

The Legon Observer

26 JUL 1967

Fortnightly Organ of the Legon Society on National Affairs

Vol. II No. 14

7-20 July, 1967

Price 12½ np

SPECIAL FIRST ANNIVERSARY ISSUE

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committed to truth, courage and integrity. It is by remaining true to these principles that this paper can prove itself a worthy and long-lived successor to its distinguished journalistic predecessors.

From
Dr. Davidson Nicol

(Vice-Chancellor, University of Sierra Leone,
Freetown)

THE LEGON Society on National Affairs formed last year is a very good example of the role that intellectuals can play in nation building.

For many years political participation has been left to a few individuals who have often had to step outside the walls of the university to play their part in the political affairs of their nation. Many of us remained detached, either through lack of time, lack of inclination, or lack of encouragement.

Speech days, Convocations and other educational gatherings constituted the only forum from which our voices could be heard by the citizens. Journalism in the popular press occasionally provided a reasonable outlet, although the university don found it an uneasy perch, for fear of attacks which could be irrational, or which alleged intellectual arrogance on the part of the contributor. Learned journals, providing an excellent opening, were nonetheless either irregular or published at intervals which were too long for sustained controversial correspondence or urgent topics.

The appearance of the *Legon Observer*, the fortnightly journal of the Legon Society, filled an obvious need in this setting in Ghana. With its high level of journalism, its absence of intellectual pretensions, and its forthright courage on major issues, it has set an example which should not only form a model for other groups of University dons throughout Africa to follow, but also have a beneficial effect on journalism in general in our continent.

I congratulate the proprietors and Editorial Board on their fine achievement over the past year, and send them my best wishes on their first Anniversary.

I hope that whatever their source of financial support may be, they will continue to give a critical, balanced and fair commentary on the contemporary Ghanaian and African scene.

From
Prof. K. Twum-Barima

(Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Science and
Technology, Kumasi)

ON THE occasion of the celebration of its year of regular publications, I should like to send the *Legon Observer* warmest congratulations. The

Legon Observer came out at a time in the history of the Press in Ghana when whatever the Government did had to be accorded the acclaim of the fourth estate and criticism of any sort was taboo.

The Press had suddenly completely swung over from singing the praises of the past regime to near adulation for the new and whatever it did. The term "National Liberation Council" had successfully chased out the "Dynamic Party" from the columns of the Press and taken its place. And this constituted the entire national press reform. It was then that the *Legon Observer* was born to blaze a fresh trail for objective and critical commentary on institutions and happenings in the country. The long lost purpose of the Press was avidly sought by the *Legon Observer* in its bid to provide the leadership for this very important estate.

It may not have achieved the Golden Fleece it set out to find; but no one will doubt that it has tried its hardest to set the difficult and tricky pace for objective and impartial criticism which is so essential in any country in its formative or reformative years.

The *Legon Observer*, it is to be hoped, will go on with its search for the ideal state. Its home in the premier University of the country and its policy directors being men and women given to the search for truth, it is ideally situated and equipped to provide the leadership which that estate needs so very much in any country.

May the *Legon Observer* ever continue to flourish and grow from strength to strength in its struggles to attain perfection.

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L.S.N.A. Communication

SELECT AND ANNOTATED CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF LEGON SOCIETY ON NATIONAL AFFAIRS AND THE "LEGON OBSERVER"

March 1, 1966—July 8, 1967

1st March, 1966

Meeting of 17 Ghanaian Senior Members of University of Ghana, called by B. D. G. Folson (Acting Head of Political Science Department) and D. K. Afreh (Acting Dean of Law Faculty) to consider formation of a body "to give constructive advice and any other necessary assistance and support to National Liberation Council". Legon Committee on National Reconstruction formed, with K. A. B. Jones-Quartey (Institute of African Studies) as first Chairman, and A. K. P. Kludze (Law Faculty) as Honorary Secretary. Four sub-committees also formed: Constitutional, Legal, Economic, and Political. Foundation members: D. K. Afreh, A. S. Y. Andoh, K. Arhin, O. Y. Asamoah J. A. Dadson, F. K. Drah, B. D. G. Folson, J. K. Fynn, S. O. Gyandoh, K. A. B. Jones-Quartey, K. A. Karikari, A. K. P. Kludze, J. E. A. Manu, J. A. Peasah, E. Y. Twumasi, I. Tufuoh, J. E. Wiredu.

15th March, 1966

L.C.N.R. decides to recommend to N.L.C., *inter alia*, the establishment of four bodies: Legal Committee, Constitutional Commission, Judicial Commission, and Law Reformation Commission. Committee discusses (a) alleged irresponsible conduct of some members of Armed Forces during and subsequent to

February coup, (b) undersirability of continued employment of supporters of C.P.P. regime in Security services.

31st March, 1966

Committee affirms decision to limit membership to Ghanaians, in order to avoid possible accusations of foreign interference, and also protect non-Ghanaian against compromising their protect non-Ghanaians against compromising their political status.

8th June, 1966

Legon Committee decides on publication of own organ, and appoints Editorial Committee to take all necessary steps. Editorial Committee consists of K. A. B. Jones-Quartey (Chairman), A. S. Y. Andoh, O. Y. Asamoah, J. A. Dadson, K. B. Dickson, B. D. G. Folson, and E. A. Kwapong.

21st June, 1966

Editorial Committee recommends to L.C.N.R. a fortnightly organ with name of *Legon Observer*, with E. Yaw Twumasi as Editor, and Liberty Press Limited, Accra as printers.

8th July, 1966

Volume I Number 1 of *Legon Observer* published, exactly one month from date of decision to publish, and two weeks from choice of name and of Editor.

7th October, 1966

L.C.N.R. at first emergency meeting decides on critical examination of N.L.C. Decrees Nos. 92 and 93, concerning rumour-mongering and detention of persons to be arrested without warrant.

14th October, 1966

Volume I Number 8 of *Legon Observer* deals exhaustively with Decrees Nos. 92 and 93, and proves most successful issue of *Observer* to date.

3rd November, 1966

L.C.N.R. issues press statement supporting N.L.C. on incident of detention of 19 citizens of Republic of Guinea.

25th November, 1966

Decision taken to change name and associational basis of L.C.N.R.

12th December, 1966

Constitutional Sub-Committee presents text on "Party and Electoral Systems" for submission to N.L.C. Electoral Commission.

17th January, 1967

L.C.N.R. forwards proposals on "Party and Electoral Systems" to N.L.C. Electoral Commission.

25th January, 1967

Name of Legon Committee on National Reconstruction changed to Legon Society on National Affairs.

25th January, 1967

Society decides to alter its basis of association and to register, as soon as practicable, as a Guarantee Company with limited liability.

17th February, 1967

L.S.N.A. forwards proposals on Local Government to Electoral Commission, in reply to Commission's questionnaire.

20th February, 1967

L.S.N.A. submits final constitutional proposals to N.L.C. Constitutional Commission.

21st April, 1967

Legon Observer publishes Special Issue in honour of late Lt.-Gen. E. K. Kotoka, killed in abortive Army Recce Squadron insurrection of Monday, April 17, 1967.

MEMBERS OF THE LEGON SOCIETY ON NATIONAL AFFAIRS

1. Prof. K. A. B. Jones-Quartey—*Chairman*
2. Mr. A. S. Y. Andoh—*Dep. Chairman*
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4. Rev. Prof. C. G. Baeta
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26. Dr. E. N. Oppong
27. Mr. E. H. Mends
28. Dr. J. Hvd

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- " S. O. Gyandoh
- " D. K. Afreh
- " J. K. Agyemang
- " E. Twumasi
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- " J. E. Manu
- " F. K. Drah
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- Dr. Obed Y. Asamoah
- Mr. B. J. da Rocha
- " J. K. Agyemang
- " K. A. Karikari

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- " B. D. G. Folsom
- " I. Tufuoh
- " Mends
- Dr. J. K. Fynn
- Mr. K. Arhin
- " A. K. P. Kludze

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- Mr. K. Karikari
- " J. A. Dadson
- Dr. G. K. Agama
- Mr. E. A. Kwapong
- " L. N. K. Ababio
- " E. de Graft Johnson

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- Mr. A. S. Y. Andoh—*Dep. Chairman*
- Dr. A. A. Boahen
- " G. K. Agama
- " K. B. Dickson
- Mr. B. D. G. Folsom
- " J. A. Peasah
- " S. O. Gyandoh
- " E. A. Kwapong—*Treasurer*
- " E. Y. Twumasi—*Editor*
- " J. A. Dadson *Asst. Editor*
- Dr. O. Y. Asamoah

OUR BENEFACTORS

THE GREATEST problem which faced the L.S.N.A. when it decided to publish the *Legon Observer* was how to finance the venture. As the resources of the Society were inadequate, we decided to appeal to the public for financial support. A number of letters also went privately to several citizens. In response to these appeals, we received generous donations from a number of Ghanaians and foreigners whose names are published below. In deference to the express wishes of most of our benefactors, we publish these names without stating their individual contributions. We wish, however, to draw special attention to two names in the list below—those of Mr. Deku and Mr. Nunoo, Commissioners of Police and members of the N.L.C. Because of their position in Ghana's public life, their financial and moral support for our venture is of special significance to us. We also make special mention of Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye, a well-known medical practitioner in Kumasi, and, until 1965, a parliamentarian, for his unusual contribution: he placed a banker's order of NC25 a month in our favour, running indefinitely!

1. Mr. J. Akaba
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3. Dr. F. I. Amponsah
4. Mr. K. K. Apeadu
5. Mr. S. C. Appenteng
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7. Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye
8. Mr. G. G. Asafu-Adjaye
9. Vicar-General, for Archbishop, Archbishop's House, Cape Coast.
10. Dr. A. K. Boaitey
11. Dr. H. G. Bannerman
12. Dr. D. A. Bekoe
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15. Mr. B. J. da Rocha
16. Prof. S. R. A. Dodu
17. *Mr. G. L. A. Djabanor
18. Mr. A. K. Deku (N.L.C.)
19. Prof. A. A. Kwapong
20. Mr. E. O. Nunoo (N.L.C.)
21. Capt. K. K. Nyame
22. Mr. Robert Ocran
23. Prof. L. H. Ofosu-Appiah
24. Mr. Justice Nii Amaa Ollennu
25. Mr. Eric Otoo
26. Mr. S. K. Opoku
27. Mr. Seward
28. Prof. K. Twum-Barima
29. Mr. H. F. Winful

Non-Ghanaians

30. An American (anonymous) (C56; 1966)
31. Dr. Ben Bronfman (U.S.)

32. Mr. Christopher Fyfe (U.K.)
33. Mr. J. R. Goody (U.K.)
34. Dr. Hartley (Legon)
35. Mr. P. Jenkins (Legon)
36. *Mr. P. J. Rollings (U.K./Nigeria)
37. Prof. Z. Sadowski

Companies

38. *The London & Lancashire Insurance Co. Ltd.
39. *Major & Co. (Ghana) Ltd.

Diplomatic Missions

40. *Embassy of France to Ghana
- Altogether, apart from Dr. Asafu-Adjaye's continuous contribution, we have received approximately C975 (old), of which C834 is from Ghanaians.

We take this opportunity once again to express our thanks to our benefactors.

*Balance on money sent for subscription for one year donated in support

LIBERTY PRESS LIMITED

THE STORY of the *Legon Observer* can never be properly and completely told without a prominent mention of the Liberty Press Limited which prints it. The name "Liberty" in a curious way suggests an identity of sentiment with the publishers of the *Legon Observer*; and indeed this is so, although we only found this out after we had already come out in print.

We decided to do business with Liberty Press Limited initially because we received from them the lowest and most favourable quotation for the type of job we wanted the printer to do for us. We have since found that we could not have made a better choice; for they are fast, efficient, hard-working, pains-taking, and absolutely dependable. Under a capable business manager Mr. A. K. Annan, the machine and other workers turn out an amazing amount of satisfactory work every working day. They handle a lot of important jobs for corporations, government departments and bodies outside Ghana.

Founded in 1949, it is a successful private business managed by Mr. Yiadom Kumi, who is also its Director. Since then it has often led in the introduction and installation of new and advanced mechanical advances at the press. For example, in 1951, it was the first printing house in Ghana to instal the cumulative commercial Off-set Lithography. And this year, it has installed the Monophoto Computer-controlled Type-Setting Plant, with which this issue has been printed. This machine is the latest thing in the printing world; and Liberty Press Limited is the proud owner of the first such machine in Ghana, or the second in Africa (the first being in South Africa). Liberty Press Ltd. is perhaps the leading printing house in Ghana today. But it is its association with the *Legon Observer* that interests us today.

When we first came out, it was the editor and his assistant who were distributing the journal to sales agents, using their own cars. Our difficulties were tremendous. But quite unexpectedly, the Managing Director, Mr. Yiadom Kumi, seeing us so hard at work and no doubt after reading our first issue and hearing comments about us, offered to help us with the distribution and canvassing of advertisements. Now, these were not exactly Liberty Press's lines of activity, but they had transport facilities which could help us, and eventually we signed a business agreement with them to handle those aspects for us. The association has benefitted us immensely, and indeed it might be truthfully said that the secret of our survival is the Liberty Press Ltd.

Mr. Yiadom Kumi, 42, is a comfortable-looking man, very level-headed, alert, sympa-



*Mr. Yiadom Kumi
Managing Director of Liberty Press*

thetic, and kind—rare qualities these days to find in a self-made businessman; a successful but surprisingly unassuming, friendly person. He is not interested in active politics, but is not at all indifferent to what type of politics Ghana will have in future. Asked why he likes the *Legon Observer*, he replied: "I like the *Legon Observer* because of its frankness, objectivity and vitality. I was very deeply impressed by the fact that you were doing a purely voluntary work for no pay whatever. For this reason you could be outspoken and speak fearlessly in the interest of justice. When a man is paid by someone else to write for him, he cannot be independent of his employer in thought. I am attracted by the fact that your paper is private and independent. This is what Ghana wants for her future if true freedom and justice should return. The experience we had under the old regime has demonstrated that state-owned papers cannot be trusted.

International Affairs

GHANA AND THE WORLD

By

K. A. Karikari

GHANA HAS now opted for "quiet" diplomacy as opposed to "talking-too-much", which characterised our diplomacy before the coup. Our foreign policy is therefore based on a realistic appraisal of world problems and a sincere advocacy of peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the United Nations charter. It is the purpose of this article to highlight some current issues in our foreign relations.

Quiet Diplomacy

To talk about "quiet" diplomacy and 'talking' diplomacy is to make a distinction without a substantial difference. It is the outward appearance of diplomacy which is gradually changing. The substance will remain—firstly because human nature changes slowly and secondly because diplomatic aims hardly change.

Ghana's preference for "quiet" diplomacy is understandable, if we consider that Nkrumah's "big-talk" brought very little positive advantages but more discredit to Ghana. The National Liberation Council has, therefore, undertaken a more realistic approach to world problems, based on the principle of non-alignment in the conduct of Ghana's foreign policy. This is essentially based on the determination of our foreign policy decision makers to base our policies on moral authority and moral courage in order to pursue a policy of peace in the world.

Africa

Ghana continues to pursue a vigorous African policy. We want greater co-operation in the great task of finally liquidating colonialism from the African continent, and bringing about a realistic unity. In a search for a meaningful basis for unity, the National Liberation Council has been able to restore friendly relations with Ghana's neighbours. There is no doubt that the National Liberation Council has succeeded in giving Ghana a new image in Africa. In spite of all the big talk of Nkrumah and his grand idea of a continental union government, very little was achieved in translating this idea into practical terms. Nor was he able to convince the other African states to maintain a united front in dealing with African problems. Though some of the underlying causes making for disunity in Africa were not the fault of Ghanaians, yet, Nkrumah's policy of subversion had an adverse effect on our relations with Africa. The crucial elements in our African policy are based on non-interference, co-operation, and equality. In the economic and social fields, Ghana now advocates a functional approach towards

African political unity. Such a departure from Nkrumah's African policy was received with raised eyebrows in certain African countries immediately after the February Coup. However, the National Liberation Council has shown enough good-will to reassure the world of Ghana's determination to promote peace and understanding on the African continent. I believe, if there is any African country today with whom good relations do not exist, the fault may not lie with us.

The Outside World

Our relations with other countries outside Africa continues to show marked improvement. Many countries, particularly a number of Eastern European countries are beginning to show confidence in Ghana. Ghana has demonstrated to the International Community her pacific intentions. We have proclaimed to the world a policy of "true" non-alignment in our foreign relations. To this policy we stand fully pledged not because of our economic weakness but because we hope to inject greater moral content into our foreign policy decision-making.

Balanced Neutrality

Ghana still continues normal diplomatic relations with both East and West. Immediately after the Coup, Ghana nearly swung to the West. This was a reaction against the East European countries' direct involvement in Nkrumah's Ghana. We have now good relations with a number of Eastern European countries. The East has come to assess our short-term and long-term aims and they are convinced that they can continue to do business with us. The Foreign Affairs Ministry realises the need to keep cordial relations with the East to maintain our neutrality based on genuine national interests.

The Middle East

Ghana recognises the state of Israel. We have therefore made several diplomatic moves to get the Arabs and the Israelis to bring about a permanent settlement that will ensure peace in the Middle East. At the United Nations, Ghana has done her best to bring about a cessation of hostilities, and has reiterated her desire to see a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict based on realistic appraisal of events that will make for a lasting peace in the area.

Foreign Economic Relations

Like all developing countries, we depend heavily on the participation of foreign investors in the economic development of our country. The present economic and financial policies of our government have been designed to restore and reassure foreign investors. Foreign investors are likely to come to Ghana. However, all economic considerations must be in line with the cornerstone of our foreign policy—non-alignment. If we are heavily dependent

economically on one side we shall make nonsense of our desire to pursue a policy of non-alignment based on balance neutrality.

International Organisations

We support the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth and many other international institutions. However, our traditional influence in many of these organisations has diminished. This is particularly so at the United Nations. For example, before the February Coup, Ghana belonged to about 12 United Nations Committees, but now we are left in only two Committees—the committee on colonial affairs and the committee on South West Africa. This is due partly to the nature of the United Nations diplomacy, and partly due to the nature of our current diplomatic practice. At the United Nations General Assembly, member states will only be impressed with “big talks” since by its nature it is a “talking” forum. Members are not likely to be impressed with “quiet” diplomacy which they usually regard as hypocritical and immoral. However, Ghana’s earlier success was due to circumstances at the time. Being the first Black African country to achieve independence, Ghana was able to create a good impression as a champion of the Colonial cause. This gave Ghana’s foreign policy a radical overtone. The Afro-Asian countries are not as yet convinced of our placid moods.

In sum, Ghana has certainly created a new image at home. However, this domestic image must reflect itself abroad. “Quiet” diplomacy and morality in foreign policy may not be the answer to manifold problems facing the developing world. On the other hand “talking” diplomacy has become a bankrupt policy in the sixties. What we need as a potentially great country is a blend of the two types of diplomacy.

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Africa

AFRICA 1966

By

J. A. Peasah

THE YEAR 1966 was a very significant one in the political history of Africa. If 1960 was the year of the emergence and the “presence” of Africa, 1966 was that of the “revelation” of Africa. The latter year was significant in that it marked the beginning of the removal of the spurious ideological veneer that was thrown around the reality of Africa, and also it ushered in the transitional period between the era of “politics of personalities” and that of “politics of nations and societies”. Most of the pre-1966 slogans and ideologies were personal to those individuals whose superficial dominance in their various states and societies concealed much that needed strict analysis and attention.

This does not mean that those individuals, their slogans and ideologies were completely unrelated to the facts of African life. For, they were the creatures of the matrix of African reality, and therefore had some logical connection with one aspect or the other (though sometimes exaggerated) of the African situation. Consequently, their removal does not imply a complete change of direction but a reassessment.

Reassessment

This reassessment has become even more important in the light of the changing world situation, i.e. the gradual but steady rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union—a fact, which to the ardent observer, signifies an increasing change in the boundaries within which African as well as American and Soviet policies could be formulated and implemented. African countries will have to depend more and more upon their individual and collective resources for their own development, instead of trying to reap fringe “benefits” from the vanishing competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. Herein lies the significance of the role of the North African countries, whose confrontation with Israel presents a policy dilemma to most other African countries.

But it is indisputable that the North African countries are able, if willing, not only to train freedom fighters in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories but also to aid the general African cause.

What has been the impact of all these on the African Unity movement? This movement has meant an effort to utilise and consolidate African resources—cultural, economic and political—

firmly under African control in order to relieve the continent of her continued and uncertain dependence on the favours of the outside world. It means an attempt at achieving parity with other peoples and continents. The movement needs and presupposes a certain community of interests and outlook, even in the face of the divergent ambitions of the first generation of post-independence politicians and leaders.

Co-operation

Firstly, it appears that the events of 1966 have shown more clearly than ever before the fragility of African economies and their almost irretrievable dependence on those of the developed countries, thereby making it quite obvious that the way to ward off foreign economic domination is not to shout it out of existence. There has not been a single case in which the removal of a slogan-shouting leader has revealed any less foreign economic domination than ever before, partly as a result of the previous over-emphasis on slogans to the relative neglect of solid achievement. One expected trend, therefore, in the post-1966 period would be more sober economic planning and co-operation. The incessant efforts in East Africa at economic co-operation and the 1967 ECA (West African Sub-regional) Conference at Accra are harbingers of this trend.

Decline of O.A.U.

Secondly, the events of 1966 have shown that the African Unity movement was becoming as "personalised" as the individual states previously were. Each individual state was being assumed to be nothing more than the embodiment of a certain particular individual or individuals, whose presence was deemed to be almost divinely indispensable. For, very few, if any, politicians thought in terms of voluntarily climbing down from the pedestal of power, after such a demand had been genuinely sought and made by the population. As a consequence, the OAU, the institutional symbol of the unity movement, was degenerating into a club of certain particular individuals, who believed that their political power was the *raison d'être* of the organisation. The OAU was being used to satisfy the self-interest of the leaders in their own countries instead of the promotion of continental progress. It was this phenomenon which, for instance, accounted for the mistakenly hostile reaction by some states to the removal of Nkrumah from the Ghanaian scene.

Thirdly, it is becoming increasingly clear that in the absence of economic and political power backed up by genuine social integration, most of the outstanding problems in Africa may remain unsolved for many years. The task under-

taken by the OAU, for instance, to settle the issues in South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese Territories is becoming even more difficult to tackle partly because of the ever-growing apathy, derision, and the contemptible non-chalance on the part of the economically developed outside world. The stand taken by Lesotho and the unorthodox regime of Banda in Malawi, is simply due to the present internal situation in most African countries, which are not in a position to give any meaningful aid to both Malawi and Lesotho. Such weakness has even made possible for South Africa to emerge from her isolation to throw baits of friendship to some other African states.

The so-called "charismatic" leaders are leaving the scene and therefore military regimes that reared up their heads since the second half of 1965 can only serve as a transition within this transitional period between the era of the politics "of the politics of personalities" and "the politics of nations and societies". It is only in this sense that the present military regimes can fulfil any historically important mission. For, in the present African situation, there is no substitute for political power propped up by the voluntary allegiance of the whole population. African policies will then be characterised by an unsurmountable national support and not by the idiosyncrasies of individual leaders. But is this a hope, a wish or a fact? The rapidity with which some Generals, Colonels, etc. have transformed themselves into Presidents and Heads of States, throws a big doubt on this.

Poem

AT WAR WITH PEACE

Lips without heads,
Minds without eyes,
Talking, feeding and sleeping,
But unlike cows, we do not chew the cud.

Waking,
We bellow to one another:
Let us have peace!
We shall have peace!
But first, we shall race on arms
To prove one another's arms
We run
We shout
And the din runs loud and high
Across the corridors of the universe.

* * * * *

Then I saw peace dangling aloft, fragile
In a beautiful bowl of glass,
Hanging on a thread of hair
From a beam
Lying across theatres of war.
And our minds were blind,
Insidious and invidious against one another;
And I knew why we were racing on arms—
We were at war with peace.

Accra

K. A. Kwaku-Ampongem

Politics

FIRST YEAR ANNIVERSARY OF "LEGON OBSERVER"—"THE SOCIAL SCENE"

By
E. Ampene

BEFORE THE 23 February, 1966, when the brave men of the Armed Forces and the Police Service led by the gallant Kotoka, whose memory we shall ever cherish, delivered us from the Dictator, many Ghanaians never thought that it would be possible to call some of the big wigs of our society to account for their stewardship. Indeed the faint-hearted amongst us were beginning to think that the pleasures of this world could only be enjoyed by those who were prepared to be dishonest. And some Churches appeared to think so too when they invited ex-convicts, who by their mode of living were obviously still leading dishonest lives, to be patrons and elders.

The Commissions of Inquiry are revealing shocking facts about our society: facts of corruption, greed, cruelty and downright inefficiency. The love of money for its own sake became an obsession with a large section of our community. Men and women in positions of responsibility and leadership exhibited such gluttony for money that the yardstick of success became the wealth one had, the means of its acquisition being irrelevant. "Obiara didi n'adwuma ho" (everyone enriches himself—dishonestly of course—from the job that he does) became the guiding principle for many public officers. You were a fool if you didn't cheat, profiteer, steal or adopt some dubious means of acquiring wealth.

It will be naive to think that all these evils will happily come to an end as a result of the commissions of inquiry. The hard fact is that many people in our society are just discovering what comfort money can give them. There is the common story of the cocoa farmer who when he discovered the pleasures that he could get from a gramophone, bought five for his five wives who all lived with him in the same compound. Obviously the poor illiterate farmer's vision about the use of money was limited, but the educated person whose horizons have been widened through reading and perhaps visits abroad certainly has capacity for sophisticated living. We were witnesses to the public declarations made by some of our former ministers that they had acquired so much wealth that they would never be poor; and as if to make sure that poverty could not catch up with them even in death, we have learned that some stored up golden coffins, just in case . . . !

Life in a fast developing society such as ours could easily become 'nasty and brutish', if man's

acquisitive propensities are not regulated. Now we know that some of the highly educated among us are as equally prone to corrupt practices as the not-so-well educated and the illiterate.

Among the catalogue of the evils of the former regime, one of the saddest was the failure of the Dictator and his henchmen to provide examples of honest living. The Dictator certainly talked a lot about it—e.g. his "Dawn Broadcast"; and he also tried to look it e.g. his lean figure clad in "Mao-style" suit. Occasionally, he appeared "angry" and "determined to punish" some of his corrupt mates, but as he needed them in his evil plans to rob us, he dared not touch them. Thus the failure of the old regime (including the learned men they often boasted about) to bring to book those in positions of responsibility who were involved in corrupt practices knocked a big hole at the bottom of the moral basis of our society.

I have not lost faith entirely in education, religion and pious admonitions as armours against corruption, but I am also of a firm conviction that there can be no order or progress in any society unless sanctions are promptly invoked against evil doers. Very often, on hearing that the law has caught up a friend or a relative, some persons in positions of responsibility and influence, try to "see" somebody who could arrange for the hushing up of the charge against the suspect. Whether bribes are taken for such services or not, it is time we realised that any interference with the course of the law, is harmful to the nurture of a progressive and decent society. It is necessary that every person is given the opportunity to learn from his experience, however bitter such an experience may be: that is the surest way of making people responsible.

The responsibility on the educated sections of the community in providing examples in good living cannot be overstated. No amount of talking about what ought to be done will take effect if leaders of opinion—lawyers, doctors, university lecturers, civil servants—do not back up their teachings with good personal examples. A relapse on the part of one of these leaders of thought does incalculable harm to whatever efforts are made to educate the population in their civic responsibilities.

The courage with which the *Legon Observer* has been saying what ought to be said in the interest of fair play should be the policy which should be adopted in our fight against corrupt practices. Spreading baseless rumours is wicked, but when one is sure that an injustice has been committed, one has to speak out instead of fawning away like a dog.

I hope that many readers would wish to join me in wishing the *Legon Observer* many more

years of service in the difficult task of laying the foundations of a modern society on rocks, of courage, justice and true service of our country. It is the hope of all readers of *Legon Observer* that it will stand by its pledge of exposing all thieves, crooks and liars no matter how highly placed they may be in our society.

Observer Notebook

Civil Commissioners

WITH EFFECT from the First of July, 1967, the National Liberation Council appointed seventeen commissioners (two army officers, one police officer and fourteen civilians) to whom portfolios were assigned. The appointment of these commissioners was an appropriate step in the direction of eventual return to civilian rule. Its significance reminds one of the gradual steps which the British government generally took in devolving political power and responsibility on indigenous populations. The governor, at the initial stages, was generally the legislature, the executive and the judiciary, all rolled into one—a primitive political stage to which we never fell back after February 1966, since the NLC, under no circumstances, presumed itself to be the judiciary. At any rate, for practical reasons and good measures, this would have been impossible.

What is happening now can be likened to a higher stage where the governor shared, in a rather rough sense, executive responsibility with an executive council. Such an executive council could be compared with the collective body of our commissioners; but here the comparison ends, because our present commissioners are all appointed or nominated and not *ex-officio*.

The important point is that a necessary anomaly exists in such a situation—necessary in the sense that it could not be avoided and in the sense that it is essential and purposeful. Our present commissioners have to take political and administrative decisions for which they are not directly responsible to the people. It is again not quite clear the extent to which, in practice, they are expected to be independent of the NLC. Perhaps the nearest analogy to the present situation is that of the American Cabinet in a context that leaves out an elected President and Congress.

We point all these out not to appear unnecessarily disputatious but in order not to rest on our oars while the ship of state drifts along. It has been rightly and happily pointed out by the NLC that the appointment of the commissioners is only a necessary step towards full civilian rule with all the basic appurtenances of democracy.

Let us, therefore, take this opportunity to join hands in happiness on the occasion of the appointment of these commissioners, while we remind them that not only their policies but also their demeanour will go a long way to influence our new crop of politicians. If short-sightedness and lack of memory make our commissioners behave like CPP District Commissioners, Regional Commissioners and Ministers, May God Help Them—and Ghana. Having been given such a tough and highly responsible assignment by the NLC, they owe it as a duty not to betray the confidence reposed in them by the NLC and the nation.

May we re-state for them the stand we took in our first issue:

"They will be treated in these pages with the loyalty to which they are entitled, the respect they deserve, the sympathy they need, and the criticism they cannot do without. For we are determined to uphold good government with our loyalty and with such abilities as we may possess, while being equally foresworn not to bad government go unchallenged ever again, possible consequences notwithstanding."

Centre for Civic Education

ONE OF the most important events of the recent weeks was the establishment of the Centre for Civic Education by the N.L.C. Its aims, objectives, and functions—"to stimulate public awareness and educate our people to understand and appreciate their civic rights and responsibilities"—are stated in two speeches, by Lt.-Gen. Ankrah and Dr. Busia, reproduced in a special supplement in our last issue [see Vol. II, No. 13; 23-6-67; pp. 11 (i-iv)].

The tasks are of supreme importance for the politics and good government of Ghana in the near future. The results of the activities will never be easy to assess—for, education, especially of this nature, cannot be easily measured. But if we are to achieve a certain minimum of success, then in addition to lectures and organized debates and group discussions at the various centres, certain simple things ought to be done.

First, it must not be assumed that only ordinary citizens need political education. The minds of the educated, government officials, and other public servants must be won over to the ideals of democracy, tolerance and service to the state. Therefore, the centre should not restrict its activities to the illiterate, rural, and "working" folks only. Public servants and authorities must also be taught their duties and obligations to the citizens of the society, whom after all they serve. The last dictatorship was headed by an educated man and aided by educated men who knew their rights but not their responsibilities and obligations

to the society.

Secondly, the "communicators" must be re-educated. This is the group of people who give out information—Ministry of Information officials, and journalists, especially editors. Recent examples of intolerance and abuse have come not from illiterates but from editors, especially the "top" ones. They must learn to be tolerant of others' views, and objective and honest in presentation. If you haven't watched a TV programme or listened to a radio discussion yourself, you are only being irresponsible, whether you have "degrees" or not, to fly off into pompous attacks on the participants of the said programme. And if you ascribe quoted statements that were never even made on the programme to the participants, and then allow the possibility of a mistake in a fictitious telephone transcription, you are only making yourself look more than the idiot you have a chance not to be. Journalists have an immense opportunity to do much good or harm.

Thirdly, the Government itself must demonstrate its good faith in this programme that they themselves have launched. At least two things they can do here: *first*, (a) either they loosen the tight control on the state press so that the national papers can be more lively with the publication of different views in discussions of issues; or (b) sell the press to private enterprise. *Secondly*, the national radio and T.V. should broadcast freer debates. It is well known the producers are always too scared of consequences to produce programmes in which national policies or N.L.C. decisions are debated instead of praised. It is also well known that editors and reporters are in mortal fear of officialdom: the slightest mistake may cost them a transfer, the job itself, or worse. Democracy cannot thrive, and education in it cannot but be a farce, so long as those in authority, or their agents, reserve the *privilege* to use instruments of terror and harsh punishment.

Finally, in addition to the co-operation of all the papers in the tasks of the C.C.E., may we suggest that the C.C.E. itself consider turning out publications—either periodicals (monthly, say) or occasional pamphlets, to serve as a basis for discussions.

"Speaking for Myself, I am not Impressed . . ."
GHANA'S Attorney-General "waxed eloquent" at Achimota School (24 June, 1967) when, as a guest speaker at the School's Speech Day, he expressed his disappointment with Ghana's "apostles of democracy". The Attorney-General identified lack of moral courage as the cause of fifteen years of misrule and dictatorship in Ghana. To him, this is "What went wrong" in Ghana. Even though he was involved in the same exercise as

it is rather surprising (both logical and historical) that the Attorney-General can have the intellectual confidence to say that because a lot of Ghanaians did not speak out under the old regime, they should not be doing so now. This view, on even a casual examination, is very a little historical. In all human history—especially in Western Europe and Russia—there have been "Dark Ages"—times when the arts, literature, science and philosophy have not flourished. The reason invariably has been that illiberal and obscurantist men have found it necessary to create conditions in which the human spirit cannot have elbow room for independent expression. It is only when such conditions are removed, and conditions conducive to the free and endless adventure of the human mind are created, that men begin to "wax eloquent" on all manner of subjects. It is on this reading that one is to understand historical periods like the Inquisition, the Dark Ages, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Age of Democracy and Nationalism.

Furthermore, it is illiberal to argue that because those who are now "waxing eloquent" failed to do so under the old regime what they are saying now is of no value: this can be reasonably inferred from the speech. One has to have the patience to examine the arguments of "these apostles of democracy" before condemning them in blanket terms. A failure to do that is to look for irrelevant grounds for assessing arguments which may be good or bad.

Moreover, there is the exaggerated belief that Ghanaians as a people peculiarly lack moral courage. The lesson of historic experience is that in political circumstances, such as those created by the old regime, the majority are bound to be pliant and supine. This was the case in Tsarist Russia, Nazi Germany and Vichy France. Only a few are courageous; it is these courageous few who, after an intelligent and cautious assessment of their chances of success, attempt to change the condition. The Bolsheviks, De Gaulle and Churchill come to mind. In Ghana, whenever the old regime's evil activities impinged on fairly ordinary people they were not found wanting in moral courage. How do we otherwise explain the numerous detentions, the number of attempts on the ex-President's life and the frequent attacks on Ghana's universities—especially Legon? For the democratic health of our country criticisms of sections of the population must have, at least, some intellectual rigour and sophistication.

"Naivete", "Yellow Press" and all that
THE EDITORIAL on Ghana Airways (L.O. Vol. II, No. 13) has elicited a most unfortunate reply from the Chairman of the Ghana Airways (see

News Summary, Press Release). We do not find it necessary to reply to the points raised in his reply, since we could not be faulted on the facts supporting our views. However, we find it necessary to make much more explicit the assumptions in the editorial and, also, to highlight the arguments at some points.

The first assumption is that Ghanaians must learn "to be *self-reliant*". We should not develop the mentality whereby in any moment of crisis or difficulty we rush to our "fathers" overseas for a solution. This is the mentality of children who, in any moments of difficulties, look for adults. This does not mean that expatriates have no place in the country; they have, but they must be, at best, in advisory positions. It is by adopting a self-reliant policy that we can become great. This is how Japan, the Soviet Union and the United States became great.

Such a policy means—and this is the second assumption—that all our national corporations, state enterprises and institutions must have a consciously planned and positive policy of training Ghanaians to take over management positions. This is what Japan did between 1867 and 1914 and became a great nation. The Ghana Airways must also have such a policy; this means that the expatriates must be in advisory positions with a view to training the Ghanaians *on the job*.

The point of comparing the salaries of the General Manager on the one hand and the Chief Justice and others on the other was simply to emphasise vividly the responsibilities shouldered by them. It was meant to question how the Manager of an airline with a fleet of only two V.C. 10s (one on loan), two Viscounts and four Dakotas should receive the same remuneration as the person whose decision affects the lives of all mankind. In this connection, the comparison of his salary with equivalent personnel in B.O.A.C. is beside the point. The B.O.A.C. is an entirely different proposition from the Ghana Airways.

The language of the Chairman's letter is unfortunate; but we hope that in future the fastidious person will not find Airways Press Releases such a mental affliction to read.

The Congo Again

SINCE ITS precipitate independence some six years ago, the Congo (Kinshasa) has never known peace and happiness. And just as it began to look as if she was at last finding enough peace to organize the nation for progress, Africa, and indeed the whole world, has been surprised with another attempt at the rape of the Congo.

As we go to Press, the facts of the situation are not very clear, but it seems widely accepted that a band of paratroop soldiers have been landed

Congo for purposes not exactly in the interests of her peoples. Whether the present crisis involving the peace and independence of the Republic is linked with Moise Tshombe's 'kidnap' by the Algerians or with the recent economic and commercial reforms affecting Belgium and other nations with interests in the Congo, it is clear that it is the Congo's fabulous wealth and resources, coupled with her own want of political cohesion and advanced human resources, that is at the root of all her troubles.

Meanwhile, what are our African leaders doing? The O.A.U. should be revived to face the new danger. The U.N. should restrain the unscrupulous "trouble-shooters". The world body should not acquiesce in the conversion of "gun-boat" diplomacy into "paratroop" diplomacy for the revival of colonialism.

Book Review

TRIBUTES TO DR. J. B. DANQUAH

*Reviewed by
Kodwo-Mensah*

FEW WORTHY citizens of Ghana have died in such despicable circumstances as the prison cell. Among these fewer still, if any, have had their names printed in gold afterwards.

In this sense, Dr. J. B. Danquah's mysterious and questionable death, though extremely unfortunate, is, ironically, unique. The whole idea as conceived by the megalomaniac Kwame Nkrumah (now languishing in Guinea) was to reduce the stature of Dr. Danquah to nothingness; to humiliate and disgrace him.

For a time the malignant brain behind the plan appeared to have succeeded; for, on the death of such a colossal figure as J.B., the press, true to the then tradition gave the news an indifferent if not contemptuously scant attention, and chicken-hearted Ghanaians dared not show their grief! I was even surprised to hear Radio Ghana Broadcast the news of his death. What irony, for now, two years after his death to read what eminent persons the world over say about Dr. J. B. Danquah "West Africa's pioneer scholar, lawyer, journalist, poet, statesman and fighter in the cause of human freedom" [Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe]; "... an indomitable fighter ... a brilliant mind with an enviable capacity for detail" [Dr. Busia]; "... a great nationalist as well as a distinguished scholar and philosopher" [Chief Awolowo]; "He did not seek after personal fame or riches, his principles were too strong and he would not compromise with them" [Mr. Robert Armitage].

These and many other soul-uplifting compliments are paid to the memory of the man who

was meant to be humiliated, disgraced and forgotten. The tributes with a brief biography of the man are in a small pamphlet of 48 pages compiled by H. K. Akyeampong, with a foreword by Modesto Apaloo.

In all no less than 26 distinguished people (including Nana Akyin VI, one time member of Nkrumah's Presidential Commission) pay glowing tributes. These are men of talent, wisdom, scholarship, and repute from all walks of life.

One interesting point to note is that with the exception of Mr. A. Casely-Hayford all the Ghanaian lawyers who pay tribute have quotes from Greek and Roman literature. Of course this is understandable since legal studies were presumably first nurtured in the Greek and Roman worlds. I was particularly intrigued by Mr. R. S. Blay's tribute. He pays half of his tribute and allows Cicero to pay the other half for him. The longest tribute is by Professor Ofofu-Appiah who in a characteristic sort of way appears to show more intimacy with Dr. Danquah than anybody else. As I read through his bit, I became convinced that if Dr. Danquah had followed the professor's footsteps and left the country, the political committee of the NLC would have been the richer by now.

The volume has some interesting side lights, not the least of which is a statement by Mr. B. K. Edusei, the director of Asante Kotoko Sporting Club. He said he knew Dr. Danquah had a great deal of interest in sports and in fact did a lot to enhance its progress. He also knew Dr. Danquah had Asante Kotoko Sporting Club membership card and that he learnt from J.B.'s wife that "among the articles he took to prison where he died was this membership card".

Whether the card was inadvertently taken to the cell or not will probably never be known. But J.B. was great, and "Tributes to Danquah", is well written and interesting and deserves to be given its proper place on everybody's shelf.

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.

News Summary

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

25/6/67

Official Mourning for Kotoka and Others

THERE was an official three-day national mourning for the late Gen. Kotoka and the three other soldiers who died with him during the insurrection on the 17th of April. The highlight of the official programme was the united memorial service at the Accra Sports Stadium on Sunday, 25/6/67, at which the Chairman and the Vice Chairman of the N.L.C. represented the Council at the Service. Other members of the Council represented the Council in the Regions. A special collection was taken at the service for the Kotoka Trust Fund. Moslems from all over the country converged at Accra the preceding Friday for a prayer service for the late General.

In Lome, President Eyadema of Togo declared Monday, 27-6-67, a public holiday in Togo in memory of the late General Kotoka. The President also announced that a Requiem Mass would be said on the same day at the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Lome for the General.

Meanwhile donations to the Kotoka Trust Fund are still pouring in. The highest donation so far made is that of the Lebanese Community in Accra. The community donated NC23,915.

Aid Agreements with U.S. and W. Germany

TWO agreements were signed during the week between the Government of Ghana and those of the U.S. and West Germany. The one with the U.S. Government is for a twenty million dollar commodity loan. The money will cover the foreign exchange costs of commodities and commodity related services needed to promote the economic development of Ghana. 10 million dollars of the loan has been made available from the 1st of next October. The loan will be used during the year to import, among other things, essential machinery equipment and spare parts for industries, and industrial raw materials and spare parts, pharmaceuticals, agricultural and industrial chemicals. Brigadier A. A. Afrifa, N.L.C. member then responsible for Finance, Trade and Economic Affairs, signed for Ghana and the American Ambassador in Ghana, Mr. Franklin Williams signed for his Government.

The other one with the West German Government is on the rescheduling of Ghana's debts to that Government. Under the agreement, the payments of debts, totalling NC 18m. will be spread over a period of about 13 years. Ghana will pay an annual interest of 5.5% on the debts. The signing of the agreement marks the conclusion of nearly 12 months of discussions between Ghana and her overseas creditor-countries in which the West German Government took part.

New Constitution: Chiefs on Party Politics

AN eight-man delegation of the Joint Houses of Chiefs met members of the Constitutional Commission at Parliament House in Accra to discuss the chiefs' supplementary memorandum advocating a non-party government for Ghana.

The Joint Standing Committee of the Houses of Chiefs at a special emergency meeting in Kumasi early this month decided to send supplementary proposals recommending the elimination of political parties in the country's future constitution. Leading the discussions which lasted two hours, Nana Kwantwi Barima, Adanschene, as Chairman of the Standing Committee, explained that from experience party

politics had done more harm than good to Ghanaians because it was foreign. He said Ghanaians had wrongly followed the Western democracy which was the result of a long process of evolution. It was therefore time that Ghanaians evolved their own constitution based on their unique institutions.

The Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Justice Akuffo-Addo, pointed out that the suggestion implied the denial to the Ghanaian of his basic right of the "freedom of Association"

The Agricultural/Industrial Project

THE FACULTY of Agriculture of University of Ghana has sent a letter to the Commissioner for Agriculture, Mr. J. O. Torto, expressing interest in the joint foreign-domestic agricultural/industrial project recently announced by the Government of Ghana. It is learnt that the Faculty is particularly interested in the feasibility of the large-scale scheme, the social consequences of the scheme, and the training programme said to form part of the agreement. The faculty would wish to study the agreement and advise on the technical and other aspects of the project.

Press Releases

A Reply to your Editorial dated 23 June-6 July, 1967

GHANA Airways is still undergoing a very drastic and fundamental re-organisation.

As we all know, the Corporation has been a drain on the country's resources to the tune of about 5 million new cedis a year. Perhaps the biggest waste pipe of the economy.

The new Board of Directors having been in the saddle for nearly a year, are now very conversant with the ills and problems of the Corporation. Conscious of their grave responsibility, they are talking some bold and sometimes unpopular steps to halt these unnecessary waste of the tax payer's money. However, it is clear that some members of the public especially the Editors of our Newspapers do not seem to comprehend even a fraction of what air transportation is all about.

It is indeed disappointing that some of the Editors, who are expected at least to argue with a bit of analytical mind, are even unaware that not only is it unwise to make reference to matters over which they have little knowledge, but also that it is wicked to come out in the open with irresponsible statements and baseless allegations and insinuations.

It is true that we should be interested in all that goes on within the community and free to comment on matters in which the public may be interested, but this should not mean unbridled licence for the proclamation of puerile sentiments or ill conceived ideas.

The process of re-organisation in any field of human endeavour requires determination and often drastic action. As far as some individuals are concerned, the result of re-organisation may mean hardship but this is unavoidable especially in a Corporation where losses have always characterised the activities and where the public itself has hitherto complained about inefficiencies and the retention of some redundant and incompetent staff.

I am fully aware that some of the senior staff members in the Corporation are disgruntled as a result of our endeavours to rid the Corporation of corruption and incompetency. They are doing everything including divulging confidential information to the public for the sole purpose of discrediting and sabotaging the efforts of the Board and management of the Corporation.

Indeed, there has recently been some deplorable articles about Ghana Airways and since it is not my intention to sink to the level of yellow press writers, I only want to remind the

public and especially the Newspaper Editors and Commentators about their duties and responsibilities namely: to seek information, check on the authenticity and accuracy of such information and comment objectively and fairly on the facts and only on the facts. Pettiness and unwarranted personal attacks are a waste of human energy which be channelled to better use.

I will especially remind the *Legon Observer* that the public expects a much better display of objectivity. We still have a hope that Legon will be the repository of sound learning, research and objectivity. *Legon Observer* should not let the side down.

Now for the education of some of our Newspaper Editors and the general public, who might otherwise be led astray to think that Newspapers like the *Legon Observer* preach only the gospel truth, certain essential facts must be emphasised namely;

1. That the activities and standards of air transportation are regulated by both international and local regulations.
2. That the airline industry is very competitive. We could survive only by achieving certain high standards.
3. That Ghana Airways cannot be run successfully and profitably entirely by Ghanaians. We need expatriate technical and management personnel.
4. That there has been a wholesale conspiracy by some staff in the airline to defraud the Corporation.—We lost 50,000 drinking glasses and about 2,500 bottles of Whisky not to mention thousands packets of cigarettes.

Unless we appreciate these points, we might just as well stop talking about Ghana Airways.

Based on these facts, I should like to explain especially to *Legon Observer* that we have a problem of technical and management inefficiency to tackle. I should also like to explain once again to *Legon Observer* that to solve these problems, we need the assistance of qualified and experienced expatriate aviation personnel. We shall continue to do this because we sincerely believe that this is the only practical and sensible way of cutting out our huge losses.

To obtain the services of the expatriates we have to go to the international market and pay the requisite price for the right men. Had *Legon Observer* done its homework even casually, it would have found out that we have done very well for the prices we are paying for our expatriate personnel. They have come to help us not only for the money but also for the interest and the challenge.—Let me illustrate. Our General Manager is worth at least £10,000 and would have been paid that much had he been stationed in Accra by B.O.A.C. as their Station Manager—this is based on B.O.A.C. figures. A post not in anyway comparable to a General Manager of an airline.

Further, the General Manager of a comparable size airline in Africa receives £15,000 and the Commercial Manager £12,000. To come nearer home, not long ago, the Ghana Government had to pay an aviation expert £12,000 to advise the Government.

One would have thought that *Legon Observer* would have compared things which are comparable. This is common place first principles. I do not know the intention of bringing in the Chief Justice or for that matter the Director General of B.B.C. into this argument. Suffice to say that this clearly shows up a woolly and confused mind.

In aviation we have to pay high prices because of the technicality and scarcity of the services we seek to engage.

Legon Observer should note that this same argument was used for the recent increase in the Editor's salary.

It is indeed wrong to compare the salary of the General

Manager with the Vice Chancellor of the University, the Chief Justice and the Director General of B.B.C. for the following reasons:-

- (a) None of these persons is in the commercial aviation.
- (b) Almost all are Civil Servants or Public Servants serving in their own country.
- (c) Their appointments are not held for a fixed and short period, and
- (d) The responsibilities involved are different.

We hope that *Legon Observer* will do better next time.

We are aware that *Legon Observer* and other local Newspapers have in fact been pressing that the economy of this country should be properly managed for the benefit of the whole country, yet these same papers do not seem to realise that it is useless to diagnose without prescribing the necessary medicine. We have had enough of arm chair critics.

We in Ghana Airways are endeavouring to grapple with the very difficult problems that have been entrusted to us. We will continue to take all steps that are necessary for making the national airline a viable industry respected both locally and internationally.

Perhaps the public will be surprised to learn that for the first time in the history of Ghana Airways, a proper airline budget costed to the penny and to the hour has been produced by the management and that from now on we will be able to determine month by month how the Corporation is doing.

I must mention here that most of the credit of this achievement goes to the unceasing effort of our expatriate staff who have worked so admirably within the short period they have been with us. They have co-operated successfully with their Ghanaian counterparts who are equally facing the challenge with determination. With these people at work, we are determined to reduce the drain of the economy within the year to June, 1968 to less than a million new cedis as against five million new cedis previously.

Enough has been said and written elsewhere about the "Russian trained personnel and the Cedi. I do not intend to bore the public any more on these issues.

If by attempting to save the Corporation nearly four million new cedis we stand condemned by *Legon Observer* and other selfish and irresponsible people as "irrational and anti-nationalist", we are not worried.

We prefer the country and the world to judge us by our deeds and results.

In conclusion I will emphasise that we are determined that only the best personnel whether Ghanaian or expatriate will be retained for the efficient and profitable running of the airline. The re-organisation continues.

E. H. Boohene

28th June 1967

Chairman & Chief Executive

APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSIONERS AND ASSIGNMENT OF PORTFOLIOS

It is hereby notified for general information that the National Liberation Council has with effect from 1st day of July, 1967 appointed Commissioners and assigned responsibility to them as follows:-

1. Lt.-Gen. J. A. Ankrah, O.O.V., M.C.
Office of the N.L.C. N.L.C. Advisory Committees Ministry of Defence
2. Mr. J. W. K. Harley.
Ministry of External Affairs Ministry of the Interior and the Chieftaincy Secretariat.

3. Brigadier A. A. Afrifa.
Ministry of Finance
4. Mr. J. Ofori Torto
Ministries of Agriculture and Forestry
5. Mr. P. D. Anin, Barrister-at-Law
Ministry of Communications
6. Mr. E. N. Omaboe
Ministry of Economic Affairs Central Bureau of Statistics
7. Mr. Modjaben Dowuona
Ministry of Education
8. Dr. E. Akwei
Ministry of Health
9. Mr. K. G. Bonsu, Barrister-at-Law
Ministry of Information
10. Mr. R. S. Amegashie
Ministry of Industries State Enterprises Secretariat
11. Mr. Victor Owusu, Attorney-General
Ministry of Justice Registrar-General's Department
12. Mr. S. T. Nettey
Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare
13. Mr. J. V. L. Phillips
Ministry of Lands and Mineral Resources
14. Dr. Alex A. Y. Kyerematemang
Ministry of Local Government
15. Mr. F. Ribeiro Ayeh
Ministry of Trade
16. Mr. Issifu Ali
Ministry of Works and Housing
17. Mr. Ibrahim Mahama
Secretariats and Departments under N.L.C.

(ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF INFORMATION)

30th June, 1967.

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Miscellaneous

THE MIDDLE EAST WAR

PARTISANS AND supporters of the belligerents in the Middle East War have written some very interesting things in the world press lately. In a "war of words" before the conflict, an Arab supporter, F. el-Manssour, Munich, wrote to *Time* (June 9, 1967):

Sir: At last, at long last, you have exploded the myth that Israel is seriously interested in making peace with the Arabs.

When will you explode the second myth, that "Israel is more than a match for all the Arab forces combined"? Why doesn't she then prove this by going to fight now—this time without the help of Britain and France? After all, it has become clear to all the world that Nasser has "brazenly" challenged her to do so.

This should be her chance, for wouldn't a total defeat inflicted on the Egyptians mean a welcome end to all her troubles? Why is she hesitating? Or will she this time create still another myth—that the Soviet Union is going to send down the Red Army to fight her glorious forces? O David, where is thy sling?

That was before the war broke out. A week later, the war had been settled conclusively, but Leonard Primack (of Brooklyn, U.S.A.), just could not let el-Manssour get away with the taunt in the last sentence of his letter; and, accordingly, in the very next issue of the *Time* magazine, the following retort appeared:

Sir: I read with amusement Mr. el-Manssour's letter in which he accused Israel of cowardice, ending, "O David, where is thy sling?" All I can say in response is "O Goliath, where is thine army?"

But perhaps the most graphic portrayal of the roles of those most intimately interested in the war is in this letter which appeared in the 30 June issue of the *New Statesman*:

Sir, I dreamt that Prime Minister Kosygin was lying on his back, pinned down by half a dozen thugs with their hands at his throat, slowly strangling the life out of him. Suddenly he drew up his knee and hit them in the testicles, making them lose their grip. And the thugs all shouted "Unprovoked Aggression" and then I woke up and it was still dark.

Mermaid Theatre

Puddle Dock
London, E.C.A.

CCLC—MIRACLE CHILDREN

By

Peter Barker

DO YOU want to see twelve miracles? If so, visit the Salvation Army children's home at Anum. You will meet a family of lively, lovable, healthy children, all of whom would almost certainly be dead today if there had been no children's home at Anum.

The buildings were erected ten years ago as a maternity home by Anum Local Council. Unfortunately the site is right next to the cemetery; the mothers, even the midwife herself, were plagued by superstitious fears of ghosts, and after a few years the maternity home closed down.

God had a different purpose for the buildings. The nearby Salvation Army maternity clinic at

Boso had taken in a number of babies suffering from malnutrition and babies whose mothers had died in childbirth. This clinic was supposed to be caring for mothers, not babies; so it was decided to start a separate children's home and the government gave the buildings at Anum to the Salvation Army for this purpose.

That was four years ago—Capt. Strevett, a Salvation Army woman officer, started with one baby in July, 1963. Since then nearly 60 children have passed through the home. Most of them stay ten to twelve months—it takes as long as that to repair the damage done by malnutrition or to bring a motherless child up to the point where it can return home without danger.

Their first baby, Douglas, is now a healthy five-year-old, growing up in his home village and hoping to start school in September.

Afi was three years old when she was brought to the home; she weighed only 13 lbs. and hardly any hair was growing on her tiny head, which was disfigured by a huge sore. Afi will soon be fit to go home. After nine months at Anum she weighs nearly three times as much as she weighed when she arrived there (I promise that is true—I picked her up and carried her!) and she struts around sturdily acting as a little mother to the new arrivals.

Then there is the girl with the deformed legs who was dying of neglect in her village. Her parents did not realize that anything could be done for her. Pam Strevett saw her and took her to the Military Hospital, Accra. The doctor promised to operate on those deformed legs as soon as the child had recovered her normal weight.

Now she clanks around in a pair of calipers—iron legs which enable her to walk while her own legs are gathering strength. When she goes to bed, she says in her childish fashion, "Good night, legs! God bless you! Thank you for helping me to walk!"

The main building consists of a dormitory containing twelve cots, dining room with three little tables, and another room affectionately called the "potting room"—each child has its own pot of distinctive shape and colour, and learns how to use it.

Outside is a playground surrounded by a fence, delightfully cool in the shade of the neem trees. There are swings, a chute, a see-saw, and numerous coloured plastic toys on the ground. There the little family is at play, gaining strength, learning to live the life for which God made them.

There is a sudden drumming of rain on the corrugated iron roof. Two white Salvation Army uniforms dive into the playground to take the children indoors—one is Capt Strevett, an English girl, the other is the Salvation Army's first un-

married Ghanaian woman officer, Lt. Agnes Anokye. A tiny infant, who doesn't reach Pam Strevett's knee, is swung up on to her shoulder. Agnes Anokye takes two more by the hand and the little procession hurries in to the house, Eva bringing up the rear, clanking away in her iron legs.

Is it all worth while? Of course it is! Every child saved is not only a precious life, but also a missionary in the village. Mothers come back to the Home to say that now their children put their hands together and pray before meals. One mother was annoyed because her son asked for clean clothes every day: later she came to see that the little boy was quite right. Now he gets clean clothes every morning.

Yes, miracles are happening today—here in Ghana.

BIAFRA AND INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION

By

K. Opoku-Owusu
(U.S.T., Kumasi)

NIGERIA was prepared for independence by her former metropolitan power—Great Britain. When independence came to the surprise of many observers it was the Moslem north which had the greatest say in independent Nigeria. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe and Chief Obafemi Awolowo, the two leaders of the most articulate Eastern and Western Nigeria had been unable to agree on broad principles. Their disagreement was the cardinal turning point which made the Northern leader, the late Sir Ahmadu Bello, to get the better of the two. Dr. Azikiwe allied his party, the N.C.N.C., to the Northern Progressive Party and Chief Awolowo went into opposition.

The Plight of Western Nigeria

The coalition Government of the Federation schemed to out-manoeuvre Chief Awolowo. First his Western Nigeria was divided into Western and Mid-western Nigeria. This weakened Chief Awolowo's position in the Federation considerably.

At home in Ibadan, Chief Awolowo further faced a serious problem of holding together the little left to him. The late Chief Akintola, who was Chief Awolowo's man and therefore Premier of the West, allied himself with the Northern Government. In his attempt to unseat the late Chief Akintola, Chief Awolowo became a victim of circumstances and was jailed.

After the Departure of Awo from Nigeria Politics.

The late Chief Akintola now replaced Chief Awolowo as leader of Western Nigeria, but without the popular support of the majority of the West—a popularity which was still Chief Awolowo's even in jail. But the late Chief Akintola endeavoured to hold on to power by allegedly rigging elections and by intimidating his opponents with the support and connivance of the Federal Government.

In the meantime the N.C.N.C. also disagreed with their Northern allies, but the Northern Progressive Party could not care much, for it could then count on the support of Chief Akintola's party. During the general elections of 1965, the Eastern Government of Dr. Okpara refused to have elections in the Region for alleged election abuses perpetrated by the

N.P.P. A broad front of the East and Western supporters of Awolowo was formed as an opposition to the alliance of the N.P.P. and Chief Akintola's followers of the West. But later an unstable agreement was reached and the United Party of Grand Alliance (U.P.G.A.) allowed the general elections in the uncontested constituencies of the East and the West to be held. The N.P.P. of course dominated the Federal Government again. The threat of secession had subsided but not for long.

Nigeria in the Wake of Coup d'etats

Events which preceded the coup d'etat of January 1966 were both violent and unsavoury for the Unity of the "Great Giant" of Africa. Murders and counter murders became the order of the day, especially in Western Nigeria. Then followed the coup d'etat of January 1966 which brought Major General Ironsi to power. *It is very wicked to call that coup an Ibo coup*, for it was merely a coincidence that the industrious Ibos (who are seen in all important walks of Nigerian life) happened to be the top army officers at the time of the January coup d'etat.

The late General Aguiyi Ironsi sought to unite Nigeria under a strong Central Government. Many foreign Governments who appear to want a strong Central Government under Maj-General Yakubu Gowon today were the cause of the fall of Ironsi and his government in the counter coup d'etat of July 1966. These friends of Nigeria today were unfriendly to the government of Gen. Ironsi, for they saw in him the symbol of Ibo domination of Nigerian Politics. The second coup d'etat was partly due to their unfriendly attitude to Gen. Ironsi's government. Why do they think that Nigeria today should be united? Is it because a Northerner heads the Federal Government now?

If the late Sir Ahmadu Bello did not want Ibos nor Southerners to be teachers or civil servants in his Moslem north, and he thus preferred foreigners to do jobs which the educated Southerners could have done, does it today surprise anyone that the Northerners went to the extent of the horrible September-October massacre?

The Birth of the Republic of Biafra—She Needs Recognition

The facts are that the Moslems do not consider the Southerners, especially the Ibos, as their kith-and-kins. It is only a loose association of independent Nigerian States which will be reasonable in the circumstances and acceptable to the Southern States. Any crusade to coerce the Easterners to serve in a government dominated by the North would be an unholy one. 14 million souls in the new Republic of Biafra are not a small group of people. In fact the Republic of Biafra numerically is larger than any other African State south of the Sahara. Ghana and the rest of Africa must act. They must not allow British-supported Northern Nigeria to crush Biafra. Biafra deserves a separate existence; she has the right to live; she must be recognized. Rhodesia is not being crushed by a war. White blood is precious in the eyes of white people, and Africans must begin to think seriously and accept the fact that those preparing for war in Nigeria today are Africans, and that every African blood spilt constitutes a loss in manpower to mother Africa. It is therefore an unholy crusade that certain leaders of Nigeria are preparing to wage against sons and daughters of Africa. The Organisation of African Unity must intervene to save African blood from being shed. Great Britain knows more than any other country the wide differences in customs, temperament and language of the former artificially unified Nigeria. We must not pretend that the various ethnic groups of Nigeria are one people. If it were so the horrible massacres of last year could not have taken place. We must face the facts squarely.

PROBLEMS OF MERITOCRACY

A TASK FOR CIVIC EDUCATION

By

A. Gematuxo

THE CENTRE for Civic Education little knows what it has taken on! Let it take, for example, the necessity for removing cobwebs in the minds of drivers. Drivers as a class have been known to have a mentality all their own. In Ghana, the attitudinal doses administered to diverse working classes has made the task of cobweb removal an even more difficult exercise.

The other day, my driver called my attention to a certain man who had stopped to book appointment with me. Said my driver: "Ibi tuh morch book de mek him craze! He sahbi book tuh morch."

There you have it. Those of our countrymen who imagine that their too much learning does earn them the respect of drivers and, for that matter, Ghanaian workers of little or no education, are kidding themselves. Book learning is held in derision. Was it not in the recent past when people of little or no book in their heads could hold any posts from the District Commissioner's upwards to the exalted office of Cabinet Ministers and Managing Directors of State Enterprises! If so, what are you talking about by exalting meritocracy? And why rule the Earth from the skies, anyway!

If only the chauffeur-driven gentry, who spread their arms in self-esteem at the back of limousines would but see the sneer on the face of their chauffeurs, they would not feel so smug. Much of the sneer is well deserved. What car owners of the leisured class do in the back seat and what they hold dear, are too well known to drivers. And the latter are not impressed.

And yet, when a car owner takes it into his head to drive his own car, the disdain of the professional class of drivers knows no bounds either. In their reckoning, the flood of nostalgia swells when they hanker back after the good old days of colonial Gold Coast, when few car owners would dream of driving themselves. Car owners engaged professional drivers in those expansive days. This got into the heads of drivers. Hence, any "Modin" (derogatory term for "black man") who could buy a car but could not afford a driver deserved the pity and contempt of the driving profession.

Sociologists who have made a study of social change from colonialism to independence must have hit upon the problem which confronted drivers and domestic assistants of all grades. The worst hit were, perhaps, domestic cooks and stewards. As a distinct class, they were

hostile to the idea of self-rule. Their jobs were threatened in a real sense.

Pre-independence bungalow-dwellers invariably hired domestic servants: cooks, stewards, garden boys and drivers, to do the manual chores. Then, every gentleman knew that it was *infra dig.* to soil their hands or wear anything other than the white collar.

Unfortunately for houseboys and drivers, a new species of "Masters" came to replace the former Masters. The new breed systematically did away with domestic service, or nearly. If they employ domestic servants at all, it is their unlettered relatives or the children of fishermen they engage. The terms of employment are only a little short of slavery. No formal wages are paid. These latter-day domestic servants earn their keep by merely being fed and housed; hardly ever clothed.

Why should the colonial type of servants not look down on the new "Masters?" In all societies, including our traditional one, poverty is never crowned. Nor can the mean, poor neo-elite!

As I was saying, the high priests of civic education have a task ahead of them in purging the driver mentality. Drivers tell us that not so far back in point of time, during the old regime, they were far better off in terms of the rakings they took off the table of party activists and higher ups. Said one driver to me: "Whenever we were about to go on trek, my Master gave me a lump sum, say, one hundred pounds, for petrol. He did not ask me what was left after the trek. Sometimes, I spent only twenty pounds on petrol."

How are the new parsimonious gentry going to impress such a driver if, as we are told, the day will come when every penny will be accounted for? Centre for Civic Education, over to you! How do you sell the coming close-fisted policy to such as these?

In the general matter of the airs which certain "bookmen" affect, and the language they speak, the problem for civic education is even more intractable. All too often, apart from problems of communication, the over-bearing attitude of learned people or professional classes is despised in no uncertain terms by the commoners.

Since the language of "bookmen" 'passes all understanding,' the common man does not even try to listen. And yet, with the dawn of meritocracy, the common people who have the majority votes will be required to opt for people of quality. How do we get past this problem in the near future when civilian rule is ushered in, and party politics take over? In all modesty and cowardice, I shiver at the weight of assignment which the Centre for Civic Education has taken on!

THE CONVERSION OF THE JOURNALISTS: A LEGEND OF MODERN TIMES

By
Christian Brugger
(Swiss Press Review)

THERE WAS once a country in which all the journalists were amoral.

—*First of all, amongst themselves.* Instead of there reigning a pleasant harmony among them, they had opinions so different the one from the other that certain newspapers considered false what the others held to be true. For this reason, the simple citizen was sometimes led to ask where the truth was and if anything could be more amoral than this lack of certitude.

—*Then, towards the authorities.* Some journalists attacked the President, others the Foreign Minister, and if no one attacked the Minister of Information, it was only because no one knew his name nor even whether he really existed.

—*Then, towards foreign countries.* Some journalists were correspondents of foreign newspapers or agencies, and they sent dispatches abroad just as if there were no Overriding National Interest to be safeguarded. For example, one day when the workers of a nationalised mass production industry did not arrive at the factory for their work and, instead, walked through the streets carrying banners demanding an increase in their salaries, all these correspondents of foreign newspapers and agencies cabled to their offices abroad—I repeat, abroad—that there was a strike in progress. They could very easily have said, if they had wanted to show a minimum of goodwill, that hostile saboteurs were trying to turn the workers against the popular power but that they would never attain this end. The journalists in question were amoral to such a point that the idea never entered their heads, and public opinion had become so corrupt that it did not even notice the shameful manner in which foreign countries were being kept informed about what was going on.

—*Then, towards the Principle of the State.* In this sphere, it must be admitted that the task was a little difficult, since no one really knew what this Principle consisted of. Some said that it was a religion, others a science, others an economic basis, others a weapon against enemies, and there were many other opinions on the subject. In any case, everyone was sure that they would recognize it whenever it started functioning. The main thing about it was known already, and that was the name by which the Principle in question went: Keksekalsism. The term, of which no one can doubt the beauty, was so evocative of the Future, and of the Wellbeing of the Nation that it naturally invited all the citizens to a veneration which relieved them of all doubts. But do you suppose that the journalists of the country understood this? Not they. They discussed the great Principle as if it were any old thing, and they even sometimes forgot the capital letter.

So this was, in that far-distant country, the amoral state of affairs. It was called, incidentally, "freedom of the press".

But one fine day the President at last decided to act. He had long been prevented from sleeping peacefully because he could not stop thinking about the amorality prevailing amongst certain sections of opinion; and since everyone knew that the sleep of the just was necessary to the building of the Nation, something had to be done. So he called his Minister of the Interior and his Minister of Information for an interview.

"It cannot go on like this any longer with the press", he told them. His Ministers made sign that they assented, the Minister of Information with an air of melancholy, the Minister of the Interior with an air of energy.

It was the turn of the latter to speak. "This freedom of the press..." he started; but the President interrupted: "That we intend to conserve at all costs and (vigorously) even to raise it to a higher level of morality".

This was so well said that even the President himself had

a certain difficulty in getting down to what it actually meant in detail—although details were inevitable if it were to be put into practice.

"First", said the President, "it must in the future be understood that freedom of the press does not mean freedom to write lies".

"Magnificent!" cried the Minister of Information (who was still a relatively young man), "that is exactly..." At this stage an expression of some perplexity came over his face. "Only", he continued with a voice of less assurance, "there is the question of finding out whether a given piece of information is a lie".

The President favoured him with a big benign smile. "It is precisely in that direction that there lies a promotion in your status, my dear friend. I shall reinforce the budget of your department, and you shall have a new direct telephone line with the Presidential Palace. In short, you will be in a position to furnish the truth about everything that happens, and the press will only have to put down what you tell them. You will be a really important personality".

The young minister still did not have the appearance of being altogether at his ease, but in good collegiate fashion his friend, the Minister of the Interior, came to his assistance. "If you should have any difficulties", he told him in a tone of reassurance, "we shall always be there to give you a hand".

This being dealt with, the President passed to his second point. "We shall always be open to constructive criticism", he said, "but it is intolerable that this highly regarded institution of the press should, be used as a pretext for attacking the authorities. These represent the people, and no one has the right to throw mud at the people".

As there could not possibly be any objection to such convincing words, the President went straight on to his third point. "Our press is like a visiting card which is sent abroad. And I do not have to tell you that a visiting card should not be made ugly by the smallest crease or the least air of grubbiness". At this point, the Minister of the Interior took the liberty of introducing a little joke which his highly developed sense of humour could not resist. "We shall have to find a lot of indiarubber for all this", he began; but he stopped in the middle of his joke, when he saw that the President's face had taken on a serious expression which signified that he wished to come to his next and final point.

The President here raised his voice (he had a beautiful, sonorous voice) and cried: "Finally, we must respect what we regard as sacred. No one will be allowed, under the pretext of freedom of the press, to heap calumny on our Principle of State, Keksekalsism. In this respect, we shall have no pity".

The Ministers were impressed by the solemnity of the moment. But the Minister of Information did think fit to hazard one question. "Mr. President", he said, "it would be of use for me to know... That is, could you tell us exactly what... Could you give us a few details on the subject of the Principle, if you see what I mean?"

The President frowned. "What good would that do you?" he said in an irritated voice. Then he dismissed his two Ministers with these words: "You, Minister of Information, are concerned with the truth; and you, Minister of the Interior, are concerned with lies. I shall concern myself with the matter of coordination".

The President's Secretary, who was holding the hats, coughed at this juncture, and the interview was at an end.

So this was the beginning of a very salutary re-education of the press in that country. At first, there were a few difficulties with journalists who did not seem to want to understand, but the new directive allowed enemies of the state to be treated for what they were and matters were soon resolved. The result, once seen, was impressive. The newspapers, instead of presenting the old discordances, showed a united front in which could invariably be recognised the carefully worked

out style of the communiques which the Minister of Information produced each day in a totally satisfactory manner. In the same way, a basic unity was forged between public opinion and the representatives of the people, known as the government. Abroad, the country gave an impression of perfect harmony which was the truth. And Kekseksalism was henceforth untouchable for all those who previously had muddied it with their personal opinions, and the National Dignity profited enormously therefrom.

THE PRESS AND RADIO IN GHANA—MERELY INCOMPETENT ?

(*The Economist*, August 6, 1966)

WHEN a witness complained recently at one of Ghana's commissions of inquiry that the press had maliciously misreported his evidence to smear his political reputation, Mr. Justice Apaloo said soothingly: "I doubt whether the press is malicious; it seems merely incompetent."

Whatever the explanation, it seems intolerable that a country which is not totalitarian in any meaningful sense should be saddled with the tiresome trappings of an authoritarian state suggested by a lamentably poor press and state radio service. The newspapers' editors, judging by what they print, seem to have got used to being the last people in Ghana to find out about anything that is happening. The reporting is largely confined to a slavish printing of official hand-outs buttressed by obsequious editorials and cartoons whose vulgarity surely underestimates the readers' sophistication. The state radio, with its dreary speechifying, is equally bad, though here some newscasters on vernacular programmes manage by subtle emphasis to convey what they think of their shoddy material.

Incompetence may be part of the explanation for this: able men were not attracted to radio and newspaper work under Dr. Nkrumah. But, judging from the forthright and intelligent questioning your correspondent heard from Ghanaian reporters at several press conferences (none of it subsequently reflected in print), incompetence does not really seem to be the main reason. It seems to be rather a case of habits dying hard.

The support publicly (and mostly freely) given the government would sound more convincing if it were more analytical, and occasionally critical. What a reader and listener misses most is some attempt to assess the impact of all the new measures being announced almost daily. It is time for the public media to loose some of their inhibitions, however understandable these are after years of censorship. General Ankrah has said several times that he wants a free press: and when one newspaper did once criticise the government it was officially congratulated for writing its mind.

The newspapers might try taking the government at its word. And someone in authority might try to do something about the state radio: if it talked a little less and played a little more music that alone would be a major improvement.

FIRST ANNIVERSARY RESOLUTIONS

By

Kontopiaat

CONSIDERING MY Christian upbringing—or to be more accurate, the attempts made in that direction by my parents—I have to make some resolutions for the second year of the *Legon Observer*.

My first resolution is that I have to try and get Brigadier Afrifa to give at least two more open lectures. My reasons are three and therefore, as seen from the Occult Point of View, presumably good! The first is that he has not given

any since he was made a Brigadier, and even more important still, since his rather strange elevation to the post of Headmaster of the Teshi post-secondary school. The second is that in the last—or was it the first—public lecture that he gave on 20 March, 1967 he posed certain questions which he still has not answered. At least, I think so. For instance, he asked: "are we [the members of the N.L.C.] still dictating to civil servants and forcing them to implement decisions against their will?" I certainly would like to know whether he and his colleagues have or have not been doing any such thing. The third reason is that the lecture afforded many mortals like myself the opportunity of entering, for the first time, one part of that white elephant, Job 600—the Conference section, and naturally we are curious to enter the Dining Hall and then the main building itself. That makes it two more lectures, doesn't it?

Incidentally, talking about lectures reminds me of the one recently given by Mr. Victor Owusu. If the newspapers reported him correctly and if I understood the newspaper reports, then Dickens have mercy on us! He appears to have argued that since the men of Legon did not make any angry noises during the time of Nkrumah, they should not be making any such noises now. This is equivalent to saying, isn't it, that since the army did not stage any coup all the time from 6 March, 1957 to 23 February, 1966 therefore they should not have staged any coup! The latter is a frightening but rather fortunately an illogical thought. He is also reported to have said that "the people of Legon appear to have discovered themselves only after the coup." Assuming that he is correct here, what the Hell (pardon my language) is wrong with it! I had always assumed that an Attorney-General is at least capable of logical reasoning. But probably the newspaper reports are wrong. I do pray they are, for he is such a jolly nice fellow.

My second resolution is to try and clear up the question that has been haunting many people and this is the difference, both in theory and in practice, between Preventive Detention and Protective custody; I hope the Attorney-General will direct his attention to this question also and not only to Legon. A friend of mine with a particularly Mathematical bend of mind has suggested a very simple formula as a solution to this problem; PDA PC

— which meaneth in the light of very

N NLC

recent events, P.D.A. under Nkrumah Protective Custody under the N.L.C. He goes on to argue that while some people certainly needed protection immediately after the 24th February coup, he

is really finding it difficult to believe that any of the 200 or more people, not to mention the 120 soldiers or so, put in since the futile but tragic insurrection really needed any such protection. If they needed it, did they really ask for it? If they did not ask for it, how on earth did the Police know that they needed it? In fact, another friend has now decided to be a watchman. His contention is that as far as he could see watchmen are the only people who are being constantly physically attacked but none of whom has, as far as he knows, been taken into protective custody. Obviously, all these formulae, hypotheses and fears have to be explored, or to use a more fashionable term, probed, in the course of the second year of *L.O.*

My third resolution is to work incessantly for the reconstitution of the Economic Committee since unfortunately there is no chance of its being liquidated with a view to ensuring that real economists and down-to-earth hard-headed businessmen and not Statisticians, Bankers and Accountants and Civil Servants get on to it* I bet you bread, beer and butter, to choose the three popular b's, will be cheaper and there will be more job openings.

My fourth resolution is to get myself appointed as the Commissioner of Labour or put in charge of either the Productivity Centre or the Ghana Airways since one doesn't have to produce any real results or even make sensible appointments not excluding non-marriage allowances much to the alarm of husbands, to continue in office.

My fifth resolution is to open some businesses, and I will begin with meat and sugar products, but I should be sure that I rear the cattle and establish the sugar plantations first before I order and instal the machines to process the material. My second and ultimate ambition is to float a mining company to exploit the heavy bauxite deposit at Nyinahin and other places in this country at whatever cost and convert it (however low the yield) into aluminium for export. At least this will bring in foreign exchange, that sacred darling of senior civil servants these days, and also (Mr. Commissioner of Labour and Mr. Chairman of Economic Committee and Mr. Manager of Valco and Bosses of V.R.A., please note) give some of us employment. Indeed, if my memory serves me right—and it does play tricks with me often—the main original *raison d'être* of the construction of the dam at Akosombo were the very rich bauxite deposits within reach of that site. But we have now been told that this is not in fact so and that the main object was to enable Kaiser and Co to produce aluminium from bauxite (or as they insist on calling it, alumina) imported from Canada and abroad more cheaply!

My fifth is to see to the creation of more novel ministries and for the appointment of the right people to head them. You see, I was disappointed in the announcement about the Civil Commissioners. This, however, was not because, as I am sure you may readily conclude, I was not made one or that nobody from my home-town was, but rather because being big soldiers and big policemen, I was expecting the N.L.C. to have shown a little more adventure and originality in the whole exercise. I would have liked to see and indeed, I do so recommend here and now that at least four absolutely brand-new ministries be established—more to be suggested in due course. These are: A Ministry of Rumours and Culture, a Ministry of Coups and Counter-Coups, a Ministry of Beauty and Wigs and a Ministry of Bauxite. The main preoccupation of the Ministry of Coups and Counter-Coups should be to forestall and suppress unnecessary coups and to plan and execute necessary ones. In other words it will operate rather like the C.I.A., and should therefore replace the Police and Army Intelligence Units. For the Head of this Ministry, Professor S. E. Finer's book entitled *The Man on Horseback*, which deals with the role of the Military in Politics, should be compulsory reading. The Ministry of Beauty and Wigs should naturally absorb the former Ministry of Parks and Gardens, and should be headed by a woman—preferably a beautician. Incidentally, why were there no women commissioners? The Ministry of Bauxite to which my Company should ultimately be assigned, should move Heaven and Earth to mine the Bauxite deposits in this country. The role of the key-ministry of Rumours and Culture is obvious.

And now to persons to head these excellent ministries. First of all, I would like to suggest that none of the members of the Economic Committee should be appointed to any of my new ministries. Indeed, those already appointed should be removed. After all, they have had their turn and they must give way to others who would inject a new sense of urgency and dynamism. Secondly, I think my colleague Cassius Nimbus of the *Ghanaian Times* will make a good job of of the Ministry of Rumours. (How dare I put my name forward!) Thirdly, since we obviously cannot rope in Professor Finer for the Ministry of Coups, and since Professor L. H. Ofofu-Appiah is also a Professor and has an acute and perceptive insight into human nature and motivation, I would like to suggest him.

My sixth is to write a letter of thanks and appreciation to at least four people. The first one is obviously my friend Mr. Harley for his exciting present—that beautiful 40 m.p.h. signpost on the double-carriage road in Accra. I am sure my next present or rather the present

* Changes in the membership have been announced early this week. This article went to the Press before then.—Ed.

to the traffic Police will be radar speed-metres. The second person is Mr. S. K. Sarfoh who said what I tried to say in my Kontopiaatic (splendid adjective, this) way in the proper technical language, and even gave more and better illustrations. I must confess I did not understand everything he wrote—for e.g. '85th percentile speed'. But I am sure Mr. Hartley and the Police to whom he obviously addressed that portion of his remarks understood every term he used. The third person is my own admirer Prof. L. H. Ofosu-Appiah whom I have already made a Commissioner and whom I would like to vote here and now—or rather my spies have voted him—as the most thought-provoking, controversial and therefore the most popular speaker and writer in Ghana to-day. The fourth and final person is of course the Editor of *Legon Observer* and for reasons too obvious to be dilated upon here.

Observer Notices

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The public is informed that as from Thursday, the 6th of July, 1967, Mr. J. K. Donkor, former book-keeper of the *Legon Observer* at the Liberty Press, has ceased to work for the *Legon Observer*.

All our customers are advised not to make any payment whatsoever to Mr. Donkor. Any customer who makes any payment to Mr. Donkor in settlement of accounts with the *Legon Observer* does so at his own risk.

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Letters

The National Executive Council

SIR—The whole nation, and indeed the entire world, will view the establishment of a National Executive Council and the appointment of Special Commissioners as the first visible step towards Civilian Rule. The Council's task is not going to be easy. The rules, regulations, systems, procedures and the mode of operation will establish a precedent for future civilian governments, as it naturally happens when an organization takes over the duties and functions of a previously established institution.

The Saint's advice to all these distinguished gentlemen is INTEGRITY, HONESTY, HARD WORK AND SENSITIVITY TO THE PEOPLE'S NEEDS AND PROBLEMS. There is the temptation at this period of reconstruction for people in authority to think that they have a master plan to solve national problems. At the same time there will exist the over-cautious ones who will not have the courage to introduce "radical" changes but rather play safe. A judicious combination of firmness as well as sensitivity to the ordinary man's suggestions will be of immense help in the administration of national affairs.

May I, at this time, make some brief comments on the composition of the Council. First and foremost, there are members of the Council who came from the ranks of the Forces—Military and Police. My advice is that Civilian rule is slightly different from military administration. A stable civilian authority derives enduring power and respect from the people to be served. In the military and in the other forces, power is given from above and it is the duty of subordinates to accept this authority without challenge. This is the FORMAL THEORY OF AUTHORITY.

The three NLC members holding ministerial portfolios as well as the other members of the NLC still retain their substantive positions in the military and the police. They will be wearing two different hats then. As a result they should make the necessary mental adjustments quickly. I am sure some of them have already experienced this.

There are also members of the Council who have acquired a great deal of experience as Civil Servants. As a matter of fact, some had worked with Governments since the Gold Coast days. These gentlemen, should appreciate the new environment under which they will be operating this time. Political, economic and social forces are operating now which did not exist either in the colonial days or in the immediate post-independence era. A fresh look at things may pay high dividends.

There are other members, as we all know, who were activists in the former government—and particularly in the N.A.S.S.O. group. I hope they have forgotten their past and have learnt their lessons, because the parent organization (the CPP) which they were serving had failed the country. They should turn a new leaf.

There are others who worked either closely or directly with the CPP government, I do not know to what extent such people contributed towards the maladministration of the CPP government. Such "Mikoyans" can be destructive if they do not forget the system under which they operated in the past. At the same time, I believe they can be of immense help to the new Council since they can detect and warn against some of the pitfalls which culminated in the 24th February Revolution. To them I say: Have a cool head.

Then there are those who were vehemently opposed to the CPP government, and in fact, suffered as a result. To them my advice is: Do not be too vindictive. The task now is national reconstruction and not national destruction or victimization. They should forget the past and have temperance because a large majority, if not the entire population, either directly or

indirectly contributed to the problems that the country is now facing.

There are also some new faces which are now appearing on the national scene. It is always encouraging to see new blood injected into any system—particularly if the new blood is pure and uncontaminated. There are those who were probably brought into the Council on account of their regional (not tribal) heritage. In politics regional representation is almost an accepted principle. It is hoped that such people will view problems on a national (scale) rather than on parochial basis.

As stated earlier, the Nation and indeed, the world is watching you selected gentlemen. May I take this opportunity to welcome you to your new roles. The eyes of the world are on you.

Accra.

K.A.

Civilian Rule—Let Us Hasten Slowly

SIR—Our time has seen History, not repeating itself, but reversed. It is a time when a military government has not turned dictatorial: a time when rule by decree has been more democratic than by parliamentary debate.

While I feel like anyone else that government must pass into civilian hands as soon as possible, I wish to suggest that "soon", while it must not be a long way away, must be so soon. There are things to correct yet. There are the civic pharisees, who still see dynamism (the CPP way) like a right angle. If people clamour for a return to civilian rule, probably with prejudices about military rule, I hope they have seen a great deal that a civilian government would have done better than the NLC at this moment.

No one has seen better than the NLC the need for national civic education, which has just been launched. The voter as well as the prospective politician needs this type of education, the former in order to see the worthlessness in asking the fellow with backache to reach for the top of the rack, and the latter to be taught that opportunism and nepotism are out.

Let us make haste slowly.

P.O. Box 45,

George L. Boaty

Dzodze, Volta Region

The Honest Man

SIR—The story is told of Diogenes Laertius, a philosopher of Apollonia, that he walked about in broad daylight with a light in his hand, and when he was asked what he was doing with the light at that time of the day, he would tell his questioners that he was looking for an honest man. Diogenes Laertius lived from about 420 BC to 324 BC.

Perhaps if he had lived at the same time as the Athenian Aristides, and in the same town, he might have appeared a demented fellow, for Aristides was considered to be so upright and virtuous in public life, especially in his handling of the funds of the early Athenian confederacy that he was nicknamed 'The Just'. Aristides flourished about fifty years before Diogenes Laertius was born.

In Ghana we have of late had a change in Government by an event known popularly as "the glorious revolution". We are constantly being told that the men of the previous regime were so corrupt that they were not worthy to rule. Their age might be likened to the age of Diogenes Laertius during which there was no man found honest and there had to be a search for one. But in the present state of affairs in Ghana, can any man be likened to Aristides?

P.O. Box 917

George Hammond

Accra.

Accra-Tema City Council

SIR—According to recent reports in the national dailies the Accra-Tema City Council has decided to instigate legal proceedings against commercial establishments who fail to have their names installed in neon.

Much as I appreciate the council's efforts to beautify Accra with neon signs, I am at a loss to understand why the council feels that neon signs will attract tourists more than first class sanitary conditions. At the moment streets in the city are full of potholes, huge dumps of rubbish are scattered all over the city; public places of convenience are in an appalling condition, and transport services are grossly inefficient, with buses belching out smoke like mobile oil refineries. If the council is aware of the existence of such a disturbing and messy situation, then it could be safely accused of gross negligence of duty, inefficiency and lack of foresight. Instead of coercing commercial establishments to install neon signs the council should rather preoccupy itself with efforts aimed at remedying the present sad state of affairs.

The Accra-Tema City Council should be reminded once and for all that it is of paramount importance to keep the city healthy and clean, and this responsibility must be their main concern. Ridiculous threats of dragging people to court for C39/1 Chatfield Avenue, K. A. Sasu.

SIR—If the Accra-Tema City Council insists on enforcing its own ridiculous bye-laws on neons, let them. But in return the Council can do some real service for tourists—with neon too; I seriously suggest that all rutts and "pot-holes" on the roads in the city should be illuminated with neon rings so that tourists can avoid these bumpy holes. Of course, Ghanaian citizens too would save the costs of repairs to springs.

Tema, Atta Barney

Oil Drilling in Ghana

SIR—One of the greatest events that crowned the year 1966 was the official inauguration of Drilling Operation at Atiavi in the Volta Region by Mr. B. A. Yakubu, N.L.C. member responsible for Lands and Mineral Resources.

On a recent trek in the Volta Region I took the opportunity to visit the site to see what was being done. What I learnt whilst I was there was nothing like what everybody has been made to understand is going on there. I met the drilling crew on the "giant" rotary rig just as they had drilled past the 2,700 feet mark (a third of the estimated depth to be drilled.) When I requested that I might be shown some of the samples of rocks that have been drilled, I was told, to my surprise, that some of these were lost through somebody who had claimed that he was collecting them down to the headquarters in Accra. (I will for the moment leave this matter but I hope readers will be in a position to judge for themselves the seriousness of this incident after I have described the expense involved in oil drilling.) From what I learnt, there was only one borehole being drilled to explore the possibility of the existence of an oil deposit in the area. If this is true, then one is forced to conclude that a deliberate attempt is being made to mislead the public that we are drilling for oil in Ghana. I cannot therefore help asking those who are directly connected with this operation to tell the whole nation what is exactly happening at Atiavi.

Oil drilling all over the world is a very expensive and specialised operation. It needs a team of specialists to handle: geologists, drillers, geophysicists, palaeontologists, and engineers.

The drilling itself is a very difficult operation. It involves time, precision, and diligence. It must naturally be preceded

by the selection and study of the area in which we are interested—a sedimentary basin usually—for not all rocks have oil-bearing properties. A preliminary surface geological survey is done where there are outcrops and exposures. Next, a geophysical survey—magnetic, seismic, etc.—is undertaken to study the subsurface geological conditions of the area. It is only after these surveys have been done that structures like anticlines, salt domes, etc., that are considered favourable for the accumulation of oil can be delineated, if there are any. A few exploratory holes are then drilled at the sites where the favourable structures have been delineated. It must however be noted that drilling of these holes is not yet drilling for oil because the mere presence of a favourable structure does not necessarily prove the existence of oil. If the exploration proves that there is oil in the underground reservoir, we may then consider whether the oil field warrants development.

One doubts whether all these vital processes have been passed through in the Keta Basin. If yes, well and good; but exists. Informed sources indicate that the crude oil deposits discovered in the preliminary exploration are so vast that they can last at least 10 years" (*Sunday Star* 8-1-67 p. 4); worse ones have appeared in the local press, like, "this oil will be feeding the GHAIP refinery at Tema." Such speculations can be harmful.

Will the authorities tell us what is happening in Atiavi?

Geologist

Nii Kate Bannerman

Registered Mail

SIR—It is about time the General Post Office brought conspicuously to the public notice a comprehensive set of rules guiding the collection of registered mail. In the present circumstances a citizen collects a registered slip from his letter box and immediately turns to the Packets Office to take the delivery indicated, only to be told he should present some means of identification. Now Ghana is not in a state of emergency and people generally do not have an instant means of identification. Normally people do not carry (those who have them) their passports about; neither does everyone possess a driving licence; nor have constantly in their company, a "responsible person" to vouch for their identity—the alternative one is given at the counter. One is then forced to an exhaustive argument or else to turn back in frustration to return at a later time no matter what the urgency or inconvenience.

One way out of this is to indicate clearly on the slip these rules. Better still, the whole system of mail delivery should be revised—in other parts of the world the Postman brings the slip to your door-step with the packet and delivers immediately as you sign. It would provide an opening for some of our unemployed anyway.

Accra.

M. Bossman (Miss)

Ghanaian Doctors

SIR—When will the people responsible for the Ministry of Health ever learn?

Quite recently there appeared in one of the local dailies an article headlined "Big move to bring doctors Home". The gist of it was that legal action would most likely be taken to force Ghanaian doctors to come home. If the situation were not so tragic one would surely be amused. Do they really think that this "strong-arm" method will work? Have they asked themselves, "What has the Ghanaian doctor to come home to?" Have they tried to create a service which will encourage him to come home? There is a strong feeling of regret among many who did return. The Ghanaian doctor returning home faces:

- (i) in the majority of cases no bungalow for at least a

few months. When he does get one it very often is in a state of gross disrepair,

- (ii) a salary scale that will not meet the very high cost of living if he has a family;
- (iii) long working hours due to the shortage of medical staff and inefficiency of the nursing staff;
- (iv) old and inadequate supply of instruments which make his work more difficult, not to mention the protraction of prescribing treatment for patients which is not available;
- (v) to add insult to injury he sees the expatriate doctor, who very often doesn't care a straw for the Ghanaian patient and who perhaps is not as well qualified as he, receiving twice his pay and more, rest of it in foreign currency, plus a trip abroad every 18 or so months.

Until the Ministry of Health improves conditions for their doctors they have absolutely no right to force them to come home. Perhaps the wise Ghanaian doctor is enjoying being an expatriate in another country. Who can blame him?

P.O. Box 1934

Mari-lyrre Ganaway.

Kumasi.

Anti-Apartheid Movement

SIR—No need to apologise to the Pioneer Tobacco Company. The Ardath Tobacco Company, proprietors of "State Express", is a member of the Carreras Group which is controlled by the Rembrandt Tobacco Company of South Africa.

Unilever, through its subsidiary, the United Africa Company, has large interests in independent Africa. For such a firm to invest large sums of money in Rhodesia is a deliberate affront to African feelings. The *London Times* last month expressed great surprise at Unilever's action in view of its holdings in Ghana and Nigeria. Money raised here can release money in United Kingdom for investment in Rhodesia—the logic of the connection, I hope, is clear.

Mr. Maxwell says we should not boycott the racist regimes—so aligning himself with the policy of the apologists for South Africa and Rhodesia. Is he so naive as to think that one day Vorster and Smith would suddenly turn round and give "one man one vote" because things look nice in Ghana or Zambia? I am afraid Mr. Maxwell does not understand the nature of white domination in South Africa. Those who do—the African Nationalists, the Organisation of African Unity, and the United Nations—have all called for sanctions against both Rhodesia and South Africa, mandatory in the case of the former.

Sanctions and boycotts are the only weapons short of actual military intervention. They may not be enough but we must at least try them.

Dept. of Biochemistry,
Ghana Medical School,
P.O. Box 4236,
Accra.

David R. Mobbs

Football

SIR—I regret that your familiar objectivity seemed to desert you in your comment on the football match between Accra Hearts of Oak and Accra Great Olympics and the incidents leading to the referee sending off three of the players.

In the first place, you distort the nature of the incident. You write disparagingly about the "ugly behaviour of goalie Dodoo Ankraah and back-keeper (sic) Addo Odamety" but you say nothing about the Olympics forward Daniel Oti whose conduct actually sparked off the whole incident. In fact, you do not even record the fact that Oti too was sent off the field and you create the impression that Ankraah, without provocation, assaulted Oti after the referee had called for an infringement

against him.

This is far from the truth. The truth is that after both Dodoo and Oti had fallen just outside the goal-line as they struggled vainly to save the ball from going out of touch, Oti rose up and deliberately kicked Ankraah who was down. It was for this that Dodoo, on rising, retaliated by striking him. The referee stepped in and sent both players (not Dodoo alone) off the field. Surely, he would not have done that if the ugly behaviour belonged only to Ankraah.

Secondly, you join in exaggerating the position when you say that Odamety "rudely pitched the ball straight at the on-coming referee's face, or head, in a fit of temper at the dismissal of Ankraah". This is absolutely wrong.

You will recall that Odamety had taken over the goal-keeper's jersey when Dodoo was sent off the field. He was in no fit of temper and in fact, he would not have substituted for him, on his own volition if he had been as you suggest, in that fit of temper. On the contrary, he was calling on his colleagues to take up their positions for the resumption of play.

What you and the referee exaggerate out of all proportion is merely this: Odamety having decided to play in goal, the ball was handed to him. At that point, the referee had not indicated what he was going to do and it was only logical to assume that having sent off two players of the opposing team, he was going to drop the ball. In such a situation, the right thing to do is to hand over to the referee.

When Odamety received the ball, he decided, rightly in my opinion, to throw it to the referee. Unfortunately, the referee was not alert enough to catch the ball and it hit his head. This was purely accidental and I maintain that at the very worst, the referee should have called Odamety and cautioned him.

Instead, the referee, in what I consider a very rash move, ordered Odamety too off the field. And this is what you are apparently falling head over heels to support.

I will like to raise two issues of principle since you seem concerned that principle should be set above personalities.

The first is whether the referee acted rightly within the meaning of the laws of Football in sending off Dodoo Ankraah and Oti. The second is whether he used his powers judiciously in ordering Odamety off.

A decision of the International Board of FIFA in respect of an aspect of Law 12 (Fouls and Misconduct) says: "If two players of opposing sides should be outside the boundary of the field of play and one intentionally trips or strikes the other, the ball being still in play, the Referee shall stop the game and caution or send off the guilty player according to law 12. The game shall be restarted by the Referee dropping the ball, in conformity with Law 8, at the place where it was in play at the moment the game was stopped."

This makes it clear that the referee can only send off this player or players for this offence taking place outside the boundary of play only provided the ball is still in play. Law 9 says that "The ball is out of play—(a) when it has wholly crossed the goal-line or touch-line, whether on the ground or in the air, (b) when the game had been stopped by the referee."

By the interpretation of law 9, the ball was out of play at the time of the incident involving Dodoo Ankraah and Oti both of whom had fallen outside the boundary of play. The question therefore arises whether the referee, restricted as he is by law 12, was justified in ordering the players off at the time when the necessary ingredient required to support his action was not there, namely the ball being still in play.

It will be said that law 5 gives the referee very wide powers. Against this, I will submit that where these powers are specifically restricted by any section of the Laws, he is in duty bound to act within the restriction.

The principle I want to establish here is whether football in Ghana is going to be governed scrupulously by the Laws of Football or whether our referees are going to be permitted their own variations.

The second principle is the judicious use of power. Your paper has irrevocably committed itself to fight against arbitrary and capricious use of power. You stood for, and I trust, will always stand for, the judicious use of power—for commonsense in the application of power. I believe this commitment is not only confined to politics and that you will wish it applied to all spheres of the national life—sport not excepted.

If so, then, bearing in mind the circumstance in which Odamey threw the ball to him and also noting the fact that he had only just sent off the goalkeeper in circumstances which, as I have not tried to prove, were not entirely supportable by the laws, would you say that the referee was judicious in his order to Odamey to go off the field? I stress that no question of personality is involved here. Any other player could have been in his shoes. The question is simply whether the referee was not high-handed and capricious in his order. It will be worth drawing your attention to the views of nearly all the sportswriters who agree that there was some degree of capriciousness in the referee's decision.

All of us are anxious that football should be played strictly according to the Laws and in the highest spirit of sportsmanship. You can be sure that those of us in charge of clubs never cease to emphasize the wholly essential aspects of sportsmanship to our players. But it is worth bearing in mind at all times the referee's own contribution to this. He too is obliged to be just and sporting and his failure to be either can have the effect of provoking unsavoury reaction from the participants themselves who after all are under severe strain in these matches.

J. K. Tawiah

Ag. Chairman of Accra Hearts of Oak.

Our Sports Correspondent writes:—

IT MAY well be true that, as Mr. Tawiah states in the penultimate paragraph of his letter, "nearly all the sportswriters . . . agree that there was some degree of capriciousness in the referee's decision"; but perhaps it is necessary to stress that there were more spectators than there were sportswriters at the match in question, and that most of the spectators, including Hearts supporters, felt that Odamey had misbehaved rather badly. Now, Hearts supporters are noisy and jubilant fanatics, and usually express their joy or disgust in no uncertain way. On this occasion, most of those among whom I was sitting were either deploring Odamey's behaviour or were silent with shame. They wished the referee had not been so strict on their idol but they never questioned his judgment. And the G.A.F.A. which, incidentally, had representatives at the stadium also seems to be satisfied that the referee was correct. Only Mr. Tawiah seems unconvinced.

The value of Mr. Tawiah's letter is to illustrate how certain club officials, by failing to rise above blind partisanship, can encourage players to misbehave on the field. We hope that Mr. Tawiah will grow more mature and more responsible in the course of time so that he will be able to offer his club real leadership in sportsmanship.

Occult Significance of Kotoka's Death

SIR—When you decided to print Mr. Twum-Barima's article on the mystical connection between Lt.-Gen. Kotoka and the number 8, the editorial sense of humour was doubtless stronger than the editorial sense of responsibility.

The article calls out for parody, and if I had the patient ingenuity of its author (combined with the genius of Swift or Ronald Knox), I would undertake to prove from the text of the article that it is an occult message from Buddha or Mickey Mouse. After all, Ronald Knox proved that *In Memoriam* was written not by Tennyson but by Queen Victoria, and his proof is as watertight as Mr. Twum-Barima's.

Lacking such immense patience and such immense comic genius, I will merely point out that it is an accident of history that our numbers go into double figures when we reach ten. Although we have ten fingers and ten toes, it is not in the nature of things that we should use ten as a base: it was decreed not by God before time began but by certain clever Arabs hundreds of years ago. Some people think we should drop this system and work with a base of twelve. Computers, I believe, work with a base of two. In view of these facts, I think it should be clear that Mr. Twum-Barima's coincidences can be of no significance to God or man, and I look forward to seeing a letter from Mr. Twum-Barima in a later edition of the *Legon Observer* in which he recants his errors and, like Prospero, abjures "this rough magic".

Opoku Ware School,
P.O. Box 849,
Kumasi.

Anthony Buckley

As Shakespeare once said, life [like journalism] is like a many sided mirror, reflecting the responsible, irresponsible and outlandish.—Editor.

Moral Courage and Mr. Victor Owusu

SIR—I was surprised to read about Mr. Owusu, the Attorney-General condemning all those who spoke in the "What Went Wrong" series as lacking moral courage because they did not speak out when Nkrumah was here. Now please let him answer these questions:

- (1) After he was released from detention in Nkrumah's jail, what did he do before the coup?
- (2) Dr. Danquah died in February, 1965. Was Mr. Victor Owusu in detention at the time? If yes, did he protest to Nkrumah about the treatment meted to Danquah? If he was out of detention, did he attend the funeral? If not, why not, assuming it was not for lack of moral courage?

(3) Mr. Owusu is showing that depressing symptom of anti-intellectualism which only intellectuals are capable of. But as a lawyer of no mean repute, is he not astonished at his own show of illogical performance and inconsistency with himself when he condemns "What-went wrongers" while doing in the same breath his own "What Went Wrong"?

Members of the Centre for Civic Education might well educate themselves on tolerance and the other virtues before they proceed to educate others.

Sintreso, Kumasi.

Kwame Yankom

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Postscript

THE ANNIVERSARY of any important event is an occasion for stock-taking and planning, for evaluation and resolution. Today, we talk a little about ourselves and things that affect us all.

Who are we, and what are we after ?

Twelve months after we have been in continuous production, we still find it necessary sometimes to say who we are and what we are about. Above all, we still have to stress that we are *not* in any way connected with the University of Ghana. If we were, we would not want for advertisements, at least those of educational value. The L.S.N.A. is a society of private, freedom-loving, Ghanaian citizens who happen to be resident at Legon, where we all work. The Society was founded on 1 March, 1966, soon after the coup, first as a Committee on National Reconstruction, by a group of Ghanaians on the senior staff of the University. Our aim was very simple: to organize discussions of the more important issues facing Ghana after the coup with a view to helping in the repair and reconstruction of Ghana, or, as stated in our minutes, "(1) To participate actively in the undoing of the havoc wreaked upon our country by the ousted Kwame Nkrumah regime, and (2) to offer constructive and any other form of assistance to the N.L.C. for the reconstruction of Ghana." Elsewhere in this issue we have published a list of our members which, we are proud to say, includes three active elderly men—Prof. Jones-Quartey, Dr. E. Amu, and Rev. Prof. C. G. Baeta.

On the 8th of June, 1966, the Political Committee of the Society suggested that a publication be established "to provide [the public] a means of putting across all kinds of views on national issues, (since) the national papers were not publishing letters from individuals of differing views", instances of which were known to us. Ghana was "without an independent journal of opinion," and the *Legon Observer* was our attempt to fill that vacuum. And we were very much encouraged by the reception we received after our first issue.

We Get Letters

One of the first letters we received was a wildly happy and excited one from Dr. I. B. Asafu-Adjaye (Kumasi):

Amen ! Amen ! Amen !
Glory be to God for the
most wonderful event in
the new Ghana . . .

Dr. Asafu-Adjaye then suggested, among other things, that we publish the *L.O.* in the major local languages. Others have since then welcomed us in much the same vein. We publish extracts from a sample of such letters:

- (2) From S. K. Opoku (Princeton, N.J., U.S.):—
I have only just received a copy of the first issue . . . and I must say that I am greatly heartened by it . . . I am glad that the dons of Legon have now decided to converse with the larger community outside the University, and have by the appearance of this journal committed themselves to the country's welfare. What they used to whisper to themselves in their S.C.R. will now be heard in the streets of Ghana, and I have no doubt that the country will be the better for it.
- (3) From Martin F. Kilson (Harvard, U.S.):—
I have just received a copy of the *L.O.* from a friend [vol. 1, no. 8] and found it very stimulating, intellectually sound, and politically courageous.
- (4) P. W. Lord (Accra):—
I congratulate you on producing a journal that is at the same time topical, instructive, and entertaining—a consummation devoutly to be wished but rarely achieved for 1/- !
- (5) K. Antwi-Dakwa (Asamankese):—
I congratulate you and the members of the L.C.N.R. I appreciate very much your candid opinion on Decrees

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

INSTITUTE OF STATISTICS

M.Sc. Course In Statistics 1967-68

A two-year M.Sc. course in Statistics is to start at the Institute of Statistics, University of Ghana, during the 1967-68 Academic year.

2. QUALIFICATIONS FOR ADMISSION TO THE COURSE

2.1. To be admitted to Part I of the course for the M.Sc. Degree in Statistics, a candidate must have obtained a good first degree with Statistics or Mathematics as the main subject at the University of Ghana or at some other University approved for the purpose by the Board of Studies in Statistics. Candidates who do not satisfy these requirements, but are otherwise adjudged suitable by the Board of Studies in Statistics shall be required, before admission, to pass a qualifying examination.

2.2. To be admitted to Part II of the course for the M.Sc. Degree in Statistics, a candidate must either

- (a) have passed Part I of the examination for the M.Sc. Degree in Statistics, or
- (b) have passed the examination for Post-graduate Diploma in Statistics with distinction and have been recommended for admission to Part II of the M.Sc. course by the Board of Studies in Statistics

Candidates who wish to be considered for admission to the above-named course should write for application forms which should be completed and returned not later than 1st of August, 1967.

Candidates who expect to qualify for consideration as a result of examination taken in June 1967 may also apply.

Letters for application forms must be address to the :

Senior Assistant Registrar,
Academic Section,
University of Ghana,

P. O. Box 25, Legon, Accra, Ghana,

and must be accompanied by a stamped self-addressed foolscap envelope.

92 and 93 . . . Continue to fight the good fight . . .

I have explained to many farmers in this area the good work you are doing . . . and they all wish you God's blessings. We need independent papers that can fight for the rights of the common man and not those that will say Amen to every nonsense.

The fear that was bred in the people, especially in the rural areas, has not died. Fight on . . .

(6) David Birmingham (London):—

I should very much like to subscribe to the *L.O.*, of which I hear glowing reports . . .

(7) S. J. Atiku (Accra):—

I am overwhelmed with admiration for your esteemed journal's objectivity, forthrightness and dynamism in tackling the country's social, political and economic problems in a de-Nkrumianized Ghana . . .

(8) E. K. Dodji (Kumasi):—

I congratulate you for the educative articles you always print in your informative fortnightly journal. I take delight in the objective point of view . . .

(9) J. K. Attah-Pippin (London):—

I am glad that at last we have got such a paper in the country. I am very much impressed. May I congratulate you.

(10) A. A. Asiedu (U.S.T., Kumasi, now in Bristol):—

A timely and appropriate venture; . . . a magnificent piece of journalism. I hope the *L.O.* stays with us a long time.

(11) Dr. K. Agyeman-Dickson (Asamankese):—

Wonderful . . . magnificent. I hope it will not be a nine-day wonder.

(12) B. T. T. Ofori (Tamale):—

I have read the *L.O.* since its inception, and am tremendously impressed with its forthrightness. It has lived up to its avowed aim. I nominate it "NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR".

And there are many others who always say nice and flattering things about you, like Mr. Wm. Ofori-Attah who, at Brig. Ofori's State House lecture, spoke about the wonderful things

L.O. was doing.

Two of our national newspapers also gave us a very magnanimous welcome. The *Sunday Mirror* welcomed us in its editorial column, and the *Evening News* wrote a front-page story of the *L.O.* and its publishers. The two thus gave us a much-needed publicity, certainly much more publicity than we could have ordered commercially.

Fifty-year veteran *West Africa* has twice referred to us as the "excellent" *Legon Observer*. And many readers, at home and abroad, have told us the *L.O.* reminds them of the *New Statesman* and the *Economist*. These compliments are naturally very flattering considering that we are part-time, paid, amateur journalists.

Scowls

We do not, of course, pretend that everybody has fallen love with us. For example, a few weeks after we came out, "Special Correspondent" of the *Evening News* who derided himself an implacable foe of the new class, or the rising "aristocracy" as he called it, plunged into a ferocious attack on a "certain journal [which] has been circulating around the last few weeks . . . from Legon [no name mentioned]. The article was a variation of the familiar theme of anti-intellectualism among the ill-educated, but it had the distinction of the first sign of the resurrection of that theme after the coup. The correspondent proceeded to give the *L.O.* some lessons in journalism, and confidently declared that this journal was bound to fail because it was not sufficiently "snogographic".

Soon after this, "What's on Your Mind" (G.B.C.) broadcast the following letter:

Dear Sir: . . . The *Legon Observer* is being published by intellectuals at Legon. The people have been suppressed for a long time, and now, after the coup, they are taking the opportunity to attack everybody. . . I feel that they will sow dissension and discord in this society . . .

Whereupon the narrator chimed in, "Well, well; criticizing the critics!"

The *Evening News* editorial of 21/10/66 surprisingly described our views on Decrees 92 and 93 as "high-falutin" and "rhetorical". The same paper last week agreed with Mr. Boohene of the Ghana Airways that our journal was "yellow press". Under the title "Plain Robbery", "J.K." of the *Evening News* once called us robbers for having sold copies of the *L.O.* with some blank pages; and a correspondent of the *Sunday Star*, a Mr. Kissi, writing almost exactly like the "Special Correspondent" of the *Evening News* referred to above, described our articles as "tutorial essays" and rather unreadable.

After our very first issue, in which an article on "Government by Civil Servants" was published, some top civil servants bluntly told some of our members that we were risking this University's future chance of favourable budget allocations!

All this is not to suggest that there is any open hostility to the *L.O.*; but we do not delude ourselves that everybody will always agree with us. On balance, however, we believe we have more friends than enemies. But, by now, you may be wondering, "What about the N.L.C.?"

The National Liberation Council

This question is relevant in view of the attitude of the old regime to the private press and to independent opinion, and the fact that what the N.L.C. does now may well set the pattern for the future. The N.L.C., individually and collectively, have often declared their "faith" in a free and independent press. And, in comparison with the Nkrumah regime, it has shown tolerance and good faith. With regard to the *Legon Observer* the N.L.C. have left us severely alone contrary to uninformed rumours; they have never interfered with our activities. We have spoken to all of them but two—Lt-Gen. Ankrah and Mr. Nunoo (see vol II, no. 4; 17/2/67). We have heard nothing but praise and high commendation and advice from all of them. Mr. Deku and Mr. Nunoo actually donated money in support of our venture, and if Lt-Gen. Ankrah, whom we have never had the honour of meeting, felt sufficiently strongly us, we should surely have heard from him.

In turn, we might state that the N.L.C. has come in for a lot of praise for their objectivity and tolerance from private correspondents and in international dispatches for having permitted a critical independent paper like this to thrive. Most people think that it augers well for Ghana.

Altogether the private and independent press is relatively free; we hope that the state-controlled press will soon be emancipated.

Skirmishes

True to our aims and objectives, we have tried to be frank and objective. Truth and justice have always been our watchwords. But this policy has often got us into conflict with all sorts of people. Our very first issue last year alienated some top civil servants. The second brought in Mr. Gbedemah. When we heard that Mr. Gbedemah wanted to do something about a letter that appeared about him, we did not discount the possibility of a court action against us: Mr. Gbedemah's threat, through his solicitor, a Mr. V. Owusu, to sue the national papers unless they published apologies for certain publications about him during the Nkrumah days, was still fresh in our minds. But Mr. Gbedemah only called a press conference and, except for the unfortunate choice of Mr. Wiawe as chairman, did quite well [vol. I, no. 4]. We commended him for his courage and maturity.

Our next skirmish was with Mr. Quaison-Sackey, which sparked off a spate of correspondence. Mr. Quaison-Sackey rolled his sleeves for a fight, and was defended by an unknown

correspondent called "Wife of a Robot Diplomat" (in a letter that was not published). There was no fight, and we moved on, but, it seems, always into fresh controversies—with Valco, whose representative is not on speaking, or dining, terms with us; and "St. John's International" which also tried to use "diplomatic" pressure and gave us the impression of some battle ahead [Incidentally, we must stress here that not all our writers are University people, and Mr. Kwaku Manu who wrote on import licencing, is not a lecturer]. We are currently in a conflict with the Ghana Airways [see chairman's press release in this issue], in which an interesting commercial reprisal against us is developing [We'll tell you all about it later].

These are only examples, but what we learn from them is that most people do not like criticism, unless it is of someone else who is not a friend or a relative. People take criticism too personally, and don't see the issues in an argument. Which brings us to some observations about our readers and the Ghanaian public in general.

Reading, Writing, and Public Life

Most Ghanaians stop reading after school or after their formal education, and few want to bother to write to newspapers. National issues are hardly discussed, even in private, because people haven't developed their capacities for analysis and critical thinking. True, the last ten years have done more harm to the value of thinking than was imaginable; but unless we are all prepared to think for ourselves, we shall forever be easy prey to any future ambitious politicians. In part this is the fault of the state-controlled press, which, in their monopolistic position, does not encourage dissenting views on national issues. We wait to see if the Centre for Civic Education can educate the Government, the press, educated readers, as well as the target—the ordinary citizen—on the value of a free press. We must stress the re-education of the educated, because it is they who are most in need of the ability to argue and debate in tolerance.

We must also observe that the elderly in our society are not giving the younger ones much leadership in the modern society. Few, if any, of our older educated men, ever write their views on national issues or participate in public debates on vital issues. Those who do, like Prof. Ofosu-Appiah, Dr. Busia and Dr. Danquah, are maligned, not for their views, and not by the youth, but out of personal envy and by the "grown-ups" in the same age-group. You hardly ever hear of our older men offering views in public; they are anxious only about their posts, their social connections, and their families. But unless they are prepared to give the younger ones the benefit of their experience and their minds, this country is doomed to be ruled forever by inexperienced, bold, rapacious, half-educated young men whom they will brand "irresponsible".

The Legon Observer

We now talk briefly about our own problems. When we started last year, we were poor. We are still poor. We haven't made any money yet. The basic reason is that we are part-time journalists, and are unable to devote enough time to the business. Consequently our distribution is low and unsatisfactory. Not as many are able to get copies as we would like. When we started the business, we were distributing our own papers in our own cars! (Indeed Dr. Amu still carries loads to the Volta Region for us!) Again, we don't carry enough advertisements to make the business pay, mostly because we have been without a reliable advertising canvasser. Fortunately, the Liberty Press Ltd., which has entered into a commercial agreement with us, has taken over the responsibilities of distribution and advertisement; and, with our own hard work, your support, and some luck, we expect to do better.

We have no office at Legon—just a "pirated" room; no telephone, only one typist, scant office equipment (including

a borrowed typewriter—the only one we have), no reporters, no reporting equipment (e.g. tape-recorder)... We have very little of what a publisher should have. But we do have writers, the best proof-readers (they are only two, but are of high quality), the best printers in the land, and our will to succeed.

Benefactors

We have published in this issue a list of persons and organizations who gave us donations to help us get started [see L.S.N.A. Communication] We should also like to thank the U.S. Embassy for giving us free subscriptions of two important and useful American journals; the British Information Service for supplying us regularly with useful published material; the U.S.S.R. Information Office, the U.N. Information Centre, and the Indian High Commission for similar valuable help; and our own Ghana Broadcasting Corporation for their News Summaries.

Finally, what are our first birth-day resolutions and hopes?

The Future

The only resolution we shall make now is that we shall work harder to serve Ghana better through this medium and in any other way we see fit. One of our hopes is that there shall be more and more independent papers. Since we came out the *Ashanti Pioneer* has been revived, and is carrying on the magnificent tradition of the old *Pioneer* under very able editorship; it is setting the pace for the dailies. And the *Sunday Star* has been launched: it is doing a good job of providing reading material for the week-end. It has promised a daily, the *Morning Star*, and we hope this will be fulfilled soon.

We would like to see a press free of state control. For a better Ghana, the state must give up its strong monopolistic position, and either sell the national papers to private Ghanaian enterprise, or at least invite Ghanaian citizens to buy controlling shares in the enterprise. The papers have improved only slightly since the coup. They are not as abusive as they used to be, but Gen. Ankrah was not joking when, at his last press conference, he expressed dissatisfaction with the performance of the press. Foreigners think the same too [see Misc. "The Press and Radio..."] News need to be arranged more systematically if readers are to benefit, for readers will not go hunting for news in all the obscure corners. More analysis of events and commentaries are needed. And above all, readers must be encouraged to write their views, which must not be suppressed.

We trust too that the present habit of "sitting" on information in the Ministries will cease. A free press cannot thrive on uninformed speculation.

The Beginning

Well, so much rambling. But we hope you have enjoyed reading this issue and this monologue about ourselves. We have worked hard, through many problems, to stay in production for one year. Has it been worth it? We have no doubts about that. We have tried to serve the new Ghana in our own small way; it has been exciting and instructive. But our success will depend on you, our readers. Give us your support: businessmen, schools and colleges, "Advertise in the *Legon Observer*"; readers and everybody else, take out subscriptions and tell your friends to do the same. But whatever you do, write to us!

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