on matters relating to human rights violations and abuses whether the perpetrator is a Ghanaian, tourist or a visitor by any definition. Enforcement of the law must however not be done so as to denigrate the worth of the Ghanaian, undermine our institutions or dent our hard-earned international reputation. It is thus obligatory on the part of the Ministries of Information, Tourism, Communications, the Ghana Tourist Board, the relevant Embassies and High Commissions to collaborate with the authorities to educate their nationals and visitors on transportation, movement around the country, entry and exit points and where to seek help when necessary.

The Ministry of Health also has the responsibility to assist all the teams and visitors in general with the necessary medical attention. It is clear that some of the hospitals have been earmarked to specifically play

this role. It will however be a difficult job if the requisite equipments, personnel and resources are not in place by now. Directly related to the health needs of our visitors is the kind of environment that the country projects.¹² While it is not possible to suddenly transform the Ghanaian landscape into one of quintessential cleanliness, everything must be done to improve on the general attractiveness of landmark monuments, sites and scenes that make Ghana an attractive tourist destination.

Ghana has a good reputation as a strong performer at both national and club competitions with teams such as the Black Stars, Kumasi Asante Kotoko and Accra Hearts of Oak, now household names in most African countries. The appearance of the Ghana Black Stars in the 2006 Coca Cola World Cup in Germany demonstrated that the country is a serious contender for laurels in future events. The desire to win the coveted cup to equal the record-setting example of Egypt is certainly good motivation and it has certainly gingered up the authorities and the entire nation to rally behind the team to bring honors to the country once

again. Should the unexpected happen, however, the entire nation must accept defeat with grace if only to avoid condemnation and possible opprobrium.

The recent events in the country, particularly the Golden Jubilee Anniversary celebrations, the hosting of the African Union Summit in July and the country's overall stability have proven major magnetic forces in attracting large number of tourists. It is however imperative that the right atmosphere, conditions and infrastructure are provided to make the tourist want to return even after this tournament is over. Ghana as a country will be beneficiary through the good money that will be spent on goods and services if the appropriate environment (good hotels, efficient transportation system and courteous services) are in place. At the centre of the attractions will be the country's cultural display throughout the tournament and by other forms of social interaction.

On the other hand, there is a sense in which Ghanaians must not throw caution to the wind. Among the large number of visitors to the country are those that will pose health hazards to our people. The danger from a further spread of HIV/AIDS through the easy mingling of the youth in particular with all manner of people is a possibility. Promiscuity and large-scale prostitution around the venues raises the specter of infection even higher. In a situation where the event is spread to all the corners of the country, one wonders what precautions and preparations the health authorities have put in place to avert such a catastrophe.¹³

Africa and the Sporting World

The image of Africa in sporting events globally has reached a high pedestal with the successes of her sportsmen and women in soccer,

boxing and athletics. In the particular case of soccer, the topmost leagues in Europe and Asia are now dominated by African talents. On the European soccer scene, for example, recent media reports indicate that many of the top clubs will lose the services of a number of professional players who will feature for their national teams in the Ghanaian tournament. In the case of the English Premier League alone, about 40 of such players are affected as result of the mandatory 14 - day stipulation by FIFA that allows players to join their national teams towards effective preparation and participation.¹⁴ In the recent past, this has generated the "club versus country" controversy with most team managers very much hesitant or unwilling to release their players. Some players, managers and team owners have repeatedly demanded that the African tournament should be shifted to the summer when the European leagues are on recess.¹⁵ This demand is, however, fraught with a number of difficulties. The Confederation of African Football (CAF) is of the view that this particular period coincides with the rainy season in most of Africa and therefore is not a conducive time. Nonetheless, the insistence by CAF on its position, however convincing, does not augur well for understanding among the major stakeholders in the game.

Inevitably, some of the African players become victims of the power struggle in diverse ways, for instance, sustaining serious injuries during such tournaments that require the intervention of their clubs. Some are unable to hold on to their positions due to competition from equally capable players from other regions. Unable to regain the confidence of their managers, they have to look for less glamorous teams, often leading to financial loss. Altogether, the



A Customised Ghana Flag - World Cup 2006, Accra

timing of the African Cup of Nations must be revisited in terms of its organisation, player interest. Modifications must be geared toward building the confidence of other stakeholders outside the continent in order that the event can win the recognition and importance that the continent attaches to it.

While this remains a serious dent on the continent's soccer agenda, it must also be said that African players themselves have undergone serious institutional discrimination and racial abuses outside the continent. There is no doubt that they measure up to other players elsewhere in the world, talking about the Didier Drogbas, Michael Essiens, the Samuel Eto'os and the Adebayors. The worst example of such abuses which connotes racist intentions is the taunting on the field of play of African players with embarrassing sounds that mimic the voice of the monkey. This condition is often contrived by supporters and fans of opposing teams who perceive African players as being the cause of their teams' defeat. It demonstrates the fact that these players are excellent material but that the leagues were better

without their services.

Recent pronouncements from the President of the Federation of International Football Associations (FIFA), Mr. Sepp Blatter would seem to suggest that the number of foreign players in the European league is too many and is somewhat responsible for some of the national teams not performing creditably.¹⁶ According to him, it prevents local players being offered enough playing time or recruitment into the clubs in the first place. I wonder how the competitive spirit that is introduced into the game by foreign players hinders the development of the game instead of enhancing it. All put together, the CAF, representing the game in Africa and the global body would have to dialogue and resolve these pertinent issues and initiate long term policies that can help address the deficiencies, the worries and fears of both the players and owners in the game.

Conclusion

In overall terms, Africa has earned its rightful place in competitive soccer globally and the continent's image

can only be enhanced through tournaments of this kind. With the next FIFA World Cup competition awarded to South Africa, the expectation is that the next two Africa Cup of Nations tournaments, beginning with the current one and the next in 2010, the continent's best teams might have prepared themselves adequately to rub shoulders with the other glamorous teams and possibly win the coveted trophy come 2010.

African football associations must enhance the technical abilities of indigenous African coaches and give them the opportunity to compete with their foreign counterparts through better recognition and inducement. The open display of hostility and confrontation between players and administrators, sometimes at international assignments, misappropriation of funds, withholding of winning bonuses and the canker of favoritism have all affected the development of both the game and the commitment of players. These are certainly disincentives that can destroy the forward match of the game and by extension other sporting activities on the continent. One would expect FIFA, CAF and other relevant bodies on the continent to initiate stringent regulations towards the protection

and promotion of Africa's sporting events.

It is noteworthy that increasingly, a number of corporate entities are willing to support the events at great cost through incentives and insurance packages, winning bonuses and sponsorship programs on the continent.¹⁷ The examples of the financial support of the communication conglomerate MTN for the African Cup of Nations, the financial assistance from the Ghanaian mining company, Goldfields, the brewing giant, Guinness Ghana Limited, plus the insurance packages of Gemini Insurance Company (GLICO), all for the Black Stars of Ghana are efforts that must be emulated at all levels across the continent. These initiatives reduce the financial burden on governments and are a proof of corporate social responsibility (CSR) in the operations of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) towards social development.

Endnotes

⁸ According to the Local Organising Committee, it is estimated that over one million tourists and other categories of visitors will arrive for the CAN 2008. See Daily Graphic, Wednesday, January 2, 2008, p. 46.

⁹ The argument is often made whether Cameroon is not a West African country and that its inclusion in Central Africa defies

geographical exactness.

¹⁰ See the unpublished paper of Timothy Attoh of the Ghana Law School on "Armed Robbery and CAN 2008: Security Concerns", dated December 2007, Accra Ghana.

¹¹ There was a similar attack on Mombasa in 2002 which was linked to the earlier events of 1998.

¹² See Afua Sarpong, "Ghana 2008: Little Things that Matter." In *The Ghanaian Times*, Friday, January 4, 2008, p. 23.

¹³ The concerns and recommendations of the President of the National Health Students Association, Yahans De Heer, Accra, is of tremendous importance in this regard. See *The Ghanaian Times*, Friday, January 4, 2008, p. 7.

¹⁴ British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), quoted in the *Graphic Sports*, January 4-7, 2008, p. 10.

¹⁵ Whiles a celebrated player such as the Togolese Adebayor calls for a time switch, the Ghanaian midfielder Sulley Muntari and his Portsmouth Assistant Manager believe it is the right thing to do. Taken from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) by *The Ghanaian Times* Tuesday, December 18, 2007, p. 30. See also *Graphic Sports*, quoting MTN football, December 21-27, 2007, p. 14.

¹⁶ The FIFA President demands from the European Union to get a quota on foreign players within EU teams. See *The Ghanaian Times*, Thursday, December 30, 2007, p. 30.

¹⁷ The case of Gemini Life Insurance Company (GLICO) sponsorship for the Black Stars to the tune of 200,000 Ghana Cedis is exemplary in this regard. See *The Ghanaian Times*, Thursday, January 3, 2008, p. 31.

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MONEYCRACY AND DEMOCRACY

Dear Editor,

I write to congratulate you on the launch of The New Legon Observer. As a young person who was getting almost cynical about my generation's seeming apathy and indifference to issues of scholarly excellence and bigger discussion of national development, I was particularly impressed about the inter-generational representation at your launch. Well done!

Your maiden edition touched on very critical issues that must engage our attention as a people and as leaders. The recognition by all contributors that ours is a country at the crossroads after a patchy history in search of greatness. We must definitely do things differently.

As we enter 2008, let us hope that our Presidential aspirants will seize the platform to offer quality and robust debate on some of these critical issues to achieve the dream of a developed Ghana. Ours should be a truly new African civilisation in which Ghana and other countries must provide leadership. Standards have

fallen so low that the level of poverty can only be a product of a "failed state" mostly run by failed leaders.

Some of the questions our future President must answer and indeed have the political will and competence to deal with are:

- How do we rid our very democratic institutions (including the media) of the perceived cancerous corruption, so they can earn the trust, confidence and credibility to function sustainably? *Or are we expecting too much here because the very political system to select Presidential aspirants is itself perceived to be fraught with damning corruption?*
- How do we sanitise our political system to produce true, hard-working, selfless leaders with virtue and vision? Ghana definitely is not for the highest bidder. The so-called 'Moneycracy' creeping into our body politic is most dangerous

and a major risk to our fledgling democracy! In my opinion, Ghana has no scarcity of potential great leaders. We must make our politics just attractive to those willing serve and die for Ghana.

- How do we get law and order to work in bringing true meaning to our Freedom and Justice aspiration? Are we all truly the same before the Law?
- How do we build a national accountability and performance culture to get the organs of state and even the private sector perform in line with our long term national development interests?

I am confident in the future of Ghana judging from the progress we have made since 1993, albeit at a slow pace. For the future, let us stretch our political leaders (hopefully we will produce good ones!) to their limits, for Ghana deserves nothing short of the best! As Martin Luther King Jr. said, let us confront the future with "fierce urgency now".

Long live New Legon Observer; long live the Ghana Civilisation project!

Yaw Twum Asante
Legon

December 11, 2007



HYDROPONICS ...

Dear Editor,

I have read and thoroughly enjoyed the article written by Mr Ebow Daniel entitled "The Ghana Dictionary Project (Corruption Revisited)". As usual Uncle Ebow writes on very serious issues with his witty light-heartedness, making the reader laugh while still pondering over the serious issues being discussed.

However, even though I come from *Ka w'ano paa do* (shut up your mouth) in Cape Coast, I cannot simply keep my mouth (or is it my computer) shut on two issues touched on by Uncle Ebow, especially if *The New Legon Observer* is to live up to its reputation of accurately informing and properly educating its readers.

In paragraph one, second column page 24, Ebow says a certain Principal Secretary, (a very senior civil servant) in his attempt to explain that money he took in 1966 was no bribe but was the giver's contribution to conduct experiments in "HYDROPONICS, which is the science of growing tomatoes or other vegetables WITHOUT THE AID OF WATER" (emphasis mine). I am not too sure whether Uncle Ebow was directly quoting what the Principal Secretary said in court or was giving his own definition of "Hydroponics". But as far as I am aware, "Hydroponics" is exactly the opposite of what Ebow wrote in his article. It is defined in various dictionaries (Not the yet to be published Ghana one) as "the art or practice of growing vegetables or other plants IN A CHEMICAL SOLUTION WITHOUT SOIL". Water is therefore very much

an important ingredient in hydroponics. Unless of course what Uncle Ebow wrote was the Civil Servant's contribution to the "Ghana Dictionary Project", that is, the civil servant himself did not even know the actual definition of what he claimed he took the money for.

Secondly, in the first paragraph of the third column of page 23, Uncle Ebow discusses the issue of an alleged bribe taken by some old politicians during the "Third Republic", for which they went to prison. What Uncle Ebow fails to mention is that



Water Propagated Bamboo

i. these politicians went to prison for this alleged offence after the 1981 coup, tried by a tribunal whose sense of justice or legitimacy was highly questionable.

ii. The politicians defended themselves during their trial, and rightly so, that the one million dollars allegedly taken, was actually negotiated for by them and USED to rehabilitate and resettle the soldiers who had staged the 1979 coup and were refusing to hand over power to the duly elected government of Dr. Limann unless they were "properly and adequately settled". Since the then elected government had still not been sworn in, they could obviously not use public funds to get rid of these soldiers and take the reins of power.

The only avenue open to them was to look for funds elsewhere, and their good old friend Savundra readily obliged, but for reasons I am not in a position to expatiate on. There are records to prove that every member of the then AFRC received his due share. The politicians said they only received a fraction of the said one million dollars as their "consultancy fees" for negotiating the loan, which was to be repaid once the elected government was legitimately sworn in. But in the atmosphere of the post 1981 coup, staged by one of these same soldiers who had allegedly also received his share of the settlement funds, no such argument could be tolerated in the tribunals that were set up to try the politicians.

Ironically 20 odd years after, we are hearing of persons who were deeply involved in both the 1979 and 1981

military regimes, and of reports describing monies they have taken from a certain foreign industrial conglomerate to ensure for them monopolistic rights in that particular industrial sector, as "consultancy fees". How fast the world goes round when it comes to justifying corrupt or unethical behaviour!

Yours sincerely,

**Buronyi Brookman
Richardson
Kawaanopaado
Cape Coast**

4th January 2008

The AU and the Aftermath of the Kenyan Elections

Dear Editor

The cold shoulder given AU Chairman President J.A. Kufuor by the Kenyan authorities in the aftermath of the



Kenya elections must have left a sour taste in many people's mouths. In the midst of all the violence, no less a person than the AU Chairman is requested by his peers to attempt to initiate some form of African mediation, and he is told in no uncertain terms by the disputed winner, President Kibaki, through his Finance Minister, that the AU Chairman is not welcome in Kenya because the matter is an internal Kenyan one that does not merit intervention by the AU. President Kufuor's intended visit is therefore aborted. Then Archbishop Desmond Tutu, an African with a colossal moral stature, goes to Nairobi with the intention of trying to talk to the two protagonists. He manages to meet and talk to the opposition leader Raila Odinga, but it takes him two full days to manage to have audience with President Kibaki, at which meeting nothing fruitful is achieved. 24 hours later there is an announcement that the Assistant Secretary of State of the United States in charge of African Affairs, a position equivalent to that of our Deputy Foreign Minister, is to visit Kenya. He gets there within hours of the announcement and immediately gets full audience with the opposition leader Raila Odinga, followed a few hours later by a long meeting with President Kibaki himself.

For God's sake what has become of the pride and dignity of Africa that our former leaders like Nkrumah, Nyerere and Kenyatta built? Any of these leaders will either have told this American official to "go to hell" or handed her over to her counterpart, a Deputy Foreign Minister, to deal with. She will not have been given any direct audience with the President, and at so short a notice. In effect the two protagonists in Kenya

are indirectly telling us that the Chairman of our own Pan-African organisation, the African Union, has less clout to attempt mediation in an African crisis than the Deputy Foreign Minister of the United States! If this is not Neo-colonialism in full force, then I do not know what else is. But what do we expect in a situation where any small fry from America or Europe can gain audience with our African leaders within 24 hours of setting foot on our soil with any vague promise of bringing in investment or development? What do we expect when people will fall head over heels to install insignificant visitors to our shores as "Nkosuohene" whenever they are on any innocuous tangential visit to our countries, when our own citizens can take literally weeks or months to get an appointment with their own President or even a Minister? Nkrumah and his fellow fighters for Africa's freedom and dignity must be turning in their graves if they have any strength left in them to observe what is going on in Africa from wherever they may currently be.

Just as I was writing this letter, I heard on the BBC that President Kufuor is to attempt another mediation visit to Kenya. And guess what - the visit is being facilitated by this same American Assistant Secretary of State! I hope this time round he will get the respect he deserves as the current AU Chairman.

Yours sincerely,

**Kwame Elea
P. O. Box LG 588 , Legon**

6th January 2008

THE "RED TAPE" AT THE CASTLE

Letter from Atsu Aryee

It is an undeniable fact that the Castle, Osu, the seat of government, is a security zone and therefore a restricted area. This gives it an "awesome" posture, which thankfully has been reduced by Kufuor's New Patriotic Party (NPP) government through making it more accessible to the general public.

Doing business at the Castle can, however, be sometimes frustrating, especially when one is a first time "visitor", because of what can be referred to as "red tape". The first sense of frustration is noticed when one is driving along the road approaching the Castle. There is a roundabout, which is not clearly marked, thus making one to drive through the stretch of road which is reserved only for use by the President. This normally attracts stern warning of "go and sin no more" from the security personnel after one has alighted at the car park in front of the Castle.

One's frustration increases when one tries to transact business such as simply delivering a letter either to the Chief of Staff and Minister for Presidential Affairs or the Secretary to the Cabinet. The "outer" reception at the car park is not clearly marked and one is forced to ask some workers about its location. On entering the office and the letter is shown to the receptionist, one is told to send the letter to the "inner" reception, which is inside the Castle. At the Castle the "visitor" meets a security official who will ask that he/she sees another official in an adjoining room for his/her name and



The Castle, Osu

other particulars to be taken. On satisfying that one is a "visitor", an identification tag is given while one's mobile phone is collected and returned after the "visit". All letters belonging to the Chief of Staff and Minister for Presidential Affairs are collected at the first "inner" reception while those for the Secretary to the Cabinet are deposited at the second "inner" one. Is it possible that, depending on the addressees, there may be several other "inner" receptions for specific letters to be deposited.

This episode of the "visitor" to the Castle raises a number of questions which demand answers. First, why should a mundane business of delivering letters find the "visitor" inside the Castle? Is it to bring efficiency and effectiveness in the operation of government? Secondly, why should letter(s) not be collected at the "outer" reception? Is it a security risk or is there a previous bad experience of leaving letters there? Thirdly, is entering the Castle to deliver letters not a security risk in itself, which can be avoided? As a

non-expert in security matters, one is completely at sea as to why letters should be sent to receptions inside the Castle itself when there is an "outer" reception.

The Castle, as the seat of government, has grown to become a bureaucracy in itself, which is understandable, given the complexity of government business. This notwithstanding, bureaucratic "red tape" (not in its pejorative sense) is one of the many ways of organising work in the public sector to bring together the work of many individuals in order to achieve purpose far beyond the capabilities of any single individual. Its values of efficiency and responsiveness are the key measures of the success of any organisation, including the operations of the Castle.

Atsu Aryee, Professor of Political Science and Dean, Faculty of Social Studies, Legon.

7th January, 2008



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