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EDITORIAL

GHANA: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECTS

NINETEEN SIXTY-SIX, like the previous four years, began on a note of despondency, despair and resignation. Most Ghanaians were gradually resigning themselves to the "fact" that the ex-President was destined to rule Ghana forever; we were, willy-nilly, coming gradually to accept persistent food shortages, personality cult, corruption, mal-administration and bizarre, brazen-faced, hypocritical interpretations of Socialism as part of a "natural order" of things in this country. The ex-President was apparently firmly in power, and we appeared to be impotent to do much about it even though there was a universal awareness that the ship of state was foundering hopelessly. Fortunately, however, there were still courageous spirits in the country, and in a popular coup the old regime was overthrown.

It was only after the coup that Ghanaians, who in a vague sort of way had all along suspected that the country was being ruined by its rulers, realized the full extent of the misdeeds of the old regime. The most serious indictment that can be brought against the old regime may be generally expressed by slightly emending Dennis Austin's main Thesis in his *Politics in Ghana*, 1946-60; with myopic complacency our rulers financially and politically ruined a country of "whose political and economic future every prediction in 1946 was cast in the most favourable terms . . ." (Austin, p.1). Our economic reserves of £200m. were carelessly spent; our rulers employed methods of control of a totalitarian kind. There was a sad failure to realize that a state is not the property of one person but of all, and of generations unborn, and hence procedures and rules, independent of any particular set of politicians, must be evolved so that the state can operate into the future. Corruption was institutionalised and organized on a fantastic scale. Indeed, if St. Augustine's definition of the state as "a band of robbers" has ever been apposite, it was at this period in Ghana's political history. History and posterity are bound to judge our former politicians harshly.

What lies ahead ? The problems bequeathed by the old regime are of titanic proportions. There is the need to revive the economy and get it moving; we have to ensure the constant supply of consumer goods, increase agricultural productivity and find jobs for the unemployed. For all these we need foreign aid. But it has to be remembered that even though economic development is important it is not the fundamental issue.

The central problem is moral and sociological. If we continue, at the least opportunity, to divert state funds into our private pockets, and regard our elevation to high positions of state as opportunity to improve our material standards of living, then all the foreign aid in this world would have but

an insignificant effect on our economy. Furthermore, it is paradoxical that a developing nation trying to evolve civilized standards and modes of life, should be behaving like a decaying civilization: we have a paranoic love for slick values, big cars, and expensive tastes—the products painfully manufactured, and values evolved, by the brains, hard work, and circumstances of other civilizations. What needs to be done at the moment is to harness the popular enthusiasm generated by the coup for a moral onslaught on the fundamental causes of our poverty and backwardness.

Besides, all great historical achievements begin with individual persons, hence the need for creating enough elbow room in any political system within which the individual can be a free agent. The authoritarian structures of the one-party system in post-colonial Africa are fast becoming an anachronism. This is the lesson of the recent wave of coups in Africa. There is nothing creditable about the view that post-colonial Africa needs an authoritarian political system. The recent coups in Africa have shown how fragile were the economic and political systems of the one-party states, which neo-liberals in the West were so fond of justifying. A future constitution of this country must ensure that rigid authoritarianism does not re-emerge. The future lies in a resolution to make a clean break with our lurid past. Much seems to have been done, but it is clearly necessary and urgent that we redouble our efforts.

The Economy

COMMON SENSE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

by

W. Arthur Lewis

BELOW is a slightly shortened version of a speech delivered by Sir W. Arthur Lewis to the Economic Society of Ghana in 1959. (Arthur Lewis was then economic adviser to the Ghana Government). The original title of the speech was "On Assessing a Development Plan", and it was published in the June-July 1959 issue of the Economic Bulletin. We bring it to our readers for reasons that will be obvious as they read on.

—Editor.

AT OUR last meeting we had a lively argument about the techniques to be used in deciding whether a development plan is good or bad. I denied that economic science has produced criteria which enable us to decide whether a plan is good or not. I argued that one decides whether a plan is good in the light of common sense and experience, and not by applying any tests which economic science has devised.

In raising the topic for further discussion this year I am aware that I run the risk of political misunderstanding. I have played some part in drawing up the Second Development Plan, and you may therefore think I am commenting specifically on Ghana's plan. This is not the case. The remarks which I am about to make are founded upon the fact that since 1944, when I became secretary of the Economic Advisory Committee which reviewed Colonial Development Plans, I have had the misfortune of having to read about fifty development Plans. My experience in Ghana has confirmed opinions previously formed. In any case it is essential to the working of democracy that there shall be a lively and critical discussion of any programme submitted by any government, so if anything I say contributes towards this I shall be glad.

In assessing a development plan we have to consider three matters; first, its contribution to policy-making, secondly its size, and thirdly its priorities.

NEED FOR SOUND POLICY

Stimulating Private Enterprise

I put policy-making first because I am convinced that sound economic policies are more important to economic development than mere expenditure of money by the Government. In private enterprise systems the amount the Government has to invest is always less than half of the total capital formation required in the country. It is therefore important to adopt policies which encourage private investment to come forward in the right magnitude in the right places. Resistance to this has been strongest among those who do not know how large are the total sums required if an even moderate rate of development is to be achieved. In my experience, resistance crumbles as soon as the figures are demonstrated.

Manufacturing Industry and Mining

Resistance has crumbled remarkably in all underdeveloped countries in the past ten years in relation to investment in manufacturing industry and in mining. Everywhere these countries are now competing in trying to create a framework which will encourage private investment. They do industrial research, set up propaganda bureaus, offer tax concessions, pass legislation to secure titles to land and to minerals, and spend lavishly on entertaining, persuading and helping business men. That this pays off is amply illustrated by the parts of the world where it is done on a substantial scale.

Agriculture

Attitudes have not been changed so radically in relation to agriculture. There is greater reluctance to grant concessions for agricultural enterprises than for mining or for manufacturing. More important, little progress is being made anywhere in Africa or in Asia (other than in India) in creating an appropriate framework for small-scale farming—in tackling the fragmentation of farms, in providing adequate agricultural credit, in organising adequate agricultural extension services, in building subsidiary roads, dams and irrigation facilities, or in controlling agricultural debt. Agriculture is still the Cinderella of development programmes.

Housing

In the field of housing there is even less understanding of the need to create an encouraging framework for private investment, in view of how little money the Government has, in relation to housing needs. Nearly always one finds that the planners of housing policy are discussing mainly how many houses the government is going to build. A little arithmetic shows that the number of houses the Government can afford to build is, even at the most generous estimate, only a small fraction of the houses needed. The major

problem is to encourage private building, and in countries where only a few people live in rented accommodation, the main problem is to help people build better houses for themselves. Self-help building schemes are now making their appearance. It is also coming to be understood that the Government must not fix rents at un-economic levels unless it has the money and can afford to build all the houses which private building is thereby discouraged from providing. In effect, the main objective of housing policy, in poor countries, should be to use such money as is available to stimulate building by others, rather than for the Government to build houses itself.

I think that Ghana's experience under the First Development Plan proves my proposition that policy is more important than expenditure. Very large sums of money were spent by the Government, but since the industrial, agricultural, mining, and housing policies were inappropriate, very little increase in productive capacity resulted from these large expenditures. There was a remarkable increase in public facilities, such as roads, schools, electric power, water supplies, and so on, but remarkably little increase in the output of commodities. Considering also how much was wasted by overloading the building industry, one can say without hesitation that the country would have made more progress if it had spent less and had had better economic policies. So I deduce that the most important question to ask, when assessing a development plan, is whether the policies are adequate to stimulate private investment in the production of commodities. I do not think that this is fully realised in Ghana, where some people seem to be hypnotised by the magic of large numbers.

SIZE OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

Needs Vs. Resources

This brings me to expenditure. What is the right size for a development programme? There is no scientific answer to this question. One must use one's judgement.

The normal way of making a development programme is to begin with an assessment of what the country needs. Every Minister or Department is asked to list projects and expenditures which it would consider to be beneficial. This approach provides no answer to the question how large a development programme should be. The needs of under-developed countries are virtually unlimited. Anybody could make a development plan for Ghana, for instance, which provided for spending £G1,000 million over the next five years, and which was thought reasonable in relation to the country's need for water supplies, better roads, hospitals, schools, factories, agricultural equipment, irrigation works, and so on. Yet, any individual who based his personal expenditure programme upon his needs, without regard to his resources, would soon be written off by his fellow men as irresponsible. In determining size, the basis of development plan is not needs, but resources.

Limitation on the size of Development Programme

Money

For most countries, the principal limitation on the size of the programme now is money. There are some fortunate countries where the limitation is not money, but physical resources. This was the case with Ghana under the First Development Plan. The Government tried hard to complete the Plan in five years, and at all times had more than enough money to do so, but was unable to do so. At the beginning the physical limitation was the capacity of the building industry. Construction is normally about two-thirds of capital formation, and so a certain attempt to increase capital formation is always frustrated by lack of trained construction workers, insufficiency of building firms, and difficulties of supervision. The result, as in Ghana, is that projects cost twice as much as they should, contractors make enormous profits, works are badly designed or badly built, and everything takes much longer to achieve than was expected. This limitation is temporary, since the construction industry can expand and in time does expand to whatever extent is required. Thus, whereas the capacity of the construction industry was a bottleneck in most countries in the early nineteen fifties, this is no longer the case. Ghana would probably increase its 1958 expenditure on capital formation by 50 per cent without running into major construction bottlenecks.

Political and Administrative Capacity

A more serious limitation in under-developed countries now is political and administrative capacity. To carry out a programme, decisions must be made at the right time, preliminary researches must be made, blueprints ordered at the right time, contracts placed at the right time, and so on. Not enough importance is attached to the absence of preliminary researches, which are a bottleneck to absorptive capacity. You cannot decide suddenly to invest in mines, without first having the geological surveys made, and this takes time. You cannot build hundreds of factories in five years, if each factory is to be properly studied, carefully designed and located, and fitted into appropriate commercial arrangements for its materials, labour, ma-

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nagement, and the marketing of its products. The political aspect of administrative competence is also important. If reasonable decisions are to be made, the people who have to make decisions must be appointed on merit, and not merely for political or racial reasons. Contracts must be awarded to people who are capable of carrying them out, and not merely to political friends. We hear much about corruption in under-developed countries, but the harm done by bribery or by theft seldom exceeds hundreds of thousands of pounds a year, and though morally deplorable, is quite small when compared with the harm which is done by appointing people to big jobs which they are not competent to do properly. Most under-developed countries are in this sense incapable of executing large development programmes. The larger the programme the less preparation is given to each project, and the greater is the number of incompetent people appointed to public service. Programmes fall into arrears, are over-costly, and are badly executed. Ghana is much better off than most other countries in this respect, because it has inherited traditions of public probity which put its administrative performance well beyond that of more than half the members of the United Nations.

Finding the Money

In most of the under-developed countries today the main limitation on the size of the programme is lack of money. Leaving aside the possibilities of credit creation, which are not relevant in West Africa, most countries either do not raise enough in taxes, or cannot borrow enough to carry out the programmes which they could conveniently administer.

Naturally, all such countries are anxious to borrow as much as they can. This is a very useful source of finance for development, but it is also a limited source, expensive, and dangerous in incompetent hands. That this source is limited is well-known, or soon discovered. One can get unlimited amounts from suppliers of capital goods on five year terms, but this is useful only for investment in productive capacity which can earn high rates of profit and depreciation; it has small relevance to public expenditure programmes. That borrowing is expensive is frequently forgotten. To borrow £50 million for fifteen years adds about £5 million a year to the budget in interest and repayment charges. The danger of excessive borrowing is two-fold. First, potential lenders, such as the World Bank, will not lend unless they approve of your policies, so borrowing involves some surrender of sovereignty. And secondly, if you borrow excessively, and are unable to meet your obligations, you must not be surprised if creditors apply unpleasant pressures. It is no longer fashionable for creditors to send a gunboat to demand what is due to them (though Suez occurred only in 1956), but there are other ways of protecting one's investments, as this decade has demonstrated in Guatemala, and in Iraq. Hence, even if loans were available, it would not be sensible to base a development programme on a volume of borrowing which is far beyond a country's capacity to repay.

Effect of expenditure on future Budgets

One important element in deciding how large a development programme should be is to look at the effects of the programme on the ordinary budget. Capital expenditure carries with it recurring commitments, so one way of discovering how much capital to spend (assuming that you can raise the capital) is to assess how much recurrent expenditure the country can afford to bear. There is no point in building schools or hospitals, if you cannot find the money to pay teachers or nurses. And there is no sense in borrowing, if you will not be able to meet the debt charges.

It follows that one of the ways of assessing a plan is to look carefully at what that plan says about the future of the recurrent budget. If it says nothing, or very little, one can deduce either that the planners have forgotten that capital expenditure carries recurrent commitments, or else that the recurrent commitments are so large that they prefer to hide the fact that they are biting off more than they can chew.

Not all countries do this. There are more under-developed countries whose plans are too small than there are countries whose plans are too large. In our article in **The Manchester School** for September 1956, Miss Martin and I deduced, from analysing the expenditures of sixteen countries, that it was reasonable for an under-developed country to be spending annually on public services 8 per cent of national income on capital, and 12 per cent on recurrent services. This would give Ghana a development programme of about £100 to £120 million over the next five years (apart from the Volta project) and an annual budget of about £30 to £35 million a year, including local authority expenditures. Ghanaians are well disciplined in paying taxes (not the middle and upper classes, who are grossly under-taxed, but the farmers, who are more highly taxed than in other African or Asian countries) so it is reasonable and right that the Ghana Government should spend rather more on public services than the 20 per cent of national income indicated by our calculations. All the same, I wish I could feel that the money was well spent. The current budget carries several million pounds of waste, which threatens to grow alarmingly over the next five years. I do not see how Ghana will be able to have the developments in health, education, water supplies, agricultural services and other facilities which her people need, unless a determined onslaught is made on classes of expenditure with lower priority.

PRIORITIES

Under this heading I deal with a number of topics which do not normally receive sufficient consideration.

Basic Surveys

First, basic surveys are usually starved of funds. I refer here to geological surveys, soil surveys, Mapping, marine biology, the measurement of river flows, and fundamental agricultural research. Moreover, the officials responsible for these surveys have become so used to not having the money they need, that they no longer even ask for it. The economist planner has to knock at their doors and plead with them to ask for more money. Frequently they reply that they could not get the bodies even if the money were available, because salaries are inadequate.

Basic Training

Next, one should look at basic training. In these days, the favourite sons in West Africa are elementary education and University education. Elementary education is being pushed so rapidly that nobody knows what to do with the half illiterates who are now forsaking the countryside and crowding the towns. At the other end money is being poured out on University education to produce, at £2,000 to £3,000 per pupil per year

(because there are not enough students) what the students could get elsewhere at a cost to the Government of only £600 per pupil per year. Meanwhile, the real bottleneck in Africa, which is secondary education, is hopelessly neglected. I am very glad to know that Ghana intends to give a lead in this matter to the rest of Africa. Everywhere people are concerned about technical training, for nurses, secretaries, foremen, agricultural assistants, medical assistants, and other intermediate grades. The basis for this is secondary education, and one can judge any African plan by the extent to which this is realized. I say African plan, because this is an African problem. In most of Asia, 10 per cent of the children receive secondary education, whereas in most of Africa the figure is less than 1 per cent.

Estimating demand for Public Utilities

The third element to look for, in a development plan, is the basis on which the demand for the services of public utilities has been estimated. This is usually quite haphazard. Perhaps somebody is bitten with the bug of electricity, and puts in twice as much as is needed; or as in Ghana, in the first Five-Year Plan, the estimator is conservative and puts in only half as much as is needed. Similarly with roads, water supplies, port services, railroads and telephones. This is the point where economists pride themselves that their techniques have something to offer. They make mathematical exercises, estimating the growth of demand. They speak of the need for consistency between public and private intentions, and they even use input-output tables to demonstrate appropriate relationships. Actually, this is the area where precise estimation matters least, because mistakes find themselves out rapidly. If the planner neglects to provide adequate services, a bottleneck develops, people fuss, and the mistake can be corrected quickly. Fortunately too, if the planner provides too much services, he is not in error for long, since rapidly growing populations and productivities soon produce enough extra demand to catch up with over-capacity. The difficulty arises not in matching public supply to the needs of private commerce, but in deciding how much service to provide for domestic consumers. How high a priority should one accord to water supplies in the village, to rural electrification, to providing good road surfaces even where road traffic is small, to hospital and medical services, to broadcast rediffusion, to decent prisons, and to such other consumer facilities? These are matters for political decision. I can only answer for myself that I put these high above the prestige expenditures which clutter up so many programmes.

Urban vs. Rural Areas

The next thing to look for in a development plan is the balance between what is being done for the countryside, and what is being done for the towns. It is easy to test a development programme for this by splitting up its proposed expenditures on an area basis, and calculating how much will be spent in the capital, and how much in the rest of the country. There is always a curious disparity between what the Ministers want, and what back-benchers in Parliament want. The back-benchers mostly come from the countryside, and they press the demands for water supplies, roads, hospitals, and the like. The Ministers, however, live in the capital. I have never known a Cabinet which was not persuaded that the most important thing to do with public money was to beautify the capital, leaving only scraps for rural development. Thus the capital becomes an imposing facade which impresses the tourists until they go into the countryside and see how little has been done for the great majority of the peole living in the villages. The capital does not stay beautiful for long. The concentration of development there attracts people to flood into it from the countryside, and the slums multiply even faster than the magnificent structures.

The remedy for this lies in the machinery for making the development plan. One can take it as axiomatic that any programme which is made by a planning office in the capital, using data from the central ministries, will be a bad plan from this point of view. A plan should be prepared at the grassroots, by a large number of provincial committees. One cannot escape the fact that it will fall to the centre to determine the distribution of funds between the provinces, but if the provinces are well organised, and have made good plans for themselves, their needs cannot be disregarded as easily as happens when there are no provincial committees.

Rural depopulation

One should look next at the flow from the countryside to the towns, i.e., at the rate of urbanization. In most under-developed countries urbanization is occurring too rapidly. People are coming into the towns faster than the towns can provide jobs, houses, buses, water, electricity, and other amenities. Measures are required at both ends, to diminish the flow from the countryside, and also to improve the facilities in towns.

It is not easy to diminish the flow from the countryside. The impact of primary education is only one reason for this flow, which would occur even if the school curricula were better designed to fit rural children for rural life. Towns have substantial advantages over the countryside in terms of amenities, and will always attract people. At one stage last year it was announced that the Ghana Government intended to concentrate the development of amenities in about twenty rural towns, which were to be brought up to size of about 20,000. This had several purposes. First it would check the rate of growth of Accra and of Kumasi, by developing other towns, each with its full complement of secondary schools, electricity, hospital, water and other attractions. Secondly, it would help to keep people in agriculture, since rural life is more tolerable when a sizable town is within easy reach by bus. Thirdly, it would make the provision of amenities much more economic, since most of Ghana's present towns are too small to support such amenities. And fourthly, by laying down criteria for the supply of amenities it would help to choke off the unreasonable demands now being made on the Government to provide amenities in every hamlet of 500 or 1,000 people, where such amenities cannot be provided at reasonable cost. I hope that this proposal remains in the development programme, although it is obviously a bit of a nuisance to the departments, who would have to get together to co-ordinate their programmes.

Nowhere in the under-developed world have the towns been able to cope with current rates of growth. They are nearly all short of houses, water, schools, buses, electricity, hospitals, streets, pavements, and other services. This is partly because of the attraction of politics at the centre, as compared with municipal politics. Everybody in the ruling party wants to get into Parliament to become a Minister. Hardly any person of quality is content to serve on the Municipal

Council and become a Mayor. Hence Municipal Councils are almost everywhere incompetent and unimaginative. I know no remedy for this, other than for the leaders of parties to have a change of heart, and to force some of their better people into municipal service.

Lastly, I come to the question of prestige expenditures.

Prestige Expenditures

In every country of the world, rich or poor, politicians believe that the greatness of their country is demonstrated by one or another kind of large useless expenditure. The United States strains to put more and more planets into orbit around the sun. The United Kingdom was unhappy without hydrogen bombs. France has an irrepressible taste for colonial wars. In the more ridiculous of the under-developed countries the leaders go in for flashy uniforms, palaces, toy armies, television, innumerable embassies, military parades, and other symbols of splendour. In the more sensible of the under-developed countries the weakness for prestige shows itself not so much in the objects of expenditure, which are desirable in themselves, but in doing on a lavish and magnificent scale what could be done much more cheaply, and especially in lavish expenditure on airports, model towns, and imposing public buildings. Since these manifestations are universal and inevitable, there is not much point in grumbling about them. There may even be something to be said for some expenditure of this kind. Most of us derive some satisfaction from wasting our own money on prestige objects and the nation as a whole is the same. Everybody takes some pride in seeing fine structures going up in one's country, and only a few realise that the cost is less money spent on giving the villages water, schools, or sanitation. Those of us who know the cost can only hope that prestige expenditure will be kept to reasonable proportions. I would give high marks to a development programme in which only 10 per cent of the expenditure was in nonsense of this kind, whereas a programme in which the figure reached 30 per cent would seem to be well below par.

How to keep down expenditures—the planning process

One way of keeping down such expenditures, is to have a development programme made openly. The programme should be made not by the Cabinet, but by a Committee of public persons especially charged to make it, such as the Planning Commission in India, or the Planning Commission in Senegal, or Tunisia, and elsewhere. The procedure is to appoint a representative Committee consisting of some officials and some private persons, including business men, trade unionists, and members of Parliament. They consider material submitted by the Regional Committees and the proposals made by ministries and government departments, and publish what in their opinion would be the best plan. In this way one keeps to a minimum prestige objects, expenditures on political roads, excessive glorification of the capital, and similar defects. The Government is not, of course, obliged to accept what such a Committee recommends any more than it is obliged to accept the report of any other commission of inquiry. But if it wishes to add or exclude projects, it must give its reasons; and so it is less likely to make indefensible decisions than is the case where the whole plan is made in secret under the control of the Cabinet, without the public having the benefit of an impartial nonpolitical report with which to compare what the Government proposes.

Of course, all the foregoing presupposes that the published Plan is a serious document, in the sense that the Government means to do what it contains, and means not to do what is excluded. This is not always the case. A development programme can be used as a means of window-dressing, and is often so used. The Government omits from the plan things which it intends to do but prefers not to talk about, such as some prestige expenditures; and it puts into the plan things which will impress some readers, but which it does not intend to do. When the programme is obviously grossly excessive, because the Gvernment has not had the courage to eliminate the lesser priorities, one cannot take it seriously at all, since it is clear that the Government cannot fulfil its promises, and is also more than likely that what gets done will be determined rather by political pressures than by objective urgency. For this there is no remedy other than a strong public opinion, which does not exist in most under-developed countries. But this means that what must be assessed eventually is not what the Government says it will do, but what it actually does.

CONCLUSION

As I have said I do not believe that there is any body of scientific principles to be used in making a development plan. The planner is rather in the position of a doctor who is called upon to make a general medical examination. He has a list of things to look for, which experience has suggested as the most vulnerable points. This list has been compiled on the basis of experience. It is changed from time to time, and now includes items, such as symptoms of cancer and liability to heart attacks, which were not included a very short time ago. Economists should proceed in the same way in approaching development plans. We should make lists of what to look for, which lists will grow and change. The foregoing are some of the more important items on my list. Most of the weaknesses I have listed will not be found in Ghana's Second Development Plan, because we were conscious of them, and tried to avoid them. No doubt there are others, of which we were not so conscious, or which were beyond our control. But the point of my talk was neither to criticise nor to defend Ghana's Plan; it has had merely the general academic purpose of helping us to clear our minds on the way the problem should be aproached.

Administration

CAMPAIGNING FOR BETTER SERVICE IN GHANA

by

E. A. Kwapong

RECENTLY, a campaign has been launched for better service in anticipation of the International Trade Fair to be held in Accra February, 1967. Such a crash campaign is obviously needed but it is most absurd in the sense that it takes an event like the Trade Fair to make us suddenly realize that our manners, as far as service is concerned, leave a lot to be desired. As the Trade Fair is of a very short duration (February 1—19,

1967) what are we planning to do after the fair? It appears hypocritical, and brings to mind the hostess who is expecting guests for dinner and hastily polishes the furniture and silver-ware, washes the windows and in effect does a general house-cleaning to receive the guests to dinner that at the most will last only four hours.

What we are doing is sweeping this cancerous problem of poor service under the rug so that it will not be visible while the guest (International Trade Fair) is present. This exercise, therefore, amounts to self-deception. Unless a conscious, sustained effort is put into educating and re-educating those who offer services in the community we are likely to live with the nagging problem of poor service indefinitely.

The Offenders

There is no question that the Ministries, department stores, hospitals, post offices, public corporations are infested with rude and indisciplined clerks, secretaries, salesgirls, salesmen, nurses, Airways stewardesses and messengers. The attitude of some of these people to the public is most deplorable.

Take, for instance, a very common occurrence we are apt to meet in the leading department stores. You approach a counter behind which is an attractive salesgirl chatting away with another worker. If you are lucky your presence is eventually acknowledged by a wicked look and next comes the blow of a very harsh "YES?". This has, of course, served to demoralize you, but with a little less enthusiasm you ask the salesgirl for the item you desire and before the question is out of your mouth she has interrupted you and said, "Please we don't have any." Nevertheless you look behind the salesgirl and lo and behold the item that you were just told was out of stock is on the shelf like an immovable rock. Invariably the salesgirls and salesmen are totally ignorant as to what is and what is not in stock. This is, of course, a problem from a higher level—namely, supervision and management. It is up to the departmental supervisor to see to it that the sales people have a good knowledge of their stock. It is also up to management to ensure that customers do not suffer such indignities when requesting service.

A second example of unpardonable attitude is that of a nurse who without provocation treats a patient in a most unsympathetic and insolent manner. Nurses are trained to be courteous to patients: they are trained to handle patients with care; but, how many of them remember to put these fundamental principles into practice in the various hospitals?

Let us take the third example—the case of the secretary or receptionist. The secretary or receptionist is in one of the most strategic positions in any organization—she is in a position to create favourable or unfavourable impressions for the company or the Ministry. How often is it said that "the first impression is usually a lasting impression." But try and count the number of occasions you have entered an office and were met by a secretary whose face was so full of frowns that it gave you the feeling of making an immediate exit. Her attitude is not to be of service to you but to get rid of you as quickly as possible.

The last but by no means the least offender is the general public itself. Members of the general public know they hate the rudeness, arrogance and insolence meted out to them. They know they are sick and tired of the insults. But do they ever complain to the right person in the company, Ministry, hospital, etc. about such cases? Certainly, by remaining silent, you are condoning poor and inefficient service. From now on bombard the managers, supervisors, doctors, and principal secretaries with complaints and you will see a change for better service.

Blame the Boss

Several reasons have often been given for the poor attitude to the offering of services in the country. These include poor formal education, lack of solid home-training, and deplorable personality traits. But in my opinion the most basic cause of poor attitude on the part of Ghanaian department store clerks, nurses, secretaries, bank cashiers, Airways hostesses etc. can be traced to the very poor administration of managers in the various companies and ministries. It is up to the manager to ensure that the organization is properly run. Effective supervision is one of the keys to the door of successful business intercourse. Yet in this country some merchants, for example, put up imposing store buildings, dress the windows appealingly, spend many cedis on advertising and yet employ salesgirls and clerks who cannot and will never be courteous—salesgirls and clerks who get their kicks by ignoring the customers, irritating them and all but driving them out from the store.

Proper Orientation

Any astute businessman realizes the supreme importance of the customer. Customers are the most valuable asset a company can obtain. They actually make or break the company. Customers bring in the income to pay the salary of every Tom, Dick and Harry at the management level as well as the wages of every Adjoa, Akua and Ama at the sales-counter. Customers do not only bring in the much-needed income but also

their attitudes, behaviour, and reactions underline the profit position of the company. This is why managers should help their employees to appreciate that the customer is king. This is why it is imperative to sack the salesgirl or salesman who develops and maintains a hostile attitude to customers. To be soft on inefficient, rude, and uncouth salesgirls, salesmen, and clerks is one of the surest ways to lose sales and profits: it is one of the surest ways to make customers lose confidence and respect in the company; consequently, it is one of the surest ways to kill the company. Managers must therefore be firm and resolute in their administrative decisions to discipline their subordinates. They must be fearless in maintaining discipline. Let them even offer to be unpopular with the very few workers who are usually the worst culprits. If the company gets rid of such offenders not only will it keep loyal customers but also it will likely increase the number of its potential customers. This administrative antidote is equally if not more applicable to the messengers, clerks, receptionists, telephone operators in the Ministries and other government agencies.

Religion

SHOULD WE ALL BELIEVE IN GOD?

by

James Thrower

CONSIDERABLE publicity was given recently to some remarks of the Chairman of the National Liberation Council, Lt. General Ankrah, to the effect that in the New Ghana which he and his Council were pledged to reconstruct, "atheism is out".

Leaving aside the question as to whether one can properly legislate conclusions to philosophical questions, the point at issue, as was clear from the context in which the General spoke, was that atheism, in his opinion, was detrimental to the moral health of the nation. This implied connection between theism and morality and, vice versa, between atheism and immorality, is one which is widely assumed. Many other good and honest people in positions of public responsibility also believe that a revival of religious fervour will be followed by a rise in the standards and practice of morality. In all seriousness, however, and with respect, I suggest that this is an assumption which needs careful analysis and discussion. Does theistic belief necessarily carry with it the moral consequences which the majority of us would like to see? Is atheism really as detrimental to the life of nations as so many eminent men assume? Are those among us—and I have no doubt that they are many — who find it intellectually and emotionally impossible to assent to theistic belief, really the morally and socially disruptive influences which they would be if the assumption under question were true? Before we light the faggots let us reflect awhile.

The terms "theism" and "atheism" are what might be called 'umbrella' terms, by which I mean that under them shelters a wide variety of uses. Their range of reference is complex and admits of a great variety of application. Within Ghana itself, as in the Ancient world, and indeed as in every country the world over, there are "gods many and lords many"; gods who differ in their attributes and differ in what they require of their adherents. "I believe in God" is not a sentence which admits of one and only one meaning. The concept of God is variable. To know simply that someone believes in God tells us very little about what it is he believes, and even less about how he will behave, unless we know more about the God in whom he believes. The slightest acquaintance with the history or the comparative study of religions shows us that 'the gods' have commanded the most varied and indeed surprising things of their believers, some of which are incompatible with each other and some of which are repugnant to the majority of moral men. Before we urge a revival of theistic belief we should be very clear just what sort of theistic belief it is that we wish to see. We cannot assume in the light of the history of theism that all such belief will be equally beneficial or even beneficial at all. One of the accepted categorisations in the comparative study of religions, for instance, is a distinction between 'world-affirming' and 'world-denying' religions. Can a world-denying religion, i.e. a religion which denigrates this world and bids its adherents flee from participation, involvement and concern with it, have anything but a harmful effect upon the building up of nations (One might cite the Jehovah's Witness here); and is the saint of such a religion to be preferred to an atheistic humanist whose concern, perhaps, eradicates disease, builds roads and pipelines, schools and hospitals?

It would appear that whether or not a theist contributes to the moral health of society is not a consequence of theism as such, and by parity of reasoning it could also be shown that whether or not an atheist detracts from it is not a consequence of atheism as such. Morality can and does have other foundations than a religious one.

It must also be pointed that so much religious activity is of an 'in-group' nature, sapping energies and finances that might

well be employed elsewhere, and that a revival of religion of this type might again be more harmful than beneficial to a developing nation with very little margin for such religious luxury.

One last point. With reference to the motivation of behaviour it is imperative to-day that we take into account the findings of the young but by no means irrelevant sciences of psychology and sociology. If we do this it might well turn out that whilst some religions have some beneficial effects on society and some have harmful ones, the real basis of social and individual morality lies rather in a human nature which is socially secure, and that therefore the task of building up a morally healthy society lies less with the churches than it does with those on whom the responsibility for social security rests. This is not to say that it rests wholly with them.

Ghana, we are told, is on the verge of a great religious revival, and the signs and evidences that this is so are there. Hence the questions I would like to raise are: "What sort of religions do we want to see?" "Are there any forms of religion that we would wish to exclude?" "Is, in fact, a revival of religion necessarily a good thing?"

GHANA AIRWAYS

DANCE

OF THE YEAR

AT

HOTEL CONTINENTAL

ON

FRIDAY 23rd DECEMBER, 1966

RATES : DOUBLE ¢3.00 SINGLE ¢2.00



Ghana Airways

THE GREAT AIRLINE OF AFRICA

Observer Notebook

" Socialist " Property

A VISIT to Apam in the Western Region of Ghana will be worth anybody's while, for it will show in a very vivid way how Ghanaian Socialists were faithful to their mentor and master, Karl Marx. The road to Apam which turns off from the Winneba–Cape Coast road is untarred and very dusty. The road is however, tarred when one approaches the Apam Secondary School. However, it is full of potholes until one comes to the junction which turns off to the beautiful mansion of Mr. Kojo Botsio, the former Chairman of the State Planning Commission. Indeed the road to his mansion is the only decent road at Apam. The rest of the road to the centre of the town is as dusty and potholed as the rest of the road from the Winneba–Cape Coast junction. Moreover, the people of Apam have the greatest difficulty in getting clean water to drink; they depend entirely on rainfall for their drinking water, but nature does not appear to be too generous in this part of Ghana, and the people are lucky if from day to day they can come by muddy water which can be used sensibly before the rains start.This problem was not shared by the occupants of the Botsio mansion which has a private generating electric plant. Furthermore, there is a general lifelessness about the once commercial town of Apam, and the Botsio mansion is a veritable Oasis in a desert of poverty and lifelessness.

The Botsio mansion is not an isolated case: there are many such scattered all over the country. In Juaben, Ashanti, there is the A. R. Boakye (former Chairman of Black Star Shipping Line) mansion. In Kumawu, Ashanti, there is the Krobo Edusei (former Minister of State Protocol) mansion. In Axim, there is the Ayeh Kumi (former Adviser to the ex-President on Economic Affairs) one. Further examples could be multiplied *ad nauseam*.

The question is what should be done to these " mansions " which are virtually unoccupied, when there is in Ghana at the moment a housing problem. The first thing to do—and it seems fair—is to remind these " Socialists " of one of their Marxist slogans: " the expropriators should be expropriated ". Indeed there is a circulating view in the country that these " Socialists " mansions should be taken over by the State and then the onus of proof should rest on the owners to show that those houses were built with legitimate funds. Perhaps, the N.L.C. should take a leaf from this. Such a step, if taken, will impress upon the younger generation that one should enjoy only what one has honestly worked for.

A related problem is the tardy manner in which the Attorney-General's office seems to be going about the business of prosecuting those ex-party functionaries whose prosecutions some Commissions of Enquiry have recommended. The official view seems to be that the Law Officers are too busy. However, if the N.L.C. attaches sufficient importance to the need to prosecute the guilty, then a Special Division should be created within the Attorney-General's Office to deal with all recommended prosecutions immediately. This course of action is recommended for two reasons:

First, an essential element of the rule of law is that the guilty should not go unpunished.

Secondly, the coup began in high idealism—the need to call a halt to illegal acquisition of property, and the need to give just punishment to those who embezzled state funds. The thieves must be punished so that we fulfil our function —historically imposed on us by the coup—of setting decent moral standards. There can be no compromise here.

Academy of Sciences Symposium

AN INTERNATIONAL Symposium on Man-made Lakes was held in Accra this year from the 21 to 24 November. This Conference brought together eminent authorities who have been working on " fresh-water " problems. Many papers were read by the authorities. It is a remarkable achievement for the Institute of Aquatic Biology to have succeeded in assembling such great authorities in Accra. In fact, to listen to such authorities is an education in itself. However, needless to say, a Conference is just not held for the prestige it gives the host country. The host country must also try to acquaint the "participants" authoritatively with some of its own problems. In this respect the Symposium did not do much credit to Ghana. From highly authoritative sources, the Ghanaian scientists who read papers about the Volta Lake knew little about these problems. A paper on " Decomposition of Trees on the Volta " turned out to be a text-book dissertation on Oxidation. A paper on Parasites was read, but this turned out to be a boring recitation of part of a participant's Ph.D. thesis. Ghana now needs solid works, not " prestige projects ".

Talking about the Symposium reminds one of the Committee of Enquiry appointed by the N.L.C. to look into the Ghana Academy of Sciences. Without question, this is the most high-powered Committee ever appointed by the N.L.C. But it is doubtful if the problems of the Academy of Sciences can be examined in isolation. It seems in terms of personnel and research the Academy should be considered in relation to our

Universities. The Committee's terms of reference can either be widened, or after this probe the Committee should next look at the Universitis of Ghana.

Yule-Tide and Beyond

CHRISTMAS USED to be a much simpler affair, when we were young. In those days, when good beer used to cost only 1s. 3d. a bottle, and a tin of corned beef was about ninepence, and a large-sized chicken could be bought for five shillings, and eggs went for a penny each, and sheep for pound-ten, it wasn't difficult for the older people to get everything they wanted to give their homes a really merry Christmas and a Happy New Year. Local " fancy dress bands " gave adults and kids free entertainment, and those who wanted to go to the season's special Dance—one of the few for the season—didn't have to pay more than 5s. for a good night's entertainment.

Cotton print was cheap, and every child in the home got a Christmas dress. *We* didn't wear sandals and shoes to school; that item was therefore no problem; but even the new books and school uniforms parents had to buy were not enough to dampen the enthusiasm of the season. " 24th Night " meant service at the local church; " 31st Night " meant " watch Night ", when we rang out the old year with sorrow and rang in the new year with joy. We made our resolutions and started the New Year with hope.

But all this is gone forever; Christmas is now a nightmare.

Christmas is now a commercial season. Long before the 25th of December, Christmas cards must be sent to friends home (including those living next door) and abroad. It is not known how much Ghanaians spend on this vicious custom; we may not be spending as much as the two *billion* dollars Americans spent on Christmas cards alone in 1960, but we probably are not doing too badly in our own small way. There are now Christmas cards that cost ₵1.00, ₵2.00, even ₵5.00 ! Just try and write down the names of your friends, and estimate the total cost of cards plus postage stamps to all of them, and ask yourself what it is all about.

But this is not all. It seems that parties are a must. And to prepare for our share of the gruelling round, we must buy beer by the gross, plus whisky and gin and brandy—and champagne (where applicable). But beer is no longer 1s. 3d., and whisky is no longer £1. If you get beer at ₵0.50, you're lucky; and if you get whisky at less than £4 (roughly ₵10.00), it's smuggled whisky. (There is another class of smuggled whisky—that which is whisked off from the office of a government department or corporation.) We also want sheep, goats, some chickens, and eggs. Eggs in the yule-tide season sell for at least 10s. a dozen, a fowl for at least 25s., a goat or a sheep is nowadays around £8. Then there are the other food items —rice, yam, and what have you. (Oh yes, and we must not forget the children: they too must get their drinks, and cakes and biscuits. Low-priced gem biscuits are no longer available: the price of the new biscuits is too outrageous to mention.) A lot of activity on decorations and cooking, and we are ready for the " 24th Night ", Xmas Day, Boxing Day, " 31st Night ", and, finally, New Year's Day.

At the end of the first day of January, we feel exhausted—physically. Then, on the second, we begin to realize that we *are* exhausted financially as well. Coat pockets and hand bags and trousers and shirts are turned out frantically—again and again. Bank books, if we know where they are, are a shame to open. Suddenly we discover that we have had a deficit budget: we are broke, and the whole of January is ahead of us ! Pay-day is, at the earliest, on the 25th, and to make the Christmas shopping possible, the December pay-day was between the 15th and the 17th in December ! The parties and presents and donations to church organisations have completely absorbed the savings account. So the entire month of January has to be a passion-month; cars will be off the road; fewer people will visit the hotels; and altogether people are not as ebullient and sociable as they were before. They become irritable as the bills and other commitments come in: the children's schools fees and other expenses, like shoes, the insurance on the car, the road licence (now many times what it used to be), the driving licence, rent (!) . . . The only people not affected, and who can therefore look cheerful, are those who are lucky enough to be in a position to entertain on official account. The rest of us know that we shall never recover till April, just in time for the Easter round of parties and follies. In the interim, life is going to be harsh. What shall we do ?

The solution is simple and yet perhaps not so easy. We all have to make one big resolution for a return to sanity—sanity in our understanding of Christmas and our attitude to it. Let us restore the proper word in Christmas in place of the X we now have there. No more Christmas cards: just letters. No more expensive and senseless banquets (on official account) and night-long parties: just a little get-together for the family and perhaps a *few* friends.

Just hard common sense. Why make a special spendthrift season of Christmas—at the end of the old year— in order to suffer privation in the New Year ? Let us all make a new resolution for this and the coming years: let's have a REAL CHRISTMAS !

Letters

Rhodesia

SIR—Over the months since UDI, a lot has been said by many people on the subject, and several prominent Africans have advocated an invasion of Rhodesia by a force of African troops drawn from the Organisation for African Unity (OAU). The Republic of Zambia, her veins pulsating with life-giving copper, is the most logical springboard for any such action; however, before we ask Zambians to stick their necks out, we must ask ourselves the following:

Can we provide them with jet fighter interceptors and anti-aircraft batteries for use against Rhodesian aircraft counter-attacking? How many divisions of combat troops can the OAU field for actual combat duties and how many more can be held in reserve, and how many can be spared for logistics? How many wings of jet fighters can be assigned to cover ground troops, and how many more can be used for interdiction and reconnaissance? Is the doctrine of hot pursuit adopted, whereby Rhodesian aircraft are chased into South African air-space and destroyed there, or do OAU jets turn back at a self imposed Yalu River, allowing the enemy to come back and fight another day? How many Squadrons of transport planes can be used for logistics and para-drops? These are only a few questions that must be answered before any OAU force can sally out and cross the Rubicon. A frontal attack would be turned into a carnage for the invading force, who would have to contest every inch of ground. Even if he has to be propped up in bed dying, with a shot-gun in his hands and a box of 12-bore shells at his side, Rhodesians would fight back. From the tender age of about 13, they would flock to arm themselves while 'volunteers' from South Africa would flood into the country to fight alongside Smith and his gang.

The only way an African force can go in, fight and emerge victors, is by waging a guerilla war. It is a military fact that a squad of lightly armed but highly mobile men can run circles round a vastly superior force of heavily armed men, any day of the week. We see this happen daily in Vietnam, where the world's mightiest armed power is bogged down in a war it seems unable to win. Backed up by some of the world's best and most deadly jet fighters and bombers, and over a thousand jet-powered helicopters, an expeditionary force of close on half a million Americans succeeds in getting nowhere in a great hurry. Rhodesia can be turned into a Vietnam, if the young men who come forward to fight are given proper weapons. Guts are extra.

The murder of Johannes and Joanne Viljoen on their farm near Hartley some sixty miles from Salisbury by a force of African insurgents, preceded earlier by a firefight at Sinoia, were both steps in the right direction. Though Smith claimed that none of his men were killed in the firefight, this cannot be taken as true. A visit to the military cemetary to examine gravestones would be very interesting. The number of new graves, all with the same date on them, would give a truer picture of the firefight.

Attacks on isolated farms like the one in the Viljoen case are bound to cause despondency among local whites. Demoralization usually follows. All Police-leave in the Hartley area was cancelled while troops and their air force were called out to help the police. A total of several hundred men and about half a dozen air force helicopters were used in hunting just four or maybe six men. Two more raids like that and the whole army, police and air force would have been running round in circles for a long time.

Only a guerilla warfare can save the several million Africans enslaved in Rhodesia. In Vietnam, Yemen and Iraq, nationalists are fighting in a guerilla war for their independence.

Zimbabwe can, and indeed will be free, however, it must be remembered always, that the path to freedom will be strewn with the bodies of some of Africa's young men. This is a very grim price to pay, but alas, freedom does have a very high price tag on her. This price though, must be paid, if only for the freedom of generations of Africans yet unborn. We no longer have a choice in the matter.

2, Inglewood Rd. London N.W.6. **J. G. Warmann**

Indemnity for the Devil

SIR—Barely a year ago, peace-loving citizens of this country were living in a state of perpetual fear; intimidation, persecution, bribery and corruption, detention and imprisonment without trial, were commonplace. The Parliament of this country aided by some intellectuals who sold their soul for a mess of pottage, and actively applauded by our chiefs, only sat to legalise crimes.

It looks as if, just nine months after our liberation from all this nightmare, we have all of us forgotten these things. Are we being deceived by the seemingly helpless look of some of our former persecutors? How can these people suddenly change after fifteen years of vandalism and despotism? The Bible tells us to forgive our brothers if they repent even "after trespassing against us seven times a day" (Luke: 17, 3-4). But have our brothers repented? No. And there is no passage in the Bible commanding us to forget crimes and refuse to remember the suppression of yesterday.

The C.P.P. was evil, and unless the nation is properly purged of it, we are only unchaining the devil by releasing these bad men.

We have a duty to perform to ourselves and to generations unborn. The banning of political parties was not for fun. We are in a revolution. We wish to create a new nation based on honesty and integrity. To succeed, we need consistency, courage, tenacity of purpose, and moral stamina.

Once bitten twice shy.

Kumasi. **Osei Assibey-Mensah.**

What Went Wrong . . . . .?

SIR—I expected a more sensitive attitude to professorial appointments at Legon from Prof. C. G. Baeta.

I don't think it is enough to claim, as he does, in his letter of 11th November, 1966, that even though the Appointments Board, in its exemplary courage, refused to make certain promotions, in opposition to Nkrumah's orders, it at the same time decided to have nothing, whatsoever, to do with Presidential Professors. Are we being invited to applaud this attitude? I should be interested to know if the Board was so indifferent to Legon's academic reputation that it decided to let Nkrumah do as he pleased with the appointment of professors, as long as the Board was not called upon to approve, especially since it was widely known—Nkrumah made no secret of it—that this was one of

his studied devices for gaining control of the universities in Ghana.

I know from personal experience that the sort of mentality behind Prof. Baeta's letter was quite common in high academic circles in Ghana, and it contributed much to Nkrumah's capture of our universities. All that respectable academic personages had to do was simply to take refuge behind a facade of legality and assuage their consciences with comforting, if a little heavy-footed, phrases like "regular university framework", "respectfully but firmly declined to comply". Having induced themselves into this happy frame of mind, they then proceed to applaud their own imbecility. But all the time they know that these phrases are merely lazy excuses for not exerting themselves on behalf of what they know to be right.

When a thief enters your house at night, you do not exercise your head, even if it is an academic head, about such momentous questions as whether the thief entered by the front door or back door through the window or down the drain. If you are a man, the first thing you do, so to speak, is to get hold of your gun.

Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A. **S. K. Opoku.**

Ghana's Economic Problems

SIR—In his letter on "Reflections on Ghana's Economic Problems" which appeared in Vol. 1, No. 12 of the **Legon Observer,** Mr. Bibby delivered himself of the following among others:

> "If the budget has an aim, it must be to curtail inflation and correct the balance of payments position by reducing effective domestic demand. Thus the net total of money going into the economy must be reduced. Therefore, in so far as private capital soaks up surplus labour, to that extent will it be operating against the express aims of the budget: effective demand will be unchanged, imports will continue to exceed exports and prices will continue to rise".

It is misleading to argue that the absorption of the labour surplus by the private sector will have no downward effect on prices. For, in general, under competitive conditions, private capitalists will employ labour only on the condition that the labour employed will add to output, otherwise, as profit-motivated people, they will not employ more labour. Thus by transferring labour from employment in the government sector where workers are paid but produce nothing to where they are paid and produce something, output will rise at a constant amount of money supplied. This means the price level will fall. This result is, indeed, one of the objectives of the Budget of July, 1966 which, as evident from the first sentence of the paragraph quoted above, Mr. Bibby did not read.

One, including Mr. Bibby, may argue that private capitalists, surveying the general economic scene, will find it unprofitable to employ more labour; but one cannot say, as Mr. Bibby says, with obvious relish, that having voluntarily decided to engage more labour capitalists will pay the workers what they used to earn in the government sector, and then watch them adding nothing to output. Mr. Bibby's analysis is an engaging example of much reflection combined with little knowledge of facts and elementary economics.

Legon **A. C. Anto**

Ghana Airways

SIR—Your **Observer Notebook** and the statements of the Ghana Airways have been obtuse on the issue of the Cedi as a medium of exchange on the international flights of the Corporation's planes. What the Corporation is really saying and doing is that as far as selling of goods and services to passengers is concerned, they choose to engage in an essentially export-only activity. In other words, their service in this respect is available to only those who possess foreign exchange. This, in practical terms, is to say that the service is unavailable to Ghanaians. The question then is whether the Corporation as a property of Ghanaians has the authority to make such a fundamental political decision, that is to declare the Cedi **persona non grata** in its own house.

Mamobi **G. Kportufe Agama**

Editor's note:

THIS is a restatement of points already raised by us in the **Observer,** Vol. 1, Nos. 6 and 7. More specifically, the points about this export (or re-export) activity, availability of the airline's sales service to Ghanaian passengers, the politics of the decision, and the fundamental issue of legality, have already been raised, However, the issue of the "Cedi and the Ghana Airways" is so important that a restatement of the points and a little splitting of hairs should do no harm.

Quality of Goods

SIR—The fact that the Ghanaian consumer has had cause to complain about the quality of goods manufactured locally should warn the manufacturers about their methods.

It shows that the manufacturers do not carry on Market Research to the extent they should. Merely finding a potential market is not the end. Market Research should be continuous and should among other things establish a close contact between Manufacturers and Consumers to let the manufacturers know about what the consumers feel about the goods they are offered.

It seems the local manufacturers have been overtaken by events because they probably never thought the consumer would be free to question the quality of the products offered him.

In the industrial countries the consumers know how to help themselves. In America, the consumers have their own testing institutions where the goods are independently tested and reported upon. In Britain, the magazine "Which" reviews manufactured articles for the consumer.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, the daily newspaper "Bild" and the weekly magazine "Stern" test and report on all models of cars on the German market, and where necessary ask for improvements. There is also the bold organization behind the publication "Test" which tests anything from brassiers to kettles, and whose comments range from "Good" to "Unreliable". These consumer watch-dogs keep manufacturers and management on their heels.

In Ghana where such watch-dogs are not yet in being, the Government should set up a Standards Institution to lay down the specific Standards with the permitted tolerances to which every article leaving the factory as an A1 article should conform or they should be clearly and visibly marked "sub-standard".

This will give manufacturers and management something other than their profits to think of.

Accra **Oppong-Wadee**

Chieftaincy Affairs

SIR—The N.L.C. decree which withdrew recognition from 134 chiefs who were enstooled contrary to Customary Law by the old regime is welcome in good faith by all true lovers of traditional custom. But with reference to the news which appeared in the **Ghanaian Times** page 1 of the 10th December, 1966 issue, during the formal handing-over of stool properties of Mamponteng to the District Administrative Officer for Mampong-Ashanti, Mr. B. A. Collinson, it was alleged that the Kingmakers and elders of Mamponteng had decided to petition the Government to re-instate Nana Owusu Agyeman as Mampontenghene. An elder to the Kingmakers, Opanin Yaw Atiah, who is Odikro of the town further explained that Nana Owusu Agyeman was constitutionally enstooled according to customary law, and "we like him" he declared.

Look at the confusion here. May I ask where this grave mistake came from? I blame the Chieftaincy Secretariat without fear of contradiction for any inconveniences which might have caused in this stool affairs on the part of the Government. This surely proves that the members of the Chieftaincy Secretariat did not bother to consult the right persons in each town or village in tracing the true historical background of each chief, which naturally would have been the normal procedure before taking a decision.

There is a feeling that they just glanced through the list of chiefs in their files and came to decision that any chief who was enstooled during the old regime whether contrary to customary law or constitutionally enstooled must be brought down or destooled. Taking the Mamponteng stool affair and Dompoase for example, it can be termed as a complete "retaliation and abuse of justice."

I must point it out that we are no more in the situation where the decisions of a few officious people are the wishes of the people.

Countrymen, let us bury our differences and speak with real freedom and true justice, for justice is like a seed: if buried, it will eventually germinate.

Takoradi **Kwasi Asotiah.**

Bandits and the Police

SIR—On 20th November I and a fellow lecturer at Legon, his wife, their little daughter, and a visiting scientist, went picknicking at the seaside. We wanted a quiet spot; we found a relatively secluded one 300 yds. away from the Halcrow Beach Club near Tema. There were two other parties with two cars and a few youths running around and throwing stones into the sea. After some time (at 4.30 p.m.) the two cars drove off and the frolicking youths revealed themselves as robbers and rushed at us, waving knives and grabbing our belongings. They got away with about C250 worth of dresses, watches, cash and other property. The matter was reported to the Tema Police who expressed their sympathy, but offered us little hope that our property would be recovered.

These things happen all over the world—we were shocked certainly, but we were very astonished when we heard later that two other Legon lecturers and their families had been attacked at the same spot, in a similar manner, probably by the same gang, on the previous day! It seems that this kind of incident, far from being rare, is so frequent that the police have become blasé and can hardly show even token interest when such cases are reported to them! And the newspapers keep silent.

We feel that the public must be warned of the risk they run in bathing at unfrequented places along the beach. There is admittedly a risk of pilfering at the most crowded resorts, but this may more readily be borne than the risk of a man dragging the watch from your wife's wrist with one hand while he flourishes a dagger with the other.

Is it asking too much of the police that they should patrol the beach between Accra and Tema, and question suspicious loiterers? If they have insufficient men for this task, then they should erect warning signs, such as 'Beware—beach infested by bandits'.

Something should at any rate be done before the Trade Fair opens. It is no use lecturing the representative of a foreign firm on Traditional Ghanaian Hospitality if he is to be robbed with violence when he attempts to enjoy the attractive beach near the Fair site.

Botany Dept., Legon. **Jan Jenik**

Decrees 92, 93 and 107

SIR—On the 1st of October, 1966, the National Liberation Council made decrees 92 and 93 which forbade the publication or reproduction of "any statement, rumour or report which is likely to cause fear or alarm or despondency to the public or to disturb the public peace or to cause dissatisfaction against the N.L.C.," and empowered the Police to take a person "into Custody without a warrant . . . . " and for such person to be held in Custody for a period of twenty-eight days or such other period as the Attorney-General may determine . . . . .". The merits and demerits of these

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decrees were discussed and debated at length in past issues of the "Legon Observer". The "Evening News" came out on the 21st of October with an Editorial in support of those decrees, much to the sorrow of the reading public. But this was to be expected since that paper does little more than support policies of the Government—regardless of what form of Government is in the saddle.

All this seems to be water under the bridge now. Though there was a hue and cry over the issue the decrees were not repealed and aren't likely to be repealed. When one looks at these decrees from the point of view of the N.L.C. one may sympathise with them. After all they are only trying to consolidate a hard-won cause.

But was this cause fought with only the N.L.C. in mind? Certainly not! Why then, after the N.L.C. has taken steps to protect its good name, should it (after just a month) throw that of the individual to the dogs? I am referring to decree No. 107 which makes it impossible for a person, unless with the permission of the Attorney-General, to institute libel suits against "Government-owned Newspapers". I couldn't agree more with the "Observer Notebook" (Vol. 1 No. 12) on its contentions that the "decree was passed in haste with little consideration for interests other than those of the Government" and that it "appears to be a glorification of the state at the expense of the rights of the individual" though the latter is a masterpiece of an understatement. After all is the state there for the welfare of the individual or the individual for the welfare of the state?

One does not need a micro-analysis of these decrees, 92 and 93 on one side and 107 on the other, for one to see that they are ridiculously at each other's throat. How can anybody say that "look here, don't you say anything libelous about me or else . . . . " and turn round and say "but when I say it about you, you had better keep your big mouth shut". There isn't a proper word in the dictionary to cover such a situation but I'll say it is unjust. Either decrees 92 and 93 must go or 107 must be done away with.

Accra **Alfred Hutchful**

Book Review

THE GHANA COUP: FEBRUARY 1966 BY COL. A. A. AFRIFA

(PUBLISHED BY FRANK CASS; PAPERBACK ₵1.50)

REVIEW

by

Morre Bossman

COL. AFRIFA'S book is more than anything else a personal testament. In this book he sets out to recount the circumstances and events which led up to the overthrow of Dr. Nkrumah's government—and through this to justify that action. Indeed throughout the book the Colonel is at great pains to make his position clear, with palpable anxiety—"We had no course left to us . . . The President used his powers indiscriminately, and acted wickedly towards most of his countrymen . . . we had to find a way out". And "Nkrumah's regime had been ushered into the country amidst great hopes and expectations . . . but gradually and before our eyes we saw the frustration of these hopes . . . There was therefore no other choice left to the people to restore their rights except perhaps to turn to the Army".

The book is extremely readable and from the Ghanaian (and perhaps other African) point of view, irresistible. Here is the inside stuff, (from the horse's own mouth) to give new dimensions of reality to the almost incredulous people (particularly in the first days) of the wonder of their deliverance from the yoke of Nkrumah. The Ghanaian reader is eager to put into perspective just what happened. Was there a conspiracy? Who were involved in it? How long had it been going? Perhaps they would even like to know who made the first move; also how the operation, or exercise as our military friends are fond of calling it, was planned, with what factors in consideration. Colonel Afrifa's narration of Nkrumah's misdeeds, of the sham made of our independence politically, socially and economically, the hypocricies and massive corruption then only partly suspected (now mostly exposed) under the convenient disguise of 'socialism'—may not come as anything new or surprising to Ghanaians. What is more inspiring is the history of reactions of the man of principle in his unequivocal stand against tyranny and the resulting reflection of increasing chaos in normal life. Also conspicious is the absence of any form of cupidity. The full story of what happened on Thursday 24th February is told in one, well-trimmed chapter—one feels too cryptic for satisfaction. However, this gives an impression of breathtaking momentum; there appears to have been no dallying whatever, and planning and execution all carried out within a matter of weeks. Obviously, there is a lot left unsaid, and one goes on reading eagerly in the hope of gleaning something new. To Ghanaians this must be the most fascinating aspect. One or two revelations are also made; for the first time we are told bluntly that 43 Ghanaian soldiers lost their lives in a senseless episode in the Congo—quite apart from the blundering interference of Nkrumah's emissaries, and the tragedy of Lumumba. We also learn that twice there nearly was a coup before this (!) as far back as 1962, inspired by the author, then a very minor Captain, and again in 1964.

Col. Afrifa's chapter on Kotoka is the most revealing yet made on the impressive if rather

enigmatic figure of the Major General. It is a tribute in which the warmth of the man's personality emerges in spite of the strict military discipline. Of the author himself his parentage, childhood and early life are revealed with a sincerity and candour which is at times shocking. Fancy a Ghanaian saying of a parent, "My father was a cowardly man"! even if he goes on to appreciate his regard for honesty! (What parent was not "cowardly", that is, timid, anxious and over-cautious for the family's safety in those days?)

All this is compatible with the paradox of the Colonel's own declared conviction in democracy as against arbitrary rule and action, and the painfully taken decision to overthrow the legally constituted government. However, it is because of this, the historical context of the event, that interpretations of much wider significances are attached to the book. While the eyes of the whole world had been on African states to see what they would make of newly gained independence, they simultaneously have entered nto the pattern of world development and the deological conflict. What, therefore, has Africa made of her independence; and towards what is she leaning? What do Africans feel and think about these things? The Colonel significantly does not attempt any argument on "Radical" or academic lines—a habit which Ghanaian writers generally like to indulge in (and often only serving to expose the sheer hollowness of academic display for its own sake). The issues as he saw in his forthright fashion were the concepts of decency, and human rights. To the non-African observer, this subjective approach gives additional dimension to the content of the book. The publishers called it "Perhaps the most lucid and representative expression of Ghanaian attitudes . . ."

Other approaches—political, historical—are perhaps summed up, in his introduction, by Tibor Szamuely the Hungarian scholar who it is alleged ('West Africa') took a job at Kwame Nkrumah's Ideological Institute in order to have an excuse for leaving his native socialist Hungary. Nkrumah's Ghana Szamuely saw as an emanation of contemporary political development, the ideological conflict in which are intermingled the issue of fundamental human rights and liberties. It was not merely socialism versus capitalism, but something peculiar, a brand of totalitarianism and part of a pattern "It is this consanguinity with other brands of twentieth-century totalitarianism that affords Nkrumah his historical importance . . . What Col. Afrifa has given us is therefore a historical document that is unique in several respects; an inside account of the destruction of a totalitarian dictatorship". It is these many aspects of the interpretation of this book which give it much fascination. "In other respects too Col. Afrifa's book draws our attention to the urgent necessity of evolving a more realistic approach to the problems of Africa"—(Szamuely).

Apart from the obvious fact that all the countries (and persons) with so-called socialist leanings will condemn the book outright (sic!), more seriously, there are many who will find in it shortcomings of analyses and assessment. For example, his trust in the good faith of the colonial powers seems calculated not only to raise some eyebrows, but positively to tingle some scalps! (it did mine). This, one feels, leads to an underrating of Nkrumah's contribution to the fight to win independence —whatever his motives may have been. The same can be said of his rather summary assessment of the Rhodesian problem and his lack-luster approach to the question of African Unity—a much more potent reality than he seems to have estimated. Of the erstwhile opposition in Ghana too, his explanation of their motives does not take into account their singular lack of real communication with the people they purported to lead—and a contribution to their defeat, most likely. Fortunately the Colonel makes no pretension to scholarly arguments and trusts the justifications of his action to the clear moral issues involved. "I am not a lawyer to interpret the provision of liberty, freedom, bill of rights etc. But to me the concepts are as clear as the Ten Commandments".

Col. Afrifa's book was written within two months of the February coup. By May the firm of Frank Cass had accepted it and agreed on an accelerated programme for publishing it within the shortest possible time. Their spokesman in a press statement said, "We are mainly a reprinting house specializing in historical works, economic development, anthropology and travel, but in view of Col. Afrifa's book as a guide to the contemporary African scene, we decided to publish it . . . we are taking the unusual step of putting it (in hard cover) on the market simultaneously in a paper back edition". Publishers, their business based on a mixture of critical, literary assessment and hard commercial facts, are often very difficult to please as many a would-be writer will testify. To write a book, and get a publisher to accept it, printed (in hard cover and paperback), and on the book stalls all within a matter of some eight months is, quite apart from anything else, an achievement in itself.

Commentary

THE ROLE OF THE CO-OPERATIVES (I)

Foodstuffs Marketing

By

A. S. Y. Andoh

THE REVIVED Co-operative Marketing Association and the Alliance of Co-operatives should now address themselves to the shortage and high cost of locally produced foodstuffs in the urban centres. Some people argue that locally produced foodstuffs are not any less expensive in the rural areas, where they are produced, than in the urban centres. They argue therefore that the shortage of these commodities and their high prices must be attributed to under-production and not to inefficiency in the distributive system. This means that the market women and the Zabarimas who have monopolised the distribution of plantain, yams, cassava, etc., would be able to supply the urban markets if they could get these commodities in large quantities from the rural markets and farms.

There are, however, others who argue that the distributive system is weak, and that although foodstuffs may cost as much on the roadside as they do in the urban market, it is the distributive system, more than underproduction, that accounts for the shortages and the high prices. For, those who sell on the roadside are invariably not the producers of the commodities, but middlemen who spend their time on the roadside for profit. The people who sell by the roadside are traders, not farmers. If the distributive system were efficient, foodstuffs would be moved more rapidly, and in larger quantities from the farms to the urban markets and prices would not remain as high as they are now. The Zabarimas and market women always have these commodities on sale in the urban markets. Prices are high because the Zabarimas and market women have not the organisation to move these commodities in large quantities from the rural areas to the urban markets. The cost of transportation is very high and, very often, market women from Accra have to go as far as Brong Ahafo for commodities such as plantain and cocoyam.

The Co-operatives can provide the answers to these two arguments. They can boost production of local foodstuffs by providing a ready and assured market for the farmer. If the farmer knows that whatever he produces will be immediately bought, he will produce more. The Co-operatives have the organisation to provide the farmer this assurance. Foodstuffs marketing co-operatives can be organised alongside of the cocoa marketing co-operatives. The co-operatives, again, have the organisation for moving large quantities of cocoa from the rural areas to their district and regional centres. The same organisation could be employed to move foodstuffs from the rural areas to the urban markets.

The revived co-operatives marketing association can restore the confidence, initiative and incentives which the Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives, under the old regime, effectively killed. The United Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives merely substituted itself for the market women and profited from the farmer's sweat. The farmer received very low prices for his maize from the United Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives and therefore considered it not worth his effort to produce more. If the United Ghana Farmers Council Co-operatives had been a real co-operative organisation, it would have returned a part of the profit it made to the farmer as a " dividend ", which would have provided the necessary incentive for increased production.

Ghana is grateful to the United States and Canadian farmers for the gift of maize and other items of food. But how long should an agricultural country like Ghana continue to depend on food gifts from overseas ? State farming, so far as foodstuffs production is concerned, should be abandoned. Also to be ruled out is collective farming, of the type which was organized by the U.G.F.C.C., etc. Both of them have proved to be wasteful and unproductive. The farmer must own his farm, but must be assured a ready market and a good price, and the shortages which this country is faced with will be removed. The answer is co-operative marketing and distribution.

Plans to build storage plants should be reviewed, because all the food that is produced can be consumed. There is no need storing plantain, maize or cassava in Kumasi or Koforidua when the people of Tamale, Ho, Keta and Tema are crying for these commodities. There is no need to withhold these commodities from the market when the ordinary workman can't afford to buy the quantities he needs because their prices are so high. It would be far more rewarding to both the farmer and the consumer to spend the money for building storage plants on organizing an efficient distribution system and in supplying farmers with improved seeds and low priced farm implements — cutlasses, hoes, etc.

Miscellaneous

MORE ENGLISH THAN THE ENGLISH

by

Togbi Yao

COME! LET'S admit it: in a number of ways, the Ghanaian "sophisticate" has pretensions

to Englishness which beats Francophiles to it. English middle-class habits, tastes, appetite at table, airs, and much more besides, permeate the individual behaviour of the collegemen and professional classes.

We dress English, eat English, and speak English. In fact, communication among Ghanaians across ethnic boundaries would be all but impossible if English were not available to serve the needs for a lingua-franca.

What did the British mean when, in the first flush of "independence", they despaired over Ghana? When they saw Kwame wave the "red international", and when they saw Ghanaians systematically propagandized and ideologized ever more towards the "other" half of the so-called iron curtain, our British colonial mentors audibly questioned the effectiveness of their hundred years of tutoring. Well, they needn't have despaired so soon. As events have turned out, there is growing proof that we in Ghana are every bit English —except in the colour of our skin!

Some of our people would, if they were confronted with the fact of their Englishness resist the allegation with all the gusto at their command. Their conscience lies in the peace of their Anglicised climate. A number of our people on the other hand are English—and proud of it, all the way! They affect English "public school" accent, and they pose English. Our legal system continues to be the English legal system.

Who is to blame our people for being so affected? When people are bombarded from childhood to youth with the "baa-baa black sheep" education, what else can you expect?

Oh, yes! Our former masters can congratulate themselves on having done a jolly good job at inducting the more educated leaders of our society. Take for example, the secret societies which our professional and intellectual classes and middle-class *poseurs* join: the lodges, and the rotaries. Or, if you like—our addiction to cocktail parties. Truly, hangovers from our colonial past!

The cocktails are being de-adulterated, I find, after having been dragged down abysmal depths during the period of the former regime. Who said that anybody could qualify to attend garden parties and cocktail parties ! These days, the pristine purity of the cocktails is returning, and only those can qualify who dress impeccably in raven-black bow ties. A pity the tail coat and the top hat are nowadays inaccessible. Who said social classes have been buried for good ! If ever they were, the balance is being restored. Time was when the French colonialists poohpoohed the British for muddling through and bungling up colonialism by putting ideas of separate independence into the heads of their subject peoples. The French believed that that sort of nationalism could not happen in their colonies. Well, it did! The grin is on the other face, you see. Yes, it was the British who had the last laugh.

Again, the French have held the view that they have done a better job at Frenchifying their former subject peoples. They should come to Ghana and see. Then they will realize how wrong they are.

Presently, we are beginning with the preliminaries of drawing up a constitution. Wait and see the kind of constitution we eventually hatch up, *a la* Westminster !

Nobody can stop people holding up for a model the manners and values of their mentors. Do you ask if this sort of thing could not go too far, sometimes? What do you mean?

There is a danger, certainly, that the homegrown youth and the vast majority of our country dwellers may lose touch with those of alien ways.

The youth coming up who never saw the colonialists have their own ideas about propriety and that sort of thing. The politicians of tomorrow—if they forget this fact, will do so at their peril.

News Summary

(By Courtesy of the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation)

11th December, 1966

Decree on Chiefs

THE N.L.C. Chieftaincy (Amendment) Decree published last Monday said chiefs who were elevated as paramount chiefs or appointed subordinate chiefs contrary to customary law by the ousted regime should revert to positions they held before their elevation or appointment. According to the decree, any traditional council existing in the traditional area of any chief affected was dissolved and the chiefs' list, which existed before the commencement of the decree, was amended accordingly.

The first schedule of the decree contained a list of 194 paramount chiefs who were to revert to their positions. There were 10 of them in Greater Accra, two in the Eastern Region, three in the Central Region, one in the Western Region, 25 in the Brong-Ahafo Region, 28 in Ashanti, 14 in the Upper Region and 111 in the Volta Region. In the second schedule of the decrees, there were 133 subordinate chiefs from whom recognition was withdrawn. 42 were in the Eastern Region, three in the Central Region, one in the Western Region, 34 in Ashanti, 18 in Brong-Ahafo, one in the Northern Region, 25 in the Upper Region and 9 in the Volta Region.

Loans for Cars

THE Ghana Commercial Bank has resumed operation of the car-loans-scheme which was suspended in the middle of October this year. The new scheme is however restricted to only officials of the civil service receiving salaries of not less than £830 per annum.

Enquiry Commission for Tema Medical Stores

THE N.L.C. has appointed a commission to enquire into the circumstances relating to the construction of the Central Medical Stores at Tema. The Chairman of the Commission is Mr. Kofi Tetteh, Principal State Attorney. The other members are: Mr. William Brown, Principal Auditor at the Auditor-General's Department; Mr. R. K. Billimoria, Senior Quantity Suveyor of the Public Works Department; Mr. K. D. Egyir-Danso, Senior Accountant at the Accountant-General's Department and Mr. B. A. Sackey, a Senior Police Officer. The Secretary to the Commission is Mr. J. V. Amarquaye, Assistant Secretary of the Ministry of Health. At the opening session of the commission on Friday, the Chairman, Mr. Tetteh said meetings of the commission will be held in camera.

Ghana Academy of Sciences

THE N.L.C. has appointed a six-man Committee of experts to examine the structure and operation of the Ghana Academy of Sciences and to advise on its future. The members are: Sir John Cockroft, Master of Churchill College, Cambridge, Chairman; Mr. Robert Gardiner, Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission for Africa, and Mr. A. L. Adu, Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat. Other members of the Committee are: Dr. K. A. Busia, visiting Professor at the University of Ghana, Mr. Daniel Chapman Nyaho of the U.N. Office in Geneva and Mr. Modjabeng Dowuona, Registrar of the Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria, Northern Nigeria. Mr. G. B. Boahene, Principal Assistant Secretary of the Higher Education Division of the Ministry of Education is Secretary to the Committee.

Courtesy Campaign

A NATIONAL courtesy campaign was launched in Accra last Thursday. The General Officer Commanding the Ghana Armed Forces, Major-General E. K. Kotoka, who is also an N.L.C. member responsible for Social Welfare, called for a concerted effort by all sections of the community to improve the standard of behaviour of Ghanaians. He said no country could work towards deserving respect if it ignored the basic human requirements for friendship, good neighbourliness and happy relations which promote efficiency.

He deplored the downward trend in social behaviour and manners in schools, playing fields, and other public places. General Kotoka said the campaign is most timely because it comes a few weeks before the international trade fair which opens in February. He hoped it would help improve the country's image before foreigners who will be in the country for the fair. General Kotoka suggested that the campaign be made an annual affair.

A.A.T.U.F.

THE Special Congress of the All African Trade Union Federation, (AATUF), has decided to transfer its headquarters from Accra to Dar-es-Salaam. The Congress also voted out of office the Federation's former Secretary-General, Mr. John Tettegah of Ghana. The new Secretary-General is Mr. Mamdy Sissoko of Mali. In a resolution, the Congress called on the O.A.U. to take the lead in establishing a single Trade Union Organisation in Africa.

18th December, 1966

The Constitutional Commission

THE Constitutional Commission began the first phase of its task during the week with visits to the regional capitals of Koforidua, Ho, Tamale, Bolgatanga and Kumasi as part of its country-wide tour to receive memoranda and take oral evidence from all sections of the people of Ghana on the type of constitution to be adopted.

Busia appointed Chairman of Political Committee

THE N.L.C. announced the appointment of Dr. K. A. Busia as Chairman of the Political Committee to succeed Mr. Justice Akuffo-Addo, who is now the Chief Justice. The Konor of Manya Krobo, Nene Azzu Mate Kole, has become the vice-Chairman in place of Dr. Busia. Nine new members were also appointed to the Political Committee.

"Air Pool"

A SIGNIFICANT decision towards greater economic co-operation in African air services has been taken by Ghana Airways, Nigerian Airways, East African and Ethiopian Airlines. At the end of a two-day conference in Accra, the four bodies agreed to establish in April next year a Trans-African East-West Pool Route. The agreement is subject to ratification by their respective Governments. Air Congo attended as an observer.

Maize Stocks Agreement

GHANA and the World Food Programme have signed an agreement under which the World Food Programme will supply 10 thousand metric tons of yellow maize to be used as a buffer stock for stabilising the price of maize in the country.

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Inter-Continental T.V. Exchange

GHANA and other members of the Union of Radio and Television Organisation of Africa (URTNA) are exploring the possibilities of exchanging national television programmes by means of satellite telecommunications in the future. This depends however on the financial implications of the project. The decision emerged from the meeting of the Programme Exchange Commission of URTNA which ended in Cairo on the 11th of this month.

Press Freedom

THE assurance that the freedom of the press will not be diminished by the Government was once again emphasised by the Inspector General of Police and Vice-Chairman of the N.L.C., Mr. J. W. K. Harlley. The assurance was contained in a message read at the launching of the "Sunday Star", a weekly paper published in Accra.

Salaries Review Committee

THE names of members of the Public Services Structure and Salaries Commission were announced during the week. The Commission is to investigate and report on any necessary reforms, changes in remuneration and other related matters in the public services. The Chairman of the Commission is Mr. Justice G. C. Mills-Odoi, Judge Advocate to the Ghana Armed Forces. Other members are: Mr. D. A. Anderson, former Principal Secretary, Establishments; Mr. R. A. Quarshie, Director, Consolidated African Selection Trust; Mr. M. C. Hagan, Managing Director, Lever Brothers and Mr. David Egyir, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Ghana T.U.C., Mr. J. H. K. Folson, Principal Assistant Secretary, Higher Education Division of Ministry of Education and Mr. Tweneboa Kodua, Senior Statistics Officer, Central Bureau of Statistics are the joint secretaries.

Open Day at the University

THE University of Ghana held its fifth Open Day yesterday and one of its attractions was the opening of an exhibition of the Faculty of Agriculture by Mr. A. K. Deku, Commissioner of Police (C.I.D.) and N.L.C. member responsible for Education.

Mr. Deku spoke on the role of agriculture in the economic reconstruction of Ghana, and, stressing the importance of research and extension to our farmers, gave the Government's assurance that the two faculties of agriculture at Legon and the University of Science and Technology in Kumasi will now be allowed to develop without hindrance.

Chairman's Statement on Constitutional Commission (6th December 1966)

AS YOU are all aware, the inaugural meeting of the Constitutional Commission appointed by the National Liberation Council was held in Parliament House last Friday. In the inaugural statement, the Commission made a general appeal to all sections of the people of Ghana—private individuals, Houses of Chiefs, the Trade Unions, Farmers Organisations, the churches, the Civil Service, national institutions, Judges, Lawyers, Doctors, Professors, teachers and businessmen—to come forward with any proposals and ideas they have on all aspects of the type of Government and Constitution they consider most suitable for Ghana.

2. For the maximum success of our work, we consider it absolutely essential that the interest of the general public in the national effort to produce a new Constitution for Ghana be aroused and actively sustained throughout. The Commission, therefore, relies upon all sections of the Press and public information media to give full publicity to its work and to bring home to the general public the need for public participation in this national exercise.

3. The purpose of this Press Conference is, therefore, to inform you of the action programme drawn up by the Commission, particularly for the first phase of the Commission's work.

4. The Commission's assignment, according to its terms of reference, will be carried out in four stages. The first stage will take the form of visits by the Commission to all parts of Ghana with a view to receiving memoranda and taking oral evidence from all sections of the community on the type of Constitution to be adopted by Ghana.

5. The second stage will be for the Commission, after taking into account the views, evidence and memoranda that may have been received from the people of Ghana and after taking into account also such other considerations as the Commission may consider appropriate to prepare and submit proposals for the enactment of a Constitution to a Constituent Assembly to be established by the National Liberation Council.

6. The third stage will be for the Commission to forward copies of such proposals to the Constituent Assembly through the National Liberation Council and to publish the proposals in such manner as the Commission may think fit, inviting comments of all sections of the public on the proposals.

7. The final stage will consist of the drawing up of a draft Constitution for Ghana based upon the said proposals and taking into account such recommendations as may be made in relation to the proposals made by the Constituent Assembly and also such comments as may be made thereon by members of the public, and the submission of the draft Constitution to the National Liberation Council.

8. For the first stage of its work, the Commission considers it essential that the full Commission visits all the Regions before the end of this month to hold inaugural meetings in the Regional centres. The Commission will, therefore, tour Regional centres as follows:—

Monday, 12th December,	1966	— Koforidua
Tuesday, 13th December,	"	— Ho
Thursday, 15th December,	"	— Tamale
Friday, 16th December,	"	— Bolgatanga
Saturday, 17th December,	"	— Kumasi
Monday, 19th December,	"	— Sunyani
Tuesday, 20th December,	"	— Sekondi-Takoradi
Wednesday, 21st December,	"	— Cape Coast

After the Commission has held inaugural meetings in all the Regions, the Commission will break down into 3 Working Groups each under a Vice-Chairman. Each Working Group will undertake an extensive tour of a number of Regions allocated to it, receive memoranda and take oral evidence from all sections of the people.

9. We wish to assure the public that there are no limitations whatsoever on the presentation of memoranda. We consider, however, that there are certain specific issues basic to the Constitution that will finally emerge which must be brought into the open to enable those submitting memoranda to formulate their proposals

more clearly and more meaningfully. Some of these fundamental issues pertain, in particular, to the principle of the separation of powers between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary and what degree of separation may be considered desirable, having regard to the special circumstances of Ghana. Should the Executive, for instance, take the Presidential or Parliamentary form, and what should be the nature and extent of its powers? Should the Legislature be uni-cameral or bi-cameral, and what should be the position of Chiefs? What should be the role of Local Government and what degree of decentralisation should this involve at the Regional and District levels. There is also to be considered the question of fundamental human rights and individual freedoms and what should be their nature and form.

10. The Commission is accordingly preparing a hand-out of selected topics touching upon some of these fundamental principles which, it is hoped, will be of some value to the general public in preparing their memoranda and formulating their proposals.

11. All memoranda and proposals should be addressed to the JOINT-SECRETARIES, CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION, PARLIAMENT HOUSE ACCRA, or to the REGIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER of each Region, who will in turn forward them to the Joint-Secretaries for processing. Members of the public who wish to submit memoranda in person or give oral evidence should indicate precisely where they would like to meet the Commission and what topics they would like to discuss.

12. We wish, again, to appeal to all sections of the public to respond to our invitation for submission of memoranda and proposals on the type of government and Constitution which this country should have in our desire to establish true democracy not only for ourselves but also for our future generations.

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THE NATIONAL LIBERATION COUNCIL

BUDGET STATEMENT FOR 1966–67

By

LT. GENERAL J. A. ANKRAH
Chairman

Fellow Citizens and Friends,

In my broadcast speech on 2nd March this year, I announced, among other things, the decision of the National Liberation Council to revert to the fiscal year 1st July to 30th June, and to introduce a new Budget in July this year.

2. In presenting the 1966–67 Budget, I would like to take this opportunity to reiterate some of the major aspects of the economic policy of the National Liberation Council.

The State of the Economy before the Revolution

3. On the eve of the revolution in February this year, our economy was in a very critical state. The reckless spending of the old regime on prestige and non-productive projects and the very fast rate of Government expenditure itself had resulted in persistently large deficits in the Government budgets. These budget deficits which were financed by unrestrained resort to borrowing from the Central Bank and by heavy dependence on short and medium-term suppliers' credits generated strong inflationary pressures at home. On the external front, the rapid rate of Government expenditure and the fall in the world market price of cocoa resulted in heavy deficits on our balance of payments. The continuous balance of payments deficits in turn, led to persistent strain on our expternal reserves. As a result the country's foreign exchange reserves were virtually depleted by the eve of the takeover as compared with ₵468 million at the time of independence. Long before the reserves were depleted, the old Government had resorted import and exchange controls. The justification was that the controls would help to husband our scarce foreign exchange resources. However, we all know that the import controls were so badly administered that instead of ensuring the smooth flow of essential commodities they only led to frequent shortages of these items.

4. Against this background of excessive Government spending financed by inflationary borrowing and the improper administration of the import licensing system, prices rose rapidly. Both the domestic and the external value of the currency began to depreciate at a fast rate. Meanwhile many individuals who could have been employed in the production of foodstuffs and other goods and services were mobilised into the Workers Brigade, the Young Farmers League and the State Farms Corporation where their productivity was very low. Others moved into the urban areas to satisfy the high demand for construction workers on projects many of which held no immediate prospects of satisfying the material needs of the public. Consequently, the money incomes earned by all these workers were unmatched by the actual goods and services which they must purchase with the money to sustain themselves. There was also the fact that the population was increasing at a rapid rate and this combined with the other factors to aggravate the general shortage of essential commodities.

5. In the desperate attempt to reduce the widening gap in the budget Government's financial policy soon lost sight of all other considerations and became dominated simply by the need to raise revenue. The result is that taxation levels are very high and the tax structure does not offer sufficient incentives for increased investment and production.

6. In spite of the fact that we are among one of the highest taxed people on this continent, the high rate of spending by the former Government led to a rapid increase in the burden of debts on the country. The public debt rose from under ₵50 million in 1957 to ₵1,000 million at the time of the revolution. Suppliers' credit debts rose so fast that the repayment has become a major problem in our balance of payments position.

7. In the industrial sector, the Government committed itself to a stream of ill-conceived projects and at such a rate as to stretch thin the management and financial resources available to the Government. Private enterprise was discouraged. Capable Ghanaains were denied the opportunity of expanding their business enterprises and using their managerial talents to the full. Lip-service was paid to foreign private capital. But the general political atmosphere and the attitude of the press pointed to the contrary. In spite of all our assurances and the Capital Investments Act, foregn investors lost confidence in the country.

8. The huge investments of the past have not yielded adequate returns owing partly to economic mismanagement and corruption. The rate of economic growth has been disappointing in recent years. Preliminary figures in the *Economic Survey* soon to be published indicate that in real terms the economy barely expanded at all in 1965.

9. As a result of all these developments, the foreign exchange situation became extremely critical by the beginning of the year. Remittances of business profits and individual savings had been virtually stopped. Large sums were owing to foreign exporters in respect of goods shipped to this country even on credit terms. Consequently foreign suppliers were refusing to ship goods to Ghana. Confidence in our economy was badly shaken. In effect, the country was on the verge of economic collapse.

10. I am sure we are all aware of some of these facts. But it is necessary to re-state the position for two reasons. Firstly, we need to remind ourselves constantly of our situation a few months back lest we forget the economic chaos from which the Armed Forces and the Police rescued this country. The economic situation which we inherited was so bad that it will be unrealistic to expect an easy or radical improvement within a short period. Secondly, we must refresh our memories about these problems in order to set our future policy properly against the errors of the past regime.

Objects of the Budget

11. The Budget which is being introduced today marks the beginning of the stabilisation programme promised by the National Liberation Council. This programme aims at the rehabilitation of the economy and the preparation of the ground for a sound economic policy leading to a resumption of a satisfactory rate of economic growth.

The basis of our welfare state

12. The National Liberation Council announced at a very early stage its commitment to the ideal of a welfare state. This is not a mere ideological concept. It is a policy which implies that the National Liberation Council will seek in all its actions to improve the material well-being of every Ghanaian. We will manage the economy in such a way that the opportunities for honest and gainful employment are steadily expanded. We will also ensure that this employment yields increasingly higher returns to the worker and his family. And we will promote such a rate of economic growth that the Government itself can extract enough resources to modernise progressively the services which it provides to the worker and his family.

13. It is obvious that only a partnership between the Government and private individuals and business in the country can create the resources with which a welfare state can be built. There is no country in which all workers are public officers. And there is no country in which the Government leaves it completely to private interests to carry out the task of economic development. It is only a failure of elementary commonsense which sometimes led the previous Government to imagine that they could develop Ghana by turning it into one vast public service machine. It is this kind of ideology which the revolution was intended to cure. In its place we are trying to institute a system of genuine partnership between Government and private interests. Government must share with the private sector the task of increasing production and employment under a rational division of responsibilities. After the wealth has been produced, the Government and the individual must share in its use on a reasonable and mutually satisfactory basis. It is not reasonable for instance that in the use of the available foreign exchange absolute priority should be given, as it was in the past, to the buying of ever more and more machinery for Government factories and State farms to the exclusion of the basic necessities which we must import to sustain the standard of living of the individual Ghanaian, and sometimes even to the exclusion of the raw materials, spare parts and fuel which were needed in order to put to use the machinery that had already been purchased.

14. In the field of investment, the major implication of the programme of stabilisation which we have adopted for the coming two years is that the overall level of Government expenditure has run too far ahead of the growth of the economy. There must therefore be a pause for consolidation. During this pause the projects which have been started in such large numbers that their successful completion had over-taxed the resources of the country must be completed and supplemented as may be necessary to put them to profitable use. At the same time a rearrangement of the pattern of government investment must be carried out. For instance in agriculture, the mad rush to buy more and more tractors which are at present only utilised up to about one-tenth of their capacity should be replaced by a new policy in which agricultural investment is now concentrated on things like feeder roads, irrigation works and properly planned storage facilities.

Balancing the Government Accounts

15. As I mentioned in the policy statement of the 2nd of March this year, the new Budget will reflect the Council's economic policy. In that statement I said that in order to restore balance to the Budget emphasis will be placed on the reduction of Government expenditure rather than on increased taxation.

16. The first and foremost task of this Budget therefore is to make a start towards achieving a balance in Government accounts. In order to correct the serious imbalance in the Government budget and to arrest the rise in prices and the fall in the value of our currency, the National Liberation Council has agreed to an overall reduction in the size of the 1966/67 Budget. The aim has been to limit expenditure to a level that can be met out of ordinary revenue and from other non-inflanary sources. As against actual expenditure of ₵467.6 million in the fiscal year 1965, therefore, the National Liberation Council has agreed to a total expenditure of ₵401.2 million for 1966/67. Estimated Recurrent expenditure which stands at ₵251.6 million falls below the actual expenditure for 1965 while Develoopment plan expenditure has been pruned down from ₵11.3 million in 1965 to under ₵150 million.

17. This reduction has been made mostly by eliminating wasteful prestige expenditures and other projects of doubtful economic viability. Work on some other projects is expected to be slowed down while a proper reassessment is carried out. The saving of over ₵60 million arising from the reduction in Government expenditure is expected to lead to a considerable reduction in prices during the fiscal year 1966/67. This reduction in prices and the strengthening of the value of the Cedi is one of the policies to which the National Liberation Council is firmly committed.

Financial Discipline

18. One essential of the present Budget is that Heads of Ministries, Departments and Institutions had the full opportunity of participating in the discussion of their estimates. They were made fully aware of the state of the economy, and of our requirements and it is expected that they will co-operate fully in the implementation of the Budget expenditure proposals. The National Liberation Council itself has had the opportunity to discuss the estimates under every head of expenditure and to consider their policy implications. Thus not only the National Liberation Council but the Treasury as well as the operative Departments are in agreement on the size and the policy implications of the Budget.

19. We cannot, and we will not, allow these Estimates to be exceeded during the course of the year. As an added safeguard the National Liberation Council expects to pass a Financial Administration Law soon after the Budget. This law will provide for a more effective control of public expenditure. In particular, the law will hold every Head of Department personally responsible for spending within the limits of his estimates. Any Head of Department who exceeds his vote without appropriate authority will be surcharged with such excess, wherever appropriate.

Redeployment of Resources

20. The policy of reduced Government expenditure will liberate substantial resources which should be employed profitably by the private sector. The Government's call on the resources of the banking system is being held in check. The absorption of domestic savings into the financing of ever increasing budget deficits is being sharply curtailed. These two measures will release a sbstantial volume of saving and credit which the financial institutions must deploy into the private sector so as to yield maximum benefits.

21. One of the major problems which a reduction in Government expenditure of this size will bring will be retrenchment. In recent years the Government has absorbed a large proportion of the available labour force. While cocoa farmers and other people in agriculture, forestry and mining have found it increasingly difficult to recruit labour, Government has maintained a vast number of idle, but potentially useful, workers who were paid with money which we could ill afford. It is not fair to those who work for their wages that other people should also be paid the same wages for doing nothing. It is bad for these idle workers themselves that they should live a life of well-paid idleness. Therefore, within the Government machine itself, in the public corporations and in organisations such as the Workers Brigade, we have started a process of systematically laying-off those workers who are not contributing anything to production. It is not the intention that these workers who were previously being paid for doing nothing should continue to do nothing, the only difference this time being that Government will not pay them. On the contrary, the labour that is released from the Government sector should, as rapidly as possible, find its way into gainful occupations within the private sector. We expect pagriculture in particular to provide a satisfactory new living for considerable numbers of these workers. Many of them are capable of setting up on their own in a relatively short period of time as farmers, making a worthwhile contribution towards the solution of our desperate problem of food shortage. The Budget contains special provisions by which the Government will be able to assist all those who are willing to bring under cultivation more of the land which Ghana still has in abundance. After the present crop has been harvested, a number of state farms will be turned over for private cultivation. The Budget also makes provision for helping those workers who would like to share in the cultivation of the acreages which have already been cleared on these State farms. We appeal to those well-established farmers who have land and existing plantations of cocoa and especially of foodcrops to give employment to as many labourers as are willing to work honestly for a reasonable wage.

22. The retrenchment will however involve pockets of temporary unemployment while workers find alternative avenues of employment. We are fully aware of the hardships which these changes will bring to some workers and the National Liberation Council has made appropriate provisions in the Budget for a number of labour-intensive projects to relieve these temporary hardships of unemployment. The establishment of an office for the re-location of labour has already been announced, and all agencies are required to notify the Special Commissioner before they lay off any labour so that appropriate measures may be taken.

Co-operation between the Government and the private sector

23. We expect that, with the progressive easing of conditions under this and subsequent Budgets, individual Ghanaians who are capable of doing so, would take over a greater share of the job of providing housing in the urban areas. Many more privately owned houses are needed to accommodate the working people, and their construction should itself also provide increasing opportunities for employment to these same working people. As a particular token of this, Government has decided that the provision of housing in the new city of Tema should be the joint responsibility of the public and the private sectors with the latter taking an increasingly greater share. Land will be available with the necessary services laid on for individuals and enterprises which are willing to invest in housing for the growing labour force of Tema. It is the intention of the National Liberation Council to give every assistance to public servants to build their own houses and to move into them. This will release Government funds for more productive investment.

24. The slow down in Government activities should also release a greater proportion of the available foreign exchange for the use of the private sector. We have put ourselves in a position where we will be able to allocate increasing amounts of foreign exchange for the purchase of machinery for the private sector and of raw materials and spare parts to keep them in operation. In addition,

of course, we have already taken steps to ensure that there will no longer be any more of these difficulties about the importation of basic consumer goods from which the people of Ghana have suffered so much for the last four years.

25. As a permanent part of our policy for the economic development of the country the National Liberation Council intends that the primary responsibility for running and developing certain sectors of the economy should belong to the private sector. In particular, agriculture, commerce and housing will be activities in which the principal responsibility for management and for expansion will be assigned to private initiative. Every encouragement will be given to Ghanaians to participate increasingly in these sectors.

26. Government will of course have to support the private sector if it is to carry out successfully this responsibility. In particular, our farmers will be given the level of supporting services by way of marketing, feeder roads, water conservation and irrigation, extension advice and agricultural credit which is necessary in order to secure a rapid increase in the production of food and other crops. Government also has a duty to protect the interest of the general public as consumers of the goods which are produced in these sectors. This responsibility will be exercised firmly but in such a way as not to inhibit the overall development of the economy.

27. Equally, there can be no ambiguity about the assignment of the prime responsibility to the Government in the provision of certain basic services such as water and electricity, roads, railways and harbours. The welfare state also implies that the Government will accept the responsibility to provide eventually all citizens and always in a satisfactory quality with those services like education and health which contribute so much to the real standard of living of the worker and his family.

28. There are certain fields in which the responsibilities of the Government and the private sectors must overlap of complement each other. The public and the private sectors will remain in healthy competition in the field of road transport. Already Government is responsible for railway and air services and for the harbours. Road transport is primarily provided by the private sector and both this budget and the foreign exchange plan for the coming year will make it increasingly possible for the private sector to operate road transport services. But the Government also has an interest in the transportation of goods and people by road which we intend to maintain. The urban bus services will be strengthened to guarantee quick and cheap transport for the worker and his family. Government must also maintain its ability to provide a modern long distance trucking service for bulk haulage. This system can also be used to relieve quickly those bottlenecks and localised shortages, especially of food and consumer goods, which are liable to arise from time to time in different parts of the country. In general Government must also retain a residual responsibility for seeing to it that the distribution and marketing of essential commodities is assured in all parts of the country and to this end will take any action that is needed to supplement the shortcomings of the privately-owned retail trade.

29. In the field of industry, the relations between Government and private initiative are more complex. It will clarify thinking all round on this question if we bear in mind the common purposes which industrial development, whether through Government or private initiative, is designed to achieve. First, Ghana needs a rapidly expanding industrial secor in order to provide employment for an increasingly urbanised working population. Secondly, industry and its related activities which are able to pay a higher level of wages than the traditional rural sector must contribute an increasing proportion of totalemployment in the country so that we can achieve a rising average level of income, and therefore of living, per family. This growing wealth is what the welfare state will be built on. Thirdly, industry must produce for Ghana more of the commodities that are required to meet the needs of individuals, business enterprises and government. Industry must also earn increasing amounts of foreign exchange with which to buy the goods which we will continue to import from other countries.

30. As many industrial enterprises, therefore, as can be established to serve the existing market, to utilise our natural resources, to give employment to people and to help with our balance of payments problem mu be encouraged to start. At the present time it is obviou that Government has already set up more industrial ente prises than it can economically manage profitably wi the manpower resources at its disposal. In the comin two years our concentration in the field of public industr will therefore be to complete the projects already starte to assure competent management to run the existin enterprises and to lay the ground work through carefu project preparation for the industrial developmen of the country in the future.

31. We have already offered for sale those publi industrial concerns which, in our view, can be more efficientl and profitably managed by private enterprises; but Goverr ment is by no means withdrawing from the field of indus trial development. Most of those enterprises which hav now been retained in the Government's portfolio wi remain there until in the process of review it is establishe that any of them should be transferred to the privat sector. The National Investment Bank in which the Goverr ment has a substantial investment at present has fund for which it will continue to seek profitable investmen opportunities.

32. The system of partnership between public an private capital has already been tried out very successfull in a number of joint industrial enterprises. This systen characterises in large part the policies of the Nationa Investment Bank and its application is also being furthe widened by the invitation which we have issued to privat interests to take a share in a number of indiustrial enter prises already established by the Government. The Budge makes provision for more financial resources to be pu at the disposal of the National Investment Bank. In additior Government has also invited a number of internationa financial institutions to contribute to the resources of th National Investment Bank. Should any profitable oppor tunities also arise for direct Government investment ir an industrial project, especially in the field of basic industry we will hold ourselves open to consider them. The ability of the Ministry of Industries to conduct valid feasibility studies of industrial opportunities in Ghana will be furthe strengthened and the prospects which are thereby uncovered will be submitted for implementation by any sources o capital which may be interested, whether governmen or private.

33. It is obvious however that with the level of existing commitments by the Government in the field of industry and the budgetary difficulties under which we are now operating, Government cannot prudently undertake any large number of new industrial projects during the stabilisation period. The expansion of industrial capacity and production during this period must therefore become primarily the responsibility of the private sector. This is a special challenge to Ghanaian business initiative. We need particularly new private industrial establishments which will either save us substantial of foreign exchange or contribute to our export earnings. Private investors should concentrate especially on those projects which make use of Ghana's own raw materials or which produce goods for local consumption with the smallest amoun of imported raw materials.

Opportunities for private investment

34. Ghana offers a number of advantages to priate interest which invest in industry. In spite of all our recen difficulties we continue to offer the most concentrated markets to be found anywhere on the continent of Africa. We have already taken steps to normalise our relations with our neighbours in such a way as to make possible increasing levels of trade. We are in the process of systematizing the efforts at economic co-operation among the West African countries, and investors will find tha for many products Ghana offers a superior vantage point from which to supply other African countries. Especially in the availability of a skilled labour force and of basic public services for industry such as transport, water and electricity, Ghana offers excellent facilities.

35. Our Laws continue to carry provisions which guarantee the safety of private investment. We have recently decided to accede to the World Bank's new Convention for the Settlement of Investment Disputes. The Capital Investments Act, whose provisions have always been very generous by any standards but whose effectiveness was also undermined by a lack of confidence still remains on the statute book. The machinery for implementing

it has already been streamlined and will be further strengthened in order to make the process of investment in Ghana as convenient and expeditious as it can be. The specific concessions which are availiable under the Capital Investments Act are meant to be given to all investment projects which by their contribution to the national income, to employment and to the foreign exchange position deserve such concessions.

36. I hope I have been able to convey to you in all this the clear understanding that our economic policy is based on a constructive partnership between the public and the private sectors which is designed to promote the fastest possible rate of economic development so that the standards of wealth and welfare of the people can be rapidly improved. We have rejected any hard and fast ideas about the sphere of the public or the private sector based merely on ideological or simple theoretical considerations. We shall endeavour to ensure that case by case the opportunities for profitable investment that arise will be promoted to actual implementation. On the basis of pragmatic considerations, we shall decide whether it is necessary for Government resources to be employed in the realisation of these possibilities. Wherever it is possible and expedient, individuals and companies with the capital to invest will be given the chance to participate in the exploitation of these opportunities. In general, Government and private initiative must work together in a constructive partnership. For those who decide to invest in Ghana, Government will offer fair treatment according to the laws and the facts of our economic situation. In exchange we will expect a fair return to the country, to the owners of the natural resources and to the workers who help in producing the wealth.

37. As a measure of immediate tax reform, the National Liberation Council has decided that with effect from today withholding tax will be collected by the Commissioner of Income Tax only at the point of transfer of profits. This will remove the present anomaly whereby withholding tax is paid on profits which in fact may not be transferred owing to foreign exchange difficulties. We appreciate that foreign investors will be hesitant about investing in Ghana as long as there are no assured propsects for the transfer of dividends and profits. In the past the foreign exchange position has not permitted the free transfer of these funds. We intend during the stabilisation period to keep the situation constantly under review. Meanwhile investors are urged to find profitable avenues for the investment of funds which have accumulated over the past few years owing to lack of foreign exchange.

Foreign Trade and External Payments Position

38. Another major task to which the country will address itself during the year will be to bring order into our external payments position. With regard to payment for imports, the Bank of Ghana has already announced that commitments entered into on and after 1st June, 1966 will be honoured on due dates. Suitable arrangements for the payment of the backlog of commitments entered into or due up to the 30th May in respect of current payments will be announced shortly. It is expected that with the reduction in Government expenditure which has been the main source of the strain on the external resources and given a continued improvement in the world market price of cocoa, the Bank will be able to honour commitments on current account promptly and in accordance with the *Gazette* Notice issued.

39. The National Liberation Council has just announced a new rationalised system of import licensing. It is the intention that the system will be kept under constant review. There are, for instance, certain essential commodities which we must import into this country no matter the state of our balance of payments. There is no reason why these items should not be placed on Open General Licence. This will be actively considered during the review period and implemented as soon as the situation permits.

40. Meanwhile, for as long as the import controls remain, the licensing authorities will have to give priority to these items as well as to industrial raw materials and spare parts. But given these factors, the Chamber of Commerce, the Manufacturers Association and the business community generally are expected to show their goodwill and co-operation by exercising voluntary restraint on over-stocking and indenting of non-essentials even though they may be hot-selling lines. With the improvement which we expect in the current payments position in the near future we hope our suppliers will shift from their present position of shipments only against letters of credit, to shipment on collection basis. We certainly expect our local importers and manufacturers to arrange their future supplies on this basis.

41. Our foreign trade policy will continue to be non-aligned. It will be conducted strictly on business lines. Trade will be based on competitive prices and quality, prompt delivery dates and the proper documentation of items. All existing bilateral trade agreements will be respected but we intend to review them in order to ensure that they operate in the best interest of our economy.

Local Food Supplies

42. The shortages of local foodstuffs which I have already referred to can only be removed if we succeed in implementing a sound agricultural policy. The National Liberation Council would like to divert more resources into the agricultural industry. But this will be done only if there are wothwhile agricultural projects and programmes. We rely on the Agricultural Committee as well as our experts in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Research organisations to help us formulate and implement realistic policies which will lead to rapid increases in the supply of food and other types of agricultural produce.

Cocoa

43. With regard to cocoa a rational purchasing system will be evolved on the basis of the report and recommendation of the Committee which is inquiring into this matter. Meanwhile we wish to appeal to all farmers to exercise restraint. The National Liberation Council cannot take the risk of making ill-considered changes in the purchasing system which could in the long-run damage the whole cocoa economy. Cocoa farmers have every right to expect improvement in the producer price. Unfortunately given the present uncertainties in the world market price and especially in view of the breakdown of the recent conference on the stabilization of cocoa prices, it is not considered wise to change the producer price at this stage. The situation is being kept under review and as soon as conditions permit the necessary adjustments will be made.

Details of the Budget

44. I will now turn to the details of the budget. The Annual Estimates provide for a total expenditure of ₵401.2 million to be drawn from the Consolidated Fund. In addition the Ghana Railway and Ports Administration has budgeted for an expenditure of ₵38.8 million. In the case of the latter the expenditure will be met out of the funds and accounts of the Railway and Ports Administration which will benefit by an estimated surplus of ₵5.4 million during the year. The taxpayer will therefore not be called upon to contribute towards the operations of the Railway and Ports Administration. I will therefore confine myself in this statement to the estimates of expenditure which will be met out of the Consolidated Fund.

45. Against an estimated total expenditure of ₵401.2 million current revenues is estimated at ₵300.5 million. In addition it is expected that there will be capital receipts totalling ₵56.0 million. Total financial resources that will be available to finance government expenditure during the year are therefore estimated at ₵356.5 million. Thus it is estimated that there will be an overall deficit of ₵44.7 million.

46. The question now arises as to how this deficit will be financed. The expenditure estimates include provision for the payment of Government's obligations under suppliers' credits that fall due for payment during the financial year. As a result of meetings held recently in London with our creditor countries we have declared a temporary moratorium on the payments of these debts up to September next when we hope to negotiate a satisfactory stretch-out and refinancing of these debts. To the extent that the negotiations are successful and the repayments of existing suppliers' credits that fall due this year are phased out for repayment beyond the current financial year the relief so afforded will reduce the estimated expenditure and assist in convering the deficit.

Tax Proposals

47. The estimated current revenue of ₵300.5 million takes into account some adjustments in the existing tax rates and I will now proceed to mention the main ones.

Customs Duties

48. In line with the policy of the National Liberation Council to reduce the tax burden on the majority of our

people and in order to reactivate the economy it has been decided to reduced customs duty on some essential items:

(i) Customs duty on motor spirits has been reduced from 42 pesewas to 39 pesewas per gallon. Retail prices on all grades of motor spirits will therefore go down by 3 pesewas per gallon all over the country.

(ii) Duty on kerosene has been reduced from 18 pesewas to 12 pesewas per gallon. This will result in a reduction of 1 pesewa in the price of a bottle of kerosene to the consumer.

(iii) Duty on diesel oil has also been reduced by 1 pesewa per gallon from 18 pesewas to 17 pesewas per gallon.

(iv) Customs duties on fish and fish preparations and meat and meat preparations have been reduced from 6 pesewas to 5 pesewas per lb.

(v) Garri which has hitherto been subjected to duty at the rate of 50 per cent *ad valorem* will now be exempt from duty. Other West African foodstuffs will also come in free of duty.

49. These reductions in duty which come into effect immediately are in addition to the reductions announced in my statement to the Nation on 2nd March. It will be recalled that on that occasion I announced cuts in import duties on edible oils, matches, salt and sugar. I also announced a reduction of 62% in sales tax on sugar, rice, salt and flour. I am happy to inform you that as a result of the substantial inflow of flour from the United States of America and Canada the controlled price of flour has now been reduced by about ₵1.00 per bag of 50 lb.

50. The reductions in duty will result in a revenue loss of ₵1.9 million. In order to reduce this loss it has been decided to raise the duty on imported cars from 25% to 30% *ad valorem*. We wish to point out that this change does not affect commercial vehicles other than taxis. The National Liberation Council expects that the reduction in the cost of fuel should go a long way in reducing transport costs throughout the country.

Sales Tax

51. In future corn as well as other unmilled grains will be exempted from Sales Tax. Packing materials will also not attract Sales Tax.

52. Hitherto any importer who wanted to re-export goods previously imported by him had to pay export duty at the rate of 50% *ad valorem*. It has been found that this has been a nuisance and it has therefore been decided to abolish this duty altogether.

53. Details of all these tax changes are contained in the relevant Decrees which have been published today.

Income Tax

54. I now turn to income tax. Since 1953 there have been so many amendments to the Income Tax Ordinance that it has not been easy to locate the law and to work with the Ordinance in its present form. A Consolidated Income Tax law has therefore been prepared and will be published shortly. This new law gives effect to the National Liberation Council's decision to raise the exemption limit of taxable income from ₵432.00 to ₵480.00. It also gives effect to the Council's decision to abolish the old regime's rent tax as well as income tax paid by cocoa farmers on their income from the proceeds of the sale of cocoa.

55. Unfortunately within the short time at our disposal it has not been possible to review the entire income structure in the country. As I have already stated the tax policies of the old regime were based on the sheer desire to collect revenue. The National Liberation Council holds the view that taxation policy should be such as to encourage local production and economic activity and to reduce costs. In this way increased revenues should accrue from a high turnover of locally produced goods and services rather than from high tax rates on a small turnover. For this reason it is proposed to review the whole tax system during the current financial year. The purpose of this review will be to remove any bottlenecks in the tax system which may be having an adverse effect on local production and foreign investments in Ghana and with this aim in view to eliminate any contradictions in the current tax system. The review will also make it possible to spread the tax net more widely to cover every able bodied person who is gainfully employed and who is eligible to pay tax. In this connection the National Liberation Council has requested and the International Monetary Fund has already agreed to offer the services of a tax expert to assist in this task.

Posts and Telecommunications Charges

56. It has also been decided to make certain changes in the charges made by the Department of Posts and Telecommunications to bring them more in line with those levied in other countries. Postage on ordinary inland mail has been reduced from 6 pesewas to 5 pesewas, but that on air letter cards has been increased from 6 pesewas to 10 pesewas. In addition slight increases have been made in the rental paid by those who have letter boxes allocated to them.

57. Hitherto telephones have been installed in private premises free of charge, the subscriber only paying a small rental yearly in addition to charges for effective calls made. The National Liberation Council considers that this is unreasonable and has therefore decided that, as a first step, a flat charge of ₵25.00 should be levied in respect of new installations. This is in line with the policy adopted in the case of both electricity and water supplies where the owner of the premises pays for the full cost of the connection. It has also been decided to effect slight increases in the charges made for other services provided by the Department of Posts and Telecommunications.

58. Details of these changes have been given in one of the Decrees which have been published today.

Miscellaneous Charges

59. Fellow citizens and friends, the idea of the free text-books scheme introduced in our schools a few years ago is a good one but unfortunately as with many other policies initiated by the old government, it was premature and incompetently implemented. We are all aware of the effects of the scheme. We know that these books never got to our children in time. We also know that under the scheme our children were not allowed to carry text-books home and this led to a worsening of the already deteriorating educational standards of our children. For these reasons the National Liberation Council has decided that the free text-books scheme should be modified and made more efficient. With effect from the next academic year therefore the Government will supply to all school pupils basic text-books as well as exercise books and other materials. These will become the property of the children and may therefore be taken home. It has however been decided that parents should make a modest contribution to the cost of these books and materials as follows:—

₵2.00 per annum in respect of a child in primary school.
₵5.00 per annum in respect of a child in middle school.
₵12.00 per annum in respect of a child in secondary school.

60. A number of private schools were taken over by the Government at the beginning of the current academic year. The case of these schools has been reviewed and the National Liberation Council has decided that these schools should be retained in the public system. In future, however, the Ministry of Education will not take over any private school until the owners have been consulted and the full implications considered.

61. The Animal Health Division of the Ministry of Agriculture vaccinates birds at the request of poultry owners. This service has hitherto been free. It is the view of the National Liberation Council that at least part of the cost of the vaccine should be recovered. It has accordingly been decided that a small charge should be made on all birds vaccinated at the request of the poultry owner. To give incentive to housewives to keep backyard poultry, however, it has been decided that no charge should be levied on the first 25 birds vaccinated. A small charge will also be levied for the treatment of cattle against trypanosomiasis.

62. Last year a television service was inaugurated. In order to reduce the cost of this service to Government and to provide for improved programmes, it has been decided to impose a licence fee of ₵12.00 per annum per television set. The National Liberation Council has also decided to introduce a commercial television service. This will be controlled in such a way as not to impair the enjoyment of television programmes. In addition to this the Ghana Broadcasting Corporation has been asked to investigate the possibility of introducing a second channel for sound broadcasting which will be devoted to light music, news and commercials as a means of raising revenue to meet part of the cost of radio and television broadcasting.

63. The National Liberation Council has taken a number of measures to reduce Government expenditures, for, as I have already said, the difficulties which we inherited from the old regime arose mainly from uncontrolled Government expenditure. Our delegations to international conferences have hitherto been too large including in many cases people who obviously cannot make any contribution to the deliberations. It has therefore been decided to keep our delegations to the minimum consistent with efficiency. It has also been decided that as from today persons travelling outside the country and whose expenses will be met from public funds should travel by economy class.

Social Security Scheme

64. Since the revolution the National Liberation Council has received petitions from various groups of workers for the abolition of the Social Security Scheme. The Council has given considerable thought to these petitions but is of the view that the scheme is a good one and it therefore intends to keep it. In view, however, of the high cost of living in the country at the moment and in line with the Council's policy of relieving hardships wherever possible, it has been decided to reduce contributions to the scheme by a total of 5% that is, 2½% in the case of the employer and 2½% in the case of the employee. Thus the employee's contribution to the scheme will be reduced to 5% of his annual income and the employer's to 12½%. It has also been decided to leave both employees and employers free to pay the whole or part of the 5% reduction into any private schemes operated by them if they so desire, by mutual consent. It is hoped that from these private schemes it will be possible for employers to make temporary advances to workers wherever possible.

65. For purposes of benefits under the scheme it has been decided to reduce the voluntary retiring age from 55 to 50 and the compulsory retiring age from 60 to 55 in the case of all employees other those engaged in the Mines. In the case of employees engaged by Mining Companies the voluntary retiring age has been reduced from 50 to 45 and the compulsory retiring age from 55 to 50 provided that they would have served in the mines for a period of not less than ten years. These changes will come into force with effect from 1st August, 1966.

Conclusion

66. Fellow citizens and friends, the Budget proposals which I have outlined to you are designed to help us solve in the long-run our basic economic problems. For the first time in many years, it has been possible to introduce a Budget which gives tax reliefs to the population. This has been possible because of reductions which have been effected in Government expenditure. In order to reap full benefits from this Budget, we shall have to increase productivity in all sectors of the economy, particularly in agriculture and industry. Without increased productivity, all our efforts at economic rehabilitation will come to nought. We must demonstrate to the outside world our willingness and determination to make whatever sacrifices are considered to be in the best interest of our dear nation. It is only after this that we can reasonably hope for assistance from friendly countries. The National Liberation Council appeals to all of you in whatever position you are to gird your loins and answer the noble call to salvage our economy.

THE CASTLE, OSU.
July 20, 1966.

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STATEMENT ON THE 1966-67 BUDGET

by

COLONEL A. A. AFRIFA

To

MEMBERS OF THE PRESS AND DIPLOMATIC CORPS

JULY 25TH, 1966

AT THE PRESS Conference I gave when I was assigned responsibility for economic affairs, finance and trade, I warned that the coming budget could not be soft. The Chairman of the National Liberation Council in his Budget speech of 20th July introducing the new budget told you the reasons why. We inherited not only an empty treasury but also huge debts; the country was on the verge of economic collapse.

It is not on this aspect which has already been repeatedly and fully dealt with that I wish to dwell. I wish to concern myself with what I would call the human aspects of the budget.

When I said that we could not present a soft budget to the country, I was thinking of the inevitable unemployment which would result from the economic measures we are obliged to take in order to improve our situation. It has been painful for us to take decisions to retrench people from unemployment. But we have had to do this because of the mess caused by the Nkrumah regime. There were enterprises which, instead of making profits, showed heavy losses because they were made to employ too many hands. A good example is the Ambassador Hotel in Accra. For every room in the hotel, about 8 persons were employed. Many of these people were inefficient and useless, but they had to be kept there because the party bosses directed that they should be taken on and kept on the pay-roll, even though they were making no contribution to the success of the venture. As another obvious example, I may refer to the State Farms which many of you will have seen all over the country. Many of them are but large, cleared and empty tracts of land conspicuously sited along our roadsides, eloquent monuments of folly and waste. We needed food, but thousands of people were kept on regular wages to produce nothing. They merely added to the scarcity of the very things they were employed to produce. Examples of over-employment or inefficiency and idleness can be cited galore. Everyone of you listening to me can cite examples. What can we do to improve the situation ? Any sensible measures we take to deal with it must involve some retrenchment and dismissals. We are painfully aware of this. I assure you we shall do our best in as many ways as we can to reduce the burden of unemployment. You have already been told about some of the steps we are taking. We shall try to find other jobs for some of those who will lose their jobs; we shall try to provide training so that others can acquire new skills; we hope with careful planning to be able to find gainful employment for all; we need everyone's contribution towards the rebuilding of our country. Idleness, inefficiency and wastefulness are expensive, and we have all to bear the heavy cost of them bequeathed to us by Nkrumah and his rapacious henchmen.

When we say that workers have a great contribution to make towards the rebuilding of the nation, we are not just repeating platitudes. We know that every worker by trying to do his job efficiently and diligently is helping us to reduce costs and to produce more, and we all will share the benefits of this, just as we are having to share the burden of inefficiency and idle wastefulness. In economic affairs, as in other spheres of our national life, we are members of one another, and gain or suffer from one another's good deeds or misdeeds.

The various commissions have shown another human problem which has gravely affected our economy. I refer to corruption. Its shameless practice on such a large scale have had a serious impact on all our economic projects. Corruption inflated the cost of these projects, reduced profits and productivity, and caused injustice by diverting public funds into private pockets, or by some people taking for themselves more than their fair share of our national output. To correct this, there are some painful measures which must be taken, and which I am sure will be taken. Among the necessary corrective measures will be dismissals, not merely from junior posts, but even more important, from senior posts, of incompetent or dishonest political appointees. Such measures will swell the unemployment

figures, but I hope they will be seen as necessary for our general health and progress. As a corollary, I hope that all of us in our various spheres of activity will discharge our duties honestly, and not succumb to bribery and corruption which have not only moral, but also serious economic consequences.

Among our most valuable human resources are also our cocoa farmers on whose product we depend for two-thirds of our foreign exchange. I am painfully aware that in the present budget we have not been able to increase the price of cocoa to producers. I assure them it was not for lack of consideration or sympathy. If the present trends on the world market continue, I hope it will not be long before we are able to improve the price we offer to our farmers. In the meantime, there are measures we can take to improve conditions for our cocoa farmers, and we shall take them. We know that there are many ways in which the cocoa farmer through the dishonesty of others has been deprived of what he has earned. Secretary/receivers have used false weights to rob some farmers of 10 lbs. out every load of cocoa they weighed. In this way, millions of pounds which cocoa farmers have earned even under the present price, and which rightly belongs to them, have found their way into dishonest hands. Such practices have increased the hardships of cocoa farmers. As you know, we have a committee enquiring into the cocoa industry, and appropriate measures will be taken to give the farmers a better deal. These I am sure will include ways to ensure that weights and measures are inspected so that farmers are not cheated of their due. I am glad that in spite of the fact that we were not able to offer an increased price immediately, the representatives of the farmers have indicated their support for what we have been able to do.

For all would have seen that within the narrow limits that our critical situation allows, we have tried to show that we have the lot and welfare of all at heart. We have been able to make only small reductions; but we have made them on goods which we know to be essential items in the cost of living. They are tokens that we have the housewife, the worker and the growing child in mind. Budgets may deal with figures and statistics, but ultimately, they are efforts to serve the human being; to help him to meet his needs for food, clothing, shelter, and happy, useful citizenship. It is towards the achievement of these goals that I invite you all to see the budget as a first step.

I would like to point out certain important features of the budget which may not be obvious, but which are very significant. First of all, this is a balanced budget, and we have not had one like it for many years. It provides for an annual expenditure of ₵401.2 million. The expected revenue is estimated at ₵356.4 million. This leaves an overall deficit of ₵44.7 million. This is quite small compared with deficits we have had in recent years. I would point out, however, that the estimate of expenditure includes ₵57 million for servicing our debts. As you know, we have begun negotiations about the payments of our debts, and if we succeed in getting them phased over a longer period, as I hope we shall, we may not need to pay the ₵57 million this year; in that case, we may end up with a small surplus. This aspect of the budget is significant because it will definitely give us some relief in our balance of payments position. The fact that we can balance our budget will also help to restore the confidence of foreign investors in our country. This is important. Those who worked with Nkrumah have said that whenever they drew his attention to any extravagance which would increase our debts, Nkrumah used to say " Go ahead, no country has ever been imprioned for debt." Though no country has ever been imprisoned for debt, it is very serious for any country to lose the confidence of investors. It creates serious balance of payments problems. We hope our budget will help to restore confidence.

You will also have noticed that some government enterprises are going to be turned over to the private sector: Due to the government undertaking some ill-considered enterprises, such foreign exchange has been wasted; the losses were increased by the dishonest 10 per cent takings. These pressures on our foreign exchange earning will be removed by the measures we have enunciated in the budget.

You will also note that the budget shows that we have cut down heavily on government expenditure. We are determined to exercise the strictest economy. It is not merely an exercise on paper. There will be strict controls to ensure that Ministries and Departments of Government keep within the limits of the expenditure imposed by the budget. In simple language, anyone who spends more than he is authorised to do will have to pay it back. As was announced in the Budget Statement the N.L.C. intends to introduce a Financial Administration Law which will make Heads of Ministries and Departments personally responsible for keeping within the limits set by the estimates of expenditure. The Government should itself set an example of economy.

The budget does not deal with long-term policies. It only makes provision for the year. As a Council, our declared aim is to prepare the way for an elected civilian government which, armed with a mandate from the people, will embark on the long-term policies which will be necessary for restoring us to full health and robust growth. The sooner we can achieve this the better; the recently appointed Political Committee will, we hope, prepare the way for an early setting up of a Constitutional Committee which will make a further advance towards representative, democratic government.

The budget gives further proof that we are doing our best to get rid of the bad policies of the Nkrumah regime and of the evil men who helped to carry out the bad policies. So I appeal to you all to co-operate with us; let us work together, honestly, diligently, and efficiently to improve our lot.

Thank you.

CORRECTIONS

Vol. 1, No. 2, July 22, 1966.

LOCATION OF MISTAKE	WHAT IS PRINTED	CORRECT FORM
P. 1, col. 2, last para., 4th line from bottom	arbidgement	abridgement
P. 2, col. 1, 2nd para., 7th line from bottom	believes in Freedom . . .	believes in. Freedom . . . (i.e. insert full stop between "in" and "Freedom").
P. 2, col. 1, 2nd para., last line	polical	political
P. 3, col. 2, 1st para., 7th line	sponteneous	spontaneous
P. 4, col. 1, 2nd para., 2nd line from bottom	Mr. Harley	Mr. Harlley
P. 9, col. 1, 2nd para., 5th line from bottom	Not until	Until (i.e. omit "Not")
P. 9, col. 9, 2nd para., from bottom, 3rd line	successive rents	excessive rents
P. 12, col. 2, 2nd para., from bottom, 3rd line	to the (their) "masses"	to the "masses" (i.e. omit "their
P. 16, col. 1, 2nd para., 12th line	reponsible	responsible

We regret all printing errors in that issue and apologize to our readers.

EDITO

NEO-COLONIALISM, THE LAST STAGE OF IMPERIALISM, by KWAME NKRUMAH

(NELSON, 1965), Price ₵5.04

Review by

B. D. G. Folson

IT IS difficult to avoid the word "pretentious" in discussing books supposed to have been written by Kwame Nkrumah during his disastrous leadership of this country. It needs very little intelligence and knowledge and insight into Nkrumah's policies and character to realize that it was his great ambition to be known as "the Lenin of Africa". Lenin was the leader of a great revolutionary party; he brought about the political unification of a congeries of peoples over a large land mass on the basis of "socialism"; he was a great political tactician; and, above all, he was a theoretician of considerable ability and persuasive power. Nkrumah wanted to be all these. Unfortunately for him, his ambitions outran his abilities. The most that can be said for him is that he was a great political tactician; his party was no more than a federation of ignoramuses, ruffians and incompetent people who specialized in mouthing revolutionary phrases but were in reality dedicated only to "ten percent socialism"; and he failed completely to unite Africa. As for his claim to being a theoretician it was the most pathetic of his many pretensions. His book on neo-colonialism is sufficient proof of this judgement.

The title of the book leads one to expect a profound analysis of the theory of neo-colonialism, it mechanisms and its workings. Even a skip through the book is sufficient to disabuse one's mind of this expectation. It is only in the introduction, the conclusion and chapter 18 that any attempt at analysis is made. The remaining seventeen chapters are a simple catalogue of facts about the *economic* operations of foreign companies engaged in mining, banking and industrial activity on the African continent. Anyone in command of enough funds (such as Nkrumah commanded by virtue of his position, first as Prime Minister and then as President) can hire research workers to collect these facts and commandeer writers to put them together in the form of a book, to which he can append his name and claim authorship.

With so little analysis, it is surprising that the book should contain so many contradictions, so many unsupported assertions and such weird reasoning. The European Economic Community was foreshadowed by Hobson in his critique of Imperialism as a group of advanced industrial countries whose upper classes draw "vast tribute from Asia and Africa, with which they (support) *great masses of retainers, no longer engaged in the staple industries of agriculture and manufacture,* but kept in the performance of personal or minor industrial services under the control of a new financial aristocracy." (My italics). So we are informed. Shortly afterwards, however, we are further informed that, after all, the imperialists are the sworn enemies of industrialization in the developing world because by maintaining the developing world as sources of raw materials and extracted minerals they are able to solve the social conflicts of their own countries *by providing work for their labouring populations.* The imperialists are, then, opposed to industrialization in the "colonial" and "neo-colonial" territories. Nevertheless we are again informed that they are prepared to throw out workers in their own country (such as in copper and iron-ore mining in U.S.A.) in favour of industries in Asia and Africa provided the latter will yield greater profits. Even more startling is the claim that finance-capital is prepared to establish consumer industries in Latin America and Puerto Rico where labour is cheaper and, hence, greater profits are to be realized. The question is: is there a neo-colonialist plot to prevent industrialization in the developing world or not ? The author has not the slightest clue; he is merely interested in abuse.

Is America the leader of a conspiracy of advanced, capitalist, Western countries to exploit the rest of the world or are these countries hopelessly at odds one with another in a cut-throat competition to share the rest of the world in their lust for unearned profits ? Nkrumah cheerfully takes both stands at once and attempts vainly to cover up his confusion by making such meaningless statements like America, "leading the inter-imperialist struggle." For full measure, we are informed that Western Europe itself and Japan are neo-colonialist enclaves of U.S.A. Yet the author claims at the same time that "nowhere has (neo-colonialism) proved successful, either in raising living standards or in ultimately benefiting the countries which have indulged in it". Is Western Europe, then, an area with low living standards ?

On the all-important question of international aid vis-a-vis neo-colonialism the author shows the same recklessness. In the introduction it is asserted:-

". . . it is in the field of 'aid' that the rivalry of individual developed States manifests itself. So long as neo-colonialism persists so long will spheres of interest persist, and this makes multi-lateral aid — which is in fact the only effective form of aid — impossible."

In chapter 18, however, it is asserted, with equal solemnity:-

"Still another neo-colonialist trap on the economic front has come to be known as

'multilateral aid' through international organisations."

It would have been disappointing if Tshombe were not mentioned as a leading tool of neo-colonialism. Yet he suddenly emerges as a fighter against neo-colonialism for the economic independence of the Congo during his premiership of the country — and no word of explanation !

Examples of such specific contradictions are legion. Equally numerous and, perhaps, more pernicious are unsupported assertions dogmatically stated, thus creating an impression of authority. Nigeria's Independence Constitution was imposed by the imperialists; the Constitution provided a loose federal system with the regions having sufficient powers "to cripple overall economic planning". The Independence Constitution of Ghana was similarly "a British plan" which gave the regions "sufficient powers to defeat central planning". These statements are simply untrue: a slight acquaintance with the political history of these countries and a little knowledge of the details of their constitutions at independence are enough to dispose of them. Farm surpluses in the U.S.A. are a result of high prices; "the withdrawal of the colonial rulers from political control is interpreted as a signal for the descent of the international monopolies upon the continent's natural resources". (I can hear an arena crowd cheering at this statement, but what connexion has it with reality ?). "This is the new scramble for Africa . . ." (I can hear the crowd shouting, "This is Africa's Man of Destiny; hear Him !") Such unsupported statements give great comfort to infirm minds, but they cannot form the basis of a great theory.

The most insidious technique used in the book is that of weird reasoning. After showing the connexions between various banking and financial institutions in the West, without any attempt to show how these impinge on politics, the author concludes triumphantly, in the middle of the exposition, that "the influence exercised by this domination (of the international economy) is carried into politics and international affairs, so that the interests of the overriding monopoly groups govern national policies". The author states a simple fact that a former Governor of Uganda became a member of the Board of Directors of a chartered company and a former expatriate under-secretary to Uganda's Prime Minister became a local director of the same company. "Thus", he immediately concludes, "are imperialist agents rewarded for their services to their real masters". Why "thus" ? Why "real masters" ? The answer is not to be found in the book. Correct reasoning is of course a difficult exercise. One cannot, perhaps, blame Nkrumah too much for failing to practise it: after all, his was not a great intellect !

On these infirm foundations the author attempts to erect a theory of neo-colonialism, and to lay bare its mechanisms. What is the theory ?

"The essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside."

That is, neo-colonialism is contrasted with direct colonialism and imperialism, where a country is governed not by its own citizens deriving their authority from the mass of the people themselves but by the directly appointed agents of the metropolitan power. Here the colonial territory is not considered a sovereign state; it is legally considered part of the metropolitan country which has the legal competence to decide all questions — political, economic and diplomatic — affecting it. A neo-colonialist territory, on the other hand, is legally sovereign, has all the attributes of sovereignty and has the formal competence to decide all matters affecting it. All these attributes are, however, only formal; the realities of its situation are such that the strings of power are pulled by an outside power and the neo-colonialist country dances accordingly when they are pulled, like a marionnette. A neo-colonialist state is a clientele state.

The theory is simple. No serious student of international politics can dismiss it as the figment of a disordered imagination. The relationship between U.S.A. and South and Central American States has for years been a living testimony to its essential truth. The giant companies which dominate the economies of most of these countries have always been able, in collusion with their governments, to dictate the policies of the countries. Where the governments have proved recalcitrant, the companies, backed by their government, have had very little difficulty in the past in toppling them. Similarly the relationship between France and her ex-colonies in Africa have been of this nature. The theory is indeed simple—deceptively simple.

The assumption runs throughout the book that neo-colonialism is associated only with the West, never with the East. Indeed, the "socialist" states are firmly against it: "the existence of the socialist nations makes it impossible to enforce the full rigour of the neo-colonialist system"; after the Second World War "socialism emerged as a much more threatening challenge to imperialism then ever before"; "challenged thus by anti-

colonialism and socialism, imperialism is now engaged in a 'to-the-death' trial for survival . . ."

The simple identification between neo-colonialism and the West is not confined to the author of this book; it is part of a philosophy that enjoys a world-wide popularity. The West is alleged to be capitalist and ever since Lenin wrote his book, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, it has been an elementary axiom of communism that imperialism is the same as capitalism at its most developed stage. The corollary to this, that socialism or communism and imperialism are mutually exclusive, is an article of faith with communists. It is this theory that Nkrumah swallowed hook, line and sinker and which informs his exposition of neo-colonialism. He is so taken by this idea that acts which, with the West, he will denounce as neo-colonialism he permits the communist country to do with impunity. He claims that socialist aid is "often more impressive" than Western aid because it is "swift and flexible"; this, when the trade agreements and even cultural agreements they signed with us were openly used to eat up our hard currencies; he denounces Western policies in West Germany, but is silent over East Germany where Russian actions and policies partake even more of an imperialist character; the Suez campaign is denounced as evidence of neo-colonialism, but the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1956 is quietly passed over; military aid from West is further evidence of neo-colonialism, but military aid from the East, even the clandestine type Nkrumah availed himself of liberally, is quietly passed over.

It is necessary, in view of all this, to be clear about the Leninist theory of imperialism. It is based on a verbal trick and a logical fallacy. Lenin used a word that has been used down the ages to refer to a well-known phenomenon in a highly specialised sense and argued as if by that one stroke he had abolished the age-old phenomenon. Imperialism is empire-building. In *Towards Colonial Freedom*—the only book one can be sure Nkrumah did write—he defined imperialism as "the policy which aims at creating, organizing and maintaining an empire . . . it is a state (sic) vast in size, composed of various distinct national units, and subject to a single centralized power or authority. This is the conception of empire: divers peoples brought together by force under a common power". He goes on to point out, quite rightly, that this conception goes back to Alexander the Great. He might have added that it goes back to Ancient Egypt and Assyria. Lenin simply chose to refuse to call all that had happened before his time imperialism and to confine the term to the particular brand of his time, that imperialism that was based on the capitalist economy of his time. This is what I prefer to call a verbal trick. Now, the logical fallacy. Hobson, in his more weighty and original book, *Imperialism*, argued that the imperialism of his time was due to the inability of the capitalist economy of his day to expand investment at home as a result of lack of effective demand in the hands of the proletariat and suggested that to check imperialist expansion income should be redistributed in the advanced countries themselves. This would enable the capitalists to make increasing profits on their investments at home and remove the necessity to invest abroad. Lenin got hold of the core of Hobson's argument and, drawing also on Hilferding's *Finance Capital*, asserted that lack of effective demand was an inherent and incurable defect of the capitalist system and that all imperialism is due to this defect. It is a simple logical fallacy to generalize from a single instance about a world of instances.

It is important to grasp the nature of the Leninist theory because it is seductive and dangerous. Once accepted, the so-called socialist states can do everything the old imperial masters have been guilty of and yet, by definition, they cannot be imperialists. Imperialism is not based upon, let alone identifiable with, any particular economic system. Hence there is not even a prima facie reason why socialist countries should not be imperialists. Since the Second World War the so-called socialist countries of Eastern Europe have been neo-colonialist states of Russia. No objective observer of the international scene can run away from that. And communist parties, until this decade, were mere agents of Russian imperialism. Nkrumah sometimes seemed to be dimly aware of this, for he sometimes refers to "capitalist imperialism" in the book, thereby presumably, conceding the possibility of "socialist imperialism." As if to pin-point this point, he maintains that there was neo-colonialism in the nineteenth century in Egypt, in South Africa, "in other parts of the world", "long before it was practised on any large scale in Africa". This really means that neo-colonialism, like imperialism itself, has nothing to do with capitalism at its final or last stage, or, for that matter, at its initial or middle stage.

It is necessary, whilst dealing with the theoretical aspects of neo-colonialism, to bring out an interesting point. Enormous amount of noise was made in 1964 about *Consciencism*, the "philosophy and ideology for decolonization and development with particular reference to the African Revolution", the key, that is, to the freedom of the continent. This is how *that* book ends:—

" Philosophical consciencism is a general philosophy which admits of application to any country. But it is especially applicable to colonies and newly independent and developing countries. In the case of Africa, by means of the foregoing set theoretic methods the necessity of a union of independent African states is established, a union integrated by socialism, without which our hard-won independence may yet be perverted and negated by a new colonialism.

(" Set theoretic methods " refers to the pseudo-mathematical monstrosities that constituted the last chapter of that hapless book). The book under review also attempts to " analyse neo-colonialism, first, by examining the state of the African continent and showing how neo-colonialism at the moment keeps it artificially poor. Next, to show how in practice African Unity . . . could immensely raise African standards ". In other words, *Neo-Colonialism* deals with a problem the golden key to which was provided by *Consciencism*. And yet . . . and yet this key is not put to any use whatever in the analysis ! Indeed, as Tigbor Szamuely, onetime Senior Lecturer at the Ideological Institute, has acutely pointed out, the very word " Consciencism" is not mentioned even once in the whole book. The Lenin of African indeed !

So much for the theoretical aspects. What about the mechanisms ? When he deals with this topic Nkrumah shows that neo-colonialism is not merely an idea; with him it is an obsession. Almost everything that comes from the West is part of the mechanisms of neo-colonialism: Hollywood films and stars, the British Labour Party, the I.C.F.T.U., Jehovah's Witnesses, Moral Re-armament, *all* Western business firms in Africa, *every* type of Western aid are the more obvious candidates for abuse. In this recklessness he did not even think of Ghana's interests: the Peace Corps whose aid Nkrumah was the first African leader to ask for; the I.M.F. to whom Nkrumah turned for help in the days of economic gloom; Canadian Aluminium which made the Volta Project a reality; the Western countries, to whom Nkrumah sent secret missions to plead for aid and America from whom he was secretly begging for food—all these are roundly condemned or insulted. No wonder America turned down his plea for food—a hundred-million-dollar worth of it—with the scorn he deserved. It is not surprising that anti-neo-colonialism, with him, became a panacea for all the ills of Ghana and Africa. It enabled him to ignore all those elementary things essential to development: efficiency, integrity, rational allocation of resources, a sound educational system and much else.

It is inevitable that this review should end on the note of pretentiousness. People before him had written or pronounced on neo-colonialism, both for and against. Nkrumah ignores all of them. He makes no attempt to answer the arguments of Brian Crozier and Walter Laqueur for example; he does not even mention that various African and Non-Aligned Conferences have elaborated the idea. Even when he quotes he very often does not give the source and, true to his character, he does not acknowledge any debt to anyone whatever, not even in a preface. He alone originated everything; he alone elaborated everything. Such pretentiousness !

In another Instalment Mr. Folson will discuss the authorship of " Neo-Colonialism, The Last Stage of Imperialism ".—Editor

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International

BRITAIN AND THE COMMONWEALTH

by

J. A Peasah

" There could have been no Commonwealth had there not been a British Empire . . . . . .

" Equally there could have been no Commonwealth but for the negation, withdrawal and transformation of British imperialism."

Gordon Walker

THE ABOVE quotation aptly sums up the important theme in the evolution of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is a unique example of a web of voluntary and mostly cordial relationships that have evolved consequent upon the gradual dissolution of a great Empire. The main principle underlying British imperialism, like any other, had been a common allegiance, and in this case, to an indivisible British Crown. This common allegiance, then, implied the supremacy of the British government in certain spheres of activity, the salient ones being diplomacy, economic policy and constitutional arrangements.

In the field of diplomacy, this common allegiance meant the setting up of a common foreign office for the whole empire and the establishment of one embassy in each foreign country. It also meant the supremacy of the British government in the process of negotiating and signing treaties and declaration of war. Britain, then, logically had to work out a common defence policy for the empire. However, in the process of the evolution of the Commonwealth, as a result of certain conditions and events such as the crisis over representation at Versailles in 1919, the Chanak crisis of 1922 and Canada's intention in 1920 to establish separate representation in Washington, British Supremacy in diplomacy was seriously undermined. By 1939, such was the situation that not all the Commonwealth countries declared war on Germany on the same day. We have, therefore, now reached a point where British supremacy in this field is non-existent.

Basis of the Commonwealth

Despite the activities of such organisations as the Fair Trade league, the Imperial Federation League and the Round-table, whose main purpose was the establishment of a kind of imperial economic union — a Zollverein — as a stepping-stone to political union, the idea of economic union has also been done away with. Commonwealth preferences have, for instance, been hampered tremendously by such international agreements as GATT and such needs as the protection of infant industries in the various countries. The Sterling Area (excluding Canada), which gave some semblance of an economic block, has been weakened by such factors as the demand for free convertibility, refusal on the part of certain members to agree to their quotas of dollar expenditure and new patterns of international trade and agreements.

Again by the end of the second-world war the constitutional inferiority of the members had become a thing of the past. The legislatures of the members were competent in such important matters as citizenship, immigration, foreign and economic policies.

In place of imperial unity, there had developed independent units, diverse in many respects, and yet fully co-operating in others. The Commonwealth had been born out of the womb of the Empire. Free co-operation among independent nations, welded together by some kind of an almost indescribable affinity, is the whole basis of the Commonwealth. Co-operation goes with consultation, and so there is a whole net-work of co-operation and consultation in such fields as agriculture, technical and military training, communication etc. The Commonwealth really has meant the negation of the British empire. And yet Britain still retains a prominent position in it firstly because of the psycholigical impact of the fact that all members were at one time or the other her colonies; secondly because of the fact that Britain still has economic ties with all the members — something one cannot say of the other members; thirdly, because the bedrock of some of the most important ideas and institutions in member countries is still British; and fourthly because Britain is still the greatest power in the Commonwealth.

However, since the evolution of the Commonwealth entailed the dissolution of the British empire and an attempt at establishing links of reciprocal cordiality, it has generated an ambivalent attitude. There are those who look upon the Commonwealth as a loss as well as those who revel in it as an asset or achievement. In any case, it has demanded a high level of magnimity and justice on the part of Britain, because the Commonwealth now stands for equal international status and uncoerced co-operation of not only the member nations but also of the member peoples and races. This principle of free co-operation was laid down before the second world war, and among the former so-called colonies of settlement by peoples of European stock (Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand) and between them and the British people.

The addition of the former colonies in Asia, Africa and the Caribbean, however, has implied

further dimensions to this co-operative principles in the sense that there is a greter diversity of ethnic groups, cultures, races, wealth and geography. The Commonwealth's membership is now a microcosm of world society. Its aims coincide with those of enlightened opinion of the modern world — peace, co-operation, human dignity and freedom. It is a United Nations without the powers, institutions and structure of that body; and yet it has a bond of affinity and familiarity which one cannot easily associate with that body in New York. Its survival is, therefore, a test case for the world.

The Rhodesia problem

At the Commonwealth Conference of 6th to 16th September a solution will have to be found to the Rhodesian crisis, which touches upon the fundamental rationale of the Commonwealth. New nations are born into the Commonwealth through a process of constitutional arrangements; with the exception of the aberration of South Africa (before her departure in 1961) the idea of racial equality has been accepted as an important goal — this should not be confused with restricitve immigration laws; the moral end of the Commonwealth is now to make it truly and willingly a Euro-Afro-Asian association. In fact, for instance, despite all his emphasis on socialism, fraternity with the socialist block and Pan-Africanism, even Nkrumah found it necessary to sponsor the formation of a Commonwealth Secretariat. The Rhodesian situation, is however, a negation of all these.

The fate of the Commonwealth now rests with Britain more than any other country, because Britain has undertaken to solve this all-important problem by herself. She has decided to set the pace of the solution, but the method, — economic sanctions — which she chose, has failed miserably. She refuses to use armed force, which is the only reasonable method under the present circumstances; by her reluctance to bring Smith to his knees quickly, Britain is doing nothing other than conjuring up 1910. A quarter million 'kith and kin' in the midst of 4 million non-'kith and kin' for whom Britain has equal responsibility, should, certainly, not be permitted to destroy such a unique association as a Commonwealth of over 600 million peoples of all races and whose development has been carefully nursed for over a century. What British society needs now is that moral fibre which it displayed in the anti-slavery days. Many heads rolled for the sake of a now simple thing as religious toleration. In fact, the religious wars in the 16th and 17th centuries now look ridiculous and so would race discrimination in a generation or two. The Rhodesian issue is the last and supreme test not only of the Commonwealth but also, more importantly, of British sense of fairness in the administration of her empires. The issue has taken a place similar to that occupied by India in the 1920s and 1930s.

Those who are in favour of the Smith regime point to, among other things, the fact that he consulted the Chiefs in Rhodesia. The question is, 'why did he choose to consult the Chiefs ?' There is not a single country now in Africa where traditional rulers are genuinely looked upon as equipped for modern administration. They are, generally, among the most narrow-minded, and conservative; they are ignorant of modern administration. Why, then, should the Africans be represented by such a layer of Rhodesian society when matters of long-term and complex policy were being discussed. Smith, certainly, knew that he was pitching superior knowledge and power against ignorance and weakness.

He should have chosen to consult men like Joshua Nkomo and Rev. Sithole because they were in a better position to understand the situation.

Supporters of Smith again advance the argument that the illegal settler regime is a bastion against communist infiltration and domination. Where in Africa are the communists ruling ? In not a single African country is the public sector of production larger than the private, nor does communist ideology go down well with modern African society. Communism thrives well among malcontents and Smith is only creating four million malcontents in a society of four and a half million. If anything, Smith is the person inviting Communism.

Again the argument is advanced that the regime is a bulwark of European civilisation, and that, for this reason, the settler community, however small, should be supported in whatever they do. Can anyone seriously contend that European civilisation has been destroyed in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and even in the Congo (Kinshasa) ?

Another argument usually made in favour of the Smith regime is that white Rhodesians have had self-government since 1923. Nobody says this should be done away with. What is needed is a self-government in which the whole population, including the white settlers, fully participate.

Capital Investment

It is also contended that the settlers have sunk capital into the country and they would lose everything. Moreover, it is argued that British investment would be jeopardised if the African majority had their full share in the politics of the country. What the settlers are likely to lose would be that part of property which they unfairly appropriated but even then,as the Kenya experience illustrates, this would not occur without a fair

compensation. As regards investment, it is not true that British or European investment would be jeopardised. In all the independent African Commonwealth countries, in fact, the rate and volume of British or European investment have increased. Even in Nkrumah's 'socialist' Ghana, British investment soared. Certainly, new African governments always aimed at improving upon the standard of living of the whole population and this cannot be done except with the help of European investment. It cannot be seriously argued that raising the standard of life of four and a half million persons demands less investment than doing the same for 220,000 who are already included among the four and a half million. The fact is that rigid white oligarchy set up by Smith and his clique is a very narrow bottle-neck to investment. The Rhodesian market and resources are simply not well-tapped.

The point is that the four million Africans must be given a chance at a full share in the modern world. Politics, respect for law and freedom cannot be learnt in the classroom. Experience is the best teacher in these things. Unstable African governments ? Nowhere are governments more unstable than Latin America and the Middle East and yet no one says that the people there have no right to self-rule. Paradoxically, most times, instability in government is a sign of a yearning for stability in freedom and equality.

For the sake of the survival of the Commonwealth and its noble aims, the September Conference must find out more appropriate means than economic sanctions for the solution of the Rhodesian crisis. The only solution is a majority rule. When the Commonwealth breaks up, there surely will be unpleasant repercussions on the United Nations and world peace. While the onus lies principally on Britain, it lies also on the other white members, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

THE CHANGING COMMONWEALTH

by

K. A. Karikari

The Commonwealth association, as it stands on the eve of the Prime Ministers Conference—September 6 to 16, faces a crisis so serious as to threaten its very survival. In part it stems from the nature of the institution. It is an association of sovereign states, each one of which views the Commonwealth relationship as only one strand in a variegated and complex web of relationships.

The Commonwealth association as we know it, has its links with the former British Empire and all that this means to the 23 states of the Commonwealth. On a smaller scale than the United Nations, the Commonwealth embraces peoples of many races, creeds, and traditions and states of every size, all of which have their own particular ambitions and interests. The Commonwealth mirrors both what divides and what unites. In the aftermath of empire, the Commonwealth is finding it difficult to assmilate and accommodate a rapidly expanding membership. It is the purpose of this article, to examine the Commonwealth ties which, though thin as air, are as strong as links of iron,

Nature of the Commonwealth

With the growth in diplomatic relations and status of other Commonwealth members, the United Kingdom has become far less of a shield and a magnet than in the past. The United Kingdom is one member among others, however, it is still to a significant extent the leading member State. Ideas about the future pattern of relationships may lay chief stress on the parity of all rather than on the primacy of one. Also the fact that such limited central machinery as the Commonwealth possesses, is now in the hands, not of the British Cabinet Secretariat or its Commonwealth Relations Office, but of a multi-racial secretariat headed by a Secretary-General responsible only to the Heads of Governments of all the Commonwealth countries collectively, illustrates this equality. But in practice, within the Commonwealth, it is still chiefly to the United Kingdom that most members—and particularly the newly independent members—look for assistance and advice. This discrepancy between the power of one and the ambitions of the many frequently produces a sense of tension in the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth has no written constitution and no complicated institutional structure: "Like Topsy it just grew". And it grew, of course, out of an imperial heritage. The Commonwealth is an historical phenomenon. Countries do not join it; they are born into it. However, I believe the Commonwealth means two very different things. First, it stands for a commu nity of attitudes, a certain way of looking at life and the world. Secondly, it is a set of obligations by the United Kingdom to the other members, only exceptionally matched by any obligations on their part. To take a Commonwealth decision, the others have to persuade Britain, out of Commonwealth loyalty, to shift her policy to meet their point of view.

The community of attitude is by no means uniform. Surely, many of them are more or less parliamentary democracies; nearly all of

them have a legal system largely deriving from English Common law. There is a Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, a Commonwealth Educational Conference, and a Royal Commonwealth Society. It is very rare for any one link to bind with equal force all the countries of the Commonwealth, but there are so many links binding so many of them in so many different ways that, added together, they form a bond of sentiment of great strength. The strongest bond of all is simply the feeling that there is a bond. That is a bond of friendship and a recognition of the Queen as head of the Commonwealth.

The Older Members

The Commonwealth, prior to World War II, consisted of a few countries, all relatively rich, essentially of European and mainly Anglo-Saxon origin. These countries—Australia, Britain, Canada and New Zealand—worked out methods of smooth consultation and practical co-operation without rigid commitments. Today, there are, of course, people, including some politically important people, in these countries who are nostalgic about the old Anglo-Saxon club in which they found it easier to work intimately. In fact, present day relations between say, London and Ottawa, or Canberra and Wellington are far easier and more confident, than is the relation between Accra and Ottawa. It may perhaps be the same, whether there is a Commonwealth or not in much the same way as the relations between those four capitals and Washington are.

No one can realistically speak of the Commonwealth today as an Anglo-Saxon club, or a rich man's club. The countries of significant Anglo-Saxon origin constitute a small minority—some 10 per cent of the people and four out of the 23 member states. The decision of the African and Asian members to stay within the Commonwealth shows the importance they attach to it as an association that links races and continents. For some of the newly independent members of the Commonwealth it was convenient to belong to it and very inconvenient not to belong.

Intra-Commonwealth Conflicts

Nevertheless, many people are not at all clear what the Commonwealth means to them, or how far they see it as a positive force. Only a minority of the British people, for instance, have been much influenced by Commonwealth opinion in the dispute with Ian Smith of Rhodesia. and it is uncertain whether Britain would spring automatically to the defence of say, Uganda as to that of Australia. Indeed, the British regard the Commonwealth as something of which Britain is the head.

There were hostilities last September between India and Pakistan. But there has always been a strong disinclination to discuss intra-Commonwealth disputes (e.g. Kashmir) or other issues (e.g. economic sanctions against South Africa or Rhodesia) on which members of the Commonwealth are known to be deeply divided. Intemperate and heated exchanges are thereby avoided, from the point of view of the older members, but at the cost of depriving the meetings of much of their significance, particularly in the eyes of some African and Asian countries who may have valued the occasion chiefly as an opportunity to bring pressure to bear on the senior members. Thus, given the great diversity of interests represented at many meetings and the fact that for most members, the Commonwealth connection is not the most valuable, it is to be expected that the Commonwealth meetings will normally be concerned more with formalities than with the substance of individual policies. Indeed, the Asian and African members of the Commonwealth have come (after the brief post-independence honeymoon period is over) to attach less importance to the meetings. The United Kingdom sees in the Commonwealth meetings a means of enhancing her diplomatic influence in the world, and the other older members look to it as a necessary evil. Hence, members appear to view Commonwealth meetings benevolently, chiefly as a public affirmation of a relationship which they wish to preserve but which they generally regard as of rather lower priority than their relationship within other groupings.

Rhodesia and the Commonwealth

The coming conference will discuss a number of important issues: Viet Nam, Disarmament, Cocoa, and Rhodesia. Rhodesia, of course, is likely to be the most important.

A political problem which the conference will be deeply engaged in is that of Rhodesia. Rhodesia is a special problem—and in fact may be the main one for the conference. The African members will demand from Britain a policy on Rhodesia. Though Britain has nothing to say, yet Mr. Wilson will report on the progress of sanctions, economic assistance to Zambia and educational assistance to the African Rhodesians. It is now clear that President Kaunda's disillusionment with Mr. Wilson's Rhodesian policies threatens to break the Commonwealth. Mr. Wilson needs therefore, to regain the initiative over Rhodesia to save the Commonwealth, since, the idea that economic sanctions alone would topple illegal Ian Smith white minority settler regime in Rhodesia is becoming untenable.

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