



The Legon Observer

Fortnightly Organ of the Legon Society on National Affairs

Vol. II No. 8

14 — 27 April 1967

Price 15p or 12½np

IN THIS ISSUE

EDITORIAL	1
Return to Civilian Rule?	
L.S.N.A. COMMUNICATION	3
The Public Service	
Political Correspondent	
POLITICS	6
Towards Civilian Rule	
S. O. Gyandoh Jr.	
OBSERVER NOTEBOOK	9
Disgorging Ill-gotten Gains	
South West Africa and the UN	
Ojukwu Goes It Alone	
The Cairo Conference	
French Somaliland	
LETTERS	12
An American reaction to "Import Licensing"	
The Tragedy of Protocol	
"Ghanaian Times" and Busia's speech (2)	
Order of Precedence or of Priority?	
The New Cedi	
Academy of Sciences	
"Dekwamefication" and Anti-myths	
Housing the People	
Salary Increase	
BOOK REVIEW	17
Communism in Africa	
(Fritz Schatten)	
B. D. G. Folson	
COMMENTARY	19
The N.R.C. and Free Expression	
A Correspondent	
OBITUARY	21
Tribute to Sir Frank Worrell	
A Cricketer	
NEWS SUMMARY	22
OBSERVER NOTICES	23

EDITORIAL

RETURN TO CIVILIAN RULE ?

BRIGADIER A. A. Afrifa and Dr. K. A. Busia, by their public lectures delivered respectively on the 27th and 30th of March, 1967, have dramatised a public debate on the eventual return to civilian rule. There have been other contributions to this debate, which however, have generated more heat than light. The remarkable thing is that Brigadier Afrifa and Dr. Busia stand for two broad current streams of Ghanaian opinion on the eventual return to civilian rule.

To Dr. Busia, and those who think like him, the early return to civilian rule can be justified on the practical, *democratic* ground that for any effective solution of the gigantic problems facing us—renegotiation of debts, streamlining the tardy administrative machinery, rationalising economic policies and reducing unemployment—Ghanaians as a whole must choose a government for themselves at the polls. This will have the added advantage of convincing the outside world that, among other things, if just in case the old regime's policies are rejected, the old regime would have been exposed as having no support at all in the country; this needless to say, will conduce to political stability.

On the other hand, a sizeable number of Ghanaians, including Brigadier Afrifa, believe that we had better leave the soldiers to solve our pressing problems. Civilian government can wait indefinitely. It is on this reading that one can understand Brigadier Afrifa's pre-conditions—"... the possibility of finding in the immediate future a capable civilian government that will be acceptable to the people"; "... getting people used to their newly won freedom..."; "... familiarising themselves with the qualities that they require from potential leaders before they are called upon to go to the polls..." etc. (L.O. Vol. II, No.7 Supplement). This attitude in the civilian rule debate can be roughly summarised in the dictum: "for forms of government let fools contest, whatever is best administered is best". The soldiers have so far been doing quite a good job and should be allowed to go on.

These *political* speeches are remarkable for completely ignoring a discussion of the Constitutional and the Electoral Commissions. These two commissions are crucial to any return to civilian rule, for their work is bound up with the question of "timing" the return to civilian rule. On practical grounds, contrary to public expectations—if the Constitutional Committee finishes its work in time, and the N.L.C. treats the draft Constitution with the urgency it needs—Ghanaians may be overtaken by events and civilian politics may catch up with us sooner than we expect. One unfortunate omission in the Decree setting up the Constitutional Committee

SUPPLEMENT

"One Year After the Coup"

By Dr. K. A. Busia
and Comment
By A. Adu Boahen

is that no provision is made for the election of the members of the proposed Constituent Assembly. The relevant portion of the decree says: "...after taking into account any views, evidence and memoranda that may have been received by the Commission and after taking into account such other consideration as the Commission may consider appropriate, *to cause to be prepared for submission to and consideration by a Constituent Assembly to be established by the National Liberation Council, proposals for the enactment of a Constitution for Ghana,*" (Italics ours). [NLC D. 102 pl. para 3(c)]

The question which arises is: how is this Constituent Assembly going to be established? Are the members of any such Assembly going to be nominated, elected, or partly nominated and partly elected? It would be dangerous for the legitimacy, and acceptance by the people, of the future Constitution of this country for it to be approved or rejected by a nominated Constituent Assembly; for the danger exists that a nominated Constituent Assembly may have a preponderance of people who may be biased in favour of a certain social and political group in the country. In such an eventuality, a demagogue may legitimately argue that the Constitution approved by the Constituent Assembly should be rejected in much the same way as Nkrumah repudiated the 1951 Constitution as "bogus and fraudulent", because it was based on the Coussey Committee Recommendations drawn up by a certain social and political group in Ghana. To say this is not to affect crude socialism; it is simply a plea for a broadly based Constituent Assembly and a widely accepted Constitution. To achieve this objective there does not seem to be any alternative to election on the principle of universal adult suffrage. This election can be conducted on the basis of the pre-Boison (i.e. the electoral laws which divided the country into 104 constituencies before Nkrumah divided it into 198 constituencies for his spurious 1965 election) electoral laws. This means that we do not have to wait for the Electoral Commission to finish its work before establishing the Constituent Assembly. The Electoral Commission's recommendations, if accepted, can form the

basis of elections into the National Assembly of the Second Republic.

All this involves time and it looks impracticable to believe that the sheer mechanics of approving the Constitution can take less than two years from now. However, it seems to be widely conceded that we must have civilian rule as soon as possible. The patriotic duty the N.L.C. should do, on our considerations then, is to draw up a time-table for a very early return to civilian rule. In drawing up this time-table, considerations like "cleaning up the mess", "educating the people", and "wiping out corruption" must be pushed into the background, for, on any adequate view of history, a civilian government is as capable as a military regime in undertaking such tasks. What must loom large in drawing up such a time-table is the Constitution. This is why it is odd that Brigadier Afrifa never discussed the Constitutional Commission in his public lecture.

We must have a civilian government soon after the Constitutional Commission has finished its work, for, however liberal and popular a military regime may be—which the N.L.C. is—the odd feeling still exists that it has no mandate from the people. The tasks we face are immense; we need a popularly elected government to tackle these tasks with the support of the people as shown in democratic elections. Such a need argues for an early return to civilian rule. Moreover, it is uncomfortable for a whole country to feel that they owe a permanent debt of gratitude to a government (we must remember the soldiers rescued us from Nkrumah); we must for once have a government which will not have the occasion to remind us that they either brought us independence or freed us from tyranny.

ADVERTISE IN THE LEGON OBSERVER

- * Your customers read the LEGON OBSERVER
- * You get quick results
- * You get more business

L.S.N.A. Communication

THE PUBLIC SERVICE

By

Our Political Correspondent

VERY LITTLE attention seems to have been given to the place of the Public Service in the new Constitution. Yet it is one of the crucial elements in any modern political system; it is even more crucial in a political system that operates in a developing country. In a developing country in this modern world the Public Service does not merely carry out the simple, negative task of maintaining law and order; it carries out the positive task of developing the resources of the country and distributing the social cake.

Standard Rules

To achieve these objectives it is essential that the Public Service should consist of trained, competent minds, people who are not only trained and competent but are also dedicated to their tasks. It must be organized in such a way that these qualities are inculcated in Public Servants. Practices which stand in the way of the realization of these qualities must be ruthlessly cut out.

It follows that the greatest possible attention must be paid to the methods of recruitment and training. These must be carefully geared to the realization of the required qualities. Next to this is the need to exclude all possibility of arbitrariness in the service. Nothing does more harm to the efficiency of the Public Service than arbitrary treatment of Public Servants. The standing rules which govern the operations of the Public Service must be clearly stated. The rules must be clearly and simply stated so that Public Servants can reasonably predict the consequences of their acts and omissions. Personal influence cannot entirely be ruled out in any society, but constant and genuine efforts should be made to relate decisions to clearly stated rules which are there for all to see.

Government of Laws

The Public Service must be imbued at all levels with the idea that a government of laws is better than that of men. No nation can delude itself into thinking that it can attain the ideal of a "government of laws, not of men", but we in Ghana have the advantage of hindsight and can see clearly the need for preventing the growth of little pockets of power within the Public Service which can manipulate arbitrarily the appointments and promotions within the service. There must be rules of law or standards which govern appointments and promotions so that an aggrieved individual can point to a basis for his grievances.

Promotion

The question of promotion is an important one, for it affects vitally the future of Public Servants and has the greatest possible effect on their dedication to their work. There should be clearly defined processes of promotion in the Public Service, and these should apply not only to the higher echelons of the Service but also to the lowest ranks. There should be opportunities for self-improvement for Public Servants and the grades of promotion equivalent to the various levels of training and qualifications should be clearly laid down. It is necessary that promotions should not be made to depend entirely on recommendations as at present, for this lends itself too easily to abuse and, thus, lowers morale in the Service.

The Totalitarian System

In a dictatorship or a totalitarian system the problem of the Public Service is a relatively easy one: everything depends upon luck. If those wielding political power are sensible they ensure that Public Servants are properly trained and are competent. That is the position in communist countries, for example. There the powers that be are very concerned to have Public Servants who are trained especially in the technological field, economics, the law etc. But where the powers

Get rid of dangerous worms and their eggs.

Take

ONETIME WORM EXPELLER

The best and most powerful worm expeller for adults and children.

Obtainable from

E.S. BEDIAKO'S DRUG STORES

at wholesale and retail prices in Accra and Nkawkaw, and all leading chemical shops throughout the country.

Contact

E. S. BEDIAKO

for your drugs at moderate prices.

E. S. Bediako,
c/o G. B. Ollivant Ltd.,
Near Accra Fire Service
Workshop,
Ayele Amah Avenue,
P.O. Box 177,
Accra.

E. S. Bediako,
Near Presbyterian Book depot,
Nkawkaw.

that be in a totalitarian country or a dictatorship are either too limited in their mental horizons, as in most traditional monarchies, or are so concerned with their own private interests, as in this country lately, or are blinded by an irrational ideology, as in Guinea to-day and in Sukarno's Indonesia, the Public Service suffers grievous harm: morale goes down, boot-licking goes up and mediocrity abounds. The end-result is that the economy and social services suffer; the standard of living of the citizens takes a downward turn. But the citizens dare not talk, so this state of affairs goes on with a deceptive calm. It is a necessary part of the system.

The Democratic System

In a democratic system, such as we want to fashion for this country, the problem of the Public Service is not that simple. The end-result of economic development and social justice is more urgent because people can talk when things go wrong. It is therefore urgent to ensure that the qualities and conditions of service of Public Servants postulated above are adequately secured. But when parties that form the government change—and this is inevitable in a democratic system—there is a great temptation to change the personnel of the Public Service to suit the particular party in office at a time, or to push up into the Service particular people with some not very worthy end in view. This creates dissatisfaction and a sense of frustration in the Service and that is certainly not the best way to promote efficiency.

A trained and efficient Public Service is more important in a democratic set-up for another reason. Whereas in a dictatorship those wielding political power can, if they choose, rear up a crop of efficient and honest people, who know the needs of the Society and are dedicated to their solution, to succeed them, in a democracy one never is sure of the people who are going to be thrown up by the electoral process. A Communist party puts great store by the education of its cadres; they at least have a thorough understanding of the party's "ideology" and they are tested at various levels of the party machinery before they get to the top. The methods of selecting leaders in a democratic system are as haphazard as one can imagine and there is always the danger of the worse pushing out the better. This is particularly dangerous in a developing country like ours where, so far, politics has been almost the exclusive preserve of the semi-educated, the ignorant and the self-centred. At any time the Public Service may find itself under the direction of such people. If the very *raison d'être* of the Public Service is not to be defeated and the democratic system not destroyed from below then it is utterly

necessary to ensure that in this system the Public Service is not only efficient, but also incorruptible, secure and free from entanglements with particular parties. Above all, it is necessary to ensure that the Service does not follow the apron strings of any particular party but that, rather, it maintains its integrity, independence and objectivity so as to be able to work with any party that happens to be in power at any particular time. It is only in this way that democracy can ensure the realization of its social and economic objectives without which it cannot maintain itself.

Public Service Commission

The Constitution itself cannot, of course, carry through the various principles and objectives outlined above. But it can provide for the machinery by which they can best be realized, given the will. No better institution has been devised by the human mind for this than an independent Public Service Commission (P.S.C.), a body that is *independent of the government of the day* in carrying out its functions. Such a body should be responsible for the recruitment, promotion and general organisational policies of the Public Service and in the discharge of these functions it should not be subject to the orders or directions of anybody.

In our view the general lines along which the P.S.C. was set up under the Independence Constitution are adequate. (See the Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957, sections 49 to 53). The Commission should consist of three members whose appointment should be approved by Parliament. They should hold office until they are sixty years old and should be removed by the President only on an address passed by a two-thirds majority of Parliament on stated grounds of misbehaviour or infirmity of mind or body. Their salaries should be fixed, charged on the Consolidated Fund and should not be reduced during their tenure of office. It is necessary to make all these provisions so that no future government can use its authority over the Commission and its control over the members' salaries to turn, twist and pervert their functions. For this reason it is also necessary that where an M.P. is appointed to a post within the Public Service or a Public Corporation which carries a salary or remuneration or fee should cease forthwith to be an M.P. Alternatively, where a person holding such a post becomes an M.P. he should give up that post. It does not require any unusual powers of imagination to realize that if Parliament is filled with Public Servants the Service will suffer untold harm. The most likely result will be that the M.P.s will use their power to heap unjust privileges, both financial and otherwise, on them-

selves and completely undermine discipline in the Public Service. The practice in the last Parliament when semi-literate M.Ps without any qualifications or competence were let loose on the Public Corporations is sufficient evidence of its undesirability.

The Public Service

It is necessary to explain the sense in which "Public Service" has been used in this communication. In its widest meaning any service that is run either wholly or partly out of public funds is part of the Public Service and any person whose salary or emoluments are paid either wholly or partly out of public funds is a Public Servant. Thus the Universities, the Judicial Service, the State Enterprises, the Prison Service, the Police Service, the Local Government Service and the Civil Service are all part of the Public Service. But there is a narrower sense in which the term "Public Service" may be used and it is in this sense that it has been used in this communication. It is that only those services which ought to be or are under the direct control of the central government form part of the Public Service. Thus the Universities and the Judicial Service are decidedly and undoubtedly not included in the Public Service. We would also urge that State Enterprises should not be included, for they are set up as State Enterprises and not as government departments precisely because they need to be autonomous. We would, in addition, urge that the Local Government Service ought to have its separate Commission so that its local character and the need to avoid too much central control is emphasized. All of which means that P.S.C. recommended in this communication should embrace the Civil Service, the Prison Service and the Police Service. The core should be the Civil Service which provides the much-needed machinery for carrying out the all-important socio-economic functions of the state in a developing country like ours.

Auditor-General and Attorney-General

There are two officials who, although they work within the Civil Service, should be as independent as possible of the government. These are the Auditor-General and the Attorney-General. The former is the man who probes into government accounts to ensure that public money is properly spent. Without him a lot of public funds—in a fool of itching hands—would go down the drain. It is clearly necessary that he should be beyond the reach of those he would discipline. We suggest therefore that the Auditor-General should be appointed by the President, acting on the advice of the Public Service Commission.

His tenure of office should be the same as for members of the Public Service Commission themselves. In particular, his salary should be charged on the Consolidated Fund and should not be reduced during his tenure of office.

It is sometimes said that the Attorney-General is the chief legal adviser of the government. That is true, but he is more than that: he is also the person who, in the last resort, decides whether the criminal law will be enforced. In countries where the big criminals are not the "big shots" it does not particularly matter if the Attorney-General is a political appointee. But in countries where leading politicians themselves are always tempted to be big criminals it is absolutely essential that the Attorney-General should be as independent as possible of the politicians. It is therefore suggested that the Constitutional position of the Attorney-General should be the same as that of the Auditor-General. It should be made quite clear that both the Attorney-General and the Auditor-General should not be bound by the instructions, directives, orders or even the advice of anyone in the performance of their functions.

Consolidated Fund

It will be noticed that wherever it is considered desirable that some officials should be independent it is suggested that their salaries should be charged on the Consolidated Fund. This means that there should be a permanent, standing order with the government's bankers that at the end of every month the said officials should be paid automatically. The payment of their salaries, in other words, will not be dependent upon the whims and caprices of the government or even Parliament. During the late regime this salutary principle was insidiously emptied of its meaning by charging all sorts of peoples' salaries on the Consolidated Fund. Even such highly political officials like Ministers had their salaries charged on the Fund. A stop must be put to this. Only the judges of the Superior Courts, members of the Public Service and Electoral Commissions, the Attorney-General and the Auditor-General should have their salaries charged on the Consolidated Fund to emphasize and consolidate their independence. The salary of the President should also be charged on the Fund. Here, however, the reason is not to emphasize his independence but merely to serve as a mark of respect for his high office, which, we hope, he will not abuse.

Politics

TOWARDS CIVILIAN RULE

By

S. O. Gyandoh Jr.

THE NATIONAL debate on Civilian Rule is fully on. There is general agreement on the desire that our military and police gentlemen, who saved us from fifteen years of consummate misrule with its attendant evils of physical and mental incarceration, should voluntarily hand over power to a democratically elected civilian government. The question is: "When?" Several important ancillary questions are in turn raised by this crucial question. Chief among these is the so far hardly articulated question whether sufficiently firm and sound foundations are being laid for the eventual return to civilian rule. It is to this ancillary question that I wish to address myself in this article, for I am of the firm conviction (and many will agree) that unless we, as a nation, satisfy ourselves as to the soundness and firmness of the foundations we are laying during the present transitional period, it would be presumptuous to hope for a lasting superstructure of democratic civilian government.

Assumptions Underlying Representative Government

The quest for a representative civilian government in this country, as indeed elsewhere, raises at least three separate but related major conceptual assumptions, which call for brief comments: (a) It is first assumed, as was declared by the suspended Republican Constitution of Ghana, that the powers of the State derive from the People, and must, therefore always be exercised in accordance with the consensus of the People. This is a re-statement of the well-known principle of "popular sovereignty". The sad story of how this deceptively simple but cardinal principle of democratic government came to be honoured in this country more in the breach than in the observance is too well-known to be re-told here. But the principle is being twisted into strange and weird precepts, at a time when we are supposed to be working towards revitalising and shaping it into a practical principle of government. No one, to be sure, would seriously object to the exclusion of mad men, infants and ex-convicts from the voting process. But, when it is suggested that citizens of Ghana, not caught by the normal criteria for depriving a citizen of his civil rights, should be disenfranchised for specified periods solely on the ground of their close involvement with the former C.P.P. machinery, then one is tempted to hazard the biblical challenge: "He that is without sin among you, let him throw the first stone". Let us, by all means, bring to book those who have been found to have

betrayed the trust reposed in them by the people. But let us not, in the process, allow ourselves to be guided by an emotional urge bordering on hysteria to wreak vengeance. If we do, we may wake up one dark morning to discover, much to our discomfiture, that there has been "much ado about nothing". Such a state of disillusionment would do little credit to the Electoral Commission. What is more, vengeance often has a funny way of bouncing back.

The second assumption that seems to underlie our thinking about representative government is that the latter should necessarily reveal some strict doctrine of *separation of powers* dictating a rigid distinction between the three organs of government. Few expressions have been more abused in usage. A certain amount of functional fusion of different types of governmental powers in the same hands is inevitable in all modern governments. At the very time that Montesquieu was paying his somewhat exaggerated and misplaced compliments to the English governmental system of the 19th century, the Lord Chancellor was exercising Executive, Legislative and Judicial functions all at once. Despite the tremendous influence of Montesquieu and Locke on the American continent, neither the U.S.A. nor any of its member states has been able to apply any doctrinaire concept of separation of powers to the business of practical government. The best that has been achieved anywhere is a conception of government in which co-operation between the three branches of government is blended with a system of mutual restraints (or what has been called elsewhere "checks and balances") in the interest of freedom of the individual and the public welfare. To function properly, governments, like motor cars, must be equipped with a motor as well as brakes. And, in the specific circumstances of Ghana, it may be necessary to equip the machinery of government with a more than usual powerful motor that will ensure effective and speedy action in the course of accelerated development.

The third assumption underlying our search for representative government is the belief that the formulation of a democratic, constitutional document is the guarantee of good government. It is true that the Republican Constitution provided few, if any, checks against the abuse of power, especially power exercised by the Executive. It is proper, therefore, that we carefully provide for effective checks against abuse of power in our next Constitution. But, we should not be led into the naive belief that a good constitution is a guarantee of good government. The Weimar Republican Constitution of 1919 and the Soviet "Stalin" Constitution of 1936, both

of which guaranteed individual liberties and laid down strict procedures for their enforcement, could be, and were, used as instruments of terror. The truth is that documentary restraints of power must always yield to harsh social, political and economic realities.

The Constitutional Commission

The foregoing assumptions apart, some important questions concerning the work of the Constitutional Commission has a direct bearing on what to expect of the anticipated return to civilian rule. The Constitutional Commission has been specifically charged to "ensure the inclusion" of certain specified provisions, e.g. separation of powers, in the Constitution. What, it may be asked, will be the position if, in faithful reliance on memoranda and evidence before it, the Commission submits a report which leaves out any of these specified provisions? Will the N.L.C then reject the Report, which represents the will of the People as ascertained by the Commission, on the ground that it does not do justice to the terms of reference? What if, upon the advice of the Political Committee or some other body or even of individuals, the N.L.C. decides to add to the draft Constitution provisions that have not been submitted to the people as was done to the Republican Constitution, Act 55 (granting wide legislative powers to the President) of which was not submitted to the people for their approval or rejection? Would such additions be necessarily invalid? Until some form of power is given to a representative body of the people to finally decide on what should be included in, and what should be left out of, the Constitution, it would appear that the N.L.C. will have a final say in these matters. *Would this not amount to an imposition on the people of at least part of the Constitution?*

The Envisaged Constituent Assembly

Another problem to which a quick solution must be found is raised by the provision of N.L.C. D.102 (which creates the Constitutional Commission) that a Constituent Assembly is "to be established" by the N.L.C. after the Commission submits its Report. Is the Constituent Assembly, like the Commission, going to be hand-picked? If so, where is the guarantee that the members of the Constituent Assembly, which will prepare the final draft of the Constitution, will be truly representative of the people? If not, how are we going to ensure that persons reflecting all the various interests in our community are going to have at least a chance to be elected to the Constituent Assembly? Here again, it should not be so soon forgotten that not long ago this country was presented with a 'corporate' Parliament the members of which were all hand-picked by an

infallible Messiah who claimed to know the will of the People better than they themselves did. It does not seem an adequate answer to contend that the People would, in the end, have an opportunity to vote 'yes' or 'no' to specific provisions of the Draft Constitution. It would seem that a decision would have to be taken in the not too distant future on how to make the composition of the Constituent Assembly democratic, i.e., truly representative of the people.

The Ban on Politics

Which brings me to the last, but by no means the least important, of the problems raised by this search for representative government. By Decree No. 3, 1966, the N.L.C. has prohibited "all activities whatsoever likely to assist in the formation or operation by any person of any political party". This means that as of last March, 1966 (the date of the decree) this country has been living in a political vacuum. It is arguable that there is nothing startling in this, for realistically speaking, this country has known no politics since the putting into effect of the Preventive Detention Act and the recruitment of hordes of informers, both of which events had the expected effect of limiting the inter-play of viewpoints (the essence of democratic politics) to what could obviously be no more than mild dissent within the C.P.P. hierarchy itself. The ban on politics, taken together with the rather long period of political lethargy in this country, raises some thorny problems. Some have argued that because the N.L.C. has shown no dictatorial tendencies so far and has in fact ruled humanely and democratically just as a sensible popularly elected government would, there is no room for the expression of any anxiety about the possibility that it may want to perpetuate its stay in power, as many other military regimes in the world have been known to do. The argument is further buttressed by referring to assurances by the N.L.C. that it will not remain in power for a day longer than is absolutely necessary. The argument is somewhat inchoate and largely irrelevant, for its protagonists fail to give any clear guidelines as to the opportune time for a return to civilian rule, or democratic politics, except the highly nebulous one that such a return must await a clearing up of the mess inherited from the old regime. This process of clearing up the mess could take one hundred years, or more—a somewhat chilling reflection. On the other hand, it will not do to advocate a hasty return to democratic politics before reasonably firm foundations have been laid for such a return. Nothing really turns on suggestions that civilian rule should return in two, five, ten or twenty years. What really

matters is that we make optimal use of the present transitional period of Military-Police Rule.

I suggest that we cannot make optimal use of this transitional period unless the N.L.C. takes a decision now to allow some form of politics—certainly the politics of the Constitution. Even the politics of the Constitution may be used, to be sure, for subversive ends. But, surely cannot associations be permitted which merely urge the inclusion of particular provisions in our future Constitution? Who can really say that such associations would be necessarily subversive? If current events on the African political scene are any guide, then it is not hard to see that unnatural restrictions on the right of association are highly dysfunctional to the healthy development of true representative government, just as unbridled politics can easily lead to social and political disintegration. We may, and should, in keeping with democratic principles, impose restrictions on the right of association with a view to preventing the springing up of tribal or politico-religious groupings, for these tend to disintegrate society. Luckily, we already have on our Statute Book the Avoidance of Discrimination Act 1957, which takes care of this potential danger.

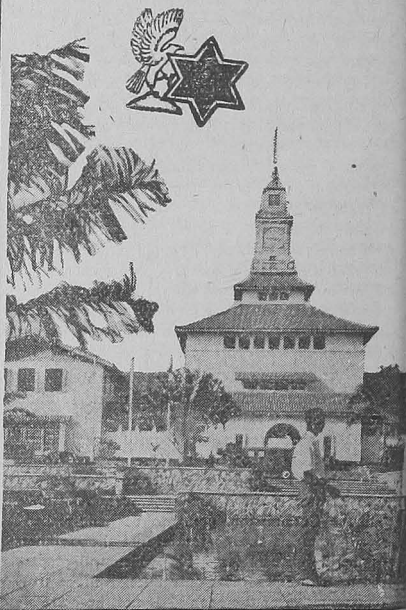
Conclusion

One ironic paradox of the 24 February, 1966, "exercise" is that it ousted a government which proclaimed, but did not practise, the principles of representative government and replaced this with a frankly non-representative government, with no formal mandate from the people. In the short run, this is neither here nor there, for clearly there is still great popular support for the coup. But, in the long run, the prolonged rule of the N.L.C. within a political vacuum, taken together with the political lethargy induced by the P.D.A., will, very likely, leave the great majority of Ghanaians thoroughly untrained in the responsibilities of representative government. Such an outcome would render any future civilian government more unstable than most military regimes anywhere in the world.

The cleaning-up exercise which is urged as a condition precedent to the return to civilian rule is bound to proceed at a painfully slow pace. We may daily remind ourselves that "history, like nature, knows no jumps; except the jump backward, maybe". Even so, our gallant soldiers and policemen, like all of us, will do well to also remember that political liberty, to borrow Montesquieu's words, cannot be fully assured in this or any other country until we have fashioned a system under which all our people will enjoy "the tranquility of mind which comes with the opinion each person has of his own safety." This is the time to lay solid foundations for that public peace of mind.

Education
a good
investment

GHANA
COMMERCIAL
BANK



Ghana Commercial Bank Branches throughout Ghana

HEAD OFFICE, P.O. BOX 2971, ACCRA.

CABLES COMMERBANK TEL. ACCRA 64914

Observer Notebook

Disgorging Ill-gotten Gains

AT LONG LAST the government has indicated its readiness to take a step that some have wisely advocated all along. In a precedent setting decree the government ordered the forfeiture of all the ill-gotten gains of Nkrumah and his family, ordered the Ministers concerned to refund over-payments made to Leventis, and ordered 31 other persons who received moneys or gifts paid out of the Contingency Fund to make a refund to the government. The provisions of the decree are to be regarded as a High Court judgment in a civil case and there will be no right of appeal to the Court of Appeal.

There is every indication that the procedure adopted in this decree will be applied to similar cases in the future. In this respect the Annie Jagge Commission is the most significant. Nkrumah may have had wide powers as to the use of the Contingency Fund but no one will deny that the moneys in the Fund were improperly used. They were public money stolen by Nkrumah and distributed to persons for their private use. Beneficiaries of such largesse have a civil obligation to make a refund whatever the criminal implications of the transactions might be and whatever sympathy one may have for those who believed they were receiving bona fide gifts. No one can validly dispose of property he does not own.

Nevertheless one can still express some misgivings about passing the decree when some of the matters dealt with are the subject of criminal proceedings in the courts. Furthermore, there should have been a right of appeal for the benefit of those who may genuinely feel cheated. In any case was there the necessity to abuse the judicial process by making the provisions of the decree a High Court judgment? One is never surprised at the ingenuity of our legal advisers. It would have been quite alright just to have a decree without making it a High Court judgment.

South West Africa and the U.N.

THE TIME is up for the Committee of 14 nations set up last year to report on the methods of implementing the resolution on South West Africa adopted on October 27, 1966, by the General Assembly of the United Nations. By this resolution the Assembly decided to assume control of the territory and to bring it to self-determination. The Committee of 14 now says that it has failed to produce either unanimity or substantial majority for any particular course of action. It intends to report the proposals and views expressed at two months of its meetings to the Assembly.

The report of the Committee is not surprising. The U.N. has a tendency to pass to committees matters on which there is little agreement. Sometimes it is an effective way of shelving a perplexing problem—witness the handling of the issue of peacekeeping operations. Britain, France and the United States should be happy at this outcome. The former two abstained from the vote last year while it is not far from the truth to say that the United States' vote was a sop to the hurt feelings of the African States following the World Court's decision on the matter. Even the African States must have realised that implementing the resolution would be an impossible task. It cannot be done short of invading South Africa. No states in or out of the U.N. either individually or collectively are in a position for such a venture. Even so South Africa is not leaving things to chance. A delegation has been sent to Portugal and other countries to strengthen the racist alliance.

So what next? Nothing much. When the Assembly resumes the examination of the question the African States will press for the acceptance of the plan put forward by Ethiopia, Nigeria, Senegal, the U.A.R. and supported by Pakistan. The plan involves the appointment of a U.N. Council for South West Africa, a Commissioner and a police force with the aim of leading the territory to independence in June 1968. Even if with the support of the other Afro-Asian states the proposal is adopted, it will remain a dead letter for as long as the major powers are not interested in doing anything serious about the problem. Meanwhile, South Africa can, if she likes, implement without fear of any consequences her offer of self-government to Ovamboland—a first step in the direction of creating South West Africanbantustans. Cries of illegality on the part of the Afro-Asian states are neither helpful nor a substitute for positive action.

Ojukwu Goes It Alone

COLONEL OJUKWU, the Eastern Nigerian Military Governor has decreed that all revenue from the east should be paid to the eastern rather than the federal treasury. This is ostensibly for the purpose of off-setting an amount owed the eastern region by the federal government and also meeting the salaries of federal employees who fled to the east following the massacre of easterners that ensued after the July counter-coup. The reasons for the measure are less significant than the threat preceding the measure—to implement the Aburi decisions. By all accounts at Aburi Colonel Ojukwu won for himself and the other military Governors the right to be consulted on all matters affecting their regions. This by im-

plication meant that Nigeria would become a confederation and Colonel Ojukwu now wants to see that through. Colonel Gowon has since tried to wade this implication of the decisions taken at Aburi but the eastern action now puts him on the spot.

Reports indicate that the eastern decree is being complied with. Colonel Gowon has declared the measures unconstitutional and illegal and may feel tempted to bring the east back to constitutional legality, whatever that means in such a confused situation. He has intimated that counter-measures have been ordered and more are on the way. Naturally one wonders if such measures include military action. Colonel Katsina of the north may be pressing Gowon for an opportunity to prove as he has claimed that the northerners can crush the east in a matter of a few hours. Whether this is possible or not does not seem to matter now. What is important is that such threats are taken seriously in the east. Such a step will be disastrous given the mood of defiance and military preparedness of the east. But a military clash can be ruled out for the moment despite evidence of brinkmanship.

What is more likely now is an economic war. This could add considerable damage to what the Nigerian economy has already suffered as a result of the crisis. The airlines have been grounded and are not flying to the east, railway and road transport have not been functioning even before the latest developments. Port Harcourt has no longer been handling northern produce and imports for the rest of Nigeria have been diverted to Lagos. The east is reported to be planning to market their commodity exports directly. The federal Government could counter by severing post and telegraphic co-operation and holding up cargoes bound for the east or demanding port charges from ships in advance. Meanwhile the oil companies are in a dilemma. If they do not pay their revenue to the east the pipelines may be cut off, but if they do, the federal government is bound to react strongly.

One hopes that things do not get out of hand before all avenues for peace have been exhausted. Attempts by the military governors to solve their problems seem to have failed. It is too early yet to assess the value of other peace moves by Ghana and the Commonwealth Secretariat. Colonel Ojukwu is reportedly willing to accept mediation by some Heads of State of the O.A.U. It is hoped that such mediation will be forthcoming and that Colonel Ojukwu will be willing to negotiate without insisting on the satisfaction of the three conditions he has put forward before any future conditions, the last of which involves the implemen-

tation of the Aburi decisions. If this condition is satisfied will there be any further need to negotiate?

The Cairo Conference

THE RECENT summit conference of some African States (U.A.R., Mauritania, Algeria, Tanzania and delegates from Guinea, Mali and Congo Brazzaville) at Cairo (April 4th-7th) went over familiar fields. Its most important resolution—the reiteration of the fact that only force can dislodge the Smith regime—has always been insisted upon not only by O.A.U. Conferences, but also by individual African states.

It needs no extra powers of insight to realise that from the moment Britain decided not to send troops to Rhodesia, while she readily committed them to Aden, Smith and his followers were literally beckoned to assume a *de facto* independence. The readiness with which Britain handed over the Rhodesian case to the United Nations was also an ample indication of the hypocrisy with which she is handling the Rhodesian issue (See Editorial, L.O. Vol. I, No.2). What is more, though Zambia is in many respects more affected by the present economic sanctions than Rhodesia herself, the British government has refused to give Zambia adequate aid to decrease Zambia's reliance on Rhodesia. Britain knew very well from the very beginning that economic sanctions would fail, in the light of the stand taken by South Africa and Portugal. If anything, the failure of sanctions against Italy in 1935 should have been a guideline. Britain's scape-goat, therefore is now the United Nations. Quite naturally, then, recent reports by the U.N. Secretary-General to the Security Council indicate the failure of economic sanctions on Rhodesia. Meanwhile, Britain has enough breathing space within which she can negotiate her entry into the European Common Market.

Obviously, the solution of the Southern African problem does not lie with the U.N. or Britain, except that they are prepared to employ force. One would have been happy to say that all African countries should jolt Britain up by applying selected economic sanctions (say, on British cars) against her, but the advisability of this is in doubt. It appears, therefore, that the issue can be settled only by Africans.

But the way to settle it is not to set up African dictatorships which detract from the moral basis of our stand. We are all well aware that we have lost a couple of battles but not the war. For, the Southern African issue is crucial to the establishment of full human dignity and justice all over the world. Smith and his like are living in a fool's paradise.

Letters

An American reaction to "Import Licensing"

SIR—Having just received a copy of your edition of third March which includes article by Kwaku Manu commenting on our firm's handling of First American Agricultural Aid Programme with Ghana, I hasten to correct extraordinary errors and respectfully request immediate retraction for the following reasons, which follow in order of Mr. Manu's allegations.

Neither parties to the agreement, that is, Ghana Government nor American government has registered any dissatisfaction or complaint. Under United States law, a Ghanaian company is not permitted to serve as programme agent in America; only an American company is eligible.

St. John International is well known; in fact it has been serving as an agent for FAO of UN since 1950 and as an American agent for World Food Programme since its inception. Also, it is one of few such agents approved by U.S. Department of Agriculture which was a prerequisite of Ghana Government appointment. For references apply U.S. Department of State; U.S. Department of Agriculture; Director General, World Food Programme of United Nations, Rome, Italy; Farrell Line; Delta Line; Black Star Line; etc.

St. John International was selected, by the Embassy of Ghana, Washington, after a review of several candidates' applications and the concurrence of the United States Government.

Invitation to tenders were submitted to the trade with ample time for reply. The amount of time given suppliers was dictated by usages of the trade and were discussed with and approved by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. In all instances the respective commodity trade associations also approved the method and timing of holding tender. All opportunities were published in the leading American trade daily—*The Journal of Commerce*. A complete record of the programme demonstrating the methodology of holding the tenders, records of each bidder, awards, etc., is in the hands of Mr. Harry Nelson, Ministry of Economic Affairs, Accra, and we respectfully suggest you refer to this document.

There is no record of a consumer receiving the wrong type of soyabean oil. All oil shipped was in strict conformity with specifications from the Government of Ghana and, as in the case of all commodities shipped, samples were drawn by United States Government inspectors who certified that specifications were met. These certificates can be requested on application to the United States Department of Agriculture.

No compensation is paid to St. John International by the Government of Ghana. The steamship lines which carry the cargo compensate with a legally controlled commission, the purchasing/shipping agent. This system of obtaining the required services gratis is used by virtually every country participating in American Agricultural Aid Programmes.

All rice purchased was long grain. One supplier, through his error, shipped 2375 tons medium grain rice. St. John International insisted on the supplier shipping the correct order which was done. Latterly, the Government of Ghana decided to purchase the medium grain rice at a distressed price with payment in Ghana cedis. This had nothing to do with us.

As a former university lecturer himself, the writer cannot understand how an academician of Mr. Manu's apparent importance could have written such an article without any reference to the parties involved. A telephone call to Mr. Frank Pinder, Director of the American Aid Mission in Accra, would have immediately evinced the fact that Mr. Manu's article follows almost verbatim the allegations of a certain individual who joined with an unscrupulous group of expatriates in Ghana and America and who tried to exploit the programme. The individual involved has been identified and warned by American authorities to cease and desist from circulating the false charges. His name is also well known as a troublemaker to the Ghana Government. Recently, he was indicted for a felony in New York. Apparently, Mr. Manu is unwittingly being used by those who are now trying to demean and subvert the American Aid Programme in the Republic of the Congo as his article is now in wide circulation in Kinshasa. This is being done just as our firm is to commence management of the Congo Agricultural Aid Programme. Ironically, American officials endorsed our firm's participation partly because of the success of the Ghana Programme.

Under the circumstances I respectfully request that you contact the American Embassy, Accra, as to the correctness of my statement. I am also certain that application to the Ghanaian Government authorities will also establish corroboration. I feel confident that the well known Ghanaian spirit of fairplay will prevail over this unfortunate matter and that you will immediately cable a retraction. If Mr. Manu will realize that he has been ill-used and will identify the person or persons who furnished him with the false information, we will immediately engage Ghanaian Counsel to inform us as to the libel laws of your country and the damages and redress available.

1511 K Street N.W. Harry J. Smith Jr., President
Washington D.C. 20005 St. John International INC.

Editor's Note: The correspondent will reply to this letter in the next issue.

The Tragedy of Protocol

SIR—It is sad to see a Ghanaian proudly splashing a bottle of CHAMPAGNE onto a fishing boat owned by Ghana. It is even sadder when prominent people look on and cheer, apparently very proud and satisfied with themselves and their achievements. A boat must be 'christened' and launched but must it be with CHAMPAGNE? Is that stuff tapped or brewed in Ghana? What's wrong with Ghana's palm-wine, or Ghana's 'pito', or Ghana's 'liiha' (corn beer) or the brew of alcohol made in Ghana? What a tragedy of protocol! Can't we now begin being Ghanaians?

Time was when C.P.P. high-ups proudly pulled out Black and White or White Horse Whisky or Dutch Aromatic Schnapps and poured libation to the dead ancestors—poor Africans—who probably never even saw the smelly and fiery liquids before nor tasted them, except perhaps when a few of them were enticed with the stuff to sell their children and relatives into slavery. The picture of the poor woman directing a stream of CHAMPAGNE against a Ghana boat reminds me of the opening in 1964 of the regional Art and Culture Centre and the launching of the cultural revolution of his 'Messianic Dedication'.

The crowd was huge, made up of Africans and

French Somaliland

SO FRANCE has achieved what she wanted. A majority of the electorate in French Somaliland is reported to have voted in favour of continued association with France in the referendum held on March 19, 1967. Even though General De Gaulle claimed that France could live without French Somaliland (which they very well could) it is not certain that he was prepared to accept another blow to his prestige. He did not quite recover from the embarrassment he suffered last year when he was met at Djibouti, the capital, by riots. Therefore, although on his return he promised the territory independence, he let it be known that the consequences of such action would be instant French withdrawal and loss of aid.

Whether France considered such threats enough to ensure a favourable vote is not clear. What is clear is that the united national front shown at the time of General De Gaulle's visit had given way by the time of the referendum to a split between the predominant ethnic groups, the Somalis and the Afars—the former supporting independence and the latter continued association with France. How much of this can be attributed to a policy of divide and rule is difficult to ascertain. But before the referendum several thousand Somalis were reportedly deported ostensibly for not having identity papers and for infiltrating from the Somali republic. Others were either disqualified from voting or detained. France now wants to deport some more of these but the Somali republic refuses to take them. It is even alleged by the Somalis that some Afars were brought in from Ethiopia to swell the ranks of those supporting continued French rule. In spite of the overall victory of the latter forces (60% as against 40%), 70% of the votes in Djibouti were cast for independence. It is therefore not surprising that the result of the referendum was greeted with riots.

The future looks uncertain. But in one respect the dark clouds that were coming at one time have cleared—at least for the moment. This concerns the threat of a clash between Ethiopia and Somaliland both of which have territorial ambitions over the territory. About 80% of Ethiopian trade is handled through the port of Djibouti which is linked with Addis Ababa by a jointly owned French-Ethiopian railway. The port is therefore vital to her. The Somali republic however seeks a greater Somalia bringing under sovereignty all the Somalis. The rivalries of these two countries should not be allowed to delay freedom of the territory from France. What is therefore required now is for the African States to assist these two states and the nationalist forces to reach a settlement acceptable to all.

Marketing Research Manager

**Lever Brothers
Ghana Limited**

has a vacancy for a

**MARKETING
RESEARCH
MANAGER**

Lever Brothers Ghana Limited is a highly successful company which owes much of its success to the application of modern techniques.

The Marketing Research Manager will be directly responsible to the Marketing Director for providing a full research service to marketing. He will interpret the needs of marketing, design the necessary research, organise the necessary field work and interpret the results.

The successful candidate should have academic qualifications in statistics or associated disciplines. Previous market research experience with a Marketing Company, a Research Company or Government, will be highly desirable. Candidates should be Ghanaians. Preferred age would be between 28 and 35 years.

This is a challenging position which will call on all professional expertise of the successful candidate. There will be full scope for advancement in this young, vigorous and expanding company and remuneration will be commensurate with the qualifications of the successful candidate and the importance of the appointment.

APPLICATIONS SHOULD BE
ADDRESSED TO:

**The Personnel Manager,
Lever Brothers Ghana Limited,
Post Office Box 1648,
Accra.**

CLOSING DATE 22ND APRIL 1967.

LEGON OBSERVER SUPPLEMENT



Dr. K. A. Busia

ONE YEAR AFTER THE COUP

Public lecture delivered by DR. K. A. BUSIA, Chairman, Political Committee of the N.L.C. at the Legion Hall, Accra, on Thursday, 30th March, 1967.

AFRIFA, BUSIA,
"1966 BEFORE AND AFTER"

COMMENT

By A. Adu Boahen

ONE YEAR AFTER THE COUP

By

Dr. K. A. Busia, Chairman, Political Committee of the N.L.C.

MAIN POINTS:

1. We are striving for a better life:

WE HAVE had a lot of conflict and strife since the end of the Second World War. It has taken us through the period of the U.G.C.C., the C.P.P. and the Nkrumah regime, and now the military cum police regime. We look forward to a future of greater freedom and prosperity. All the struggle and strife symbolize our effort and our desire for a better life. Some new vision of freedom, some new principle of life, some new and powerful desire to grow has been taking root in our minds and souls.

This is how Colonel Afrifa has justified the coup in his book "The Ghana Coup" (p.124):

"I speak for the youth of Ghana. Our fathers' generation, during Nkrumah's rule, sold their souls and consciences for money. They paid lip-service to the great institutions under which they were brought up. They mismanaged the affairs of Ghana, dissipated our heritage, and abused our land. As a result, our God-given freedom was lost. The aim of the unconstitutional military action we took is to regain this freedom and to create the conditions and atmosphere in which true democracy can thrive. This is our defence."

2. The coup was in fact against the corruption, oppression and inefficiency of the Nkrumah regime.

In his book and in his speeches he keeps reminding us that he and his colleagues risked their lives to save us, as he put it in his book, "from the nightmare Kwame Nkrumah imposed on this country." Afrifa makes it clear that he holds others guilty besides Nkrumah. Others "shared the collective guilt of the nightmare."

3. The former Opposition.

Before the coup many had risked much, including their lives to warn the country about the Nkrumah regime and the dangers involved. They were abused and stoned; they suffered humiliation, detention, exile, and even death to point out that the state of affairs "which prompted us (i.e. the army) to risk our lives would ensue."

There are thus some ideas and ideals which the former Opposition share with those who organised the coup. This explains why, as Colonel Afrifa said in his lecture delivered at the State House, Accra, on 20th March, 1967, the N.L.C. has "placed some of the former Opposition leaders into positions that would give the country the benefit of judging their approach to good government."

For the fair exercise of the country's judgement, I would like to point out certain facts which must be taken into consideration.

In the same lecture, Colonel Afrifa said this of what he described as "former Opposition politicians and the other respectable gentlemen who were ignored by the former regime." He said of these:—

"Most of them serve on the Political Committee.

It is my belief that these gentlemen have throughout the year helped tremendously in reshaping the country and have utilized the opportunity offered them to preach to the people the principles of

good government that they had hoped to establish had they been able to replace the former regime by constitutional means. Since they were not able to force the government out constitutionally, I would like to remind them that this is not their government."

We are grateful for the acknowledgment that we on the Political Committee have been of help; but Colonel Afrifa is absolutely right when he reminds us that the present government is not our government. I would like, in agreeing with him, to remind the country:—

- (i) That the Political Committee is only an advisory committee set up by the N.L.C. which adds to its membership as it pleases, without consultation with the Committee. The N.L.C. has exercised its right to choose anyone it likes as an adviser.
- (ii) The Political Committee is not a United Party committee. Let me remind the country that Nkrumah banned the United Party. The N.L.C. also proscribed the already banned Party, and went further to proscribe its wings operating in exile in Africa, Europe, America. (The consequences of this will be briefly pointed out.)
- (iii) The former members of the United Party serving on the Political Committee constitute exactly one-third of its membership. They are there not as a group, but as individuals. They observe the law banning their party, and have made no attempt to act in concert to fulfil any agreed policy.
- (iv) The Political Committee is not expected to advise on everything the N.L.C. decides or does, and the Committee does not in fact do this.
- (v) The N.L.C. is not obliged to accept every advice the Political Committee gives, even on those matters on which the Committee tenders advice, and the N.L.C. has not, as a matter of fact, accepted every advice the Political Committee has given. No one should expect the N.L.C. to do that. The members have minds of their own.
- (vi) The Political Committee is not the Executive of the N.L.C.
- (vii) Nevertheless, it was a very good move on the part of the N.L.C. to appoint the Political Committee and the other committees. We on the Political Committee realise the danger of being scapegoats. For our political future this is risky, but we welcome the opportunity of helping the N.L.C. and the country. For we are all aiming at the establishment of a society in which every individual can develop his personality and his skills as best as the community can offer him opportunities to do so, in order that as a responsible member of the community, he may take part in the political, economic and cultural life of the country.

4. We have a military regime.

Afrifa, in his speech, did not only point out that this is not a U.P. government, but he also said something worth noting about the N.L.C. government of which he is a member. He said, when he discussed the role of the Press, "Remember that the National Liberation Council has constituted itself into a totalitarian government; until we hand over power to a civilian government, we would rely on the timely

warning of the Press when we go wrong." He reminds us all that the present regime took power itself, and did not ask the people. Of course, the people have demonstrated their support. The fact remains, however, that the government rules without a mandate from the people; but the N.L.C. is not only aware of this, but has insisted that we should regard it as a care-taker government preparing the country for civilian rule.

I am speaking on the topic, "One year after the Coup". On February 25, A.F.P. sent out the following release from Paris to the World Press:

"For the weekly *Jeune Afrique* a return of Kwame Nkrumah who actually lives in exile in Conakry (Guinea) is still possible. A series of articles devoted to the deposed leader to Ghana on the occasion of the first anniversary of the seizure of power by the military and the expulsion of the Head of State of Ghana writes, in effect, under the signature of M. Jean Ziegler: "Nkrumah is living, his return to a power less authoritarian and more limited is still possible. Several reasons, according to the Journal, speak in favour of this hypothesis: (1) the fact that Nkrumah is firmly convinced of the temporary character of his exile, and still considers himself as the legitimate Head of the State of Ghana; (2) as long as no elections have given the people of Ghana the opportunity to express their opinion of the government and the internal situation of Ghana."

5. Steps towards elections.

We do not agree with the views of *Jeune Afrique* about the possible return of Nkrumah to rule this country, but everyone in this country knows that we have not had elections since the coup; everyone also knows, or should know, that the N.L.C. has set the Political Committee, the Constitutional Commission, and the Electoral Commission on tasks which should lead to elections and the return to power of a government chosen by the people through the Polls.

6. When should we have elections?

There are different opinions about this. There are some who for various reasons hold the view that the N.L.C. should hold on to power for a long time. For example, it should remain till it has cleaned up the mess of debts, corruption, and misrule. But this is work which is endless. After twenty years, Germany is still cleaning up the mess left by Hitler. It is still trying people for offences committed under Hitler. Our Justice Jigge and similar commissions could go on for as long.

To those who hold such views, I may refer to the lessons of history about military regimes. Those who seize power tend to hold on to it, and find all kinds of reasons why they should. But military men who seize power may agree in one thing: namely, to oust the regime from which they eventually seize power. They do not necessarily share the same political views or even the same goals. Consequently, if they stay in power for long, serious differences develop among them; their relations become strained; their meetings become turbulent; there are frequent walk-outs; eventually there are counter-coups. Military regimes are notoriously and inherently unstable. Africa has so far not shown any signs that her military regimes will be an exception to the historical pattern. That is why

people are generally sceptical about the pretensions of military regimes either to stability or democracy. Nevertheless, Colonel Afrifa re-assured us in his lecture on 20th March, "However, it will be good to assure you that it is our earnest desire that all of us co-operate to shorten the life of our military rule". It is up to the Political Committee, the Electoral Commission, the Constitutional Commission, and all of us.

It is clear that delays not only increase the danger of a break-down of military regimes; they also, as we see from our own country, create a fertile soil for the seeds of subversion to take root and grow. Today, the soil of the Republic of Ghana has become more fertile for subversion from within as well as without than a year ago. The Vice-Chairman of the N.L.C. and the Officer Commanding the Armed Forces gave us evidence of this at a recent Press Conference.

Moreover, military rule, being by nature authoritarian, inevitably violates human dignity; limits, sometimes even destroys freedom and the rule of law. In our case these had already been destroyed, and military rule has in fact restored some of it to us; but by its nature, ruling as it does by decrees, it cannot restore it all to us until a return to democratic rule. In a democratic state, every form of power has to be subject to public control. One year after the coup we can ourselves see the major tasks still to be performed. One of them, for example, is our massive unemployment problem. This is not the fault of the N.L.C. but of the previous regime, although the N.L.C. and the Political Committee are being blamed for it. The fact is that unemployment cannot be tackled in isolation. It can only effectively be dealt with within a comprehensive economic plan and programme based on agreed economic policy. Incidentally, Germany coped with her problems because she had skills, and concentrated on training skills. Human beings first. A civilian government would not be given a mandate by the country to rule, or to cope with its problems, including unemployment, without it having first submitted to the country for its approval through the polls, a long-term policy and a programme based on that policy. Cocoa price, for example, would fall within such a programme. I would like to use this example to show that rule by decree is different from rule by parliamentary discussion. The N.L.C. has recently increased the price of cocoa by 5/- a load. This is a measure which made me happy; yet if we had a Parliament, and the government measure had come up, I would have argued for a higher price. I would have said something like this:

The additional 5/- a load which the Government is offering gives a purchase price of £93.6s. 8d. per ton. The minimum purchase price in the Ivory Coast was £104 per ton. If one used only this minimum price, it still leaves a differential of nearly £11 per ton. It is quite likely that with the prevailing better world prices the Ivory Coast may increase its minimum purchase price. Even at the present rate, as everyone knows, much cocoa crossed the borders into the Ivory Coast last season. No one knows how much; the lowest figure quoted is 8,000 tons, and some have quoted more than 20,000 tons. Also some cocoa moved into Togo. One report from Lome stated that by 3rd January, 1967, 6,000 tons had already been bought

GO INTO THE
**NEW
GHANA**

with the

Legon Observer

Read THE LEGON OBSERVER
Relax with THE LEGON OBSERVER
Subscribe to THE LEGON OBSERVER

- For Yourself
- For Your Friends

Advertise

in the

Legon Observer

since the beginning of the main season. If we take a conservative but realistic figure of 20,000 tons as the total smuggled across the borders, it would represent a loss of £4 million in foreign exchange terms at a selling price of £200 per ton.

If we added another 5/- per load to the price already offered, (increasing the price per ton by £9.6s.8d.) this additional 5/- would only cost Ghana in cedis, on an average 400,000 ton crop £3.73 million. It would help our farmers to increase our productivity, diminish the smuggling if we offered £2.15s. a load for cocoa. It is possible that if the price were fixed by discussion instead of decree, I may have been able by such argument to persuade the government to consider the price. I still hope it may be reconsidered when we come to the main season which is still far away.

But I have used this example, only to illustrate a serious point which I wish to make, as I look at the Ghana situation one year after the coup. Having regard both to the internal and external situation; the administrative structure of the present regime, the need for releasing energies for development, the need for avoiding a breakdown arising from strains and differences, it seems to me to be in the best interest of the country that the Committees and Commissions and all of us concerned should make it possible for the second anniversary of the coup to be celebrated under a government to which people would themselves have given a mandate through the polls.

I would like to quote Colonel Afrifa again (pp. 119-20: "The Ghana Coup"):

"We must remind ourselves that liberty comes and lives only where the hard-won rights of men are held inalienable, where governments themselves may not infringe, where governments indeed are but the mechanism to protect and sustain these principles. It was for this concept that we effected the Revolution of 24th February. We now seek for solutions to our many difficulties, and they will only come through the constructive forces which arise from the spirit of free men; we seek the purification of liberty from abuses, and the restoration of confidence in the rights of men from which come the release of the dynamic forces of initiative and enterprise. By this alone can we find our solutions and the purpose of Ghanaian life assured."

I hope Colonel Afrifa still holds this view, because I believe he was right then, and I agree with him. The lesson of our recent history makes it our supreme duty, and our priority to achieve democratic rule, for "the solutions to our many difficulties will only come through the constructive forces which arise from the spirit of free men." We allowed ourselves to be persuaded that other things should come first—building houses, roads, projects: today, the same persuasion is being made under different names—cleaning up the mess, ensuring this or that first; yet a people develop best, and achieve most when they are free; and judging from where we are now, I do not see any reason why we should not have attained an elected government by the second anniversary of the coup, so that we may release the "constructive forces which arise from the spirit of free men" for tackling our problems.

AFRIFA, BUSIA, "1966 BEFORE AND AFTER"

—Comment

By

A. Adu Boahen

RECENTLY political debate in Ghana has taken a turn that is reminiscent of the late 1940's and early 50's. In those days, the debate was not whether there was to be Self-Government or not but whether there should be Self-Government (S.G.) now or Self-Government step by step. During the last three weeks the question has not been whether there should be a return to civilian rule but whether there should be civilian rule (C.R.) step by step or C.R. now? This argument was touched off by Brigadier Afrifa in a lecture he delivered at the State House on Monday, 20 March 1967, and was joined by Dr. Busia in his lecture at the Legion Hall on Thursday 30 March, 1967. Since both speeches and not only Dr. Busia's have, to borrow the phrase of the *Ghanaian Times* Editorial, stirred the hornet's nest, they merit some attention.

What people want to know now

Unlike Dr. Busia, Brigadier Afrifa only made a passing reference to the future. But both dwelt on the past. What all of us are anxious to know now is not the reasons for the coup, but what for instance, the N.L.C.'s social, economic and political policies are, and more time should have been devoted to these themes. Dr. Busia also made a timely explanation of the nature and composition of the Political Committee and the relationship between it and the N.L.C.

N.L.C.—Achievements and Failures

The Brigadier gave a regrettably one-sided account of the work of the N.L.C. listing the achievements without mentioning such failures as the bungle over the Guinean diplomats; the anarchy in the administration of sports; the tremendous increase in crime; the lack of any articulate foreign, economic and social policies; the arbitrariness of some of the decrees issued so far; the continued shortage of some basic locally produced items such as fish and above all the fantastic prices of imported goods.

Don't blame Press and University

The Brigadier also singled out two institutions in particular for attack, namely the Press and the University. To begin with, the attack on the Press was too sweeping. Surely, not all the press has been singing the praises of the N.L.C., has failed to show sufficient courage or to be "very constructive" in their role "as the medium of public education." The Brigadier's attack is to a great extent justifiable only with reference to some papers. It is significant that while the Editor of the *Ghanaian Times* has been taking Dr. Busia to task for his speech in a highly reprehensible style, he never commented on Afrifa's speech! And the explanation is quite obvious. As long as these papers are owned by the Government and their editors and staff appointed by the Government, they cannot and will never be fully independent, nor as forthright and free in their comment as they should like to be. The only way to ensure forthright criticism and real freedom of the Press is to bring about private ownership of the Press. The other factor impeding the work of the Press is that the N.L.C. is not responsive enough to criticism and suggestions from the Press. Of course we do not say that the N.L.C. should rush to abrogate a decree whenever any pressman says so. But we certainly would like them

to let our pressmen know what they think of their criticisms and suggestions and why they decide not to implement or react positively to them. This can be achieved through what we have advocated all along—regular press conferences. It is responsiveness to criticisms and suggestions and not the admittedly well-meaning but idealistic assurances of the Brigadier that will spur them on to do better.

Even more unfair, if not gratuitous, was the Brigadier's attack on the University. Legonites are not retreating into "the dizzy heights of Legon Hill". And who is that Legonite who told him that consultations are not necessary? Legonites have contributed and are still contributing far more towards educating the Ghanaian about the political situation than any other single group. What about the lectures on *What Went Wrong*, the numerous T.V. and radio appearances of the lecturers and the Easter and New Year schools? The Brigadier surely is not unaware of the number of commissions and committees on which people from Legon have been serving? He cannot be unaware of the number of Legonites on the Political and Constitutional Committees? And finally, what of the *Legon Observer* which is being privately published by a group of Legonites? Most of the men here are really working almost round the clock to discharge their lecturing responsibilities and to do all these other things; and we should expect that our efforts should be recognized if not appreciated.

Civil Service over-praised

And while the University and the Press came in for such severe criticism, the Civil Service on the contrary came in for commendation which does not seem justified. I think the general feeling outside the N.L.C. and Civil Service circles, is that the approach of the Civil Servants to our present problems is overcautious if not lethargic. I was amazed to discover that during the first half of this financial year, the Ministry of Economic Affairs has spent only £375,000 out of its budgetary allocation of £7,095,000 the Ministry of Lands and Mineral Resources only £806,000 out of £3,227,000, and even the key Ministry of Industries only £870,000 out of £11,828,000. Moreover most people complain that it is the same Civil Servants who helped Nkrumah on his golden road to dictatorial and tyrannical rule who are still at the helm of affairs. Some of those who were promoted overnight as Principal Secretaries are still holding on to their ill-deserved posts. If the Universities, the Press and the Academy of Sciences are being shaken up, is there any reason why the Civil Service should not be subjected to the same exercise? Furthermore more fresh blood should be injected in from outside. I do not see why a person like Professor Arthur Lewis who knows the economic problems of this country so well and who would therefore not have to rely so much on text-books, has not been called in to advise the government on economic reconstruction.

Civilian Government now or step by step?—Afrifa's Case Examined

Finally, as to the future, the Brigadier and Dr. Busia disagree with each other and I fall out with both. The argument, as we have seen already, centred on the question whether there should be civilian rule now or "in the not too distant future"? The Brigadier stated quite categorically that he was for the latter and he gave reasons for this. The first one is the need

"to re-educate the masses of the people about their political rights." This reason is not that sound. The very spontaneity of the welcome given by the masses to the coup should convince the N.L.C. that there is no need for any education of the masses and that they are aware of their political rights already. And in any case there is no better teacher than experience and the masses have had it.

His second reason is that "it may be necessary to let the people get used to their newly won freedom and to familiarize themselves with the qualities that they require from potential leaders before they are called upon to go to the polls." Where on earth and how did the Brigadier get the impression that the people are not used to their newly won freedom or that they do not know the qualities they require from potential leaders? If they did not display this during polls in the 1960's it was simply because all the elections then were rigged. In spite of what the Brigadier says about the 1964 elections, most observers are of the opinion that if there had been really fair elections, Nkrumah would have lost. The Brigadier and indeed the entire N.L.C. should please note that the masses are not as ignorant or naive about their political rights as they think.

His third reason is that "it is necessary to ensure that the image of the former party is completely destroyed so that from amongst its ranks some dormant group does not spring up to perpetuate the evils of their dishonourable past." Here I, and, I believe, Dr. Busia too, will entirely agree with the Brigadier that another Nkrumah and another C.P.P. should never emerge in our land. But from the unanimity and spontaneity of the reaction of the people of Ghana to the coup it seems evident that the image of the Party was destroyed even before the coup.

His final and what he considers the most important reason is that "it is necessary for the National Liberation Council to ensure that the immediate factors that led to the coup are completely removed" This last reason is the most unrealistic of the lot. I would like to state quite dogmatically, as indeed Dr. Busia also pointed out, that no country has ever completed the solution of its economic problems. Britain is far more in the red now than she has ever been. And given the enormity of our international debt, the vagaries of international economy, and the vulnerability of countries such as ours whose main foreign exchange earners are primary agricultural products and which have to rely so heavily on imports of manufactured goods and even foodstuffs, it is unrealistic to speak of real economic recovery "in the not too distant future". And in any case, why does the Brigadier think that only the N.L.C. and not a civilian government can ensure the economic recovery of this country?

The Brigadier says that it is for the reasons he had adduced that "many military governments become permanent, or try to govern in association with civilians". It is indeed true that many military governments become permanent. But the reason is really not only what the Brigadier has adduced but also that having tasted power, the military tend to discover that they love it and so hold on to it.

Dr. Busia's Case Examined

As I pointed out earlier, Dr. Busia, on the other hand, thinks that it is "in the best interest of the country that the committees and commissions and all of us concerned should make it possible for the second

anniversary of the coup to be celebrated under a government to which the people would themselves have given a mandate through the polls." He advances a number of reasons for this view. The first is that the N.L.C. should not remain in power till it has cleaned up the mess of debts, corruption and misrule since that work is endless. His second reason is that history teaches that if military men remain in power for long, "serious differences develop among them; their relations become strained; their meetings become turbulent; there are frequent walk-outs; eventually there are counter-coups," and that Africa has so far not shown any signs that her military regimes will be an exception to the historical pattern. His third reason is that delay in handing over power does not only increase the danger of a breakdown of military regimes but also creates a fertile soil for the seeds of subversion to take root and grow. The fourth reason is that military rule, being by nature authoritarian, cannot restore to us full human dignity, freedom and the rule of law and true democracy in which power can be 'subject to public control.' His fifth is that problems such as unemployment cannot be solved except "within a comprehensive economic plan and a programme based on agreed economic policy and approved by the people through the polls." And finally, that the constructive forces which can only solve our problems will only arise from the spirit of free men. These reasons cannot bear close scrutiny in the light of the realities of the activities of the N.L.C. during the past year.

In the first place, I entirely agree with the Doctor that cleaning the economic, political and social mess left by the past regime is an endless task. But surely that is no reason why they should be pushed out of power within a matter of eleven months! At least the N.L.C. should be allowed to complete the task of supervising the drawing up of a constitution and proper electoral laws and renegotiation and rescheduling of our international debts. I accept Dr. Busia's second reason. But the dangers he underlines are as inherent in civilian as they are in military regimes. The only difference is that civilian struggles and changes of government generally tend to be bloodless while military ones are often bloody.

I find the third reason wholly unacceptable; in fact it is illogical. I fail to see why the Doctor thinks Nkrumah will stop his subversive activities as soon as there is a return to civilian rule. If he will not stop them—and of course he won't—then I should have thought that an Army-cum-Police regime will be more able to combat these activities than a civilian one. His third reason then would appear to argue for the continuation of the military-cum-police rule in Ghana. The Doctor's fourth reason is in theory undisputable. But in practice, the N.L.C. has surely shown a great deal of respect for human dignity and real freedom even though they are ruling by decrees. As far as the fifth reason is concerned, I agree with the Doctor that the N.L.C. has failed to solve the unemployment problem, and further that that problem cannot be solved except within a comprehensive economic plan. But surely even a military regime can draw up a "comprehensive economic plan." The failure of the N.L.C. to do so can be attributed to other factors. And I am afraid I find the Doctor's view that this plan can only be effective if it is based on a long-term policy and a programme approved through the polls correct again only in theory and not in practice. An

economic development plan can work even if it has not been approved at the polls. Furthermore, how much attention does the electorate in a predominantly illiterate society pay to manifestos, economic programmes etc.? Surely the price of cocoa announced by the N.L.C. could have been fixed by discussions and polls are not the only forms of discussion? His final reason cannot be disputed in theory. A people do indeed develop best and achieve most when they are free. But I beg to submit that we are and do feel free—at least so far. And if the productive forces have not been unleashed—and I think they have, to some extent—it is surely because the N.L.C. and their advisers are going too cautiously about economic problems.

I hope it will be obvious from the analysis that it will be wrong, and indeed invidious to describe Busia as a man desperate for power. His convictions clearly stem from genuine fears and partly from his too much learning!

Civilian rule not later than 3 years

Clearly then we do not think that civilian rule should come by the second anniversary of the coup. Nor should we be satisfied with Africa's mysterious and nebulous "in the not too distant future". A firm date must be stated, for it is only when he and his colleagues are working to a fixed time table that they will approach the problems with the urgency that they deserve. Moreover, it will enable the aspirant politicians to know precisely where they stand.

I would suggest that the N.L.C. should remain in power for the minimum of another two years and a maximum of three. The first reason is that the Constitution and the Electoral Laws cannot be ready and therefore no elections can take place until after another year. The second reason is that the longer the N.L.C. remains in power the more used they become to the sweetness of power and therefore the more reluctant they will become to step down. Thirdly, the longer it remains, the more likely it is to fall apart as the Doctor has pointed out. Indeed the cohesiveness of the N.L.C. should be the main criterion for deciding whether they should remain for the minimum or the maximum period. And the members themselves should know when they begin to stage walk-outs or fly at each other's throats! Or have they begun already? Fourthly since the N.L.C. has been able to gain sufficient confidence abroad during its first year it should be allowed to remain in power for the next two years so that the country could benefit from this. Surely, we do not want to start sending good-will missions, new economic deputations, new U.N.O. representatives and new sets of ambassadors abroad and what have you so soon as we will have to do once a new regime comes in. Finally, I believe the old adage goes that the Devils you know is better than the one you do not know. In fact the N.L.C. have not been devils at all; and in any case we know them and I think we should be allowed to enjoy their company for another two years.

In conclusion, I would like to congratulate both the Brigadier and the Doctor for giving such timely and provocative speeches and for setting arguments snoring. It is only in an atmosphere of ~~open discussion~~ let open discussion and debate that ~~democracy~~ democracy does and will thrive.

Editor's Note: makes him regard Dr. "pure madness"? The Editor's Note: made to all Ghanaians
Dr. Boahen's Comment on Africa and Dr. Busia do the views of the Editor's

SANTEX PAPER PRODUCTS

Modern scientific invention in the art of paper conversion formulated out of experience, high quality ingredients and materials have brought about the super quality "SANTEX PAPER PRODUCTS".

Santex Paper Products are now the CHOICE of every modern home because:

- * **THEY CONTAIN THE BEST ANTISEPTICS**
- * **THEY SERVE LONGER**
- * **THEY ARE SOFT AND COMFORTABLE TO USE**
- * **THE PRICE IS FAR BELOW THE QUALITY.**

Buy Santex Paper Products today and save money while you enjoy their LUXURIOUS QUALITY

SANITARY PAPER PRODUCTS LIMITED

P. O. Box 1957

Accra.
Nsawam Road

Telephone 75458

HOTEL COMCAM

Near Perian Press, Kpeche

Fully Air-conditioned and licenced

RATES:

Bedroom with Private Bathroom

Occupied Single N¢ 6.00 per night

Occupied Double N¢ 8.00 per night

Two Bedrooms sharing one bathroom

Occupied Single N¢ 4.00 per night

Occupied Double N¢ 6.00 per night

Breakfast NC 1.00 per person

disagree with "ant a quiet spot in Accra to sit and
The argument, as we hattle of beer then try the
question whether there or "in the not too d
stated quite categorically m Garden Bar
he gave reasons for thi

THE POINT

Looking for a nice quiet spot to sit and relax?

Then come to **THE POINT**

Want a nice juicy hot Barbecue with a cool drink?

O.K., Come to

THE POINT

Where also you get
Ice-cream and Cakes for the kids
Fresh eggs to take home, and
other items in our special shop.

Come to

THE POINT

(at the junction of the old Accra-Tema Road and the Accra-Ada Road).

Open 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. everyday
Tel: 81-2851

Europeans; the press and the regional nabobs thronged the place—all eager to see unadulterated African customs and practices. The shock of what followed was suffocating. The chiefs drove in one by one in sleek chevrons and cadillacs instead of in their native palanquins. The only things cultural about them were their kente cloths and gold-studded sandals. Then came the regional potentates—the District and Regional Commissioners, the Regional Young Pioneer Officer and the lot. It is unbelievable how diametrically opposed their dress and behaviour were to indigenous culture. They all drove in in waves of Mercedes Benzes 220—250 Super Automatics; police constables fell over themselves to open the car doors as these cars stopped in front of the resplendent dais in view of the thousands of eager people who had come to see Ghanaian culture and practices.

The area paramount chief was called out to pour libation. The Regional Culture Officer pulled out from his shining American brief-case a Black and White Whisky and an Aromatic Schnapps. The hapless paramount chief grabbed both bottles and poured the contents to the ground, mouthing encomiums to his 'High Dedication' instead of to culture. The peasant spectator was stunned. It was sickening when soon afterwards a red-Guard-like hag in red, green and white sprang up and called for cheers for the noble libation. Like automatons, all started clapping like mad. I had to join the clapping mob when the cheer-leaders's gaze focussed on my inactivity. One could not risk Nsawam for refusing to clap. I was in the company of some expatriate friends who had come to see something of our culture and traditions. They were sorely disappointed.

I bowed down my head in shame. It was a greater shame that enveloped me when I saw a poor African woman breaking a bottle of Champagne against a boat in Ghana. Must we use hard foreign currency to import a boat and also import the alcohol that must launch it?

Accra

Clement Quashie

"Ghanaian Times" and Busia's speech

SIR—Permit me to make one or two comments in your columns on the Ghanaian Times reaction to Dr. Busia's public speech on 30 March, 1967. The Times (April 3) says:

"Every bit of the speech... smacks of a man who is desperate for political power—and Ghanaians know only too well that desperate politicians are dangerous".

Before then, in another editorial (April 1st), the same point had been made. I am not in any sense disturbed by the fact that the Ghanaian Times chooses to disagree with Dr. Busia, but I am most perturbed by the tone of this disagreement. Dr. Busia is immediately portrayed to the public as a dangerous man simply because he has said a few things off his chest. Supposing he too turns round to accuse the editor of the "Times" as, say, an "anti-democratic and opportunistic monster", then where do all of us stand? This would be a throw-back to 1954 and Brigadier Afrifa's reference to the undesirability of "character assassination" would have fallen on deaf ears. Did Busia insult anybody in that speech? "Give a dog a bad name and hang it" One thing that should be made quite clear is that we are tired of and no more interested in "character assassination," intemperate language and jungle political tactics.

If it is true that people are blaming the Political Committee for N.L.C.'s mistakes—and human as they are, they have made mistakes—hasn't the chairman of that Committee any right to correct public misconceptions about the role of the Committee? If it is true that a higher price for cocoa at the moment would make better economic sense, hasn't he, as a citizen, any right to say so? At any rate, where is the J. C. de Graft Johnson report? We want to read it. If it is correct that military regimes have a tendency towards instability, with all the consequences of civil war, wouldn't it be in the interest of both the N.L.C. and the Ghanaian public to be warned in time about this?

Lastly, the Ghanaian Times is impatient because Dr. Busia is fruitlessly repeating "familiar democratic notions in aristotelian, constitutional or legalistic terms" while the more "realistic" C.P.P. employed more mundane terms and methods and "succeeded!" Well, a nation that is impatient of even the thought of listening to "aristotelian, constitutional or legalistic terms" is a nation of hounds, and I don't think Ghana is such a nation, despite Ghanaian Times.

I, for one, would not like to see Busia as President or Prime Minister of this country, purely for policy reasons, but I would do everything to help the promotion of good and clean politics in this country.

Kokomlemle, Accra.

J. K. Mensah

SIR—Please allow me to make a few comments on the incessant editorial attacks which the Editor of the Ghanaian Times has been raining upon Dr. Busia since the latter made a courageous call for civilian rule in Ghana, in a lecture at the Ghana Legion Hall on March 3, 1967.

I do not have any right under our newly-won freedom to quarrel with any editor who feels inclined to reflect on Dr. Busia's lecture. What bothers me is the way the Editor has misused the newly-won freedom of speech to rain calculated and personal attacks on Dr. Busia in an attempt to prevent him from using the same freedom to air his opinion on the vital question of civilian rule in Ghana.

Any journalist worth his salt would have read carefully and intelligently the text of Dr. Busia's lecture and then criticized it on its own merits, bearing in mind points which are pertinent to the issue. What did the Editor do? He disregarded the text of the lecture and made what I believe is a calculated attack in three editorials on 1st, 3rd and 5th April. Either on his own initiative or on the instruction or advice of others, the Editor has been harbouring a grievance against Dr. Busia for reasons best known to him or them.

In the attacks one sees the old tricks of the ousted regime, when the press was used to intimidate people and undermine freedom of speech. Now Dr. Busia is being insulted for daring to appeal for a return to civilian rule in Ghana; if that disciple of Nkrumah and his associates are not told in the face that Ghanaians have had enough of their tricks and do not want anymore of such tricks in the new Ghana, six or eight months from now it will be treason to mention, let alone call for civilian rule in Ghana. May that not happen again in Ghana!

May I ask the Editor what makes him regard Dr. Busia's call for civilian rule "pure madness"? The humble appeal which the Doctor made to all Ghanaians

is "that the Committees and Commissions and all of us concerned should make it possible for the second anniversary of the coup to be celebrated under a government to which the people would themselves have given a mandate through the polls". Does this appeal make Dr. Busia "a man who is desperate for political power"?

As regards the arrogant, crude and mean language which the Editor used in his attacks, and now regrets for using what he calls 'hard words' the less said about it the better. The Editor and his associates should, however, note that the new and civilized community which we all wish to establish in Ghana, all journalists including that Editor, should not, as they did under the old regime, sell their conscience and sense of decency for their daily bread. Those who are privileged to be in control of the press—some of the most potent mass-communication media in this country—should endeavour to show decency in whatever they write.

Institute of African Studies
Legon.

K. N. Bame

Order of Precedence or of Priority?

SIR—In your issue of March 5—16 (Vol. II, No. 5), you published a note under the caption—"Order of Precedence or of Priority?" I wish to make some observations on the note. Obviously you must have come across a lot of protocol officers—hence the generality of your remark about their concern for their dinner jackets. And don't forget the Kente Cloths either!

You told us about their shortcomings but did not give us any suggestions as to how these could be overcome.

It would appear on reading the note that "educated men" should not find time for protocol, and yet in the same article you admit that even in times like this social functions and ceremonies are necessary. How, may I ask, are these state functions and ceremonies to be organised if there is no system to go by? What sort of society would result if there were no order? Ghana is not the only nation with such an order of precedence. In national as well as international relations it matters a great deal who confers with whom and where. All these things must be carefully thought out. So what is wrong in employing someone at the job? To talk of the unimportance of protocol at any given time is to show sublime ignorance. Even in a situation as serious as a war protocol is always observed.

At one stage on reading the note I thought maybe the writer had an axe to grind with the official in charge of the State Functions Secretariat. Since you admit that these functions cannot be abolished, why do you find it necessary to make such scathing remarks about the official? If you consider the office unnecessary, say so and give your reasons. On the other hand, if the official failed to perform his duties properly, criticise him by all means, but for goodness sake stop offending your readers with such jottings as they are reminiscent of the type of journalism that some papers indulged in before the coup d'etat in February, 1966. And it also betrays a small mind. Or can the *Legon Observer* be harbouring contributors of such calibre? I sincerely hope not, for I speak for a lot of your readers when I say I expect balanced judgements from such a promising journal as yours.

In regard to the point about protocol and the econo-

my that the contributor tried to put across but failed, I fail to see how the one excludes the other. They are both different aspects of the functions of society. Will farmers, fishermen and other workers cease working because there is protocol or not? Moreover, the administrators and the planners (and not all of us can fall into that class) are not the actual workers. So we all have our parts to play—be it only to stand and wait! Or to quote the note "... to dispense precious handshakes and beastific smiles to self-conscious V.I.Ps."

Will it be asking too much to ask your contributors not to allow their dislike for certain individuals to blur their view of facts? From enquiries, I have learnt that the State Functions Secretariat had nothing whatsoever to do with the order of merit or the arrangement or the publication of the Table of Precedence. May I ask the writer of the note to furnish the N.L.C. with a suggested Table of Precedence. For the Armed Forces and the Police do believe in protocol—hence the discipline. When it is all done, I hope it will become a norm in the society for the sole purpose of reminding those of us who have forgotten that in our society in the traditional set-ups, we have an Order of Precedence—at least that is what prevails where I come from.

Lagos,
Nigeria.

Rose Akosua Taylor

The New Cedi

SIR—I congratulate Mr. Ebow Daniel of Legon, on his letter published in the 'LEGON OBSERVER' (Vol. II No. 6) which was entitled "THE CEDI AND ENTER-TAINMENT". I strongly support him on his comments as it has become the habit of Hotel Managers, Bar-Keepers as well as Market Women to increase fare charges at dances and other commodities to One New Cedi.

It is not only the Labadi Pleasure Beach that charges this One New Cedi Flat but, also the Star Hotel, Ringway Hotel and even the Koforidua Legion Hall. Considering the high cost of living in the Country these men still do not care for the workers but are only interested in making the increasing cost of living soar higher still.

What beats my understanding is the sudden increase in prices of commodities and other articles by the Market Women. Things not worth One New Cedi are sold at One New Cedi; all these happen as a disrespect to the CEDI.

I appeal to the authorities concerned to see to this immediately to save us from frauds.

State Cocoa Marketing Board.
Koforidua.

Gertrude Asare

Academy of Sciences

SIR—I have been requested by the recently-formed body—Organisation of Research Officers (GAS)—to draw your attention to certain misconceptions about the Academy contained in your "Observer Notebook" article entitled "The NLC Committee on the Academy." (L.O. Vol. II No. 7).

You vaguely refer to a "belief" persisting among certain members of the GAS without specifying who these members are. You may like to know that the GAS as a body-corporate, is made up of Fellows, who hold positions on the Praesidium and other major policy making bodies, such as the GPC and Research Committees. There is also the Secretariat which, one assumes,

Don't just **SAVE**
money

... make it **WORK** for you

4 $\frac{1}{2}$ %

INTEREST ON YOUR SAVINGS

5%

INTEREST ON YOUR SAVINGS

ONLY THE FIRST GHANA BUILDING SOCIETY offers you such attractive terms—In fact, the FGBS combines maximum Security with highest returns. Open a Savings Account now and ask for the RED PASSBOOK.



FIRST GHANA
BUILDING SOCIETY
Assets exceed 3 million Cedis

HEAD OFFICE:
BOUNDARY ROAD,
P. O. BOX 2958, ACCRA.
TEL: 62329, 65813.

BRANCHES:
KUMASI, TAKORADI, TEMA, ...
HOHOE, SUNYANI, SOMANYA.

is not a passive agent in the formulation of policy. There are also the Research Institutes. That this "belief", so far as those members of the Academy who actually work in the Institutes are concerned is not without foundation, can be attested by at least one definite utterance by a highly-placed official of the University of Ghana. The Vice-Chancellor, in his 1966 Congregation speech said: "With the end to arbitrary interference, to threats to remove faculties from the University, to the proliferation of unnecessary prestige research institutions...". Which members of the Academy were responsible for the decision to create these "unnecessary prestige" institutions? (sic)

It is not often realised that Professors of the Universities in Ghana predominated on the Praesidium, the GPC and among the Fellows. On the eve of the coup, of 38 Fellows, (excluding Honorary and Associate Fellows) 11 were professors, from Legon, three from Kumasi, and one from Cape Coast. Six of the 11 members of the Praesidium were from the University of Ghana. Seeing that the universities were so well represented on all these bodies, it seems rather strange now to portray the Academy as a monolithic organisation engaged in a battle to destroy our Universities.

That all was not well with the policy-making process of the Ghana Academy of Sciences under the old regime, has been clearly underlined by Mr. A. K. Deku in a recent speech to a joint meeting of Fellows, Directors of Institutes of the Academy and members of the Board Governors; "Until recently the Praesidium was the Supreme Governing Body of the Academy. The members of the Praesidium were elected more or less by the Fellows, and so it was that the Fellows, by this means, exercised control over the Research Division. There was also the GPC which more often than not, took decisions for the Praesidium although attendance at meetings was usually very poor... Quite naturally the Research Division resented this state of affairs, which, not surprisingly, led to very strained relationship yet another of our universities—namely Kumasi*"

Granted then, that relations between the Academy and the Universities have not been as they should be in the period before and after the coup, your observation on the composition of the Commission is timely. Yet, when you plead for an enlargement of the membership, all you can suggest is that at least two or three of the additional members should come from yet another of our universities—namely Kumasi.

This notwithstanding, we also have confidence in the Commission and hope that its report, together with that of the Committee of Experts (Cockcroft Committee), will go a long way to putting scientific research in Ghana on a sounder basis.

Organization of
Research Officers,
P.O. Box 2797, Accra.

L. W. Hesse
Secretary to Committee

*What is your suggestion?

—Ed.

"Dekwamefication" and Anti-myths

SIR—Now that the worst failings of the former regime have been exposed, Ghanaians will soon have to beware lest they replace the 'myths' of Nkrumah with more pernicious 'anti-myths' which divert attention from errors still being committed. The last year of "dekwaemefication" has been a useful period of ritual cleansing: the purgative has revealed many unhealthy elements which have been endangering the life of the

community. However, this can go too far.

In the first place, it does not necessarily follow that everything Nkrumah said or did was bad, anymore than everything said against him is good. This is especially important, considering how often his actions belied his words: he preached Pan-Africanism and practised subversion; he proclaimed equality, whilst making sure that he was more equal than others; he preached socialism: yet amassed his own capitalistic wealth. His practice fell far short of his theory; in fact, his actions were not Nkrumahist enough. He used Pan-Africanism, equality, and Socialism as mere words, but their potential as viable political policies was never fully investigated. Therefore, in rejecting Nkrumah, we need not necessarily reject his ideals.

Socialism can no more be held to account for the evils of Osagyefo than Christianity should be blamed for the Spanish Inquisition. Therefore, I feel that the NLC should not regard the popular approval which welcomed the coup as a go-ahead signal for de-socialising the nation. Otherwise, they will be deliberately ignoring the masses thus sowing the seeds for a populist revival, and possibly a second Nkrumah.

Accra Academy,
Accra.

John Bibby

Housing the People

SIR—In the past housing for the people was planned by the politicians who ignored expert advice; but now I think the Housing Corporation has every reason to tackle their problems without fear.

There are trained officers in this Corporation who must realise that housing the people is not only building houses to accommodate them. They should also provide amenities such as shops, schools, etc. Although one always reads of amenities to be included in housing schemes these never seem to materialise. It is really shocking to think that in the whole of Osu and Labone estates there is not even a single shop; and no housing estate seems to have a school. This means that unless you have a car you cannot apply for an estate house since you will have to travel far to do your shopping or to send your children to school. Even those with cars are forced to use their office hours to see to these things with the result that the country loses in terms of productivity. The public considers these short-comings as very serious.

It is a good idea to recruit the police and army to collect rents, but the Housing Corporation should realise that the occupants of the estate houses waste part of their hard earned money to solve problems which should have been taken care of by the Corporation.

Accra.

I. B. Phillips

Salary Increase

SIR—Bravo! to Mr. P. T. Yiadu (Vol. II, No. 5) for so effectively putting down Mr. B. Hughes (Vol. II, No. 1) who questioned the urgency of university senior members receiving a large raise in pay. For touching on our morality, Mr. Hughes has got what he deserves: he has been branded a hypocrite. But what about the rest of us? Might we not be Machiavellians? To dispose of Mr. Hughes is not to dispose of the question he raised. Since all is so clear to Mr. Yiadu, I must ask him to state forthrightly the reasons why one of the most pressing items in the economic reconstruction of Ghana was the granting of salary

increases to university senior staff. If he will do that, those of us who do not completely understand the situation can be as confident as he that our action has been taken in the best interests of the nation.

Dept. of Chemistry,
Legon.

Robert E. Pearson

Book Review

COMMUNISM IN AFRICA

(By Fritz Schatten)

Review

By

B. D. G. Folsom

IN A WAY the title of this book is misleading. One is led by it to expect an account of *communism*—both the theory and the practice—in its attempt to entrench itself in the African soil: how *African* communists are trying to find roots on the continent by adapting the theory to African realities and by extending themselves organisationally. The book, however, is about something else. It is about the relationship between Africa and the communist world; there is no attempt whatever to discuss the adaptation of communist theory to African conditions and the growth of communist parties on the continent is given only marginal treatment and only in so far as it throws light on the main theme. It covers the same ground as *Africa and the Communist World*, which was edited by Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski in 1964, and this latter title is eminently more appropriate.

The book falls into three easily identifiable parts. The first part, comprising the first three chapters, provides the background which deals with the rise of Africa into world prominence and the development of African nationalism. The next three chapters deal with communist theory of colonialism and the relationship of the "third world" to the proletarian revolution long expected in the West, tracing its development from Lenin himself in the period even before the October Revolution down to 1960 and also showing the contribution African Studies have, especially since the 'fifties, made towards the development both of communist theory and policy in this field. The third part, comprising about two-thirds of the book, deals in some detail with specific aspects of communist activity in Africa: case studies of communist activities in individual countries, front organisations, the peculiar case of China and the economic weapon.

For the general reader interested in communist activities in Africa the third part of the book is by far the most interesting. It is here that he finds Soviet relations with Ethiopia, Guinea

(treated in absorbing detail), Ghana and Mali chronicled. It is here that he will see how communists make use of "front organisations"—operations that are "directed not so much at the converted as at the innocent, the undecided, the politically naive" in order to turn them finally into supporters of communist positions, if not of communism itself. Here, too he will begin to understand how vital China's and Russia's attitudes to the developing world have been to the Sino-Soviet conflict.

There is so much in this part of the book that is interesting and instructive that one cannot do better than read it, for it is impossible to summarize it adequately. Two criticisms however, may validly be made. One naturally turns one's attention to the chapter on Ghana (and Mali) Although the author shows how closely the country went to the Soviet Union (on July 11, 1961, the ex-President is reported to have said the future of Ghana was "closely connected with the future of the Soviet Union" and later in the same year he endorsed without qualification the Soviet position in Berlin!) he fails to give an adequate account of the extent of Soviet influence in the country. He traces internal developments in Ghana and the ex-President's own ideological evolution since 1960, but to be able to show Soviet penetration in the country properly one must first draw a distinction between Western "Socialists", the Soviets and the East Germans on one hand and, on the other hand, those from other Eastern Block countries: most of the latter were harmless people who did a good job at their legitimate posts whereas the former were mostly political and intellectual mercenaries who seemed bent on making a hell out of Ghana. Secondly, one must investigate the extent to which they dominated our newspapers, sometimes filling editorial chairs behind Ghanaian facades; the influence they exerted over the Universities and educational institutions generally; the secret pressure they brought to bear on the C.P.P. and the ex-President etc.

One may also express dissatisfaction with the treatment the author gives to the economic aspect of his theme. The communists themselves regard the economic basis of everything as the most important aspect of it and it is here they claim the imperialists are hard at the heels of the exploited Africans. Consequently, it is here that they will help the exploited to inherit the world. One therefore expects a penetrating analysis of communist economic activities on the continent. Instead of this the author devotes the chapter on this topic to the purely conventional economic relations between the continent and the communist

world, a type of relationship that also exists between Africa and the West. This is a pity and it is so for two reasons. First, this approach prevents the author from delving into the "illegitimate" economic relations the Soviets in particular forged with, say, Ghana, relations that were clearly of an exploitative kind: credits which were to be repaid in hard-won hard currencies; experts at least part of whose salaries were to be paid in hard currencies; their failure or unwillingness to train indigenous people to acquire their skills; dumping obviously unwanted goods on African countries etc.

Secondly, to treat every trade agreement, every credit granted and every form of economic aid from the Russians or communists as if it were another instrument for weakening Africa's economic ties with the West and of communist penetration of Africa is of a piece with the argument, dear to the hearts of communist propagandists and their associates, that every form of economic contact between Africa and the West is evidence of neo-colonialism. This is clearly unsatisfactory.

Two supreme lessons will be learnt from this part of the book. In spite of rhetoric, theory and ideology all communist activity in Africa is motivated by one age-old principle which motivates all countries in their foreign policies whatever their social systems: self-interest. The ideology has changed; that is, the camouflage has changed but the same motivation is there, as of old. How else can one explain the shielding of the reactionary, feudalist reality that is Ethiopia from the Russian public? How else can one explain the flirtation of communist China with the feudal regimes of Morocco and Ethiopia and the cynical way she ditches communist parties when it suits her, as in Algeria? It will also be clear that the communist world is interested in Africa principally because of their interest in the highly industrialized West. They are not interested in Africa *per se*; they are interested in her principally because they believe that by detaching her from the West they can bring the latter down on her knees. To understand this properly even the ordinary *leader* must read the second part, which deals with the theory behind all this (Be it noted that "theory" is not useless and it is not only the "academic" or the "intellectual" who gains from it).

Mr. Schatten must be congratulated on this scholarly work. The theme of communism in Africa lends itself every easily, even temptingly, to hysterical treatment—witness Pieter Lessing's *Africa's Red Harvest*. To be level-headed, as Mr. Schatten is, in dealing with it is not easy. Not

that he does not take sides; far from it. He sees the East-West conflict in terms of a "struggle between liberty and totalitarianism" and his intention is to uncover communist tactics for the benefit of the forces of "liberty". But this does not prevent him from maintaining his balance. He himself denounces as a "stupid attitude" the habit of regarding every anti-colonial and anti-apartheid stand as communist-inspired; he talks of "foolish neo-colonialist manoeuvres on the part of capitalist undertakings in Africa"; and he refers to "the destructive un-African role of Tshombe". Above all, he expressly approves of the dissolution of the colonial system *on moral grounds*. At the same time he resists the usual temptation to court cheap popularity with Africans. He denounces "pathological negrophilia" as well as negrophobia and as for African nationalists I have scarcely seen them treated by a Western "liberal" with such frankness as Mr. Schatten does; they are said to be utterly bewildered by the sheer size of the problems they face and, therefore, take refuge in mere words.

... in the last resort expressions like 'African unity' and 'African socialism' are frequently empty words... no more than slogans.

... There is a good deal of talk about the necessity for tight governmental control 'in the first phase of socialist transformation', about the role of the one united party as the motive power in the historical process towards socialism, and about 'the special role of leading personalities' in the initial phase of that process. Words, words, words, but without any real meaning, without anything tangible or concrete to give us any idea of what is really intended.

Or they try to bluff. But,

behind the petty bureaucracy, the smug pretentiousness and arrogance of the Ministers, there is frequently uncertainty, incompetence and ignorance.

Harsh words—but not a whit untrue.

This is no more academic treatise, no dull exposition which only experts have to wade through patiently. It is a very well-written book, abounding in flights of beautiful prose and the occasional biting sarcasm. It is eminently readable.

IT PAYS
TO ADVERTISE
IN THE
LEGON OBSERVER

Commentary

THE N.R.C. AND FREE EXPRESSION

By

A Correspondent

IMMEDIATELY upon their assumption of power in Freetown on March 23, the National Reformation Council of Sierra Leone suspended publication of all newspapers, except one, for a week. That exception was the Government-owned *Daily Mail*. It was left operative for the purpose of promulgating Government decrees and publishing official decisions and directives, essential information, and the like.

The main reason for this temporary but total ban merited, and we believe it did secure, great sympathy both at home and abroad. The N.R.C. needed time badly and immediately to take quick stock and decide where and how to tackle the existing situation. That situation was in their view too explosive just then for the continued free circulation of contending and inflammatory views through the public media of communication. To them the press—which, admittedly, had been goaded into desperation by what it considered the political and moral crimes of the Margai regime—had itself undoubtedly grown extreme in its reactions to these provocations. The passions, ethnic and otherwise, which it swayed this way and that had become a tinderbox of violent potentialities. . . . In these circumstances the take-over Government could be forgiven for what is everywhere an evil portent otherwise: the silencing of the press, even if only temporarily.

Real alarm, however, was later to be aroused on all hands by a subsequent action of the N.R.C. Following what must have seemed to them to be the logic of their original precaution, Colonel Juxon-Smith and his colleagues have formulated a pretty harsh code of censorship over the Sierra Leone press and the other media of expression. The new code prescribes long terms of imprisonment, for crimes like defaming members of the National Reformation Council, causing fear, alarm, ill-will or hostility among the various ethnic or other groups in the country, publishing false statements, rumours or reports, *et cetera*.

In short, the Sierra Leone press, for the first time within living memory, has been and is now in a very special way muzzled by the Government of the day. So much so that the Senior Staff of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, were moved to address a resolution of protest to the National Reformation Council on this state of affairs. The resolution was passed on Thursday, 30 March, and signed by 83 members of the

Senior Staff of the College. Delivered by hand at the offices of the N.R.C. at noon on Friday, 31 March, it was concerned so far only with the situation created by the ban, not with the "press law" yet, which had not been decreed by then. The resolution reads as follows:

'We the undersigned, members of the Senior Staff of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone, wish to place before the National Reformation Council our view that only by free and frank discussion of the country's affairs can the national consensus, which it is the declared intention of the Council to further, be obtained.

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

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

'We, as members of an academic institution, cannot dissociate ourselves from the free expression, discussion and publication of what is believed, either by ourselves or by any other person to be true, nor can we cease to support the ideal of government in accordance with the will of the people as shown by free elections.'

The *Legon Observer* cannot presume to tell Colonel Juxon-Smith, Mr. William Leigh, and their colleagues how to go about tackling their enormous responsibility. We cannot even advise them; neither can any other outsiders. We would only dare to suggest—as outsiders yes, but also as fellow-seekers after the truth that belongs unto our joint peace—that the reduction of a national press to the impotence of news-sheets is not, perhaps even in the short-run, to the best interest of the community. Especially is the press necessary to a country at a time of national emergency and turmoil, such as the one Sierra Leone is now passing through. And Ghana. And Nigeria.

The history of freedom of speech in the world press, since the 16th century in England, Holland, France, Germany, and from these metropolitan countries to their colonies in America and the Islands of British West and Dutch East Indies—every phase of this most vital history of "modern" human development has demonstrated the utter futility of a "Government versus Press" war in

which the former eventually intimidates the latter. It has not paid; it cannot last. In the end government is bound to concede to press their equal interest in the sovereign destiny of the people as a whole.

In the present Sierra Leone case this commitment would have been amply proved and amply justified at a press conference which could have been called by the new rulers. Here the Government could have pointed out that for their mutual benefit and the general good of the country, the press ought to cooperate with the Government by calling a voluntary halt to the partisan war of words and turning instead to the constructive duties of nation building.

The Freetown press would have got the message and called off the verbal violence. Perhaps even now there is still time for this change in method of approach.

Whatever you want out of life STATE INSURANCE will help you get it!

Worthwhile careers for your children? The foundation of your child's career will be his education. With a State Insurance policy you can guarantee that education—to a highly advanced level if necessary.

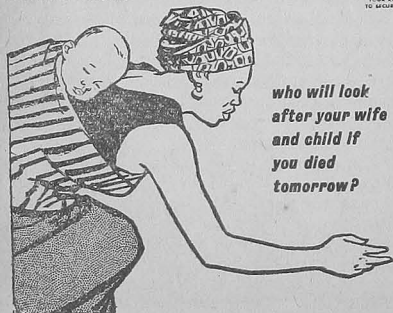
A better life for yourself? Invest in a State Insurance endowment. It will yield a substantial lump sum or a regular income either on your retirement or at some earlier date if you prefer.

Protection for yourself and your family? There are State policies not only against the event of your death (an obvious essential, no matter what your present age) but also against loss of earnings, accident, fire and theft. With a little planning you can take proper care of your family and live a more positive, progressive life yourself. Talk to State Insurance about it.

STATE INSURANCE CORPORATION

Head Office: P.O. Box 2363. Telephone: 6209 Accra.

Regional Branches: Sekondi-Takoradi - Swedru - Akim Oda - Kumasi - Ho - Hohoe - Tamale - Tema - Cape Coast - Koforidua - Sunyani.



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

Poem

SOME GREAT LITTLE THINGS

A singing bird,
A kindly word,
The twain the weary soul inspire
That would to hapless gloom retire.

A little care,
A simple fare,
That go for hungry man of need,
Shall earn the giver richer feed.

A smile of love,
Like stars above,
Doth brighten world of ills and woes,
And turn to friends some deadly foes.

A give and take,
For Love's own sake,
Can save this world a crash of doom,
Ensure all nations peaceful room.

Chief Enoch Edusei.

8½ hours only to Lagos

by

TARZAN EXPRESS DAILY SERVICE

FROM ACCRA — LAGOS

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| 1. Peugeot Cars | N¢10.00 |
| 2. Special Luxurious New Buses | N¢9.00 |
| 3. Ordinary Service Buses | N¢8.00 |

*Get to Lagos refreshed.
Know more towns on the way.*

Enquiries:

**TARZAN INTERNATIONAL
TRANSPORT**

P.O. Box 396,

Tel. 62234

Accra.

OBITUARY

TRIBUTE TO SIR FRANK WORRELL

By

A Cricketer

"THE THREE W's" is a phrase known to all cricketing lovers throughout the world. One of them is dead. Sir Frank Worrell, the former West Indies Test captain, died on Sunday, 12th March, of this year.

Frank Worrell was born in the island of Barbados in 1924 and began playing cricket for that island in 1943 at the age of 18, and in this his first first-class match he revealed his remarkable talent by sharing in a record partnership of 502 runs with John Goddard against Trinidad, Worrell's own contribution being 308 runs, not out.

He first played test cricket against England in the West Indies in 1948 and in that series scored a century. Worrell came into prominence in the 1950 tour of England which West Indies won by three games to one, the first time a West Indies team ever won a series in England. It was on this tour that with Everton Weekes and Clyde Walcott he formed the great batting triumvirate popularly known as "the three W's".

Between 1950 and 1961 Worrell represented the West Indies in Test matches against England, Australia, India, Pakistan and New Zealand, and consolidated his reputation as being one of the best batsmen that the West Indies have ever produced.

In the West Indies tour of Australia in 1961, he added further to his reputation as a cricketer by emerging as one of the shrewdest captains in the history of the game. On this tour he led his side in what has been described as the most exciting Test match ever played, where at Brisbane, the First Test match between West Indies and Australia ended in a tie—the only tie in Test cricket.

The climax of his career came with the 1963 West Indies tour of Britain, where he led a young and highly talented team to

victory. In this Test series, partly as a result of Worrell's brilliant captaincy no English batsman scored a century.

His qualities as a gentleman and sportman were always in evidence both on and off the field; and this, together with his outstanding cricketing talent, was given signal recognition in 1964 when he became, at the young age of 39, the sixth cricketing Knight of the Commonwealth, thus adding his name to the roll-call of the "greats" in company with Sir Jack Hobbs, Sir Donald Bradman and Sir Learie Constantine.

Worrell played in 51 Test matches and score over 4,000 runs, his highest score being 266 against England at Trent Bridge in 1950. He shares with Everton Weekes the record third cricket partnership in Tests for the West Indies, 338 runs against England at Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, in 1953. Altogether, in first class matches he scored 40 centuries; but these figures, however, do not record the particular quality he brought to the art of batting. He was lissom and graceful with the quickness and power of a panther. He was also a clever medium-pace bowler and in the field he was athletic and dignified.

Wisden, that great Cricketer's Almanack, said of him in 1951; "for beauty of stroke no one in the history of the game can have excelled Worrell. Never coached, he at no time engaged in arduous practice. Nor, as one to whom cricketing ability was a gift of nature, was this ever necessary".

Sir Frank Worrell gave pleasure to millions of cricket lovers and was a source of inspiration to young West Indian cricketers.

He will be deeply mourned and long remembered whenever and wherever the game is played.

News Summary

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

2/4/67

Ghana Youth Council

THE reconstituted Ghana Youth Council was inaugurated last Friday at the Y.M.C.A. in Accra. Three representatives each of the 18 registered national youth organizations constitute the Council. It's National Executive Chairman is Mr. C. J. Amaning of the Y.M.C.A. In his inaugural address, Lt. General E. K. Kotoka, General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces and N.L.C. member responsible for Labour and Social Welfare observed that what Ghanaians saw in the training of the Youth in the post independence period was the systematic and gradual stifling of group interest and group-activity, the methodical process of baseless ideological indoctrination, lack of respect for others and senseless or vicious misbehaviour. General Kotoka announced that the N.L.C. has decided to set up a Central Advisory Committee on Youth to advise the Government on National Youth policy and programme content. He said the Attorney-General's office has been requested to take steps to repeal the Executive Instrument establishing the infamous Ghana Young Pioneer Movement and re-substitute the reconstituted Ghana Youth Council and the Central Advisory Committee.

"Golden Triangle" Road

THE Government of Ghana has signed an agreement with Messrs *Jessler and Mannerstrale* of Sweden for the feasibility and preliminary construction of a direct and fast highway to link Accra and Kumasi, and Takoradi and Kumasi. The world Bank is financing the foreign exchange costs of the studies. Local costs of the studies will be borne by the Ghana Government.

Promotions in the Army

THE General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces, Lt. General E. K. Kotoka, has made a number of promotions and appointments in the Ghana Armed Forces. An announcement from the Armed Forces Headquarters says Colonel A. A. Afrifa has been promoted to the rank of Brigadier and appointed Commandant of the Military Academy and Training School. Lt. Colonel J. T. Addy has been promoted to the rank of Colonel and appointed Acting Commander of the Second Infantry Brigade Group and Chairman of the Ashanti Region Committee of Administration with effect from the 1st of May. Major E. A. Yeboah, Member of the Eastern Region Committee of Administration, has also been promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and Major A. N. Tetteh promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and appointed Commanding Officer of the First Infantry Battalion. All the promotions took effect from yesterday.

Commercial Library

A COMMERCIAL Library has been opened at the Central Library in Accra. The Library, the first of its kind in the country was established by the Ghana Library Board. It will supply information about trade and industry in Ghana and other countries.

General Ocran's Tour

MAJOR General A. K. Ocran, Chief of Staff at the Armed Forces Headquarters and N.L.C. member res-

ponsible for Works and Housing and Communications, has returned to Accra after a tour of Israel and the United Kingdom. Major General Ocran's tour of Israel was at the invitation of the Israel Government. It was to give him an insight into the development and progress Israel is making in the fields of housing and communications.

Economic Delegation to Upper Volta

A GHANA Economic delegation led by Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, N.L.C. Member responsible for Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs, has flown to Ouagadougou Upper Volta to discuss economic and trade matters affecting the two countries.

Another six-man delegation led by the Governor of the Bank of Ghana, Mr. Albert Adomako also left Accra yesterday by air for London on its way to Paris, for talks with the French Government on the rescheduling of Ghana's external debts. The delegation which will be away for eight days, was seen off by the French Ambassador in Ghana, Mr. Epinat.

Sports

THE Ghana Armed Forces and their Ivory Coast counterparts held a two-day sports festival in Accra. The Ghana Armed Forces beat their Ivory Coast counterparts by two goals to one in the match played at the Accra Sports Stadium. The Ghana Armed Forces also won the athletic competition by 93 points to 73 and again won the boxing tournament by eight bouts to nothing.

9/4/67

Nkrumah's Properties

THE National Liberation Council has published a decree under which all monies standing to the credit of Kwame Nkrumah and his family in banks in Ghana are to be vested in the state and transferred to the Consolidated Fund. The only exception is 86 thousand new cedis standing in the deposed President's current account with Barclay's Bank, High Street in Accra. In addition, certain stocks and bonds standing in the name of Nkrumah and his family are also to be vested in the state. All obligations and liabilities of the government of Ghana in relation to such bonds and stocks were extinguished. The Decree, known as Kwame Nkrumah Property Decree, 1967, was signed by Lt. General J. A. Ankrah, Chairman of the National Liberation Council. Members of Nkrumah's family mentioned in the decree are his wife, Madam Fathia Nkrumah, his children, Gamel Gorkeh Nkrumah and Samia Yaaba Nkrumah and his mother Madam Elizabeth Nyaniba. The decree also said the title to any sums standing in the name of Kwame Nkrumah with the Bank of Ghana in respect of deductions by way of compulsory savings under any enactment (including interest thereon) is also vested in the Republic. In addition, all such sums shall be transferred into the Consolidated Fund, and all obligations and liabilities of the Government are accordingly extinguished.

The African Press

MR. J. E. O. Nunoo, Commissioner of Police and a member of the N.L.C. has said that the African press has a clear and undisputed responsibility to educate and help in the formation of sound and healthy public opinion necessary for effective democratic Government.

Mr. Nunoo was speaking at the opening of a three-week seminar for 25 Ghanaian journalists in Accra.

Mr. Hartley on Civilian Rule

IN KUMASI, Mr. J. W. K. Hartley, Inspector-General of Police and Vice-Chairman of the N.L.C., appealed to teachers to educate and awaken the people of Ghana to their civil responsibilities before a democratically elected Government comes. Mr. Hartley was addressing a meeting of the Ghana National Association of Teachers. He said in a country where illiteracy is still preponderant, the threat to the liberty of the people posed by selfish and dishonest political opportunists should not be under-rated. The Inspector-General said the ground is still fertile for dishonest and unpatriotic politicians to take advantage of the ignorance of the people if steps are not taken to protect them.

IMF and Ghana

THE International Monetary Fund, at the request of the Government of Ghana, has invited 10 donor countries to a meeting in Paris to discuss the co-ordination of aid to Ghana; and in particular balance of payments support for Ghana's economy, in 1967. An official statement issued in Accra says the meeting will take place on Tuesday and Wednesday. The countries which are attending the meeting are: Canada, Denmark, West Germany, France and Italy. The others are Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Both the World Bank and the United Nations Development Programme will also be represented at the meeting.

British Financiers and Ghana

A HIGH powered joint mission from the British National Export Council and the Federation of Commonwealth Chambers of Commerce has arrived in the country to begin a week's visit to Ghana. The mission is in the country to investigate the prospects for trade, having regard to Ghana's present circumstances, her export position, import requirement priorities and her needs for industrial and agricultural development as well as investment possibilities.

Sir E. Spears on Ghana

MAJOR-GENERAL Sir Edward Spears, Chairman of the Ashanti Goldfields Corporation said Ghana would have been bankrupt in a matter of weeks had the Army and the Police not taken over the Government. In his report to the Corporation's 70th annual general meeting in London, Sir Edward said Ghana is the first independent African country which of her own free choice has rejected communists affiliations and chosen the free world instead.

State Protocol Office

THE National Liberation Council has established a new department to be known as the State Protocol Office. The General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces, Lt-General E. K. Kotoka, will be the N.L.C. member responsible for it. The State Protocol Office will take charge of all matters involving state protocol, such as visits of Heads of State and Government, arrangements for international conferences to be held in Ghana, and presentation of credentials by ambassadors-designate.

Observer Notices

TO ALL OUR AGENTS

Please remember that payment for copies ordered should reach us before the next issue of the journal. You are therefore urged to settle due accounts at the earliest date, and in any case before the next issue.

OBTAIN YOUR COPIES OF THE "LEGON OBSERVER" FROM THE FOLLOWING CENTRES:

ACCRA: Kingsway Stores; U.T.C. Dept. Stores; University Bookshop (Legon); Ghana House; Simpson's Bookshop.

KUMASI: Kingsway Stores; City Hotel; University Bookshop.

Prospective vendors in Ashanti may contact Queensway Bookshop, P.O. Box 20, Kumasi.

KOFORIDUA: Institute of Adult Education

CAPE COAST: G. B. Ollivant

HO: Graphic Office

SUNYANI: P. K. Peparah, Esq. Agric. Extension Services.

Wholesale dealers and advertisers contact:

LIBERTY PRESS, LTD.

P.O. Box 1957, ACCRA. Phone 63666.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—THE LEGON OBSERVER

Currency	Surface				Air			
	6 months		1 year		6 months		1 year	
	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.	Sterl.	Dol.
Ghana	23/-	\$3.00	45/-	\$5.67				
Africa	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	38/-	\$5.45	70/-	\$10.00
U.K.	28/-	\$4.00	55/-	\$8.00	64/-	\$9.15	120/-	\$17.15
Europe	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
U.S.	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00
Canada	30/-	\$4.30	60/-	\$8.60	84/-	\$12.00	160/-	\$23.00

Minimum Subscription: 6 Months



555

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

Get the taste of international success

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

555 by State Express

THE KING SIZE FILTER CIGARETTE OF INTERNATIONAL SUCCESS



And now he is gone, and his youth has become immortal. Perhaps what he would appreciate most in the netherworld is to reflect that the youth of Ghana will in future follow the advice of Ataturk to the youth of Turkey. It reads, with substitutions, thus:

"If ever the Ghana Revolution should be in danger, the young man of Ghana is not going to say, 'there is a police force in this country, there is an army, there is the machinery of justice in this country.' The young man of Ghana is going to intervene himself, to protect his country's freedom."

Soberly and unrhethorically it can be said of him that he is now part of that ideal Ghana which knows not selfishness and injustice and distrust. Ghana is all the emptier for his leaving it.

(b) By

A. A. Kwapong

(Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana)

IT IS not easy to strike the right balance in any tribute to the memory of the late Lt.-Gen. E. K. Kotoka, a man at once so great and yet so modest. His greatness would tempt one to exaggeration, but his simplicity should preclude any superlatives.

We are still too near in time and grief to his painful death to see, in perspective, the full measure of the man. Like most Ghanaians, I had never heard of him nor seen him before the 24th February last year. I first met him socially some three weeks later when he came to dine in Legon Hall as guest of that Hall. He had already become a living legend. Our first impressions of him were confirmed by subsequent encounters with him, both in public and private.

Wherever or whenever he met anyone, whether he was important or lowly, he always greeted him with gentle courtesy, a quiet twinkle in the eye and a refreshing, if somewhat unexpected, dry wit. On first meeting him, it was hard indeed to recognise the soldier in him. Yet I am told, by those who knew him well, that he possessed a fiery and fierce temper when provoked by any instance of injustice, unfairness or inefficiency. He remained calm and unaffected by all the adulation and acclaim which the grateful people of Ghana rightly showered upon him. As one talked to him, one quickly came to see the true soldier behind the gentle exterior: the resolute courage, the nerves of steel, the indifference to personal safety, the passionate dedication to integrity and, above all, an unshakeable belief in, and commitment to, freedom—the freedom of his country, and the freedom of his fellow man.

It was this rare combination of humanity and courage which led him to risk all in February last

year and to lay down his life on the 17th of April, in order to restore life and dignity to Ghanaians. He would have been more than satisfied by the spontaneous distress and the deep and genuine grief with which the whole nation mourned him; that to him would be sufficient tribute.

While, today, we offer our deepest sympathy and condolences to his widow and the rest of his bereaved family, the noble task that he began must go forward. We, to whom he restored true freedom and justice, must prove ourselves worthy of his supreme sacrifice. The example of his life and death should be a sure anchor for our liberties.

(c) By

K. A. B. Jones-Quartey

(Acting Director, Institute of Adult Education)

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka, G.S.O., General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces and Member of the National Liberation Council, died on Monday, 17th April, 1967. It was General Kotoka who led the Army-Police action which on 24th February, 1966, overthrew a stupid tyranny, emerging overnight as the hero of what Ghanaians now call the "Glorious February Revolution".

Lt.-General E. K. Kotoka was only 40 years of age when he died, having been born on 26th September, 1926, at Fiahor in the Volta Region. At the age of almost 21 he enlisted in the then Royal West African Frontier Force, in July 1947. His ability and alertness got him to the rank of Company-Sergeant-Major by 1951, after which he was selected to train as an officer-cadet. The first part of the training period was done at the Command Training School at Teshie, from 1953 to 1954; the second part took place at Eaton Hall, Chester, England, where he arrived in 1954, the year he left Teshie. A few months later he got his commission as a Lieutenant, on 20th November, 1954.

Lieutenant Kotoka did a three-month attachment with the 1st Battalion, King's Shropshire Light Infantry, serving in Germany. Back home in Ghana he had a spell as Platoon Commander in the 2nd Battalion of Infantry, and then returned to England in 1956. By 1958 the Lieutenant had risen to the rank of Major, having first run through a mortar course in Britain and been promoted Captain earlier in that year. With the outbreak of the Congo troubles in 1960, Major Kotoka was sent there with the 2nd Battalion to join the United Nations peace-keeping forces. There he was in action in Leopoldville for some time, after which he came back to Ghana. A return to the Congo in 1961 involved him in fighting in Luluaborg and Kasai; he was mentioned in despatches for bravery.

Tributes



“ Nature form'd but one such man ”

TRIBUTES TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL EMMANUEL KWASI KOTOKA, G.S.O., LATE COMMANDER OF THE GHANA ARMED FORCES

(a) By
L. H. Ofosu-Appiah
(Director, *Encyclopaedia Africana*)

THE NEWS of the brutal murder of Lt.-Gen E. K. Kotoka by some of his own soldiers came as a real shock to the majority of Ghanaians. His fate resembles that of an ideal tragic hero who has all the qualities of greatness, but who makes a mistake of judgement which leads to a reversal of fortune and a sudden pitiful fall. Such deaths lead the audience to wonder whether the gods can ever reward virtue and valour, and this is precisely what the majority of Ghanaians felt when the news of his death broke in on a stunned country.

The man who became the hero of the 24th February Revolution was unknown to the majority of Ghanaians, but he became a romantic legendary figure from that date. Before his supreme act of selfless devotion to duty brought down the despotism which foreigners thought was peculiar to the African tradition of fear of freedom, public expressions of support for the Government of Ghana was always organised but never spontaneous. Those sceptics who could not believe that the joy of Ghanaians at their deliverance by Kotoka and his selfless soldiers was spontaneous should now reflect upon the widespread sorrow and indignation which followed his murder and realise that he has kindled a flame which no tyrant can quench.

I had never heard of Kotoka before the 24th February 1966, but he fitted into my idea of the type of person who would bring down a tyranny. I had always maintained that a young officer in the Ghana Army would take the decision to bring

about the final solution of the Ghanaian question, and I decided to get to know him. When we first met in September 1966 I was genuinely attracted by his personality, his quiet humour and his modesty. His one passion which I shared with him was his dislike for the dictator he overthrew; but he also had open contempt for cowards and was amused by the way in which former party members denounced Nkrumah. He was first and foremost a soldier, and remarked that if he had ever dreamed of the extent of the economic, social and administrative mess created by the last regime, he would never have staged the coup. But he felt that once the work had been done it was the duty of other Ghanaians to help to put the country on its feet, for Ghana did not belong to the men who staged the coup.

My wife and I decided to give a party in the honour of the General and his friend Afrifa, who fitted into my idea of Achilles and Patroklos, though their fates now have been reversed. The party took place on the 4th of December 1966 and was attended by some of my friends in Legon, including the Editor of the *Legon Observer*. It was a very pleasant evening. When the time came for me to propose the toast I told the company among other things of the trust I made with destiny before I felt for America. I had set aside £100 in a Savings Bank to celebrate some day the fall of the tyrant; and least did I think that I would have the honour of entertaining the men who did the deed. The General's speech was on patriotism and was full of humour. One was struck with his humanity, since he dismissed any idea of revenge on the supporters of the Nkrumah regime. This trait in him was both a source of strength and of weakness. He later wrote to me on the 14th December and commented thus:

“I must say I was really happy when you spoke about the change which you had long expected and for which you saved £100 to celebrate.”

Somehow I felt that the General needed to revise his views of his countrymen, and to view events in Ghana more realistically, so I sent him a copy of Lord Kinross' *Ataturk, the Rebirth of a Nation* for the anniversary of the 24th February Revolution. It arrived in time for the celebrations and the last letter I received from him was to thank me for the book. I doubt if he had time to read it. I met him for the last time on the 19th of March when I was in an ugly mood and wanted to consult him on an issue which I felt would bring disgrace on Ghana. He disarmed me completely by laughing at me, and tried to settle the problem. He had planned that we should dine together again, but that was not to be.

Editorial

THE ARMY AND THE NATION

"... ONE SHOULD never allow an evil to run on out of respect for the law, especially when the law itself might easily be destroyed by the evil."

N. Machiavelli. Discourses Ch. 3

The abortive coup of the 17th April gives cause for many reflections at many levels. The sad fact about the abortive coup is that General Kotoka, the architect of the February 1966 coup, was murdered. His death has not only removed a bulwark in the task of reconstructing Ghana, but more unfortunately, has considerably weakened the idealistic trend in the nation and in the counsels of the ruling National Liberation Council.

For national stability the abortive coup is significant in many respects. The news of the abortive coup stunned the nation: public opinion was decidedly hostile to the insurrectionists. This was not surprising, for the burning passion of Ghanaians is for a fundamental radical assault on the causes of our economic and social problems. The answer does not lie in any ambitious lust for power by young army officers. The Ghanaian tax-payer provides money for the soldier to defend the country, the doctor to attend to the sick, the university lecturer to teach undergraduates. The soldier has no more right to rule Ghanaians than the doctor, the university lecturer, the dock worker, the artisan or the labourer. If any professional man wishes to rule this country he must appeal to the Ghanaian voter for his mandate to do so. That is the only politically civilized way. The ruling National Liberation Council demonstrated their right to do so at a time when all Ghanaians realised that the old regime could only forcibly be dislodged from power; this explains why there was such popular support for the February 1966 coup.

Moreover, certain sections of the Army are yet to realise that any attempted coup has repercussions far outside the territorial boundaries of Ghana. Such actions give outsiders the impression that the country is unstable, with all that this means for resuscitating the economy and generating international confidence in the country. General Alexander hits the nail right on the head when he says: "What many of these young officers don't realize is the international aspect of this sort of action. They think these things are domestic. They don't realize the reflection that takes place outside their country. They don't realize the effect this has on the outside world. This, I am

quite certain, is a form of political. Should a whole country be held to a few disgruntled soldiers?

To say this is not to say that soldiers do not have legitimate grievances. The N.L.C. should also investigate whether the young officers are dissatisfied with their conditions of service or whether promotions in the army have become arbitrary. Promotions and conditions of service should be based on clear, impartial criteria. To be able to do this well the soldier-members of the N.L.C. should be released and made to devote more time to military matters. Furthermore, the more routine matters of administration should be left to experienced trusted civilians. This civilian help should not just be at the level of the civil service in Accra, but also at the regional and administrative levels. We should now do a more radical rethinking of the machinery of government in this interim period.

The February 1966 Coup is a revolution in the sense that it seeks, or should seek, to reverse the publicly declared ideological objectives and practices of the former regime. To consolidate any such revolution it is imperative to change not only the old personnel and use the appropriate personnel, but also the machinery of government. To begin a reverse of the objectives of the former regime, and to attempt to substitute new ones, using the personnel of the former regime and operating with non-revolutionary methods, is to pervert the aims of the original coup. Machiavelli says, with substitutions, "that any change of government... must necessarily be followed by some terrible punishment of the enemies of the existing state of things. And whosoever makes himself a [ruler] of a state... or restores liberty to a state and does not [remove the enemies of his regime]... will not maintain himself in his position long." A free society has a right to defend itself against those who do not believe in liberty: it has been found historically necessary to go to war in order to preserve free institutions.

Finally, the abortive coup has shown the weaknesses in our internal security system. It is not wise to concentrate all attention on external security. Enemies can come from within. It is imperative therefore to keep a sustained surveillance on all aspects of our internal security.

This is a most trying period in the country's history: all Ghanaians expect our leaders to rise up to the occasion, so that future generations would say they defended and served their country in its hour of trial.